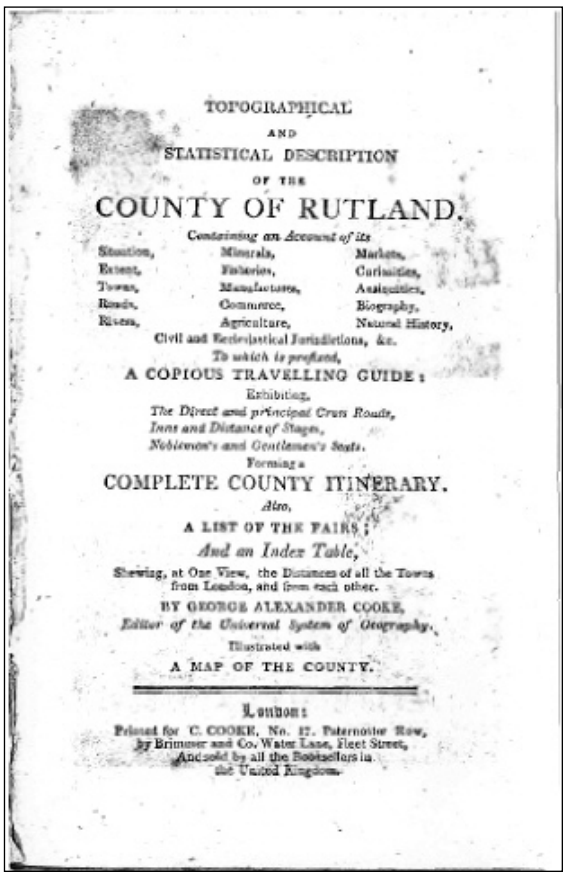
UPPINGHAM IN 1802

A YEAR TO REMEMBER?

Uppingham Local History Study Group



TOPOGRAPHICAL
AND
STATISTICAL DESCRIPTION
OF THE
COUNTY OF RUTLAND,

Containing an Account of its

Situation,	Minerals,	Markets,
Extent,	Fisheries,	Curiosities,
Towns,	Manufactures,	Antiquities,
Roads,	Commerce,	Biography,
Rivers,	Agriculture,	Natural History,

Civil and Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions, &c.

To which is prefixed,

A COPIOUS TRAVELLING GUIDE:

Exhibiting,

The Direct and principal Cross Roads,
Inns and Distance of Stages,
Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Seats.

Forming a

COMPLETE COUNTY ITINERARY.

Also,

A LIST OF THE FAIRS;

And an Index Table,

Shewing, at One View, the Distances of all the Towns from London, and from each other.

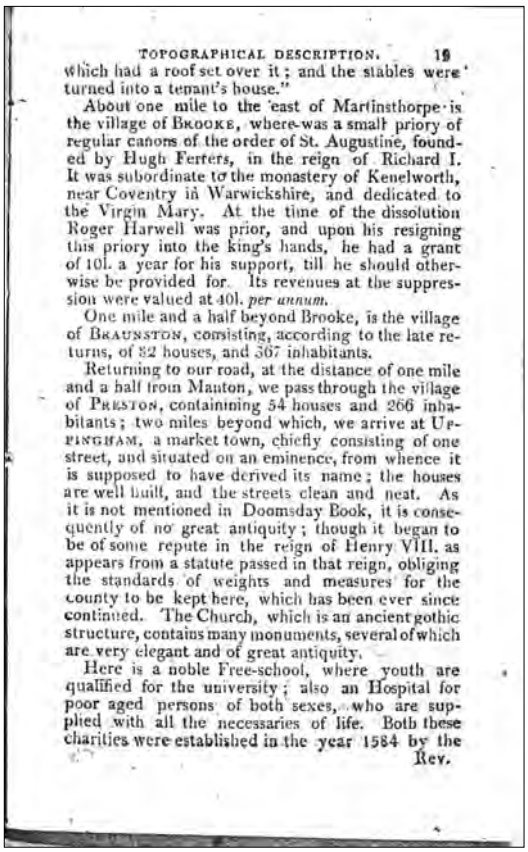
BY GEORGE ALEXANDER COOKE,
Editor of the Universal System of Geography.

Illustrated with

A MAP OF THE COUNTY.

London:

Printed for C. COOKE, No. 17, Paternoster Row, by Brimmer and Co. Water Lane, Fleet Street, And sold by all the Booksellers in the United Kingdom.



TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION. 19

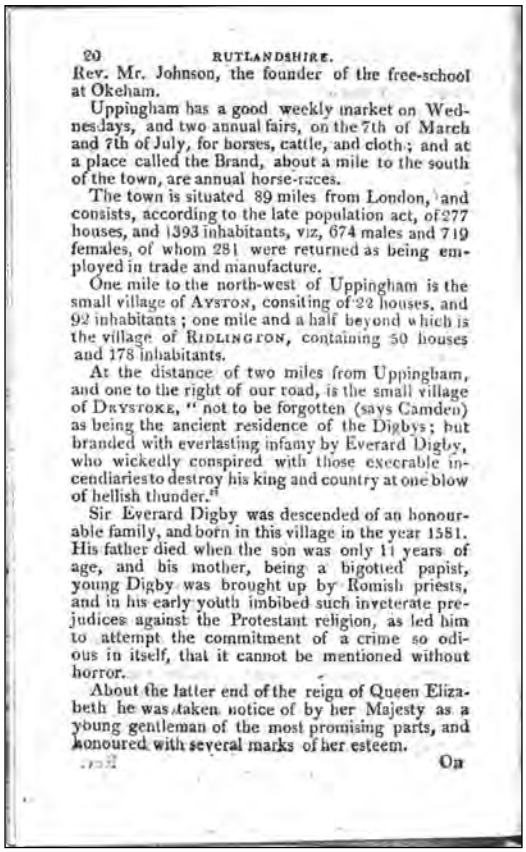
which had a roof set over it; and the stables were turned into a tenant's house."

About one mile to the east of Martinsthorpe is the village of BROOKE, where was a small priory of regular canons of the order of St. Augustine, founded by Hugh Ferters, in the reign of Richard I. It was subordinate to the monastery of Kenelworth, near Coventry in Warwickshire, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary. At the time of the dissolution Roger Harwell was prior, and upon his resigning this priory into the king's hands, he had a grant of 10l. a year for his support, till he should otherwise be provided for. Its revenues at the suppression were valued at 40l. *per annum.*

One mile and a half beyond Brooke, is the village of BRAUNSTON, consisting, according to the late returns, of 82 houses, and 367 inhabitants.

Returning to our road, at the distance of one mile and a half from Manton, we pass through the village of PRESTON, containing 54 houses and 266 inhabitants; two miles beyond which, we arrive at UPPINGHAM, a market town, chiefly consisting of one street, and situated on an eminence, from whence it is supposed to have derived its name; the houses are well built, and the streets clean and neat. As it is not mentioned in Doomsday Book, it is consequently of no great antiquity; though it began to be of some repute in the reign of Henry VIII. as appears from a statute passed in that reign, obliging the standards of weights and measures for the county to be kept here, which has been ever since continued. The Church, which is an ancient gothic structure, contains many monuments, several of which are very elegant and of great antiquity.

Here is a noble Free-school, where youth are qualified for the university; also an Hospital for poor aged persons of both sexes, who are supplied with all the necessaries of life. Both these charities were established in the year 1584 by the Rev.



20 RUTLANDSHIRE.

Rev. Mr. Johnson, the founder of the free-school at Okeham.

Uppingham has a good weekly market on Wednesdays, and two annual fairs, on the 7th of March and 7th of July, for horses, cattle, and cloth; and at a place called the Brand, about a mile to the south of the town, are annual horse-races.

The town is situated 89 miles from London, and consists, according to the late population act, of 277 houses, and 1393 inhabitants, viz, 674 males and 719 females, of whom 281 were returned as being employed in trade and manufacture.

One mile to the north-west of Uppingham is the small village of AYSTON, consiting of 22 houses, and 92 inhabitants; one mile and a half beyond which is the village of RIDLINGTON, containing 50 houses and 178 inhabitants.

At the distance of two miles from Uppingham, and one to the right of our road, is the small village of DRYSTOKE, "not to be forgotten (says Camden) as being the ancient residence of the Digbys; but branded with everlasting infamy by Everard Digby, who wickedly conspired with those execrable incendiaries to destroy his king and country at one blow of hellish thunder."

Sir Everard Digby was descended of an honourable family, and born in this village in the year 1581. His father died when the son was only 11 years of age, and his mother, being a bigotted papist, young Digby was brought up by Romish priests, and in his early youth imbibed such inveterate prejudices against the Protestant religion, as led him to attempt the commitment of a crime so odious in itself, that it cannot be mentioned without horror.

About the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth he was taken notice of by her Majesty as a young gentleman of the most promising parts, and honoured with several marks of her esteem.

On

Cooke's descriptions of Rutland, to be dated between 1802 and 1810

Cover illustration: Market Place at the turn of the nineteenth century, original by Paul Sandby, RA (Stamford School Archives)

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Georgian Buildings in Uppingham on a grand scale, mid eighteenth century (photo: ULHSG).

Uppingham Local History Study Group December 2002

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The following persons have worked on this volume in one way or another:

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Rosemary Canadine designed the publication, and Centuryprint of Unit J, Cavendish Courtyard, Corby printed it.

The Group is working on projects such as recording the memorials in the churchyard and datestones, collecting archives and artefacts relating to Uppingham's history, transcribing records, writing town trails. It runs an annual Local History Week. It welcomes new members. Contact Julia Culshaw, 1 Norton Street, Uppingham, LE15 9QN (tel 01572-823324).

Contents

Falcon Hotel as it would have appeared in 1802 (private possession, printed with permission)

Abbreviations

This list contains the most frequently used abbreviations used in the footnotes or in the text: for details, see Sources at end of book

Aldred: notes on History of Uppingham collected by Canon C C Aldred
CR: court rolls
DE: Uppingham parish records in Record Office at Wigston
deeds: notes on title deeds in private possession in Uppingham
Dir: Directories of 1791 or 1829/1830-1
Drak: Drakard's Stamford News
ins: notes on insurance records, Guildhall Library, London
Irons: notes by Canon Irons on History of Uppingham
MI: monumental inscription in church or churchyard
MPU: Manor of Preston with Uppingham
NRO: Northamptonshire Record Office
PR: parish registers
PRO: Public Record Office
RB: Rate Book of c1805
RM: Rectory Manor
ROLLR: Record Office of Leicester, Leicestershire and Rutland
SM: Stamford Mercury
UppRut: Uppingham in Rutland
USM: Uppingham School Magazine
will: notes of wills from NRO

References: to prevent the text being cluttered with footnotes, we would wish to point out that unless otherwise indicated, all the material relating to the enclosure comes from the enclosure award and map for Uppingham 1779-1804 (enc); all the material relating to the parish church and the Vestry comes from parish records in ROLLR (listed as DE, usually with a date since many of the books in these records do not have page numbers); all materials relating to baptisms, burials and marriages come from the Uppingham parish registers (PR), now in ROLLR; the property transactions have been drawn either from deeds in private possession (deeds) or from the court rolls (CR) - see Sources below; all wills come from Northants Record Office; insurance records from the Guildhall Library (ins).

Note on money: the accounts are all in 'old sterling', that is £ s d. Some sums are given in guineas (gns) which are £1 1s 0d. We have not attempted to update these to new sterling, nor to give contemporary equivalencies, for prices and wages varied greatly. For example, in 1795 in Berkshire, a high economy county, a loaf of bread cost 1s 9d, cheese was 7d per lb, butter and sugar were 9d per lb, tea was very expensive at 3s per lb, but bacon cost 3d per lb; a family of six could obtain enough milk for a week for 2d (L Mumby, *How Much is That Worth?,* Phillimore, 1996, pp.31-2). Surprisingly wages are harder to discern, but one can take about 1s (i.e. 12d) per week as a rough guide; William Clark was paid 6d for cleaning the churchyard in 1800 and Frank Bennett 1s 6d for cleaning the church leads (i.e. roof), DE. See www.eh.net/hmit.

Note on acreages: The land areas are given in records of the day in terms of acres, rods (4 to the acre) and perches (40 to the rod) - often expressed as A.R.P.

Foreword

This book contains a description of some aspects of life in Uppingham two hundred years ago. It is not a full academic study of the history of the town: some topics have not yet been dealt with, and these wait for a future historian of Uppingham. But it covers many different facets of what it was like to live in this old market town, and outlines many of the people who helped to make the town at a time which has been called 'The Age of Improvement'.

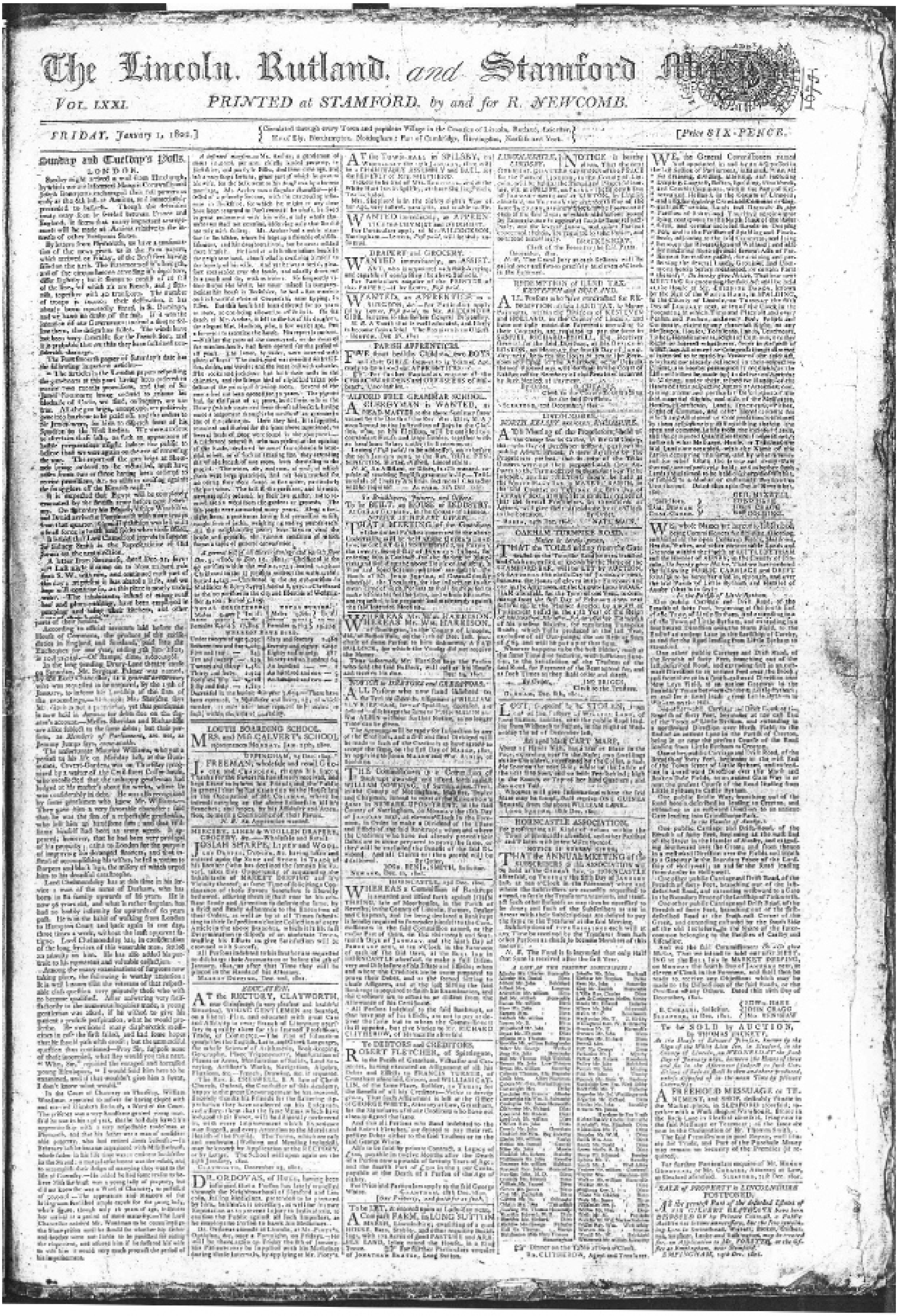
The Study Group started by looking at the *Stamford Mercury* in 1802. They then collected other source material. During this search, the group found two rating lists of the town 1801-2 and one land tax listing 1803 which went along the streets from door to door. There is also an excellent (but very small and in places indistinct) map of Uppingham in 1804 prepared for the enclosure. Using these lists and the map, we have been able to go along the streets of Uppingham in 1802, describing aspects of the life of the residents at that time.

We cannot be completely accurate in this. Buildings were sub-divided and then united again; new extensions were put on and older buildings demolished. When the list says someone lived next door, we do not know whether they mean upstairs, in a cottage in the back yard or elsewhere nearby. All we can say is that this family lived somewhere about here.

But the 'here' is also a problem. We have had problems in describing buildings today. If we say 'at 6 High Street East', the numbers on many shops are not now displayed. If we say, 'the shop today known as Deliverance County', last year we would have had to say 'the shop known as Magpie Minerals'. We have tried to use permanent pointers whenever possible but at times we have used a mixture of terms and hope that local readers can sort this out for themselves. It should add to the intrigue of the book.

We could not have done this without the help of so many people and organisations. We cannot mention them all, but the Northants Record Office, the Record Office of Leicester, Leicestershire and Rutland at Wigston, the PRO, the Guildhall Library, the owners of various collections of deeds who let us examine them, Rutland County Museum, and locally the Town Council, Arnold Wills and Warwick Metcalfe who both continue to be very supportive of the work of the Group, the Rector and the PCC, the Uppingham Schools, Alan Hancock, Gordon Monro, Mr and Mrs Ron Simpson and Dan Howison must be mentioned. Roy Stephenson loaned to us the copies of the *Stamford Mercury* of 1802 which started the project. Rosemary Canadine once again spent many hours designing the book for us. Centuryprint of Corby hastened the printing.

We hope this book will help to make those who now live in and are responsible for looking after Uppingham in 2002 proud of their town and keen to develop it in very sensitive ways, to preserve and build upon what is good from the past.



The Lincoln, Rutland, and Stamford Mercury.

VOL. LXXI. PRINTED at STAMFORD, by and for R. NEWCOMB.

FRIDAY, January 1, 1802. [Price SIX-PENCE.]

The Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury, 1 Jan 1802

Introduction
UPPINGHAM AND THE *STAMFORD MERCURY* IN 1802

1802 was a typical year in the life of Uppingham.

Some people died in this year, like John Fox of what is now Queen Street who had made and sold clocks throughout a wide area around the town. On his death, his son Robert Breton Fox decided he did not wish to follow in the family business, and so he divided up his father's substantial house into tenements for three widows and let his whitesmith workshop to James Sneath the blacksmith. Or Miss Susannah Parker, one of two redoubtable women who lived in what is now 24 High Street West, sisters of the Rev John Parker, formerly curate at the church and usher at the Grammar School and probably of Henry Parker grocer, who were strong enough to take even the notable lawyer John Abearn Palmer to court and win from him the huge sum of £1800.

Some people got married - including the Rev Edward Jones son of the Rector who was also called Edward Jones, and the Rev Charles Child who came to the town in 1802 as curate at the parish church and usher at the Grammar School, and married a lady from Chelsea.

Many babies were born in 1802: there were 47 baptisms in this year at the parish church, but none at the Independent Church in Meeting Lane (now Adderley Street). Unfortunately at least of these nine died within a very short space of time.

People were moving house - like Falconberge Reeve who held property on the south side of High Street East (Reeve's Passage) and who married Eleanor sister of Thomas Holmes the landlord of the Falcon; so that when Holmes died in February 1802 aged 52, Reeve and his wife moved across the road into the Falcon.

And soldiers came back from the French wars and newcomers came to the town in 1802 like Edward Kemp apparently from Belton, who married the daughter of a prominent trader, joined the Independent Chapel and opened his new store in the town. This was a time of considerable mobility, especially from abroad after the French Revolution and the wars which followed this event. Thus Elias John Lafargue moved into Uppingham in 1802. There was indeed (as today) considerable concern about the influx of foreigners into England as the *Stamford Mercury* reported:

> In order to prevent an unlimited introduction of foreigners into the several countries of Europe, it seems to be with the respective governments to put this sort of check on their peregrinations, that they shall obtain a passport before they set out.
> (SM 25 June 1802)

Many things happened in Uppingham in 1802. There was the market every Wednesday and the two annual fairs held each March and July. And there was the annual Uppingham Feast on or about 29 June, the church's patronal festival which in 1802 passed without attracting the attention of the local newspaper as happened on later occasions: in 1823 'Uppingham Annual Feast or Wake is now to include ass racing'; and 1825, 'At the Uppingham Feast was held the event of the ascent of Fire Balloons. Luckily no one was burned'.[1] So that on the whole the year passed relatively quietly.

And as in every year, on Easter Tuesday 20 April in 1802 (Easter was late this year), after an announcement in church on the previous Sunday, seven members of the parish Vestry met and chose two new churchwardens, Edward Peech[2] for the Rector and Thomas Sewell baker for the parish; the duties involved may have made Sewell decide to advertise for an apprentice in 1802. Two new Overseers of the Poor, John Bird druggist and stationer and Job Daniell of the Swan Inn, were also appointed. The parish clerk Frances Bennett drew up a new assessment list so that the church rate could be collected, and the accounts of the previous churchwardens Thomas Baines and Falconberge Reeve were received. The Vestry members then adjourned to a neighbouring hostelry satisfied with their work.

So 1802 was not a particularly memorable year for Uppingham. True, the town made whoopee over the signing of the treaty of Amiens which ended (but only very briefly) the war with France, but unfortunately we know nothing of these celebrations, for the *Stamford Mercury*, our major source for this account of the town at the turn of the nineteenth century, talks about jubilation in other places but not in Uppingham. And the town did have its first Subscription Ball at the Falcon in December. But there was little to distinguish 1802 from other years.

If 1802 then was a normal enough year in the life of the community of Uppingham, why have we selected it for study? Not just because 1802 is the bicentenary of 2002, although this helped. The Uppingham Local History Study Group by happy chance had available to it a complete run of the *Stamford Mercury* for 1802, and we decided to see what our local newspaper had to say about the town in that year. For the paper would have been greatly valued and read aloud to others whose skills or eyesight did not allow them to peruse it for themselves.


The Lincoln, Rutland, and Stamford Mercury

VOL. LXXI. PRINTED at STAMFORD, by and for R. NEWCOMB.

FRIDAY, December 31, 1802.] [Price SIX-PENCE.

Heading of Stamford Mercury, 31 December 1802

The Stamford Mercury

Every Friday, copies of the *Stamford Mercury* could be obtained from the shop of John Bird grocer, druggist and this year's churchwarden (somewhere near Nelson's butchers' shop today) and perhaps other outlets in the town, and it was no doubt eagerly awaited and read.

The *Mercury* was Uppingham's local paper, produced in Stamford nearby for probably more than one hundred years. The paper had a long reach especially into Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire (Boston, Louth, Lincoln and at times even up to Grimsby, and across to Newark) and out into the fens (Spalding, Whaplode, Wisbeach and down to March). On the west, Oakham and Uppingham seem to have been the limit of its reach.

The *Mercury* was at that time the only local newspaper. There had been earlier rivals in the area covered by the Tory *Stamford Mercury*, such as Harrod's Whig paper the *Stamford Herald* (1793-97) and the Whig *Leicester Chronicle* which started in 1791, but few of these lasted long. In 1809 immediately after a fiercely fought parliamentary election in Stamford, a printer called John Drakard who had purchased Harrod's printing business started a rival and more radical paper called *Drakard's Stamford News*; this lasted until 1834.

Uppingham and the *Mercury*

Uppingham had a closer connection to both the *Mercury* and *Drakard's Stamford News* than most of the other towns in the area. The owner-editor of the *Stamford Mercury*, Richard Newcomb the elder, had started his printing career here in Uppingham. His father (Richard Newcomb of Billingborough in Lincolnshire, a farmer) had set him up as a printer and bookseller in Uppingham in 1781.[3] Two years later, he moved to Stamford to help run a stationery, book and medicine shop belonging to the widow of Edward Nott, and he quickly married the widow. In 1785, Richard Newcomb joined the existing editor Christopher Peat in running the *Mercury* and he took over from Peat completely in 1797.

John Drakard too had opened printing works and a bookshop in Uppingham before 1802, for he appears frequently in the pages of the *Mercury*. In 1805, he was renting a shop situated on the corner of Printers Yard in Uppingham from William Belgrave esq., a major landowner in the town.[4] In January 1802, 'For Winter Evenings Amusement', he advertised his newly published catalogue of 'Drakard's New Circulating Library in High Street Stamford and in Market Place Uppingham containing near 2000 volumes' (*SM*, 1 Jan). Apart from printing, he sold new and antique books, stationery, pocket books, umbrellas, hat cases, bonnet boxes, perfumery, patent medicines, animal remedies and many other items.

What the papers say

So, what did the paper say? It is important to appreciate that the *Stamford Mercury* was primarily designed to bring national and international news into the Stamford region. Printed on Fridays, copies would have been seized quickly by those attending Stamford's weekly market and then dispersed into the towns and villages around. The latest news of Napoleon, the war at sea, the mutiny in the Navy, the doings of court, the sulking of Pitt, the debates in parliament etc would all have been earnestly debated in the inns and pubs and in the clubs and coffee houses which were just emerging, rather than the latest local theft or riot - that would have been common knowledge already, for local chains of communication were much quicker than a weekly newspaper.

Above all, the *Mercury* was a Tory paper. The years 1799 to 1803 saw the fiercest set of food and political riots in the country, especially at Nottingham and spreading into Leicestershire.[5] But virtually none of this appears in the pages of the *Stamford Mercury*. The paper tries hard to describe a society at peace with itself, 'well-order'd', and contented. The *Stamford Mercury* was part of the control mechanism of 'the better sort' to keep the labouring elements, both rural and urban, in their place.

What people mainly read the *Mercury* for were two things: news of politics and the war from London and the continent and further afield - there was much

interest in Egypt and also the Caribbean at this time, and secondly advertisements from all round the region. There was also gossip about the Court and the great and the good, and miscellaneous items such as ballooning and 'pedestrianism', but the key sections were the news items and the notices. It is these which have given us the most information about Uppingham in 1802, although we have looked at a number of other sources for this period.

The paper's style

What strikes one most about reading the *Mercury* after such a long time is the style of writing and the frankness of some of the comments. Purple passages abound; and some of the comments on figures of the day, like the contemporary cartoons, would appear today as going too far. Jingoism and racism abounded, with the French especially being bitterly hated: for example, 'The character of the French nation is fully displayed in the giddy theatrical levity with which they adopt the most sacred of sentiments and the most venerable of institutions. We admire the modest unassuming character of our religion' etc (SM, 30 Apr). Reporting that the hated Napoleon was planning to assume the title of Emperor and was building himself a suitable residence, 'If the Consul imitates Alexander in his battles, he does not fail to emulate Solomon in his palaces' (SM, 10 Dec). And speaking of Pitt who

> amid a war of unexampled trials, of dreadful vicissitudes, of perils that threatened the destruction of everything most dear to britons, and of calamities which it was scarcely thought possible for human wisdom to avert, preserved this country from ruin, established its empire more permanently, extended its commerce and retained its liberties uncontaminated by the pestilential doctrines of anarchy and devastation. His capacity, his talents, his firmness and perseverance rallied not only around the throne and constitution of this country, but around the general cause of social order and civilization throughout the world, the enemies of turbulence, licentiousness and Jacobinism (SM, 4 June).

The style of writing was often poetic, even melodramatic: for example, the weather: 'winter lingering chills the lap of May' (SM, 21 May); or the unexpected death of a girl aged 14: 'The icy hand of death suddenly convulsed her fair form whilst seated in ordinary health at dinner' (SM, 24 Sep). Complaining of modern youth culture (just as today), the paper wrote: 'modern romance breaks down every check of reason and principle and gives new strength to the violence of unbridled feeling and passion' (SM, 23 Apr); whereas a royal marriage carried with it a custom now long forgotten:

> On the day on which Prince William of Gloucester is to untie the virgin cestus[6] of one of the sisters of the Emperor of Russia, there are one thousand inferior marriages to take place in St Petersburg and its vicinities, to keep the royal pair in countenance (SM 24 Sept).

And the paper was not above a *double entendre*. It wrote about a forthcoming Ball as being 'a highly desirable event. All the *old maids* are dying to go to Preston Guild since they heard that *half* a bed was the only accommodation of the place' (SM, 10 Sep).

The style and the language used clearly indicate an educated, indeed a cultivated audience, one which knew about Solomon and Alexander, who knew the translation of *cestus* and the meaning of 'peregrinations'. We can then imagine the wealthier citizens of Uppingham in 1802 every Friday reading their local newspaper in their homes, and some of the poorer inhabitants listening in the pubs to the paper being read aloud. And this no doubt with difficulty, bearing in mind the very small print, the small windows of many homes and the poor quality glass in these windows, the candle lights and the high price of spectacles for the poor-in-sight at that time. It is the paper which carries with it a reflection of this town two hundred years ago.

We have used the *Stamford Mercury* as the basis for this study of life in Uppingham in 1802. But we have also used other sources. For example, there is the invaluable 1804 enclosure map and associated documents which indicate the owners of property all over the town. And there are the parish church rate lists each year for the years 1801-1805. The first two of these are sequential - that is, they go along the street, as does the 1804 enclosure map; the second two are alphabetical, like the 1805 Poor Law Rate Book which survives among the parish records. There is a land tax list for 1803 among the parish records. Combining these sources, we have been able to put a number of families back into their homes, and we have therefore built this booklet around this reconstitution. Just as the collectors of the church rate in 1802 went along the High Street starting at the east end of town, proceeding along High Street north side and coming back along High Street south side, before proceeding into the surrounding areas, so we too have followed the same route, commenting on different aspects of life in Uppingham in and about 1802.

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[1] UppRut, p15

[2] The name Edward Peech is crossed out and the name of John Barratt is written in. But Edward Peach did act as churchwarden throughout the year. The parish clerk seems to have made a mistake or the election was disputed.

[3] Aldred says that the first printing press was set up in Uppingham in 1782, but he gives no source for this statement. See Newton and Smith, 1999, pp.77-79.

[4] RB, 1805; Marshall deeds, 22

[5] See Wells, 1983.

[6] girdle

The town of Uppingham from the Enclosure Map of 1804

Itinerary 1.
The East End of Town
FARMING IN UPPINGHAM IN 1802

> Accounts from every part of the United Kingdom mention that the oldest farmers never remember an harvest more abundant, nor grain more floury. In no county nor even parish has there been the slightest failure. The stacks of new corn appear, when the sun shines upon them, like so many heaps of burnished gold.

(SM, 17 Sept 1802)

> The crops of beans throughout this county are this year the most prolific ever known. It is exactly 50 years since an autumn so remarkable favourable to the harvest was witnessed, the influence of which filled the land with plenty for some years after.

(SM, 8 Oct 1802)

On the north side of High Street East between the end of town and where the Town Hall is now, most of the area was taken up by the large farm of Edward Sewell farmer, maltster and miller. Even today one of Sewell's barns remains on the site converted into residential apartments. But Edward Sewell died in this year (November), and a neighbour Thomas Bullock took over the running of his farm.[1] *Sewell came from one of the more important families in Uppingham at the time. Thomas Sewell, probably his son, was also a maltster and baker who advertised for an apprentice in 1802* (SM, 10 Sept).

Farming was flourishing in England, largely because of the war, but also because of the growing industrial towns which needed food. The demand for food exceeded the supply: The *Stamford Mercury* reported that 'The quantity of Russian beef that has lately been imported into this country is likely to have some effect in reducing the price of provisions; in manufacturing towns it will be found to be particularly beneficial as it is well salted, will keep excellently and is much cheaper than fresh beef' (SM, 1 Jan).

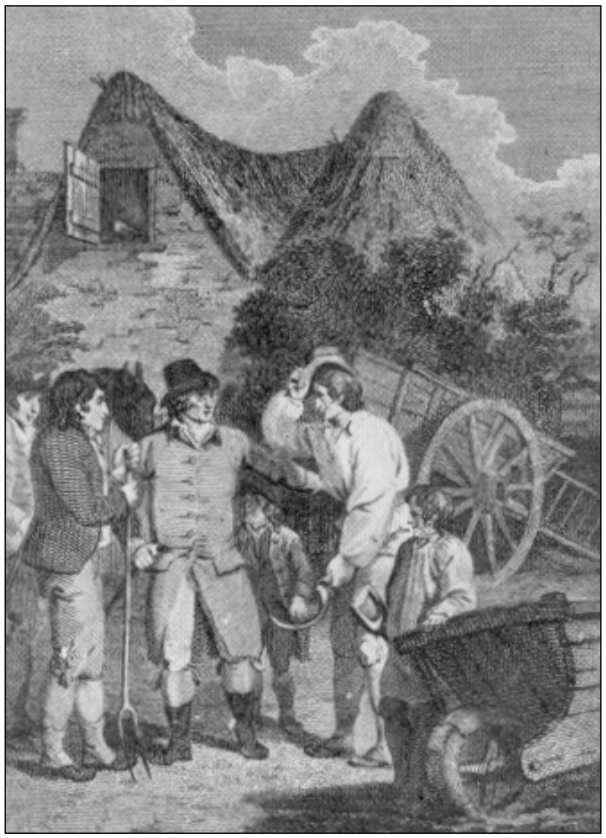
The chief problem was the uncertain weather. The rejoicing in the good weather and prosperous harvest of 1802 had some point, for recent history had been very different. 'The national harvest of 1799 was one of the wettest experienced'. A wet spring followed by a very hot summer followed by severe storms led to a disastrous harvest of corn and potatoes; and the harvest in 1800 also failed,[2] so that the price of wheat rose from £3 15s 0d per quarter in September 1799 to £7 8s 0d per quarter in March 1801. Riots, partly for food and partly to induce a French-style political revolution, broke out in many parts of the country, especially in Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, and were met with legal and military repression, both the militia and the regular army being employed against the rioters, accompanied by food (wheat and rice) distribution and soup shops. There are virtually no hints of all this disturbance in the *Stamford Mercury*, although the weekly statement of food prices in the various markets of the region would have been carefully scrutinised by wealthy and poor alike. These show that food prices in Uppingham market, as in other markets of the region, fell steadily from 78-80s per quarter of wheat to 54-55s per quarter during the year. Such a picture would have steadied the nerves of the property owning interests; the tranquillity of the area around Stamford including Uppingham was the primary concern of those who read the newspaper in 1802.

Agriculture in and around Uppingham

Farming was a huge part of the economy of Uppingham. The 1801 census said that 94 of the 1393 residents of Uppingham were directly and mainly engaged in farming, and White's *Directory* of 1846 lists 22 Uppingham farmers and graziers. Most of them had their farmyards in or just off the High Street. For in addition to the large farmers, there were many smallholders in Uppingham in 1802. In a survey conducted in 1794 it was stated that the poor rates of Uppingham were 4s in the £ and that the rates for the whole of Rutland were generally low, because the cottagers were able to keep one or two cows.

Many tradesmen and professionals like John Marriott auctioneer and Henry Larrett surgeon rented and farmed land in addition to their main business. And for the rest, apart from market days and the fairs, the people of Uppingham must have seen farm goods and stock every day of their lives.

In 1802, the Uppingham farming community was in turmoil. Until the 1770s, farming in the town had been done on a traditional basis. 'The farmhouses are generally speaking good but inconveniently situated, being mostly in towns; whereas if they were built upon the farms, it would make them more valuable both to landlord and tenant'.[3] No less than six large farm houses with their yards, barns and outbuildings were in the town area,[4] such as that of Thomas Baines in HighStreet West, Thomas Bullock or George Crowden. It was more convenient for them to be centrally placed, for the land of each farmer was scattered through the large common fields. Uppingham had five such fields, Lound Field and Woodfield, The Brand and two cow pastures, Wilkershaw and Many Bushes. Much of the land to the south of the town was shared with Lyddington and Caldecott.

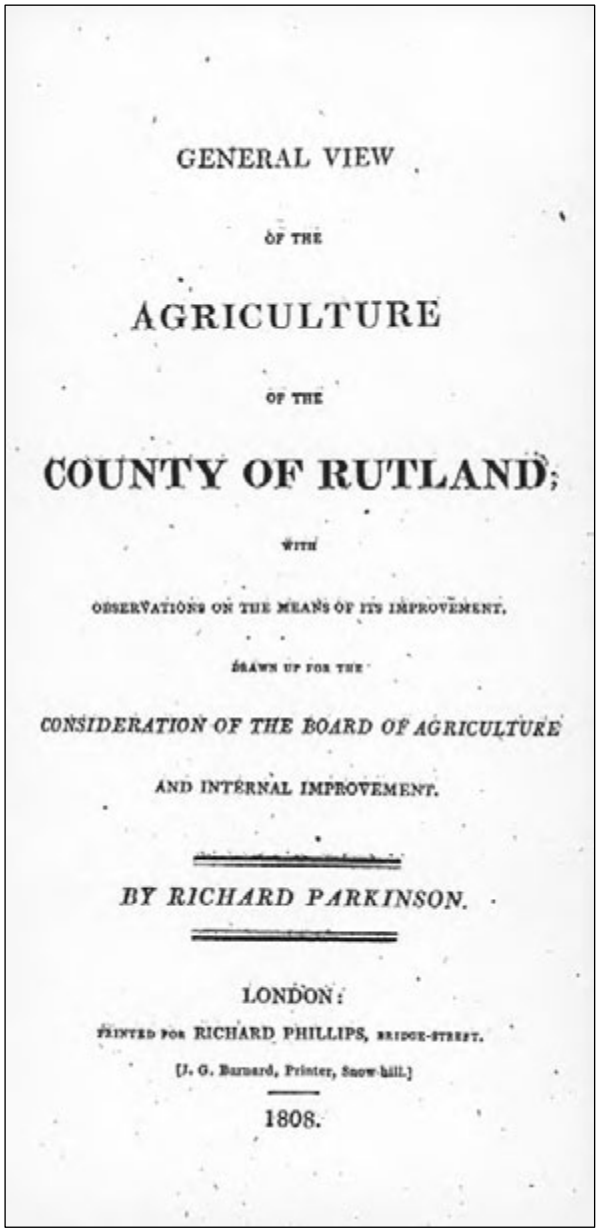


Farmer instructing his workforce 1793
(Hartley and Elliott, 1931, p.71, printed with permission)

Farming was undertaken co-operatively with agreed rules and regulations. At the parish Vestry in 1798

> It was agreed for every person to sow what clover they may think proper in Lound Field and we do also agree to lay the same from Old Martinmas next to Old Martinmas next and we do further agree to Turnip the Brickhill Piece and also another Piece adjourning Galley Hill and another Piece called Lound Nook. And we do further agree to keep the fences in good repair (DE, 1798).

The main farmers of the town like Edward Ingram, Thomas Baines, and Thomas Bullock signed this. The Vestry was constantly making agreements about which land would remain fallow, i.e. set aside.



GENERAL VIEW

OF THE

AGRICULTURE

OF THE

COUNTY OF RUTLAND;

WITH

OBSERVATIONS ON THE MEANS OF ITS IMPROVEMENT,

DRAWN UP FOR THE

CONSIDERATION OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE

AND INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT.

BY RICHARD PARKINSON.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS, BRIDGE-STREET.

[J. G. Barnard, Printer, Snow-hill.]

1808.

Title page of second report on agriculture in Rutland

There was a great deal of interest in farming reforms around 1802. George III, sometimes known as Farmer George, along with other landowners developed his farms and experimented with stock-breeding and corn growing; he wrote articles on agriculture under the pseudonym of Ralph Robinson. Turnip Townshend developed the four course crop rotation, and farmers like Coke of Norfolk, Robert Bakewell of Leicestershire nearby who had just died (1794) and others were also innovating at the time in new breeds of sheep, cattle and pigs, fertilisers, using lime on heavy soils, and new methods such as dibbling instead of sowing broadcast, etc. This was also the time when the most radical reform of farming was taking place with the enclosure of the open fields. County

Agricultural Societies were being formed and holding shows for the first time. The Board of Agriculture was formed in 1793, ran competitions ('upwards of two thousand essays were presented to the Board of Agriculture on the subject of converting grass land into tillage from different parts of Great Britain'), held exhibitions and gave practical advice to farmers; and they surveyed the state of agriculture in each county.

	Uppingham Prices in Shillings					London
Date	Wheat	Oats	Barley	Beans	Peas	Wheat
Jan 1	80	20	45	45		78
8	78	20	45	48	60	78
15	79	20	48	48	60	80
22	80	20	46	44		80
29	77	20	43	44		81
Feb 2	77	21	39	44	64	75
12	73	20	40	40	60	74
19	75	20	40	40		75
26	76	18	40	38		74
Mar 5	76	18	40	38		75
12	74	18	40	38		75
19	74	18	40	38	60	76
26	75	18	40	38		71
Apr 2	72	17	35	38		65
9	70	17	32	38	56	67
16	70	17	31	38	56	67
23	70	17	31	38	56	67
30	63	17	30	38		60
May7	62	17	29	38		62
14	61	17	28	38		64
21	65	17	32	38		67
28	66	16	34	38		70
Jun 4	66	16	34	38		71
11	67	18	32	38		70
18	68	18	28	40		
25	72	18	32	38		68
Jul 2	69	18	32	36		68
9	67	18	32	36		74
16	70	18	33	36		74
23	68	18	36	36		73
30	74	18	32	40		72
Aug 6	70	18	38	40		71
13	68	20	38	40		64
20						56
27	66		32	38		63
Sep 3						65
10	62		28			70
17	64		31			71
24						62
Oct 1						64
8						64
15						64
22						64
29	58	18	26	32		63
Nov 5	58	21	27	34		61
12	56	20	26	30		58
19	54	24	27	36		60
26	58	20	27	40		58
Dec 3	56	21	25	38	58	57
10	57	18	25	38		57
17	58	18	28	36		57
24	55	18	24	35		57
31	55	18	24	36		57

Prices in Uppingham market 1802

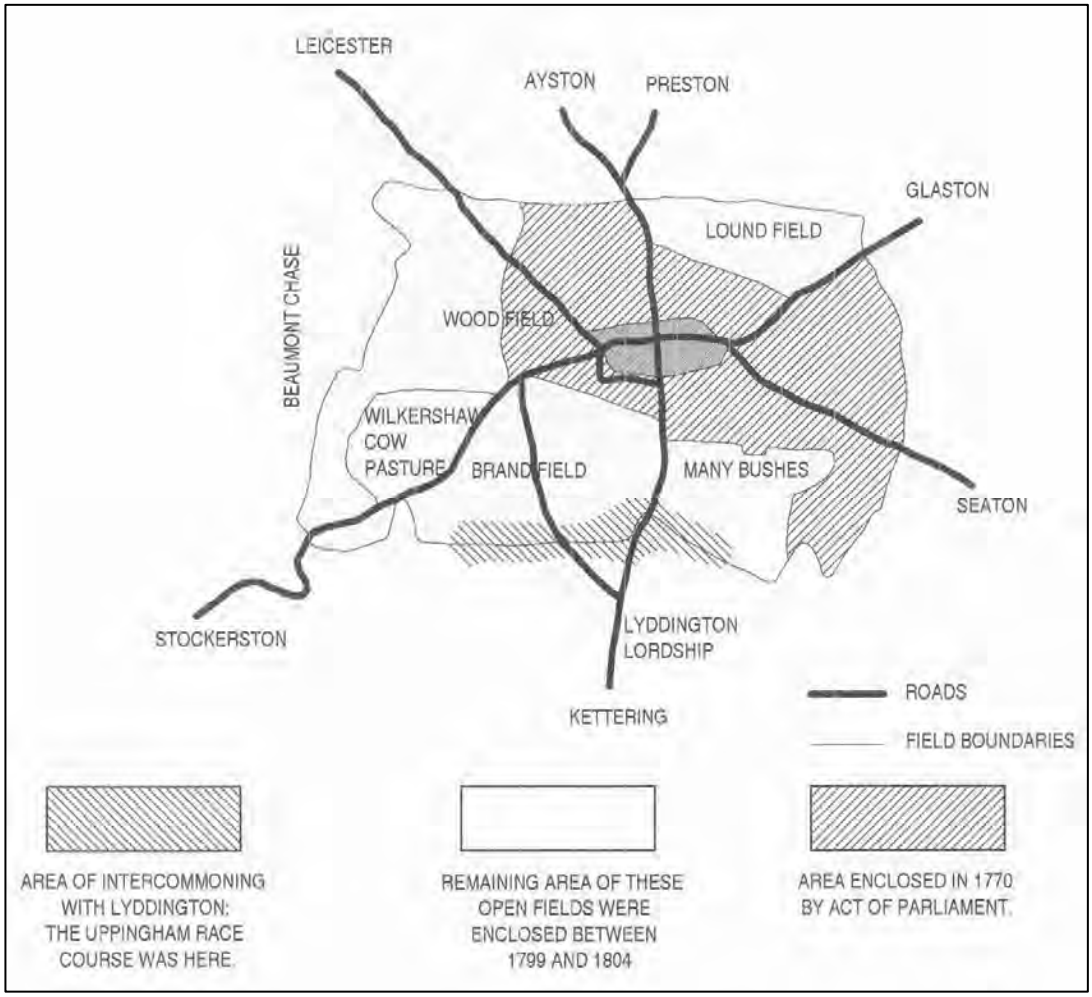
Rutland was surveyed twice, in 1794 and 1808.[5] The county was mainly an arable and sheep area but it used old stock rather than some of the new Leicestershire breeds. There were few cattle or dairies. Uppingham had some 1500 acres of farmed land, of which 150 acres were pasture, 300 acres meadow and 1045 acres were arable with only two acres of woodland. The report also states that Uppingham was noted for its small gardens and orchards, and at least one orchard of 30 acres was mentioned. The size of the farms ranged from 40 to 120 acres, and the land here was clearly good land for the rents averaged £2 per acre as against 21s in the rest of the county. The county was noted for its wheat which was sold mainly to Leicester for seed,[6] and the Uppingham farms produced 3½ bushels of wheat where everywhere else it was only 3 bushels.[7] In 1808 it was reported that there were 120 cattle, 1400 sheep and 60 horses in Uppingham, with 50 beehives, 150 hogs, 6 pigeon houses and lots of poultry, not for sale. Several parts of the common fields immediately around the town had been enclosed privately for the use of people like the solicitor John Abearn Palmer who had his own close near to his house in which he kept his own horse.

The enclosure

Most of the Lound Field in Uppingham had been enclosed by Act of Parliament in 1770-1771. But in 1802 a second enclosure was taking place of the remaining common land including the inter-common with Lyddington and Caldecott. Commissioners were appointed from Warwickshire, Nottinghamshire and Northamptonshire to conduct the enclosure and they held many meetings in Uppingham during 1802. Jonathan Gibbons the land agent made the survey and John Abearn Palmer the solicitor who had only recently moved to the town acted as clerk to the commissioners. Notices were put up asking anyone who felt they had a claim to any land or any land use in the common fields to register their claim. All such claims were fully investigated and then, after making an allocation to the parish church so that church tithes would be extinguished from all the new fields, the old land was divided into new plots varying in size from 309 acres to a fraction of a perch. All other common rights such as 'deer browse' and grazing were also extinguished, so the new owners held these fields completely free of any other rights.

This was of course a huge and very controversial change. Farmers now held different land from that which they held previously, and they often exchanged their new allotments for others so as to consolidate their holdings into ring fence farms. In other parts of the country farmhouses moved out of the town or village onto the new farms, but this does not seem to have happened in Uppingham. Farmers could now keep their stock separate and thus develop new breeds. Sharing equipment tended to cease; joint decisions about cropping and stocking the fields vanished. Many smallholders found that the cost of the enclosure was so great that they had to sell their plots which were of course snapped up by the larger farmers.

Enclosure was an expensive procedure. Not only did those conducting it have to be paid but once the land was allocated, the new owners had to hedge the plots



Map of Uppingham open fields and the process of enclosure based on the map in B Matthews, The Book of Rutland, 1978, p.49

with quickset (hawthorn) and ash trees at intervals and erect fences to protect the new hedges and ditches, and roads had to be laid out. The commissioners set out who was responsible for planting which hedges and there was usually a time limit set when the hedges had to be planted. There was an enormous demand for hedging plants, and nurseries were developed for this purpose. There are no signs of such nurseries in Uppingham but three plantations are mentioned in the parish poor law valuation of 1805.

Throughout the year then the *Stamford Mercury* was full of notices about the Uppingham enclosure - meetings at the Falcon and notices put up in the fields and on trees. The notebook of John Abearn Palmer reports how he and his staff went everywhere putting up posters, surveying land, settling claims and disputes. By December 1801 the main work had been done and the commissioners invited all parties to look at their new plans and allocations laid out in the Falcon on 21 January; any objections had to be submitted to the commissioners in writing by 22 January. Tenders for fencing were called for (SM, 23 Jan). A new age for Uppingham farmers had begun. Historians today are uncertain whether this was a period when the labouring classes suffered by the enclosure or not.

Apart from growing crops, Uppingham also engaged in processing food, especially malting. Maltings were found throughout the town and a few of the buildings seem to survive in parts. Beer was made and sold in large quantities. At least six butchers and graziers can be identified. Leather was cured and converted to useful goods. Wool was combed and put out for spinning. At least three windmills (no watermills) stood in Uppingham, two to the east side and one to the west. Uppingham depended on agriculture for its livelihood.

[1] PR; LT, 1803
[2] Wells, 1983, p.26
[3] Cooke, *Description of Rutland,* 1802-10, p.39
[4] *Agricultural Report*, 1808
[5] AgRep, 1794, 1808; AgRep, 1818 reprinted both of these.
[6] Cooke, *Description,* 1802-10, p.32
[7] AgRep, 1808

Itinerary 2.
From the Town Hall to the Crown
DOCTORS AND DRUGGISTS

To thoſe Ladies or Gentlemen bordering on the State of Matrimony, the Doctor would particularly recommend the Botanical Syrup (prior to the Appearance before the Altar of Hymen), who are in the ſmalleſt Degree apprehenſive of the Syſtem not being entirely ſound, or ſubject to Relaxations of the Solids.

(SM, 24 Sep 1802)

It is not easy to identify the households along this part of High Street East (north side). It looks as if Mrs Hall was holding 47 High Street East. But from there we cannot be sure because many of these houses were divided, temporarily or longer-term, and cottages existed in some of the back gardens. Thomas Sewell family miller and baker lived somewhere here, as did one of the more influential members of the Baines family.

High Street East: the three storied building in the centre was built about 1800 and shows almost certainly the type of shop front for that period. The house to the left of the photograph probably belonged to Henry Larrett doctor (private possession, printed with permission).

Close to what is now the Crown was a group of doctors and druggists. They were an unusual set of individuals. Uppingham, considering the size of population, seems to have been well served with medical men.[1]

Henry Larrett who lived somewhere about 23 High Street East, in a house with a little yard, a barn and stable and right of way over the Crown Yard from High Street to North Street, was a surgeon, doctor and apothecary. He came from a family of some standing in Uppingham. Robert Larrett surgeon and apothecary of Uppingham died in 1787; a servant of his discharged a gun by which means it burnt and tore his left hand in a terrible manner.[2] Henry was a member of Uppingham Association for the Prosecution of Felons (UAPF) in 1785, and was listed in the 1791 Directory of Uppingham as apothecary. He and a Mary Larrett (perhaps a sister) both received an allotment in the enclosure of 1804. He owned his house £14 and rented land and, indeed, had taken over more land by 1805 from his neighbour John Cooke and also Bellars land

(RB). He also owned the next door house let to Mrs Turner. He married Ann daughter of Robert Stafford gentleman of Uppingham but no baptisms of their children are recorded. Ann died in 1813, aged 50, and he erected a memorial to her in the parish church, but again this burial is not recorded in the parish registers. He was doctor to the workhouse in 1794. He was accused of bastardy[3] in 1800 (John Abearn Palmer was his surety), but this did not prevent him from serving on the parish Vestry, the equivalent to the town council. Churchwarden in 1808, he was appointed a member of the committee to re-assess the rates in 1813. As a respectable member of the community, he served in the militia 1779-1783. He continued as a member of the UAPF, and in 1802 he received a game licence (SM, 15 Oct).

Next door, in part of what is now the Crown lived **John Raworth**, also a doctor. In 1797 he married Susanna Morris of North Luffenham[4] and they had three children between 1798 and 1804. Susanna was sister of John Morris maltster of North Luffenham who had business interests in Uppingham in the liquor trade. His brother was a dyer in Leicester. Raworth rented his house from James Portiss but he owned and rented land as well. He also held a good deal of other property, stables, the sheep market, two small houses and other land, all of which he let out. He leased some of the church lands in 1798 for 21 years. Because of this he received an allotment in the enclosure in 1804. He attended a Vestry meeting in 1804 dealing with workhouse matters. He made his will in 1809 and died aged only 34, setting up a trust to care for the education and apprenticeship of his children.

And in part of the same building lived **John Cook** druggist and grocer. He was a young man of 23 living in a large house which his father, who had died in 1799, had acquired from the Bullock family, the house now being held by his father's executors. John Cook died in 1803 aged 24. He never attended the Vestry but his father did in 1786. The executors were busy selling some of Cook's land in 1802 (SM, 15 Oct) (See Itinerary 4 for the Cook family).

These were not the only doctors in the town. There was **John Smith**, sometimes called surgeon and sometimes doctor of physics (CR). But he was getting old by now, at least 68. He was a member of the Uppingham Association for the Prosecution of Felons in 1785 and was listed in the 1791 *Directory*. As John Smith MD, he received an allotment at the enclosure in 1804. In 1805, Smith owned his own very large house (rated at £18), now 8 High Street West together with some land, and he rented other land; in 1801 he had bought what was called Martin's Cottage, now 6 High Street West.[5] Like so many respectable members of the community, he was a member of the UAPF. He died in 1808 aged 74; Elizabeth his wife had died in 1790 aged 41 (see memorial in the parish church).

Memorial in parish church to 'John Smith M.D. who after a Life spent in the honest discharge of the medical, social and Christian duties was removed from this mortal State to put on Immortality August 10th 1808 Aged 74 years. Also of Elizabeth the Wife of Jn Smith who died May 21st 1790, Aged 41 years' (ULHSG)

More active was **Dr James Bell** explorer. He 'graduated at Edinburgh about 1777 and settled in Uppingham in 1780 after a voyage to the Polar regions as surgeon on board a whaler'.[6] Listed as apothecary and surgeon in 1791 (Dir), he was by far the most active member of the Congregational Church in its very early days. Five children of James and Sarah Bell were baptised there between 1785 and 1794; Sarah died in 1794, perhaps in childbirth, for Jane Bell infant was buried only a few months before Sarah. James married again, to Phoebe, and their six children were baptised in the Congregational Church between 1797 and 1807. James Bell received an allotment in the enclosure of 1804. He owned his own house, part of 5 High Street East with John Cooke esquire bookseller, and he owned and rented some extra land. He had been appointed doctor to the workhouse 1787 for bones and fevers, and again as surgeon, apothecary and man-midwife in 1801-2. There may have been two men named Bell by 1813 when Mr Bell and Mr Bell surgeon were listed on the rating committee in 1813, and in 1814 a Mr Bell was paid for wine bought by the church. He too was a member of the UAPF. One of his sons became Dr John Bell who for many years practised in Uppingham.

'The Enraged Quacks', 1787 (Wellcome Library, London, L0010551, printed with permission)

Bell was not the only doctor from Uppingham who had overseas experience. **Dr Pope** who took over from Dr Bloor in 1785 said of himself that 'his Experience in Physical and Surgical Cases may be inferred from the Opportunities which his Station in the Fleet afforded him, during the greatest Part of the late War, having been second Surgeon in a First-rate Ship, the Britannia, with Admirals Darby and Kempenfelt, and four Years Master-Surgeon of a Man of War upon foreign Service'.[7] And **Dr Francis Armstrong**[8] MD had served in the Caribbean, especially St Vincent, which became a focus of war between England and France. Plagued by gout, he served the Duke of Portland, sending him live turtles which did not survive the journey to England, plants and seeds, paintings and drawings, etc., and frequently wrote to him asking for a better life. He moved to Oakham which he found low and damp; to Martinsthorpe, and then to Uppingham between 1777 and 1783. He clearly held a lot of property in Uppingham, for he was heavily rated to the poor in 1789. Still unsatisfied, he asked for any commission overseas, such as inspector general of hospitals in the West Indies, which would suit his health better; but he died in 1789 aged 52 (PR).

Uppingham residents then were not isolated from the outside world. When they read about the war in the West Indies or when they read about naval voyages and explorations, there were others in Uppingham who had first hand experience of such matters and, being doctors, they were in a position for their experiences to be widely shared.

For health and medicine were clearly an obsession of the time. The pages of the *Stamford Mercury* are full of advertisements for patent medicines, supported by glowing testimonials from satisfied and no doubt well paid clients. Medical books were widely available through several shops in the town. So great was the consumption of medicines that just before our period the government introduced a new Medicine Act putting stamp duty on medicines, mentioned several times in the *Mercury*. Stories of health, then as now, filled the pages of the newspaper - a forty foot long tapeworm recovered (SM, 30 July); a putrid fever in a neighbouring village which killed three persons in one week (SM, 11 June); the lady in Stamford who died of breast cancer (SM, 5 Nov).

Being ill around this time was most unpleasant. It hardly mattered whether you were rich or poor - the treatment, if you got any, was crude and often excruciatingly painful. There was no anaesthetic used at all, as ether, the first form of anaesthetic, and later chloroform were not introduced until the 1840's. Even the very rich and famous Duchess of Devonshire as late as 1796 had to suffer intolerably even though 'three of the best eye surgeons in the country examined her. She endured appalling treatment; one of the doctors almost strangled her when he tried to force the blood up to her head in the belief that the eye needed 'flushing' .Leeches were attached to the eye leaving permanent scarring. Each time the doctors returned they subjected her to hours of torture.[9] Perhaps, had she been poor, she would have used local herbal

remedies which might not have saved the eye but would have been far less traumatic.

Uppingham knew something of such practices. In 1751 John Blyth esq. was buried with the note that 'his leg was cut off first below the knee, then above the knee' (PR). In 1773 John Laxton maltster of the White Hart died of 'the biting of a mad dog' (PR). The Mercury contains a long and detailed account of a woman who 'died of dropsy for which she had undergone the painful operation of tapping 16 times in the course of 21 months'(SM, 24 Dec).

By the eighteenth century medical schools were growing in number. The major schools were at Oxford and Cambridge or at Edinburgh, where Dr James Bell of Uppingham had studied, Edinburgh being such a large medical school, body snatching was a big problem in the town as this awful trade was the only way that the large number of students could learn anatomy. The notorious William Burke was hanged in Edinburgh in 1829 for murdering at least 16 people and selling the corpses to doctors. In 1832 Parliament was forced to introduce a law under which the bodies of people from the workhouses or hospitals who were too poor to pay for a funeral were handed over to the anatomists.

The Leicester Infirmary was established in 1771 by Dr William Watts, curate at Medbourne, and it offered urgently needed medical facilities to the town and surrounding area. Many such hospitals were built at this time with private donations and came to be known as the 'voluntary hospitals'. Often they put up a board listing benefactors and the amount each one had subscribed, a permanent reminder of their importance in the community. Stamford had such a hospital from 1826.[10] In Uppingham the parish workhouse served as a refuge for the sick and elderly, and the parish officers paid for the sick: 'agree to tender to Mr Jones of Oakham surgeon £20 and no more in payment of his bill .. as cure of Abraham Bates's leg, a pauper belonging to this parish' (*DE* 1799). From at least 1787, one of the town's doctors was salaried each year to look after the sick of the poor at 'the Spinning School', the name given to the workhouse: 'Henry Larrett has care of the [sick] poor. Given 6gns for medicines for the same. Dr James Bell to deal with broken bones and fevers' (DE, 1787). In 1802 it was reported that 'James Bell undertakes the Business of Surgeon and Apothecary and man midwife to the Poor - Smallpox and tourney excepted' for £19 5s.0d (DE, 1802).

Smallpox was the chief killer at this time - one fifth of all deaths in London in 1796 were thought to have been caused by smallpox which was introduced into Britain in 1721. It became widespread. In 1765 and again in 1766 the Rector noted cases of smallpox: 'May 22nd to August 12th 28 burials from Small Pox' (burial register), while the churchwardens paid 'Mr Smith's bill for attending the Poor in this natural Small Pox' (DE, 1765-6). In 1771 the Rector wrote in his register 'Sore throat 24 died' (PR). In 1815 the newspaper reported that 'the fever which has for some months been prevalent in Uppingham and the neighbourhood has entirely subsided; the infection has been done away with',[11] but this was relatively unusual (see below Conclusion). Edward Jenner (1749-1823) first used his vaccination technique on a small boy in 1796 and published his main work in 1798, but the Royal Society decided not to publish his findings because he was only a country doctor at the time and not well known. Eventually, however, his system was adopted and by 1900 the disease had all but disappeared.

Apart from the professional medical men - there were no women trained as surgeon doctors at this time - people with less money would buy patent medicines sold at local shops such as John Bird of Uppingham who advertised very regularly in the pages of the Stamford Mercury. In Uppingham, the executors of John Cook, druggist and grocer, advertised in most issues of the newspaper on behalf of their young charge; books, the latest medicines supported by many letters and other forms of testimonial to their effectiveness, news about up-to-date panaceas for all kinds of complaints, rehearsed in gruesome detail, were all offered to the public of Uppingham and the surrounding villages.

The fact that expert medical provision could now be administered by professionals, however, by no means prevented the layman from elaborating his own remedy. Most importantly, this had to be a novel formula, the more irregular the better, and there was no need to prove that it worked! The Rutland and Leicester area had witnessed a steady rise in the development and use of patent medicines since the seventeenth century. One of the most successful and versatile medicines of this era was honed in the nearby Vale of Belvoir by local clergyman Reverend Thomas Daffy. Daffy's 'Elixir' purported not only to cure such illnesses as colic and scurvy but also to prevent miscarriage and, well over a hundred years after its inventor's death in 1680, the treatment was still extremely popular.[12]

If such remedies didn't work, despite being highly recommended by letters to the papers, patients might visit traditional healers such as the Wise Woman of Wing. One of the most notorious Rutland practitioners in the early nineteenth century, Mrs Amelia Woodcock built up a considerable reputation for being able to cure a vast range of diseases, even cancer, despite her lack of medical training. A visit to her made a great impression on her customers.[13]

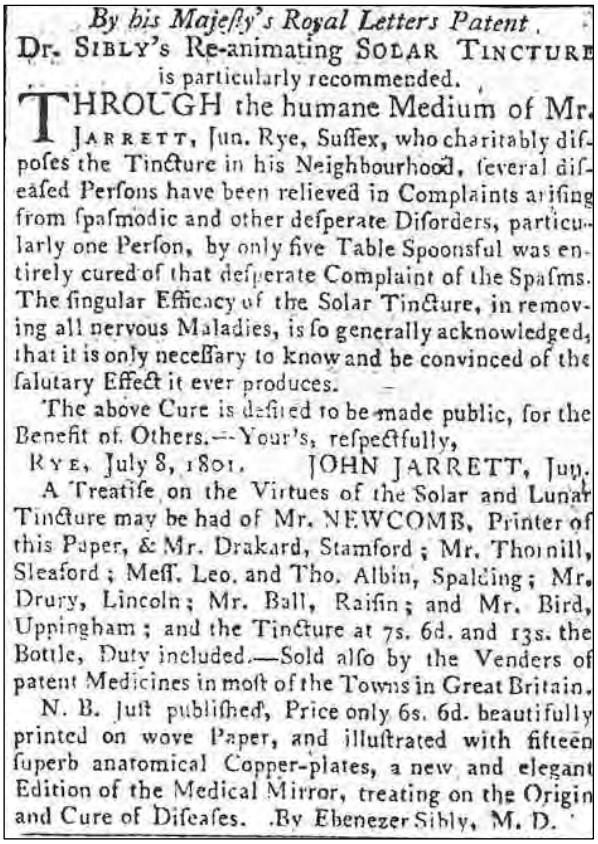
> I shall not easily forget the impression produced by the woman's appearance and her surroundings. She was thin, bony and weird-like, her countenance deep, dark and searching, her voice sharp short and decisive. On the fire a pot was boiling over which she stood and occasionally putting something in, repeated to herself words perfectly unintelligible to me.

> After a short time thus occupied she suddenly turned upon us and said 'I know what is the matter with you all, you're all consumptive and will be dead in three years'. This reception was to say the least startling but we held our peace, the woman and the place awed us. A consultation followed and soon ended, certain large bottles and jars of mixture were brought home'.

Quantity featured strongly in most of her prescriptions and meant that the local chemist had to keep her supplied with drugs by the cartload. One order ran

> Dear fren eye have sent you a small order if you think well to except it. 6 gallands of niter and a large bottle of dark mixture. 1 galland of savaletia. 1 galland of lavander. 1 quart of oil of juneper and 6 pounds of black plaster the same of red and a 3 pound of gelap 3 of hilepica 6 bottles of quine.

In contrast to her reputation for curing others, she barely made middle age due to 'neglecting to take excise and to the habits that her confined life produced.' To judge by the pages of the *Stamford Mercury,* medical matters were a major source of interest to the readers of the newspaper and a source of considerable income to several of the traders and professional families of the town and, no doubt, the neighbourhood:



By his Majeſty's Royal Letters Patent.

Dr. SIBLY'S Re-animating SOLAR TINCTURE is particularly recommended.

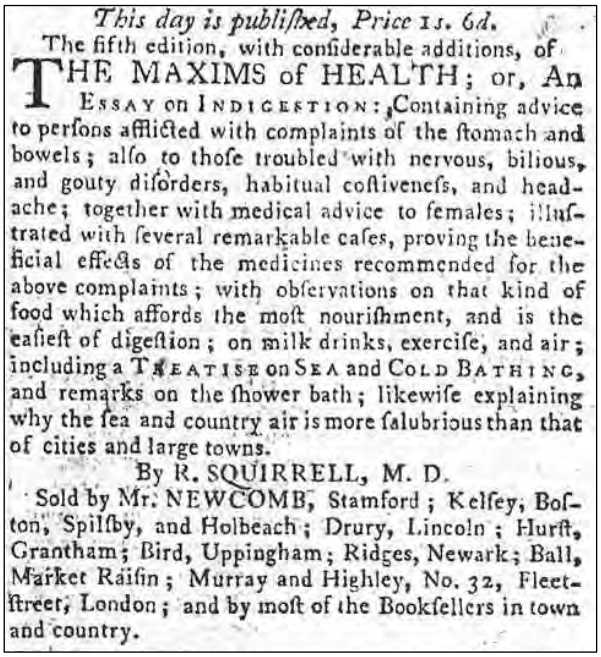
THROUGH the humane Medium of Mr. JARRETT, Jun. Rye, Suſſex, who charitably diſpoſes the Tincture in his Neighbourhood, ſeveral diſeaſed Perſons have been relieved in Complaints ariſing from ſpaſmodic and other deſperate Diſorders, particularly one Perſon, by only five Table Spoonsful was entirely cured of that deſperate Complaint of the Spaſms. The ſingular Efficacy of the Solar Tincture, in removing all nervous Maladies, is ſo generally acknowledged, that it is only neceſſary to know and be convinced of the ſalutary Effect it ever produces.

The above Cure is deſired to be made public, for the Benefit of Others.—Your's, reſpectfully,

RYE, July 8, 1801. JOHN JARRETT, Jun.

A Treatiſe on the Virtues of the Solar and Lunar Tincture may be had of Mr. NEWCOMB, Printer of this Paper, & Mr. Drakard, Stamford; Mr. Thornill, Sleaford; Meſſ. Leo. and Tho. Albin, Spalding; Mr. Drury, Lincoln; Mr. Ball, Raiſin; and Mr. Bird, Uppingham; and the Tincture at 7s. 6d. and 13s. the Bottle, Duty included.—Sold alſo by the Venders of patent Medicines in moſt of the Towns in Great Britain.

N. B. Juſt publiſhed, Price only 6s. 6d. beautifully printed on wove Paper, and illuſtrated with fifteen ſuperb anatomical Copper-plates, a new and elegant Edition of the Medical Mirror, treating on the Origin and Cure of Diſeaſes. By Ebenezer Sibly, M. D.



This day is publiſhed, Price 1s. 6d.

The fifth edition, with conſiderable additions, of THE MAXIMS of HEALTH; or, An ESSAY on INDIGESTION: Containing advice to perſons afflicted with complaints of the ſtomach and bowels; alſo to thoſe troubled with nervous, bilious, and gouty diſorders, habitual coſtiveneſs, and headache; together with medical advice to females; illuſtrated with ſeveral remarkable caſes, proving the beneficial effects of the medicines recommended for the above complaints; with obſervations on that kind of food which affords the moſt nouriſhment, and is the eaſieſt of digeſtion; on milk drinks, exerciſe, and air; including a TREATISE on SEA and COLD BATHING, and remarks on the ſhower bath; likewiſe explaining why the ſea and country air is more ſalubrious than that of cities and large towns.

By R. SQUIRRELL, M. D.

Sold by Mr. NEWCOMB, Stamford; Kelſey, Boſton, Spilſby, and Holbeach; Drury, Lincoln; Hurſt, Grantham; Bird, Uppingham; Ridges, Newark; Ball, Market Raiſin; Murray and Highley, No. 32, Fleet-ſtreet, London; and by moſt of the Bookſellers in town and country.

John Bird of Uppingham advertised medicines and medical books in almost every issue of the newspaper. He was a newsagent for the Mercury (SM, 22 Jan).

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[1] Several earlier doctors of Uppingham can be traced such as 'the late Mr Forfitt surgeon of Uppingham' whose widow Susannah died in December 1802 (SM, 31 Dec).

[2] UppRut, p.13

[3] It may have run in the family: Elizabeth Larrett had a bastard son baptised in 1789 in Uppingham, PR

[4] Luffenham Parish Registers

[5] CR

[6] USM 418, 1915, p.99

[7] UppRut, p.14

[8] Dr Armstrong appears in rate list in 1783; correspondence in Portland MSS in Nottingham University library.

[9] Amanda Foreman, *Georgina Duchess of Devonshire*, 1999, p.299

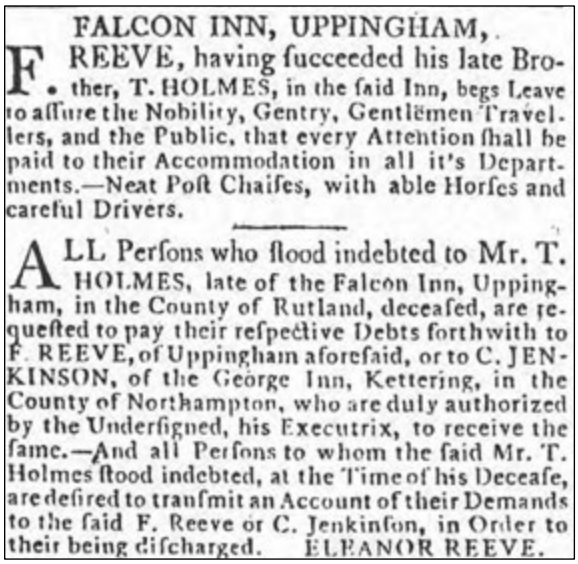
[10] *A Short History of the Stamford and Rutland Hospital*, 1978, Stamford, pp.2-7

[11] *Drak,* 29 Dec 1815

[12] Joyce Lee, *Who's Buried Where in Leicestershire*, 1991, Leicester, Leicestershire County Council, pp.36-7

[13] Lee, 1991, pp.55-6

Itinerary 3.
From the Crown to the Falcon
INNS AND PUBS OF UPPINGHAM IN 1802



FALCON INN, UPPINGHAM,

FREEVE, having ſucceeded his late Brother, T. HOLMES, in the ſaid Inn, begs Leave to aſſure the Nobility, Gentry, Gentlemen Travellers, and the Public, that every Attention ſhall be paid to their Accommodation in all it's Departments.—Neat Poſt Chaiſes, with able Horſes and careful Drivers.

ALL Perſons who ſtood indebted to Mr. T. HOLMES, late of the Falcon Inn, Uppingham, in the County of Rutland, deceaſed, are requeſted to pay their reſpective Debts forthwith to F. REEVE, of Uppingham aforeſaid, or to C. JENKINSON, of the George Inn, Kettering, in the County of Northampton, who are duly authorized by the Underſigned, his Executrix, to receive the ſame.—And all Perſons to whom the ſaid Mr. T. Holmes ſtood indebted, at the Time of his Deceaſe, are deſired to tranſmit an Account of their Demands to the ſaid F. Reeve or C. Jenkinſon, in Order to their being diſcharged. ELEANOR REEVE.

(SM, 19 Feb, 1802)

It is not easy to locate many of the taxpayers in the properties between the Crown and the Falcon because of the number of small houses, or parts of houses, several of which stood in the yards behind some of the street-front premises. Bullocks Yard (now Hopes Yard) may be seen in the three small properties associated with the Bell Inn. Robert Glenham, the auctioneer who also doubled as a wine and spirit merchant and who auctioned the Bell Inn nearby in 1802, lived in one of the street front premises and Jeremiah Belgrave (Alderman of Stamford in the 1790s) had a large property which included a grocery store which he visited on market days. John Ainge tinsmith had his workshop in a backyard behind the Unicorn. Next to the Falcon stood the large drapery shop of William Belgrave, probably the wealthiest resident of Uppingham in 1802 and connected with influential county society; indeed he had been himself sheriff of Rutland only a few years earlier. But he retired to Preston a few years later on the death of his father, the Rev. Belgrave, and it is possible that his shop became the site of the Stamford booksellers, Roden and Craske, who in 1814 announced proudly that they had opened a new bookshop in Uppingham in the premises adjoining the Falcon.[1]

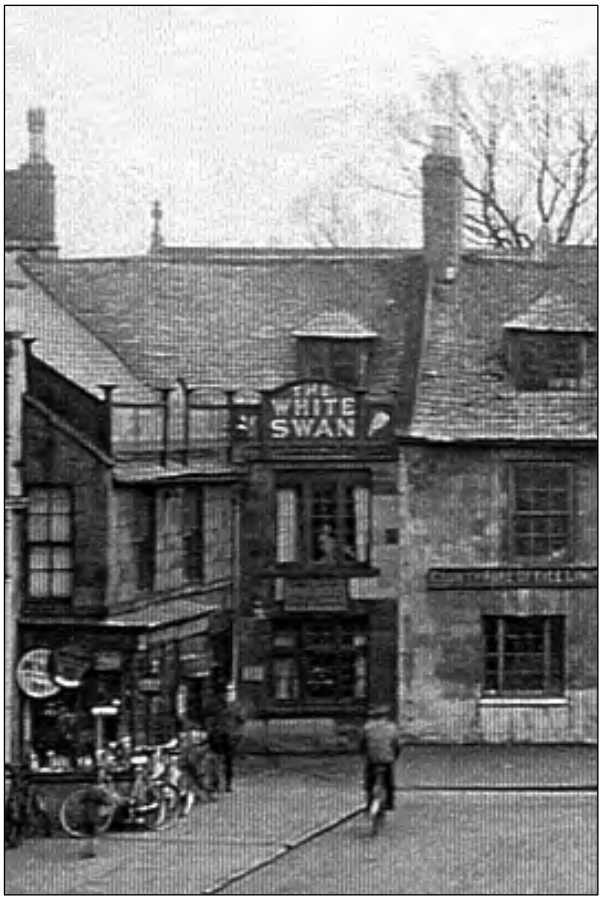
One of the largest properties in this stretch of High Street East was Mrs Sarah Hart's Bell Inn; exactly which building this was is not clear. Further West stood the Unicorn and the Falcon. With the Crown (at this time being used as two houses but later once again a pub), the Bell, the Unicorn and the Falcon, this part of the town was the heart of hospitality Uppingham in 1802.

Pubs and inns were a key feature of towns and villages at the turn of the nineteenth century. The pages of the *Stamford Mercury* are full of notices about inns and the announcement of a change of management at the George Inn in Stamford in 1802 would have been of interest to many readers of the newspaper. So too the change of landlord at the Falcon in Uppingham and the sale of 'the messuage called the Bell Inn at Uppingham to be sold by private contract with four acres of pasture lying near to the inn' would have attracted much discussion (SM, 19 Feb).

There were a considerable number of inns and pubs in Uppingham in 1802.[2] But it is hard to say at any one time that there was a specific number of pubs in any town, for pubs came and went. Sometimes they ceased to operate as a pub for some years and then re-appeared. Sometimes their owners moved to new premises, in which case they often took the old name or created a new name. Sometimes, when a new owner moved in, he or she changed the name of the pub, for a pub name was a form of property - it belonged to an individual. A good example is the former White Hart in High Street West on the corner of School Lane. Known in the 1770s as the White Hart, under John and later Sarah Laxton, it was called the Cross Keys when George Ingram leased it. When Ingram moved to new premises on the south side of High Street West he took the name Cross Keys with him and the pub reverted to its earlier name of the White Hart. The new Cross Keys remained in High Street West until 1862 when it was bought by Uppingham School. The owner then took over the Royal Oak in Horn Lane (now Queen Street) and changed that name to Cross Keys, which it still retains. Again, as the Crown shows, pubs disappeared for a time, only to reappear later.

Whenever we come across a pub name, we have to note the date carefully and determine on each occasion where that pub stood.

In the *Directory* of 1791, the three largest and most important inns were listed as the Swan (William Dean), the Unicorn (Samuel Dougal, who was also postmaster), and the Falcon (Thomas Holmes, also Excise Officer). In 1829, apart from these three, Uppingham's inns and taverns included the Chequers, the Cross Keys, the George and Dragon, the Horse and Trumpet, the Rose and Crown, the Royal Oak and the White Hart.



The Swan in the corner where it was before the Vaults took over (John Pearson, printed with permission)

The starting point for our list of Uppingham pubs in 1802 must be the 1805 Rate Book which tells of fourteen pubs in that year: the Bell, Black Horse, Chequers, Cross Keys, Eight Bells, Falcon, Horse and Trumpet, Pump, Rose and Crown, Royal Oak, Swan, Three Horse Shoes, Unicorn, and the White Hart. But there were others at about this time which may not have been working in 1802 or which were not given their name in the Rate Book of 1805. Of these the only certain one was the Catherine Wheel but we have uncertain references also to the Horse and Jockey (probably a misreading), the Red Hart, the Sun, and the Bull, all of which may have been pubs in the past. Some cannot now be located - the Eight Bells, the Three Horseshoes, or the important and large Black Horse.

The story of the Crown is difficult to disentangle. It was empty in 1782 but Holmes and Reeve had taken it on in 1784 (DE rates). In July 1802, Falconberge Reeve took out an insurance policy on two tenements, formerly one building called the Crown, but it reappeared as the Crown in the nineteenth century. Almost next door was Mrs Hart's Bell Inn. In February 1802, it was put up for sale (SM, 19 Feb). Mrs Hart appears in both of the parish rate lists for 1803 or 1804, although rated at only £2, whereas in the 1805 Rate Book (which is sometimes unreliable on dates), she is still said to be tenant of the Bell and yards owned by Dennis Taylor and Nathaniel Clarke who seem to be acting as trustees or mortgagees or executors, possibly for the Hart family.

Most innkeepers also had another trade and sometimes they concentrated on this rather than on their innkeeping. This may be the reason why so many inn-holders were women: many of the pubs in Uppingham were managed by women.

Since many of these houses were thatched, and since most pubs brewed their own beer, they may have been seen (along with candle shops and maltings) as in greater danger of fire than a domestic house or shop (other than those shops engaged in "hazardous trades"). This may account for the fact that many of them took out fire insurance, among them the Royal Oak, the Swan, the Trumpet, the Falcon, the Unicorn, the Cross Keys/White Hart, and the Horse and Trumpet (ins).

A pub served many different functions. It could be a trading and function centre, a centre of travel with carriers and overnight accommodation, a retail outlet for beer and ale, and/or a drinking and gossip centre. Uppingham had all three kinds of establishments. Vestry meetings were held at the Swan, Unicorn, Royal Oak, Horse and Trumpet and White Hart - or members of the Vestry adjourned there after meeting in the church. Inquests were held in pubs as well. Some of the smaller pubs like the Rose and Crown were mainly centres of social drinking but they also had some accommodation for overnight visitors. How far the pubs of Uppingham acted as centres for revolutionary discussion as in other towns, we shall unfortunately never know.

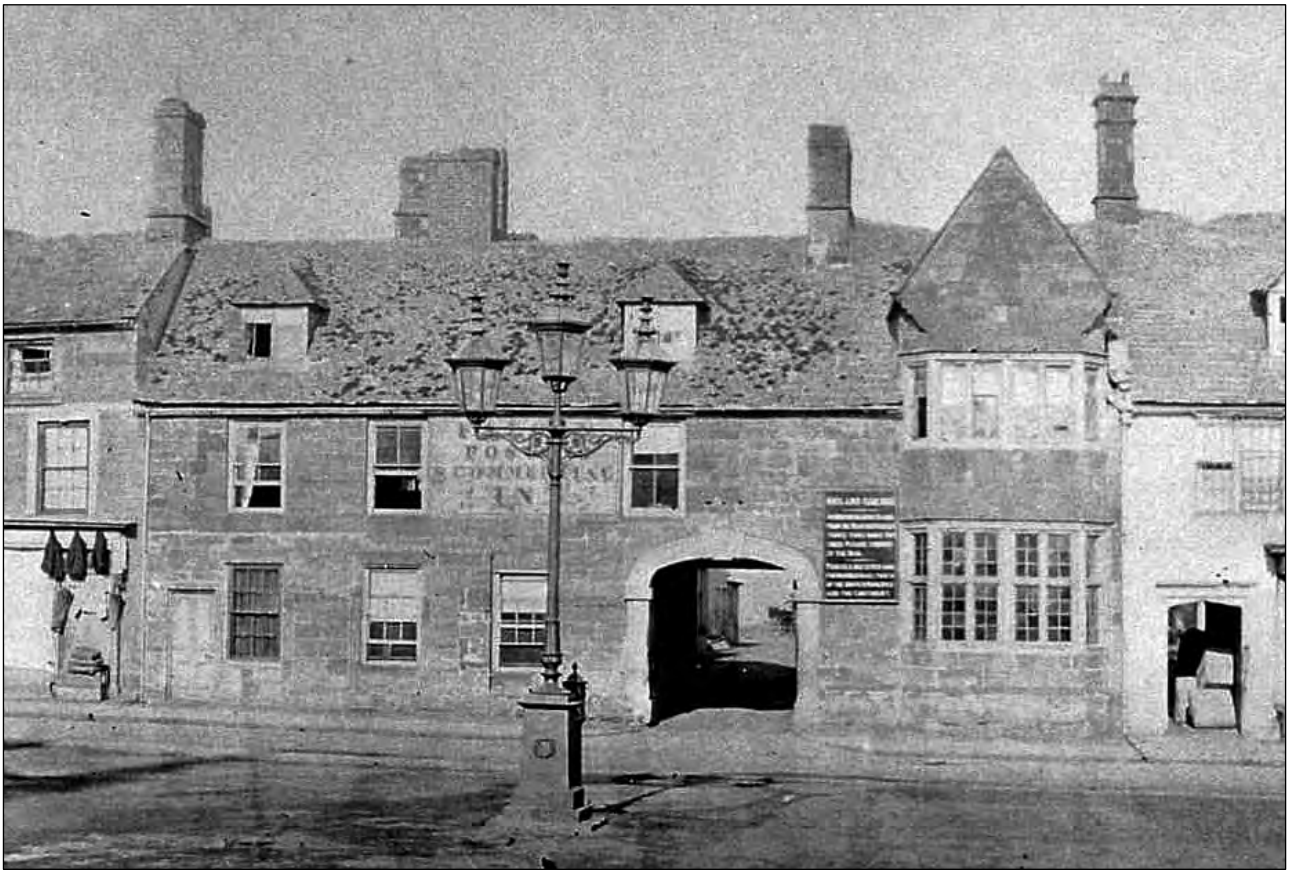
The Falcon in Uppingham

Chief among them was the Falcon. It was the heart of the town. Most things of importance took place here. Held in January 1802 by Thomas Holmes, it changed hands during the year, for Holmes died 'after a long illness' and his brother-in-law, Falconberge Reeve, and Eleanor, Holmes' sister, moved across from the other side of the street into the Falcon. Reeve and Holmes had earlier joined together to run the Crown for a few years (DE, 1794).

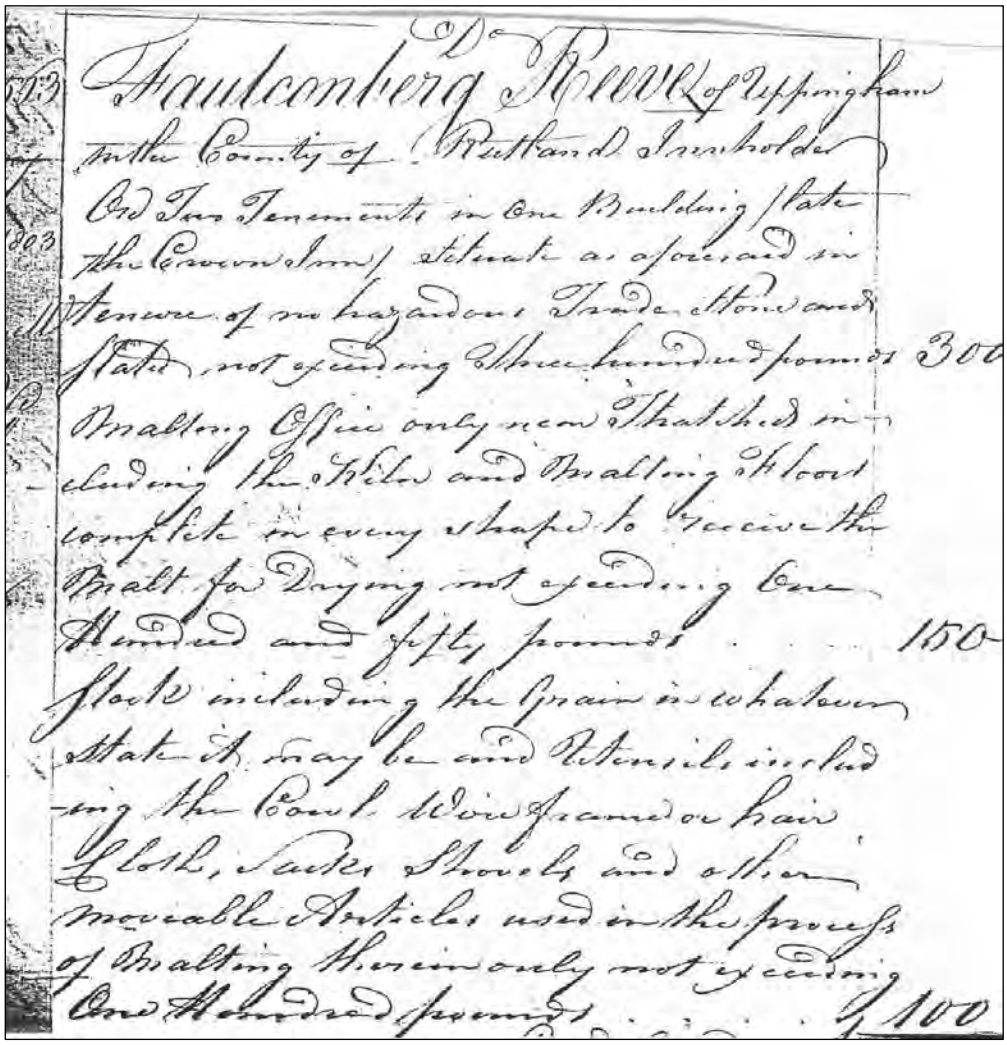
Thomas Holmes, a major innkeeper of Uppingham, died in 1802 aged only 44 or 45. (ULHSG)

The Falcon was first and foremost a coaching inn. Like many coaching inns of the time, it had a back entrance so that coaches and wagons could enter the yard and leave it without turning or reversing. It provided accommodation and refreshment for the gentry and other travellers. It offered stabling for horses and post chaises with drivers for hire. The Royal Mail stopped at the Falcon Inn on its way north from London and again en route from Leeds to London.[3] From 1798 to the death of Thomas Holmes in 1802, the Uppingham Post Office was based at the Falcon.

The Falcon was a social centre for the community. After speech day at the Grammar School, the 'genteel 'company from all parts of the neighbourhood' enjoyed some elegant entertainment at the Falcon and Unicorn Inns (SM, 22 June). In the celebrations for Waterloo in 1815, a public dinner was held in the Falcon.[4] Later that same year in August, Sir Gerard Noel gave a grand Ball and entertainment at the Falcon Inn on a Monday evening; and after a cricket match between the married gentlemen and bachelors of Uppingham, the parties retired to the Falcon Inn where they partook of a cold collation and, after spending a convivial evening, dispersed about eleven o'clock.[5] Uppingham's first Subscription Ball was held there in December 1802 (SM, 17 Dec).



The Falcon before alteration in 19th Century (Private possession, printed with permission)



Falconberg Reeve of Uppingham
in the County of Rutland Innholder
On Two Tenements in One Building Slate
the Crown Inn, situate as aforesaid in
Tenure of no hazardous Trade Stock and
Utensils not exceeding Three hundred pounds 300
Malting Office only new Thatched in-
cluding the Kiln and Malting Floor
complete in every shape to receive the
Malt for Drying not exceeding One
Hundred and fifty pounds . . . 150
Stock including the Grain in whatever
State it may be and Utensils includ-
ing the Coal Mow Frame or hair
Cloth, Sacks, Shovels and other
moveable Articles used in the Process
of Malting therein only not exceeding
One Hundred pounds . . . £100

Stock and Utensils in his now Dwelling
House only the Falcon Inn situate
as aforesaid Slate and Thatched not
exceeding fifty pounds 50
Household Goods, Wearing Apparel
Painted Books and Plate therein
only not exceeding One hundred and
fifty pounds 150
Stock and Utensils in Stables ad-
joining near Thatched not exceeding
Fifty pounds 50
James Watts Clerk £800

Insurance of Falconberge Reeve July 1802 covering both the Crown (two tenements) and the Falcon (Guildhall Library, London)

It was also a meeting place for official bodies. The enclosure commissioners held their private and public meetings there, as did the two sets of turnpike trustees and their officials. The excise officer had his base in the Falcon and appeals against income tax, introduced by Pitt as a war emergency measure in 1798 three years earlier and abolished again in 1816, were heard there. It is probable that the county measures were held there; the assizes met there from time to time.

Auction sales of properties, livestock and other sales including turnpike tolls and shares were held frequently, usually on Wednesday market day, and information was posted there for the general public, for example, catalogues of sales held in Tixover, Exton and Barleythorpe. In June 1802, a congratulatory address to the King from Rutland was left for three days at the Crown Inn Oakham and at the Falcon Inn Uppingham 'for the signatures of such gentlemen who shall choose to sign the document' (SM, 25 June). No doubt a great deal of the private business of the town was conducted in its bars. Reeve did not enjoy the Falcon for long. 'On Sunday noon [15 June 1806], Mr Reeve master of the Falcon Inn at Uppingham, was found dead on Liddington Common, about a mile from his house. He was returning from Kettering, and it is supposed, was seized with a fit, as he had evidently fallen from his horse, although no bruise of any consequence was discovered about him' SM, 20 June 1806). He was aged 59. (PR) Eleanor died in 1837 in her 85th year, 'deeply lamented' (SM, 22 Dec 1837).

Other inns and public houses

Slightly lower on the social scale was the Unicorn. Its landlord seems to have changed frequently. John Wright was holding it in 1802. It then came to John Inman and the buildings behind which included the workshop of John Ainge tinsmith became known as Inman's Court. Many meetings were held in the Unicorn, especially of the town council (Vestry). Social gatherings met there and it possessed the town bowling green. Sales also took place there. The members of the Uppingham Association for the Prosecution of Felons held their annual meeting at the Unicorn rather than the Falcon (SM, 5 Feb). But it does not seem to have flourished; when it was sold in 1814 the bowling green was being used for pasture.[6] Public and private meetings and auction sales were also held at the White Hart and a sale or two at the Cross Keys in High Street West. The Swan was more problematic - at times a public house and inn, at other times a liquor store and warehouse.

There was at this time no sign of a general opposition to drinking as can be seen in other towns. The Methodists did not come to Uppingham until about 1817,[7] and the Dissenting community was relatively weak in 1802. Thus temperance advocates and coffee houses cannot be seen in Uppingham in 1802 - they came later.

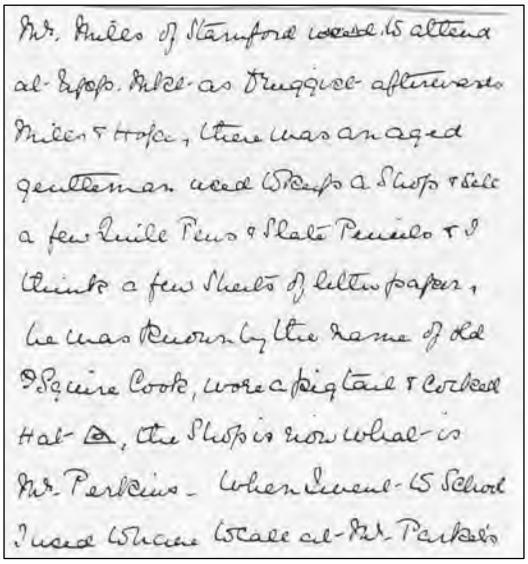

To be SOLD by private Contract,
A Good accuſtomed MESSUAGE or TENEMENT (called the BELL INN), at UPPINGHAM, in the County of Rutland, with the Yards, Brewhouſe, Barn, and two Stables; and alſo a CLOSE of PASTURE, lying near to the ſaid Inn, containing about four Acres, with a PLOT or PARCEL of LAND, lately allotted to the ſaid Inn, lying in the Lound Field of Uppingham aforeſaid, containing 6 A. 1 R. 22 P. now in the Occupation of Mrs. Sarah Hart, Widow. —And alſo two little Tenements, at the North End of the Yard, in the Tenure of Edward Gunnis and Edward Harriſon

For further Particulars, and to treat for the ſame, apply to Mr. NATH. CLARK, of Biſbrooke; or DENNIS TAYLOR, of Glaſton.

Sale of Bell Inn, High Street East, in Feb 1802 (SM, 19 Feb)

[1] Drak, 10 Nov 1815
[2] Aldred records in his notes on Uppingham that in 1778 there were the greatest number of pubs, 27 in all, but he does not indicate where he got that information from and the list he gives is doubtful.
[3] Pigot, *Directory* 1829
[4] Drak, 24 June 1815
[5] Drak, 18 Aug 1815; 29 Sep 1815
[6] Drak, 7 Jan 1814.
[7] M Stacey, *The Story of Uppingham Methodist Church,* undated.

Itinerary 4.
From the Falcon to Orange Lane
THE COOKE AND SEATON FAMILIES


Mr. Miles of Stamford used to attend
at Shop. Miles as Druggist afterwards
Miles & Hope, there was an aged
gentleman used to keep a Shop & sell
a few Quill Pens & Slate Pencils & I
think a few Sheets of letter paper,
he was known by the name of old
Squire Cook, wore a pigtail & Cocked
Hat, the Shop is now what is
Mr. Perkins – When I went to School
I used [illegible] at Mr. Parker's

Slater's Memoirs

Between the Falcon and Orange Lane there were a number of shops and houses, and in Orange Lane, many of the premises seem to have been the back yards and properties of the High Street properties. William Aris, watch and clock maker, either lived or had his workshop here (he also had property in Printers Yard, and it is probable that he lived on the north side and had his shop and workshop on the south side of High Street but that is not certain). Dr James Bell also lived here, apparently holding part of the house of John Cooke bookseller, as did William Watson, probably the most active member of the parish council and church. The itinerary then goes up Orange Lane to Edward Ingram's butcher's shop (one of a large family in the town in 1802) and back again.

The most noteworthy person living in this part of Uppingham in 1802 was John Cooke bookseller. He died in 1811, and his shop was sold to Joseph Seaton draper who in 1802 had a shop in the Market Place across the road. We know a good deal about the Cooke and Seaton families, and their story tells us much about the prosperous and yet precarious life of merchants in Uppingham at this time.

The Cookes

There were two John Cookes in Uppingham in 1802, and their families paralleled each other closely between the 1740s and the early nineteenth century. One family were booksellers and stationers operating from premises which today can be identified as 5 High Street East; the other were the druggists and grocers operating from a shop close to 17 High Street East. The 1791 *Directory* speaks of both John Cook stationer and John Cook grocer.

In 1802, the two families were represented by an elderly John Cooke esq. bookseller aged 65, the son of a stationer, and John Cook[1] grocer and druggist, a young man, whose property was being looked after by trustees. Both families seem to have been connected with county families. John Abearn Palmer had Cookes of Edith Weston and of Great Easton as clients,[2] and Joseph Cooke of Great Easton served as sheriff of Rutland in 1802 (SM, 19 Nov).[3]

The druggists and grocers (about 17 High Street East)

The origins of this family are obscure. In 1738, a first John Cook, perhaps the father of John Cook druggist, married Jane Mowbray, while an Elizabeth Cook of Uppingham was married at Martinsthorpe by special licence to Fancourt Bolt an apothecary (PR).

In 1770, a second John Cook druggist married Barbara (Bunning) who was born about 1740 (PR, MI); they had at least six children between 1772 and 1781, including William the eldest, 1772 and John, 1778 (PR). Whether the druggist family was related to the stationers is not clear, but John Cook grocer and Barbara his wife gave their first child the name of Frances (the name of the very recently deceased wife of John Cooke bookseller) (PR); this Frances died only five months later. Barbara died in 1792 aged 52; her churchyard monument in slate stands next to the memorial of her husband who died in 1799. The stone

Matching tombstones of John Cook died 5 April 1799 and Barbara his wife who died 18 March 1792 (ULHSG)

gives his age as 58 which suggests that he was born in 1740 or 1741.

John Cook was a grocer as well as druggist. He was sub-tenant of Thomas Bullock, and in 1782 he bought the copyhold of his shop from Bullock's executors. As John Cook junior grocer and chandler, he took out insurance policies on his property in 1782 and 1784. In 1794, as John Cook druggist, he made a will and appointed as executors William Belgrave draper and Edward Harding Southam ironmonger. He died in 1799, leaving at least two sons, William and John; John Cook his second son continued the business, while William Cook moved away from Uppingham. The executors were holding the shop in 1804 (enc map), and received an allotment at the enclosure. In 1804 they sold some of the land to the next door neighbour Henry Larrett surgeon, but the main shop on High Street East continued to be occupied by John Cook as tenant of his father's executors. But this John Cook died in 1803 at the young age of 24, and his older brother William (described as the eldest son and heir at law of John Cook druggist) inherited the rights to the property which the trustees in 1804 sold to Thomas Blyth grocer who in turn sold it to John Raworth the apothecary from next door (CR).

Thus the John Cook druggist so often mentioned in the *Stamford Mercury* in 1802 was a young man born in 1778. He or his trustees advertised in more than 17 issues of the newspaper a wide variety of drugs, medicines, animal remedies, pest control items and soap, together with books on these subjects (John Cooke the bookseller and stationer did not advertise at all). When he died, his property passed to Raworth surgeon and apothecary, and by 1851 it seems to have been occupied by Edward Jackson chemist and druggist.[4] Although described as a messuage or tenement with outhouses, barns, stables, yard and garden etc, it was still called 'a cottage' (CR).

The booksellers and stationers (5 High Street East)

In 1719, Thomas Cooke senior bookseller was buried in Uppingham; he was succeeded by a John Cooke bookseller.[5] In 1727, Alice daughter of John Cooke stationer and Frances his wife was baptised. Their first son John was baptised in 1734 but he died in 1736; so that a second son born in 1737 was also christened John. In the same year, John Cooke bookseller and Frances acquired a good deal of property in Uppingham, perhaps in her right. As part of this, he came into a messuage, shop and passage which can be identified as the present 5 High Street East.[6]

Both Alice his daughter and Frances his wife died, and in 1770 this John Cooke (described as senior) also died. Our John Cooke, born in 1737, was described as esquire (the family seems to have been proud of that title), bookseller and also stationer.[7] As son and heir of John Cooke esq., bookseller, he succeeded his father in property. It is not known if he married, but a John Cooke stationer of Oakham married Mary Hill widow of Oakham in Oakham on 29 September 1782.[8]

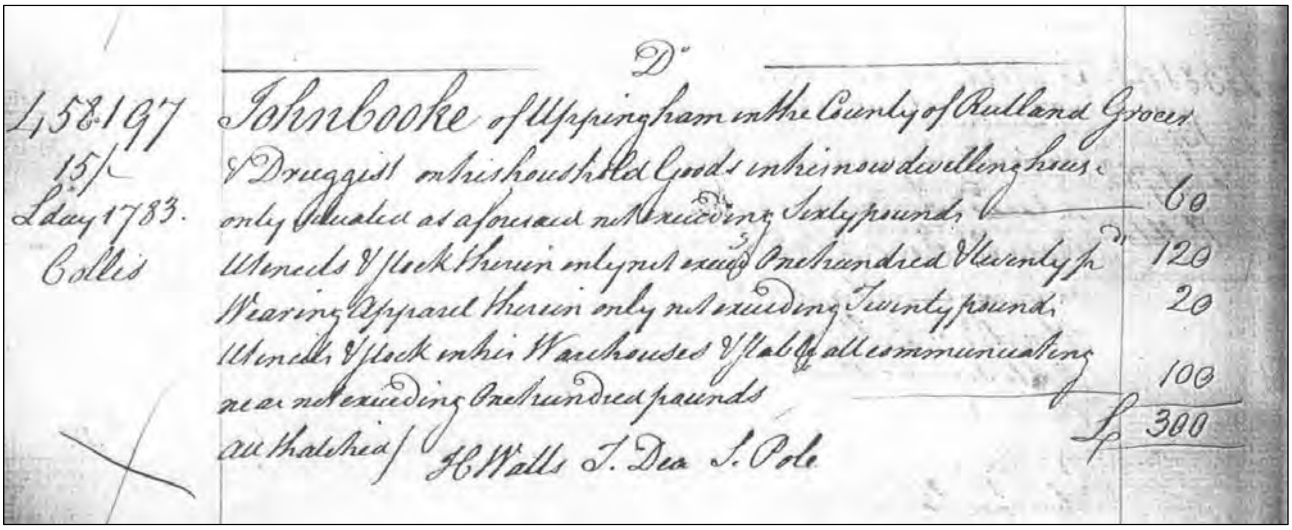
He inherited two main sets of premises, the Swan Inn, other buildings and land adjacent in Cow Market Hill, and secondly what is now 5 High Street East with its outbuildings stretching into Orange Lane, together with some land on or near Ayston Road (later the site of Meadhurst). He settled a dispute over a boundary wall with his Orange Lane neighbours in 1800. He seems to have fallen on hard times. In 1798-99, he sold the Swan with some land attached to William Dean who had been running the inn since at least 1791.[9] The notebook of the solicitor John Abearn Palmer shows him frantically trying to raise money from many different sources. In 1801, he sold some land on Ayston Road and elsewhere, part to his next door neighbour on one side Edward Ingram butcher and part to Thomas Holmes innkeeper of the Falcon next door on the other side; the auction at the Falcon of part of this land was advertised in the *Stamford Mercury* in 1802. He also seems to have taken out a mortgage on the rest of the property; for in October 1801, he settled his messuage and shop on Thomas Hotchkin of South Luffenham esquire, probably as a trusteeship or perhaps a mortgage,[10] though he remained living there.

This must have been a major disaster for a county family such as his. For in 1775, as John Cooke of Uppingham esq., he had been sheriff of Rutland,[11] a surprising role for one so young (only 38) who had only succeeded to his father's property two years before. He was a member of the Uppingham Association for the Prosecution of Felons in 1802. But he seems to have fallen into financial trouble in the middle 1790s, perhaps because of a law suit. He certainly declined: in the 1870s, Daniel Slater in his account of his youth in Uppingham wrote that he was better known for his pigtail and cocked hat than for his shop goods (see heading to this chapter). Indeed, it is possible that he had largely given up his shop work, for in 1802 John Cooke esquire of Uppingham (and there cannot have been another one) received a licence as game keeper to the Marquis of Exeter: perhaps he had

5 High Street East: formerly Cooke's stationers and bookshop, then Seaton's drapers and at the time of this photo (c1890) Perkins' drapers. The extreme right shows a second door which has been blocked off to form a shop window. The upper story has been added, perhaps by Seaton. Dr James Bell also lived here. The upstairs is now part of the Falcon Inn but was separate in 1802 (private possession, with permission).

leased the shooting rights on the Exeter lands in Uppingham (SM, 15 Oct). He died in 1811 aged 74. Thomas Hotchkin immediately sold the shop to Joseph Seaton draper for a very substantial sum of money, which again suggests that the surrender in 1792 was a trusteeship or mortgage.[12]

The deaths of John Cook druggist in 1803 and of John Cooke esq. and stationer in 1811 seem to have ended the line of Cookes in Uppingham. There are no signs of either family in the town after that date.


Do

58197
15/-
L day 1783.
Collis

John Cooke of Uppingham in the County of Rutland Grocer & Druggist on his household Goods in his now dwelling house only situated as aforesaid not exceeding Sixty pounds — 60
Utensils & Stock therein only not exceeding One hundred & twenty pounds — 120
Wearing Apparel therein only not exceeding Twenty pounds — 20
Utensils & Stock in his Warehouses & Stable all communicating near not exceeding One hundred pounds — 100
£300
All thatched / H Walls J. Dea S. Pole

John Cook grocer took out insurance on his shop goods: he rented his house at this stage, 1782.
(Guildhall Library: Royal and Sun Alliance)

Seatons

As with the Cookes, there were two families of Seaton in Uppingham in 1802, but they are more easily distinguished.

The Seatons came from Seaton parish. In 1767, Thomas Seaton of Seaton, weaver, Ann his wife and their five children were living in Uppingham).[13] He was the father of William Seaton and also probably of Joseph, although there were other Seatons around at that time.

The chief characteristic of the Seaton family was their ability to produce many children. Thomas had at least five children and almost certainly more. William Seaton his son married Elizabeth, and they had eight sons and six daughters baptised between 1778 and 1796. Joseph Seaton, probably his brother, had 17 children, while Francis (probably another brother) had 11 by his wife Lucy (Bilton).[14]

Joseph Seaton draper bought John Cooke's bookshop. He was clearly more active and wealthy than William. He and his family were keen members of the Congregational Church. In 1800, he married Mary Stephens (PR) and they had five sons. Four of them were baptised in the Congregational Church, but her last child is revealing. Mary died in 1807 and was buried on 12 April in the parish church; Rowland her latest son was baptised ten days later in the parish church, not the Congregational Church. Joseph married again, Elizabeth from Sileby, Leicestershire. The couple had a further four daughters and eight sons between 1810 and 1829; they were all baptised in the Congregational Church.[15]

The Seatons in Uppingham

William Seaton like his father was a weaver; he also served as the toll-gate keeper. On one occasion he was chosen by ballot from among the residents of Uppingham for a three-year term of service in the militia. Joseph was a draper and mercer. Unlike Cook, he never advertised in the *Mercury*. But despite being a member of the Congregational Church, he played a significant part in the life of the parish. He served on the Vestry and on the committee to inspect the workhouse. He was a member of the Uppingham Association for the Prosecution of Felons. He was fined in 1812 for having left the Manor Court of Preston with Uppingham after having been sworn to serve on the jury but before business was concluded.[16]

In 1805, William Seaton occupied a relatively small house (rated at £3) owned by Robert Hotchkin, probably in Meeting House Lane (Adderley Street). It would seem that Joseph Seaton had his first draper's store in the Market Place (now Ashdale Pharmacy) before he moved into Cooke's bookshop in 1812; for in 1805, he was recorded as occupying a large house (rated at £16) owned by John Bullock (RB), and according to the 1804 map, John Bullock held this

property in the Market Place. But in October 1812, Joseph Seaton mercer and draper bought from Thomas Hotchkin the property formerly belonging to John Cooke bookseller for £1025. In 1821, Joseph was owner-occupier of a house, stable, yard and garden rated at nearly £20, and in 1837, he was owner-occupier of a house, shop, stable, yard and garden. It had clearly been enlarged, perhaps by the acquisition of property on Orange Lane.[17]

The main basis for this rise in prosperity seems to have been mortgages, although in the end they were also their downfall. Joseph took large mortgages on this property from Jonathan Gibbons, land agent of Uppingham, one in 1813 for £500, a second in 1824 for £250 (on account of the extensive improvements which Joseph Seaton had made to the buildings, especially the property on Orange Lane) and a third for £150 in 1838. The business appeared to be thriving. In 1846, when his widow Elizabeth was running the firm, the *Directory* lists 'Elizabeth Seaton and son' as drapers, linen drapers, tailors, and straw bonnet makers, and the 1851 census shows her in her shop with her two sons Frederick and Edward, and three daughters aged between 30 and 26, all five of them unmarried and all described as drapers. There were also two apprentices aged 19, one assistant draper, a house servant and an errand boy/deliveryman. To have achieved such wealth from origins which seem to have been relatively obscure is surprising but perhaps shows that Uppingham was a town of opportunity.

But the foundations of this wealth were insecure. When Joseph Seaton died in 1843 intestate, the property descended to his eldest son John William Seaton draper of Diss, Norfolk. William paid off some outstanding debts with the help of William Gilson solicitor of Uppingham, and in return, the property was made over to Gilson. The shop however continued to be run by Elizabeth Seaton and her younger son Frederick; in 1845, Gilson and Frederick Seaton made an agreement with their Orange Lane neighbour Thomas Gamble saddler over a boundary wall.[18]

Elizabeth Seaton died in 1861, and in 1863 the executor of Jonathan Gibbons sued Gilson and Frederick to prevent them from selling the property before they had repaid Gibbons' mortgage. In 1865 Frederick bought the property for £1120, using another mortgage supplied by Charles Edward Forster of London, but in 1866 Frederick Seaton made over most of the premises to Forster who sold them in 1876 to the Perkins family, also drapers and strong Congregational Church members.[19]

The story of the rise and decline of these two families seems to indicate something of the short term and precarious nature of prosperity which eighteenth and nineteenth century Uppingham could offer to its traders. The booksellers ran into financial trouble, and John Cooke esquire seems to have been less than economically active. The druggists ran out of family members to run a flourishing firm which others took over and developed further. The drapers mortgaged themselves to the hilt to achieve great prosperity but in the end it caught up with them and they fell from grace. Uppingham in this period was a town of relatively rapidly changing fortunes. It gave credit to success but had little tolerance of failure.

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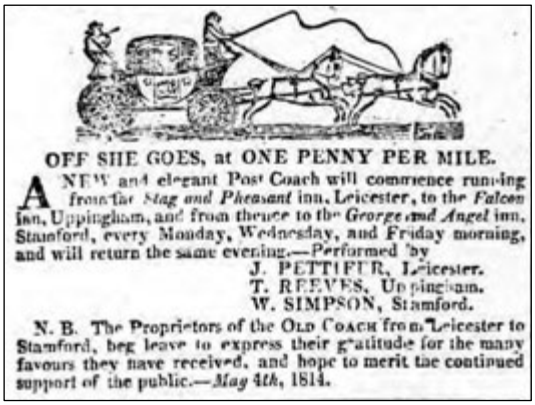
[1] His family name also sometimes appears as Cooke in the records.
[2] Palmer notebook
[3] RutMag, iv, p.84
[4] Directory, 1846; census, 1851
[5] PR; according to *Uppingham in Rutland* (p.84; source not cited), John Cooke opened his bookselling business in Uppingham in 1720
[6] The descent of the property can be seen from the Court Rolls and deeds in the possession of Norman Tomson of Uppingham.
[7] Directory, 1791
[8] OMMR
[9] Directory, 1791
[10] Thomas Hotchkin does not appear in Uppingham at all; he is not mentioned in the enclosure award or map, whereas John Cooke esq. is still shown as holding 5 High Street East
[11] RutMag, iv, p.84; not 1755 as in *Uppingham in Rutland*
[12] NT deeds.
[13] DE settlement certificate. One daughter Anne had been baptised in Uppingham church in 1765, PR, so the family were almost certainly living in the town by this date.
[14] PR; CongReg
[15] PR; CongReg; census, 1851
[16] DE, 1784; Militia Rolls; PR; CR; SM.
[17] Rate Books, 1821, 1837
[18] census, 1851
[19] CongReg.

Itinerary 5.
From Orange Lane to the Old Post Office
COACHES, CARRIERS AND THE MAIL



OFF SHE GOES, at ONE PENNY PER MILE.

A NEW and elegant Post Coach will commence running from the *Stag and Pheasant* inn, Leicester, to the *Falcon* inn, Uppingham, and from thence to the *George and Angel* inn, Stamford, every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday morning, and will return the same evening.—Performed by

J. PETTIFER, Leicester.
T. REEVES, Uppingham.
W. SIMPSON, Stamford.

N. B. The Proprietors of the OLD COACH from Leicester to Stamford, beg leave to express their gratitude for the many favours they have received, and hope to merit the continued support of the public.—*May 4th*, 1814.

(Drak, 13 May 1814)

Between Orange Lane and the Old Post Office stood a number of large properties with a few smaller dwellings squeezed in. The Horse and Trumpet, an inn with a back entrance on Orange Lane wide enough for carts to enter and turn, was run by the Catlin family who were active in the town's government; it was one of the centres of the town's carrier trade with the surrounding district, with more carriers running into it than any other inn of the town. Mr Langley estate agent lived next door and then the elderly Dr Smith. Beyond him in what is now the Thring Centre but in 1802 was apparently called 'The Court' lived the solicitor Bentley Warren, whose young wife Katherine died in 1803 aged only 23 after having had two children. In what is now the Garden Hotel lived a Mr Judkins. Finally there was the cottage which in 1802 became the Post Office run by John Leake, and it remained the Old Post Office for many years until it was demolished to make the garden of the Garden Hotel.

The Old Post Office (now demolished) can be seen in this photograph jutting out into the street behind the boys (private possession, printed with permission).

The combination of carriers and Post Office in this part of the town reminds us that Uppingham in 1802 stood at the centre of a region, linked by coach and mail to the immediate neighbourhood and much further afield.

The roads of Uppingham: Turnpike Trusts

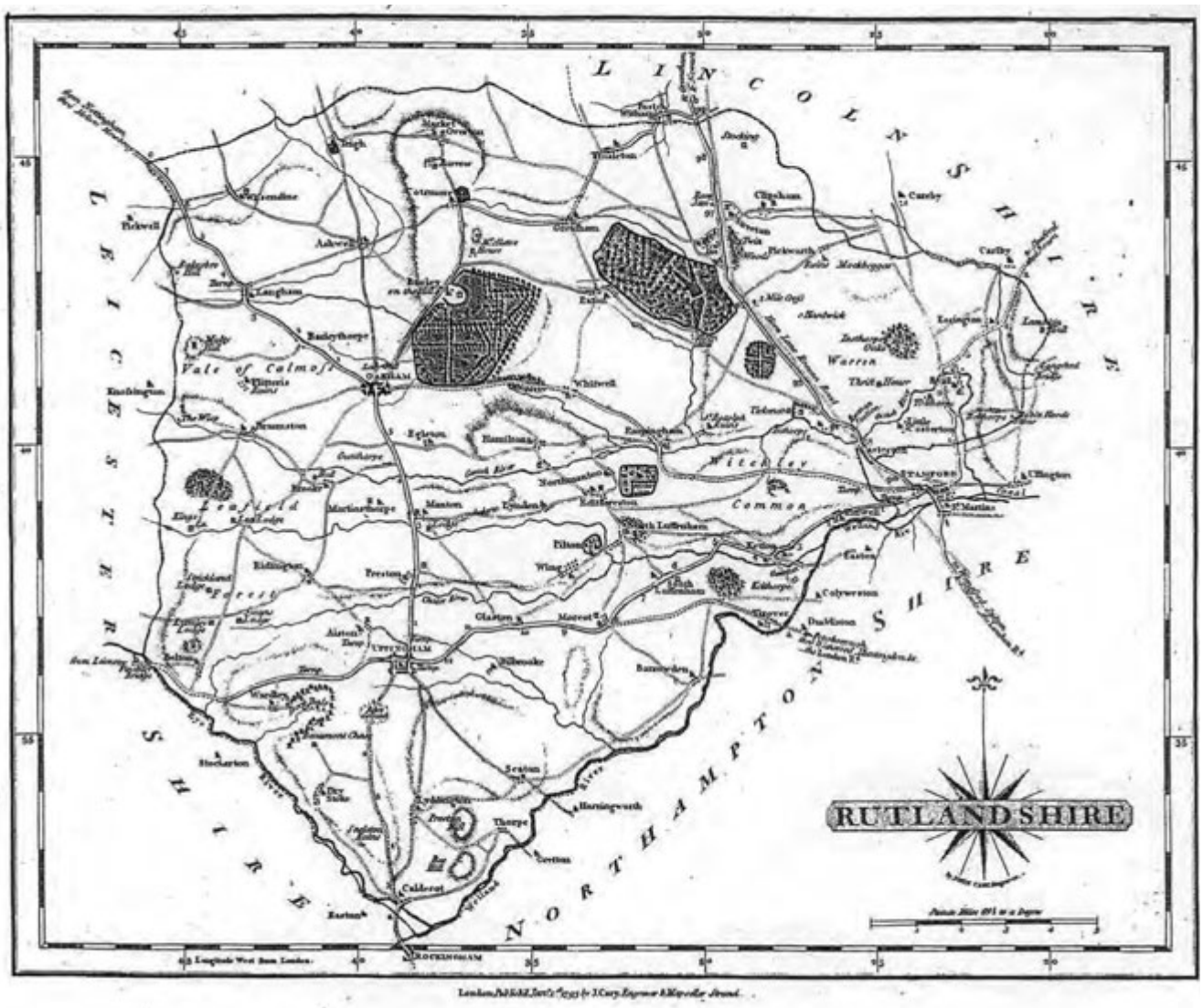
Responsibility for the repair and upkeep of the highways lay with each parish, who each elected Surveyors of the Highways to raise a rate, mobilise free parish labour and keep the roads and lanes of the parish open and in good repair. Uppingham elected 'Overseers' of the Highways, presumably at the Vestry meeting each Easter, but their accounts do not survive and we can see them only rarely - we do not know who they were in 1802.

Such a system put a heavy burden on poor parishes, especially those on main routes which could not afford to provide roads strong enough for heavy traffic. The Turnpike Acts of 1663 and 1706 set out to alleviate this situation with the formation of Trusts authorised to levy tolls from vehicles and animals travelling along these stretches of public road. In this way, road users rather than parishioners met the cost of highway maintenance. Toll houses were built along the road, and gates across the road were only opened on payment of the toll. Regular users could make an annual payment with a discount, whilst the charge for

carriages depended upon the number and width of the wheels. Tolls were not paid by pedestrians, soldiers on the march, traffic going to and from church, mail coaches and farmers moving their livestock. The Trustees would let by auction for a period of three years the tolls arising at each toll bar. The money collected was used to repair and improve the roads, and shares were sold to raise capital and distribute the profits.

There were two turnpike trusts which passed through Uppingham. The road from Leicester to Wansford with a branch to Stamford ran along North Street, and the Nottingham to Kettering Road ran south. Toll bars stood at the Ayston Road junction and at the east end of Uppingham opposite where the cricket pavilion stands today. The Uppingham Bar on the Wansford Road raised £350 p.a. (SM, 27 Aug), but the Ayston Lane Gate on the north-south route only raised £79 p.a. in 1802 (SM, 10 Sep). These figures reflected the amount of traffic using the roads. The tolls of the Kettering turnpike for the next three years were put up for auction at the Falcon in October 1802 (SM, 10 Sep). William Seaton weaver was the toll bar keeper at the Uppingham Bar Gate; who kept the Ayston Road toll bar we do not know.

The north-south road was the most difficult, for the hilly terrain between Manton and Stoke Dry clearly limited traffic into Uppingham. Improvements to make the route easier were started in 1802. Surveys were made and it was noted that 'the first hill on London Road was reduced by several feet';[1] the engineer, Mr William Dunn, reporting to the Trustees on lowering the hills on the south side of Uppingham and the north side of Preston, suggested that since 'the Turnpike Road leading out of the town southwards will be very difficult and dangerous to pass during the time the hills are lowering; That the same be stopped as soon as the new road, called by the name of Folly Road [now Newtown Road] can be rendered passable'. Prisoners of War from the nearby camp at Norman Cross are reputed to have been used on this work.



Published 1st January 1793 by J Cary, Strand, London

In the early 18th century, 'the roads of Rutland are tolerably good but badly made'.[2] Even the turnpikes had little special skill at road making. Broken stone was thrown down for traffic to consolidate. It was left to John Metcalfe in the later 18th century and John MacAdam and Thomas Telford in the early 19th century to pioneer road-building methods. They considered drainage to be very important and were keen to keep gradients as gentle as possible. The turnpike system brought many benefits, and travel by stage coach flourished from the late 18th century until the mid 19th century in the Golden Age of Coaching.

Coaches

These steady improvements in the roads brought benefits to the coaching trade. In the 18th century, carriages had been heavily built to withstand the poor state of the roads; the large wheels helped to smooth out the uneven roads and cope with the potholes and ruts. As the roads improved, lighter carriages were built with narrower wheels, and travelling was made more comfortable with better springing. However, some people were of the opinion that narrow wheels would wear the road surfaces out quicker because they cut up the surface into narrow ridges; also narrow wheels were seen to be dangerous as they encouraged coaches to go faster. Locally, the coaching industry was served by a large number of tradesmen such as carpenters, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, saddlers, painters and upholsterers. Most of these trades were represented in Uppingham; Henry Cliff coach and gig maker was living in High Street.[3]

The coachmen of the Mail and Stage coaches would either own the coach or be employed by the coach proprietor, driving the coach a few stages in one direction and then working another coach back over the same distance. An armed guard**,** employed by the Post Office and responsible for protecting the mail on board, sat at the back of the carriage and carried a post-horn to alert toll-gate keepers and innkeepers of their approach. On arrival at an inn, the ostler there either looked after the horses whilst the coachman and guard enjoyed a hearty meal or ensured a quick change of horses and a prompt departure for the coaches to maintain their schedule. Coaching inns employed post-boys selected, like jockeys today, for their skill with horses and their light weight. They wore a smart uniform, and it was their job to take the mail across country to those towns that were not directly served by Royal Mail coaches. However, it was a dangerous occupation as they were often a target for highway robbers. Postillions fulfilled a similar role to post-boys, driving privately owned carriages and coaches but driving from the rear horse of a pair. For wealthy families, their personal coach reflected their position in society, so they employed grooms to look after the horses and their harnesses and to maintain and service the vehicles.

For so small a town, Uppingham seems to have been well served by Stage and Mail coaches. In 1791, we know that a coach passed through Uppingham on its way from Stamford to Leicester on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. In 1815, the 'Old Coach' left Leicester at 6.30am on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and travelled via Uppingham and Stamford to Cambridge. In 1814, Uppingham could boast its own coach to London three days a week, covering the 89 miles in 11 hours.[4]

THE Public are respectfully informed that the UPPINGHAM COACH has recommenced running Six Days per Week as heretofore, viz. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday Mornings, at ½ past 7, from Uppingham; Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, from the George and Blue Boar, Holborn, London, at 8 in the Morning.

(SM, 1839)

Uppingham and the mail

The first Mail coach service was established in 1784. An Act of Parliament of 1802 sought to maintain the monopoly of the General Post Office, making it illegal to send mail by any means other than by the Post or by the authority of the Postmaster General. At that time the recipient generally paid for the letter. This system was seen as a guarantee that the letter would be delivered, and charges were made according to the distance covered. In 1801 standard postal charges were introduced: under 15 miles 3d, 15-30 miles 4d and so on up to 120-170 miles for 8d. However, postage rates were driven by the Treasury's need to finance the war with France, so the above rates were increased in 1812. A hand stamp was applied to letters at the time of posting. This comprised the name of the post town and a number which represented the distance in miles of each post town from London, and letters were charged accordingly. It was thought that this would help the postmaster to calculate the costs. Outrage at the cost of sending letters a long distance finally resulted in agitation which led to the introduction of the Uniform Penny Post in 1840 with prepayment of letters by postage stamps.

In 1791 the Post Office in Uppingham was at the Unicorn Inn where Samuel Dougal was the innkeeper (Dir). The post arrived from Stamford every morning at 10am by the post boy (SM, 11 June). At the same time, a rider would leave Oakham at 9am to collect the Oakham mail on its arrival in Uppingham. There were complaints from Oakham that this service did not allow them to answer letters that same day, so a service from Stamford to Oakham was set up in August 1800 which gave them three hours in which to answer their mail. Samuel Dougal remained as postmaster at the Unicorn in Uppingham until 1798, and was succeeded by Mr Thomas Holmes at the Falcon until he died in 1802; John Leek was then nominated as his replacement, and the Post Office moved from the Falcon to the Post Office on High Street West (see photograph).

Mail coach in Falcon Yard mid-early 19th Century (private possession, printed with permission).

Travelling conditions by stage or mail coach

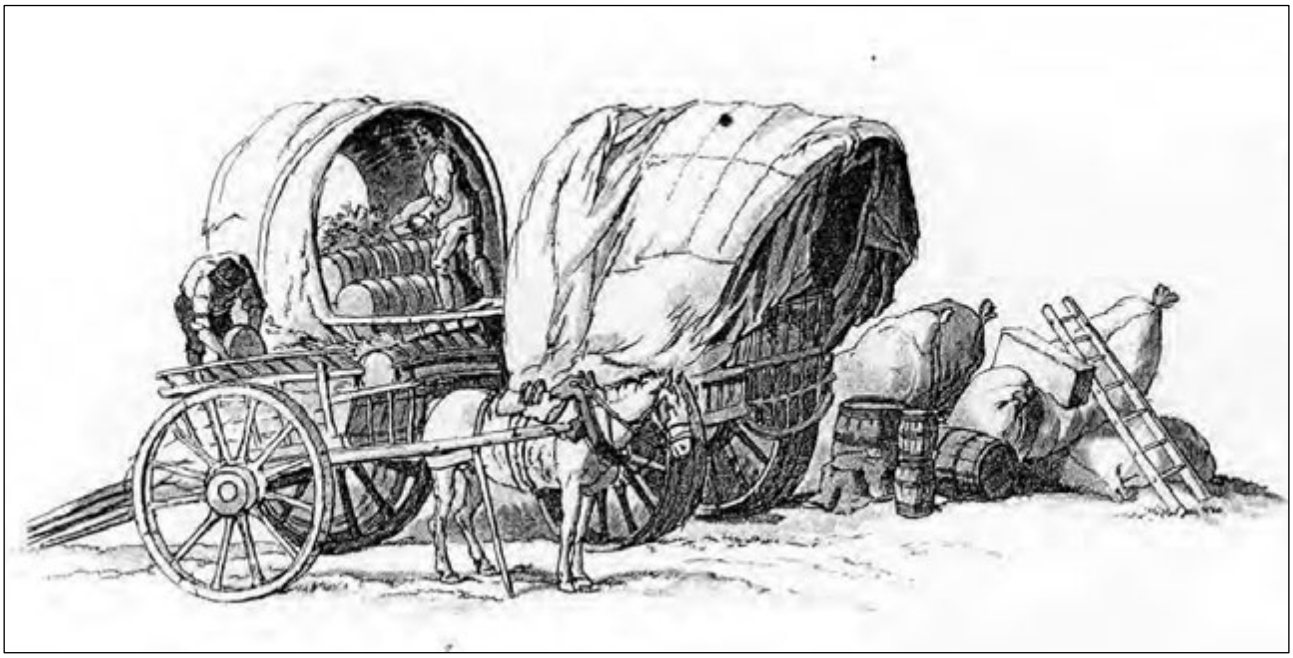
The first Mail coaches were provided by the contractors and were often cheaply built, but in the mid-1830s, all the mail contractors had to use officially approved coaches. Strict regulations with time schedules were laid down by the Post Office for contractors who made a small profit from the mileage allowances and passenger fares. Outside passengers were limited to three, and none was allowed to sit near the armed guard; also the amount of baggage that could be carried on the roof was controlled, making the Mail coaches less likely to overturn. The extra security and punctuality provided by the Mail coaches meant that passengers had to pay a little extra.

Travellers could use the mail coaches as well as the stage coaches. Travel by stage or mail coach was rarely comfortable despite the steady improvement in the roads. There was little room for the four inside passengers travelling first class, whilst outside passengers were exposed to the elements as they sat on the narrow bench seats. The guard of the Glasgow downward mail was reported to be frozen to such a degree as to have lost the use of all his limbs (SM, 22 Jan). During the winter months, heavy snowfalls often made the road impassable which meant that the guard had to forward the mail himself on horseback (SM, 15 Jan). Accidents were caused by the inattention of drivers who failed to keep to the left hand side of the road; the newspaper commented that when two carriages met, drivers were either ignorant of, or inattentive to, this general rule (SM 2, Nov 1787). People died as the result of falls from the coach. A waggoner, named Metcalfe, riding on the outside of the Lincoln mail coach between Alconbury Hill and Chesterton, fell off and died after landing on his head (SM, 5 Mar); and the York mail coachman was thrown from his box and the horses continued for five miles without a driver.[5] During a coach journey from Hinckley to Leicester, the horses became 'so unmanageable in the hands of a drunken coachman' that three people died and several others were badly injured.[6] Encounters with highwaymen created further hazards: an Excise Officer from Nottingham travelling in a single horse chaise was robbed of a silver watch and 20s about a mile on the turnpike from Empingham (SM, 30 July). And speeding charges were often levelled against coach proprietors as they ran races either against time or against other coaches vying for custom on their route.

Carriers

Carriers also established a vital network of communication not only between neighbouring villages and larger towns but also between London and the provinces, especially for slower, cheaper and more local transportation of people and goods.

Uppingham had its own daily carrier service to London and Leeds, as well as wagons leaving for Nottingham on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. At this time



Two-wheeled and four-wheeled waggons c 1807

from The Turnpike Age published by Museum, Wardown Park, Luton (printed with permission)

Richard Wade and others travelled daily between Leicester and Stamford through Uppingham.[7] Robert Hunt also had a carrier service leaving Leicester for Uppingham on Monday and Thursday mornings, changed later to Tuesday and Friday afternoons.

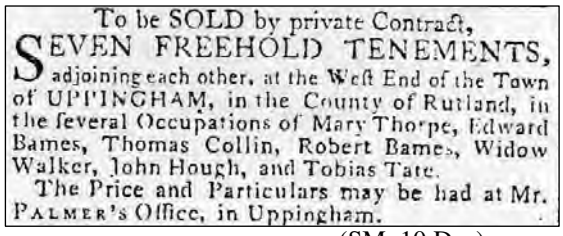
There were many carriers serving Uppingham in the early nineteenth century, especially on market day (Wednesday). The village carriers based their activities in Uppingham on inns where they put up their carts, rested and fed their horses, picked up their passengers and collected goods for delivery to the villages. Additionally the inns provided an ideal meeting place for villagers to gather the latest news and gossip. The Horse and Trumpet served Belton, Billesdon, Hallaton and Harborough, Lyddington and Stamford; the Unicorn had services to Barrowden, Braunston, Edith Weston; the Swan to Great Easton, the George and Dragon to Cottingham and Kettering. These carriers operated on a humble scale with either a two-wheeled cart or a heavier four-wheeled wagon needing more horses to draw it.

Links with the outside world

Uppingham then was not a remote rural market town. Whether by travel or carriage, it was linked inextricably with the rest of the country. To give two examples: Ann Andrews lived in what is now School Lane, an inoffensive widow. But her daughter lived in Ospring, Kent, married to a blacksmith; members of her own family (Forster) lived in Stoke Dry, Great Easton and Gretton; in Lyndon and Wing, and in Shelton, Notts. Many families had members in London: Ann Nutt widow who held property in Billesdon as well as in Uppingham had a daughter married to John Sample of Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, London.[8] And John Abearn Palmer went to London, Oxford, Spalding, Wisbech and many other places on business. So that visiting relatives or friends or business partners or sending them goods, while not easy, was not out of the question for many of those who lived in Uppingham in 1802.

[1] Aldred, 1802
[2] Turnpikes, p.5
[3] Pigot's Dir,1829
[4] Dir, 1791; Fowler, *Leicester Directory,* 1815; Drak, 13 May 1814
[5] Drak, 23 Sep 1814
[6] Drak, 21 July 1815
[7] Pigot Dir, 1829
[8] will of Mary Forster, 1810, NRO; will of Ann Nutt 1790, NRO

Itinerary 6.
From the Old Post Office to the West End
BUILDINGS AND LIVING IN THEM IN UPPINGHAM IN 1802



To be SOLD by private Contract,
SEVEN FREEHOLD TENEMENTS,
adjoining each other, at the West End of the Town of UPPINGHAM, in the County of Rutland, in the several Occupations of Mary Thorpe, Edward Barnes, Thomas Collin, Robert Barnes, Widow Walker, John Hough, and Tobias Tate.
The Price and Particulars may be had at Mr. PALMER's Office, in Uppingham.

(SM, 10 Dec)

John Marriott auctioneer lived in what is now 26 High Street West and the property to the east was divided between Mr Cobley butcher and Mrs Lowth. Next door to the west lived Thomas Baines esq. who, in the year after he had been sheriff of Rutland, rebuilt his house (see date stone 'TB 1787'). A farmer of considerable power and influence, he was a member of an important clan in Uppingham in 1802. Beyond him was a baker's shop, and then William Gamble currier who lived in a house at the end of a long row of cottages. The yard behind was given his name at one stage (also Bennetts Row, 1839 map; Gamble bought it from William Bennett in 1802[1]; or Shields Yard later in the nineteenth century). It consisted in 1802 of seven tenements. Here lived one of the two Tylers, both Francis; this was the tailor, the other was a glazier who lived at what is now 46 High Street East. Next came Samuel Richardson who looked after the town fire engine, and near him lived the church sexton Robert Knight.

The west end of Uppingham in 1802 comprised a considerable number of smaller houses, some of them strung along Stockerston Road as far as The Loophole. The triangle of buildings in the road island (Morris' Buildings or Frog Island today) did not exist then, and there were few along the Leicester Road. Here were some of the humbler craftsmen and women of the town, a wheelwright and a carpenter, for example, and the homes of some older retired residents like Matthew Catlin the father of the innkeeper, and a number of widows.

Several of these dwellings were freehold, built on small plots of land on the edges of the town of Uppingham; and some were in terraces, perhaps speculative building. The seven tenements advertised in 1802 (above) cannot now be traced exactly, for the names given relate to former occupants rather than contemporary occupants - Thomas Collin for example was buried in 1799 (PR). None of these names appears in the rating lists for 1801-4. But they appear to be some of the first houses on the north side of Stockerston Road.

Here too were the Stone Pits, some in the area between Leicester Road and Stockerston Road and some at the corner of Newtown Road and Stockerston Road. These were held by members of the families of Drake, Dorman and Thorpe, all stonemasons. Thorpe's Terrace had not yet begun to be built but the use of the small quarries lying in the field where Thorpe's Terrace now stands had already begun.

The buildings of Uppingham in the early 1800s

Thomas Baines' large and dated house and William Gambles' courtyard with its humbler tenements, together with the assortment of craftsmen engaged in stone work and building at the west end of the town raise the question of the buildings of Uppingham. There were of course other builders (slaters and plumbers and plasterers etc) elsewhere in the town but they cannot always be identified and no-one seems to have been described as 'builder'. But building was one of the significant occupations of workers in Uppingham about 1802.

In 1802 Uppingham was very largely the shape we see it today, if the outskirts are stripped away. Most of the houses and shops were of stone; out of 85 Uppingham buildings described in insurance policies between 1776 and 1785 (other than outbuildings), only one was of brick. However, it was becoming more common to build the front of the building in stone and the sides and back in brick - an indication of the pretentiousness of much town building of this period. Brick pits were known in Uppingham along the Seaton Road, owned in 1805 by Mrs Susannah Hall.[2] Most of the buildings of Uppingham date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the major period of rebuilding seems to be largely over by 1802. Apart from the development of the Grammar School quarter, there was only some infilling of empty plots and a relatively small amount of rebuilding in the later nineteenth century.

'The houses are well built and the streets clean and neat'.[3] During the second half of the eighteenth century, many properties were being modernised. Thatch was giving way to slate, perhaps encouraged by

the growing importance of fire insurance. We have 38 insurance policies relating to Uppingham between 1776 and 1785, and 76% of the properties listed were slated (that is, Collyweston, not Welsh slate - that came later).There had been fires in Uppingham in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries but not very recently.[4] Some eighteenth century shop fronts have been put onto earlier timber-framed buildings, leaving the house or shop behind the front largely unaltered, as was happening to a great extent at Stamford nearby, and a few were completely reconstructed in the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century, to judge by their building styles.

The one building of our period we can be more or less sure of is 28 High Street West with its date stone TB 1787, owned and no doubt largely modernised by Thomas Baines the farmer. But when we compare this ironstone farmhouse with the much more polite limestone shop fronts on both sides of High Street East (such as 6 or 21-23), it would seem that we are dealing with a more traditional rather than a really modern building of 1787. Indeed, it may be that Thomas Baines only altered the building rather than rebuilt it from the ground up.

The very substantial farmhouse, 28 High Street West, of Thomas Baines built or rebuilt in 1787 (date stone TB 1787) (ULHSG)

What can be called 'complete building', every point carefully considered. Contrast this with the more rustic 28 High Street West which was built at the same time as this or even a little earlier. (ULHSG)

The creation of 'courts' in the back yards of some houses and shops along the passage ways which existed all over the town had begun by 1802, but it was during the first half of the nineteenth century that it became really common, with Bullocks Yard (later Hopes Yard), Inmans Court, Ingrams Yard, and Hopkins Court, although Gambles Court (also called Bennetts Row and Sheilds Yard) had been largely completed by 1802 with 6 tenements in it. Examples of these crowded yards can still be seen today in Hopes Yard and the court behind 54 High Street East. Nor had many terraces such as Thorpe's Terrace and later Deans Terrace and Wades Terrace been started by 1802.

Many properties had their private water supply (Uppingham was well supplied with springs, wells and ponds). Deeds often recorded rights of access to a pump in a neighbour's yard. Very few houses in Uppingham in 1802 would have had water and 'necessary houses' indoors at this time.

Standing in Gambles Yard is a pump with the inscription WG1805, presumably put in by William Gamble for the convenience of those who lived in the small houses in the yard. (ULHSG)

It would then appear that after a good deal of building work in the previous century, Uppingham in 1802 was enjoying a period of relative calm before the infilling of back yards during the first half of the nineteenth century and the rebuilding of several parts of the town in the second half of that century.

Living in Uppingham in 1802

Most people lived and worked in the same building. Shopkeepers, craftsmen, domestic servants and apprentices and women lived behind, over or above the room(s) in which they carried on their main occupation. William Aris may have been unusual, for he had two premises, one behind the Falcon and the other in or near Printers Yard, and he seems to have lived in one and carried on his watch-making and clock-making in the other. As the insurance policies show us, working buildings cluttered the back yards with barns, workshops, stores, candlehouses, soapshops. The buildings of Uppingham in 1802 were themselves almost alive, for they grew and aged and died.

Individual buildings too were very flexible. They often got broken up horizontally (that is, one family or household upstairs and another downstairs), or vertically (that is, one family in the front and another in the back; or side by side, that is, going in the front door one family goes to the right and another to the left). Henry Coleman, for example, lived in premises in High Street West (near where Baines' teashop is today), rated at £16 in 1801-2, but in 1803, he broke it into two, living in one part rated at £4 and letting the remainder to John Freeman grocer who paid £12 rates on it. This was typical of the whole town. Cottages were built onto the back of houses, and many survive, usually now incorporated into the main building. Outhouses were from time to time converted into dwellings and then sometimes converted back to other uses. Buildings were things to be used to develop a livelihood rather than a restriction on activities. It is this which makes it impossible for us to put everyone back into a precise building, for they were often changing, and many different households appear to have lived at the same address.

Nor is it possible for us to say what it was like to live in any of these buildings. We have a few probate inventories for Uppingham, and these together with the auctions of properties and household goods which are advertised in the newspapers tell us the style of living that the more wealthy inhabitants were accustomed to. The poor would have had very few possessions. Some of the wealthier members would have had rather more possessions, while others would have cluttered their houses. We have one probate inventory which is revealing. After the death of a testator, the executors were obliged to get all the goods listed and 'appraised' by neighbours. The inventory we have is that of the goods of John Marriott auctioneer who almost certainly lived in what is now 26 High Street West. They were valued by Robert Glenham, another auctioneer in the town who probably took over Marriott's business interests. Marriott died in 1805: he left two freehold houses occupied by Robert Brown and John Peake, one copyhold house occupied by John Mayes in Hog Market, and one copyhold (Rectory Manor) house in the tenure of John Nutt. He also had a freehold close in Blaston, Leicestershire which was let out. He seems

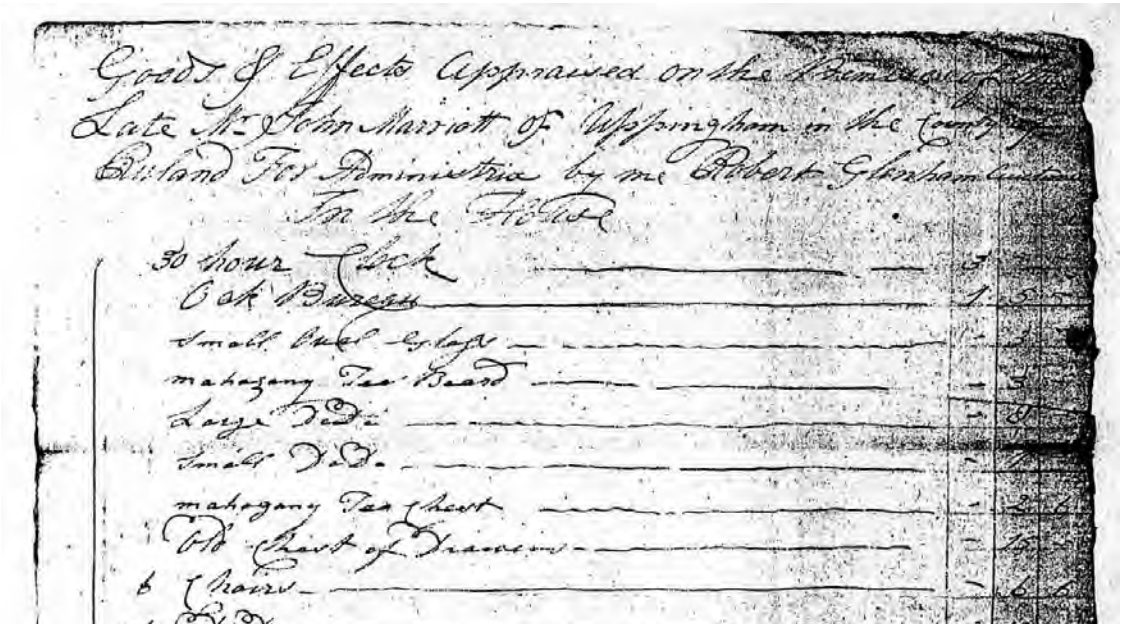
to have had no children, for he left everything ('Cash Notes, Bonds and furniture') to his wife Mary (see Appendix 3). Ann Cobley who lived next door was one of the witnesses to the will. Mary his widow married William Bird of Houghton on the Hill.[5]

We have to be careful with probate inventories, for they sometimes only list furniture which the previous owner has not already given away and which his or her executors will need to sell. But this one looks fairly full. The house had three rooms listed: the 'house' (the main living room, often called 'the hall') in which they cooked and ate, chamber number 1, and chamber number 2. There was also a cellar and a 'cupboard' (probably a walk-in pantry). He had a 'close' (a small fenced or hedged field). There is no mention of any garden behind the house, which may have been let to the occupier of a small cottage which stood just behind the house. There are today more than these three rooms, so the others may have been omitted from the survey or indeed they may have been let out to another household; one or more may have been Marriott's office(s) for his business of auctioneer.

The fact that Marriott was an auctioneer may account for the large number of possessions which cluttered the building. In the main room was a 30-hour clock valued at £3. There was an oak bureau and an old chest of drawers, a small oval glass, three mahogany tea-boards (trays?), a tea chest, two round tea tables, 12 chairs and a small stand. There was a 'corner cupbord', a dutch oven and bellows, fire irons and fender, cooking pots, two kettles (one copper and one tin), candlesticks and a warming pan. In the first chamber was a half-tester bed with hangings and bed clothes, a swing glass and a 'night stool'. The second chamber was clearly a household store room although it had another bed with its fittings. Here stood another swing mirror, two chairs, two cloaths horses and baskets, a linen chest, 3 pickle jars, lots of sheets, pillow cases, table cloaths, napkins, '6 glass cloaths', 3 smoothing irons and two brushes, together with a 'linen wheel', at £8 the most valuable thing in the house. The cellar had four barrels, glass bottles and 'window curtains and blinds'. The 'cipboard' held 12 plates (blue and white), tea pot, cream jug, coffee cups, pots and basins, baking dishes and 'white dishes', plates and boats etc. There was also a silver watch (value £1 10s), 'a quantity of books' (value £1 10s), and his 'Waring A Peril' (i.e. the clothes he stood up in) valued at £2. Marriott also farmed in a small way, for the field had a small stack of hay and 15 ewes.

The total value of the goods was put at £67 18s. The most valuable items were the clock, the feather beds, 5 pairs of sheets (£4), the linen wheel and the sheep. In addition, he had a bond for £100.

Thus lived and died one of the more active members of the community with his wife. A John Marriott was the Rector's churchwarden in 1769 and 1770, many years before. He was a witness to a will in 1779 (John Bull of the Cross Keys across the road), and to a settlement certificate in 1788; he sold land for the Vestry in 1800; and he helped to set the rate in 1801. He attended the Vestry which appointed doctors to the workhouse in 1802, and he was present when it was agreed that a church loan should be raised in 1804. There was a John Marriott hosier in Uppingham in 1781 who insured his property and also a house which he owned and which was occupied by Robert Cave; this may be our man before he became auctioneer. He was widower when he married Mary Hinman in 1800. He auctioned much property both in Uppingham and in many villages around. He was not a member of the Uppingham Association for the Prosecution of Felons, although George Marriott the horse dealer at the other end of the town was (George was probably a relative, for he rented land from John Marriott).[6]


Goods & Effects Appraised on the Premises of the
Late Mr. John Marriott of Uppingham in the County of
Rutland For Administrix by me Robert Glenham Auctr.
In the House
30 hour Clock
Oak Bureau
Small Oval Glass
mahogany Tea Board
Large Do.
Small Do.
mahogany Tea Chest
Old Chest of Drawers
6 Chairs

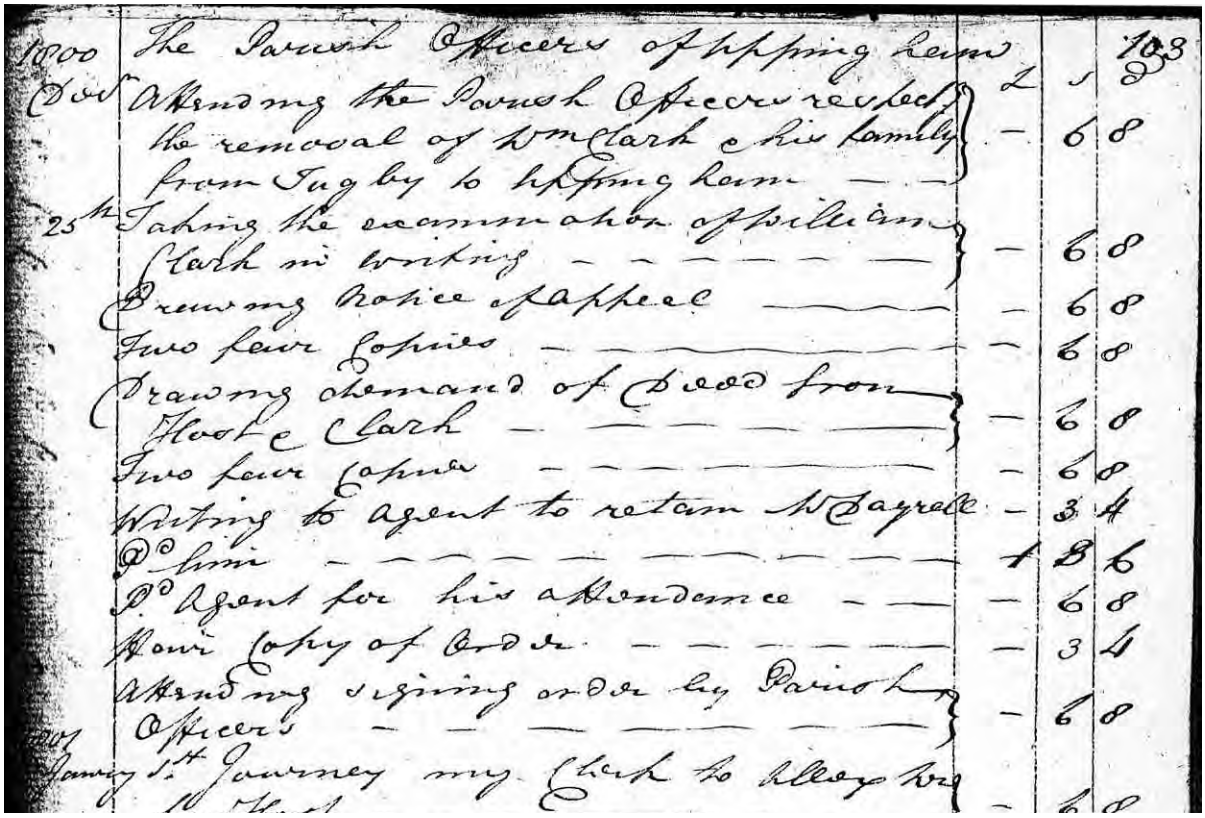
The opening entries of probate inventory of John Marriott auctioneer, 1805 (NRO)

Late 17th C or early 18th C cottage (now demolished) built on rear of what was then a thatched house (High Street West). (Private possession, printed with permission).

Perhaps the most 'polite' building of its period in the town: note the delicate carving around door and windows extending unusually to the top floor. The top floor and decorated front were added c. 1810. (ULHSG)

[1] Deeds
[2] RB, 1805
[3] Cooke's *Description,* 1802-10, p.19
[4] Aldred
[5] CR
[6] DE,passim; SM, passim; PR; ins

Itinerary 7.
High Street West South Side
SOLICITORS AND THE TOWN



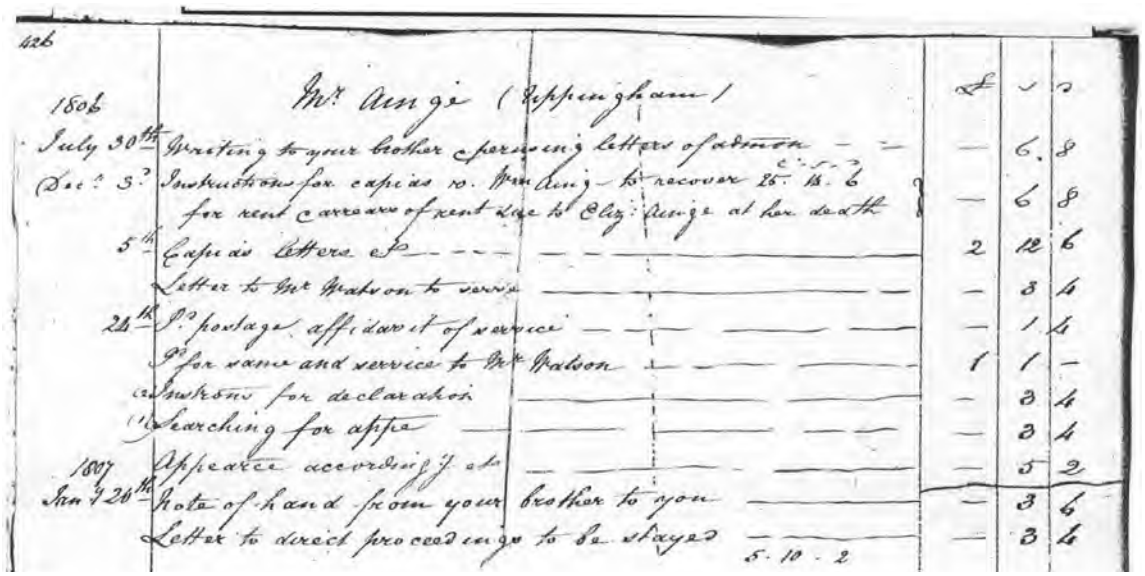
Part of page from Palmer notebook showing work he did for the parish officers, 1800-2, PRO, C107/95

Coming back along the south side of High Street West from Stockerston Road, we find Joseph Dean gardener renting the large farmstead of William Mould on the corner of High Street West and Spring Back Way. The home of James Hill woolstapler and a large house called Burnt House (presumably from an earlier fire) occupied by J A Palmer solicitor were sited under what is now Uppingham School. The new Cross Keys held by the Ingram family was also in this stretch of the town street; it was sub-let to John Munton. Behind several of the houses yards were beginning to be formed.

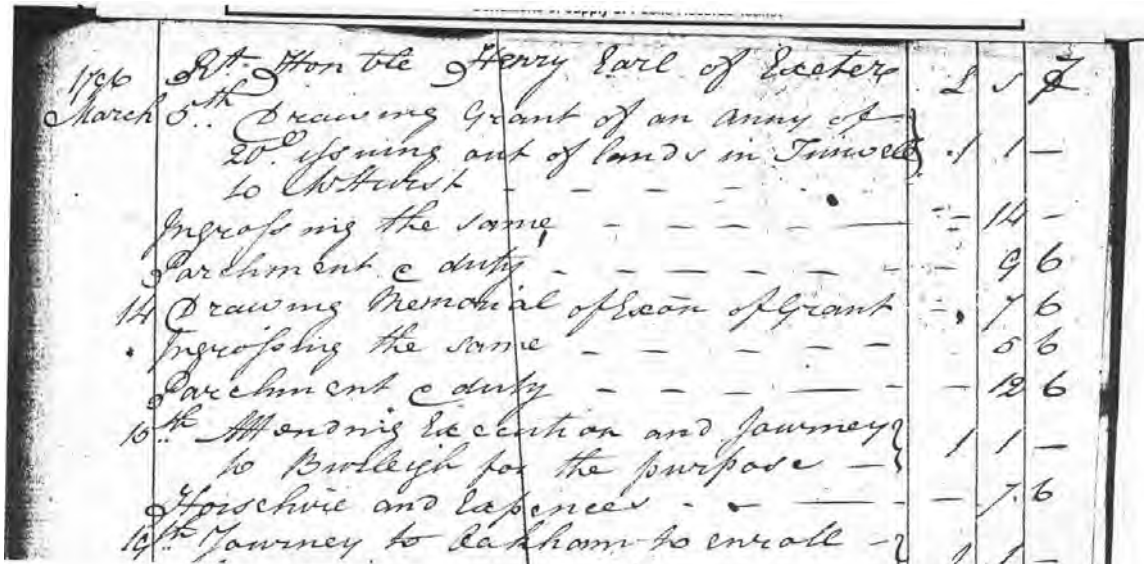
John Abearn Palmer had come to Uppingham very recently. His mother Elizabeth Palmer made her will at Kimbolton in 1794, and J A Palmer held property there when he died. He was her eldest son, born about 1764. John married Charlotte, and they had two daughters, Charlotte Anne (baptised 1791) and Caroline (baptised 1792). John A Palmer made a will in 1795, soon after his mother's will, in which he left all his property to his wife for her life with remainder to his two daughters. He seemed to think he would have no further children. He owned the copyhold of Burnt House (rated at £20) and land with a total rateable value in 1805 of £36.[1]

Palmer had moved into Uppingham before 1791, perhaps buying into a local legal practice. In 1789 he was deputy steward to Jonathan Bramston solicitor, and he took over as steward of the Rectory Manor in the next year. We have a notebook (apparently the second one) of all his business from 1798 to 1807 which shows him being very active in the town and area around, but he did not get involved in the town Vestry. He prepared leases for the town council in 1798 and was consulted about whether Beaumont Chace should pay to the rates or not; and he was surety for Dr Henry Larrett in his bastardy case in 1800. Apart from his legal practice, he was very active in the local militia - lieutenant in 1798 and captain in 1803.[2]

Looking through his notebook for the year 1802, we see how busy he and his clerks were. He frequently records working on Sundays, and his holidays are very brief. Many journeys are recorded, although it is not always clear which ones he made and which his staff made. On the other hand, visits are under-recorded, for some of the entries refer to him taking instructions at his clients' residences. He went as far as Whaplode in connection with the enclosure of land owned by the Grammar School. He collected money for some of his clients from tenants and creditors, and paid this over to them at various times; he even lent money to his



Palmer acted as solicitor to the rich and to the middling sort of traders in the town like John Ainge tinsmith who lived and worked behind the Unicorn (Palmer Notebook: PRO C107/95)



Palmer acted as solicitor to the Earl of Exeter's estate (Palmer Notebook: PRO C107/95)

clients. He helped them raise funds when needed, and advised on sales and purchases of property and stocks and shares. He attended auctions for different clients. Much of his work related to property, wills, mortgages etc but he also engaged in law suits, locating and interviewing witnesses and going to Leicester, Oxford and London during the year for one or two weeks at a time as well as more local courts in Oakham and Uppingham.

He served the turnpike trusts and the enclosure commissioners, and he did some business for the Grammar School trustees. He undertook business for poor law officials in several neighbouring parishes (Harringworth, Loddington etc). In particular he was clerk to Lord Carbury for the election of 1802 which took the best part of the month of June. He does not seem to have been in any hurry to collect his fees, for sometimes these were not written off until a period of three or even more years after the account had been closed.

During 1801, he became involved in a law suit with the two Misses Parker; under the adjudication, he was obliged to reimburse them the very large sum of £1800, which he agreed to pay at the rate of £100 pa to be charged upon his house in High Street West and his home close.[3] In fact, this would seem to have been favourable to Palmer, for they were both over 60 years and died within four years.

There are many references to Palmer in the *Stamford Mercury* in 1802, mainly in the form of advertisements and notices for clients. He had his horse stolen from

his home close which lay just across Spring Back Way behind his house. He received an allotment at the enclosure in 1804.

Many of the leading residents of Uppingham and neighbourhood were his clients (although equally there are some notable absentees from the list), such as John Ainge, William Belgrave esq., the Cheselden family of Ridlington, John Cooke esq. (see above), the Exeter estate of Stamford, William Gamble, William Gilson of Wing, both of the James Hills, the Ingrams, the Rector, the dean of Lincoln's estate in Rutland, Henry Parker the grocer who rented the Town House off the Vestry, Falconberge Reeve, Thomas Sewell, and Robert Tomblin sheriff of Rutland. Clients came from Belton, Lyddington, Allexton, Morcott, Bringhurst, Bulwick, Great Easton, and further afield in Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire etc. Clearly he had established himself in a short time as a leading figure.

But he died relatively young. There was a suit between Palmer and Hill (James Hill? and if so, which one?) in the course of which his will, his mother's will and his account book were tabled in the Court of Chancery.[4] The suit does not seem to have been settled before he died in Uppingham in September 1807 aged 42. His two daughters stayed on in the town unmarried, the older one running a girls' academy until she retired before 1851.[5]

Other solicitors in the town

Palmer was not the only solicitor in Uppingham. **Bentley Warren** (usually with his partner Charles Churchill) was very active since at least 1791. He lived at 'the Court' in High Street West (now the Thring Centre for Uppingham School), and served as steward of the other manor court, Preston with Uppingham, for the Noel family. Between 1794 and 1813, he attended the Vestry from time to time, serving on some of the committees set up to examine the parish officers' accounts and the workhouse. His wife Katherine died in 1803 at the young age of 23. He received an allotment at the enclosure of 1804. But apart from his stewardship, we know relatively little of his other business. His firm was engaged in selling property as far afield as Swinestead (Lincolnshire) and Orton in Leicestershire as well as more locally. With John Wyche (a Stamford lawyer), he was clerk to the enclosure commissioners of Braunston (Rutland), and he was clerk to the justices in 1802 and to the income tax commissioners to hear appeals. As befits a man of his standing, he was a member of Uppingham Association for the Prosecution of Felons in 1802. He was still active in Uppingham in 1829-30, although by then there were also Charles Hall, William Gilson junior and John Taylor to share the increasing work and the profits.[6]

Monument in parish church erected by Bentley Warren to his wife Katharine; she died 1803 aged only 23 'regretted inexpressibly by all to whom she was known'. (ULHSG)

Charles Hall came into Uppingham to fill the gap left by Palmer. Born in Lincolnshire (Westborough) in 1789, he remained unmarried in Uppingham until he died in 1852. He apparently took over Palmer's practice, for in 1814 he was said to be in residence at the Burnt House. His first appearance is at a manor court meeting in 1808, and in 1809 he attended a Vestry meeting. From 1814 (when Burnt House was sold by Palmer's widow), he moved to the Catherine Wheel. He was steward of the Rectory Manor Court from 1808 until 1851.[7]

What emerges from this survey is that Uppingham stood at the centre of a wide region in terms of its professional services. The picture drawn by Palmer's notebook of him and his staff hurrying about the countryside, attending courts and interviewing clients and witnesses, putting up notices, inserting advertisements in local and national papers - in short, serving mainly the great and the good but also some lesser mortals, and charging his clients travelling expenses in the form of horse hire, will no doubt also apply to Bentley Warren and later Charles Hall.

[1] The wills of John Abearn Palmer and of his mother are in the PRO along with his notebook, C107/95; see also PR; CR; RB, 1805
[2] Dir, 1791; CR; Traylen, *Services,* pp.81-83
[3] CR
[4] This is why it survives in the PRO.
[5] Dir, 1846; PR; census, 1851
[6] Dir, 1791; DE passim; enc; SM, passim; Pigot's Dir 1829
[7] CR; census, 1851; PR; DE, 1809

Itinerary 8.
The 'Free' School
EDUCATION IN UPPINGHAM IN 1802

Monday being the anniverſary of the young gentlemen educated by the Rev. Mr. Jackſon, of Uppingham, ſpeeches ſelected from the following authors were delivered in the ſchool, viz.

Richmond, Andrew, } Cato's Senate.
Stanton, Haggitt, } Cato, Sempronius, Lucius, } *Addiſon.*
Mapletoft, } Marcus, Decius, }
Morris, Speech of Edward the Fourth, on the Death of the Duke of Clarence, } *Shakeſpear.*
Jackſon, Verſes from Pope.
Rodgerſon, The Bard, —— —— *Gray.*
Fairfax, Hotſpur's Apology, —— — *Shakeſpear.*
Fox, The Languid Lady, —— —— *Young.*
Clarke and Trollope, Hubert and Prince Arthur, *Shakeſpear.*
Stephenſon, Cardinal Wolſey on his Fall, — *Shakeſpear.*
Palmer, Biron's Apology, —— —— *Shakeſpear.*
Wingfield, Verſes ſpoken in Weſtminſter School, *Dodſley's Collection.*

The town was honoured with a very genteel company from all parts of the neighbourhood, and ſeveral miles diſtant. The young gentlemen delivered their ſpeeches in a pleaſing manner that gave univerſal ſatisfaction. Elegant entertainments were provided at the Falcon and Unicorn inns; and the evening was concluded with a genteel ball at the ſchool room.

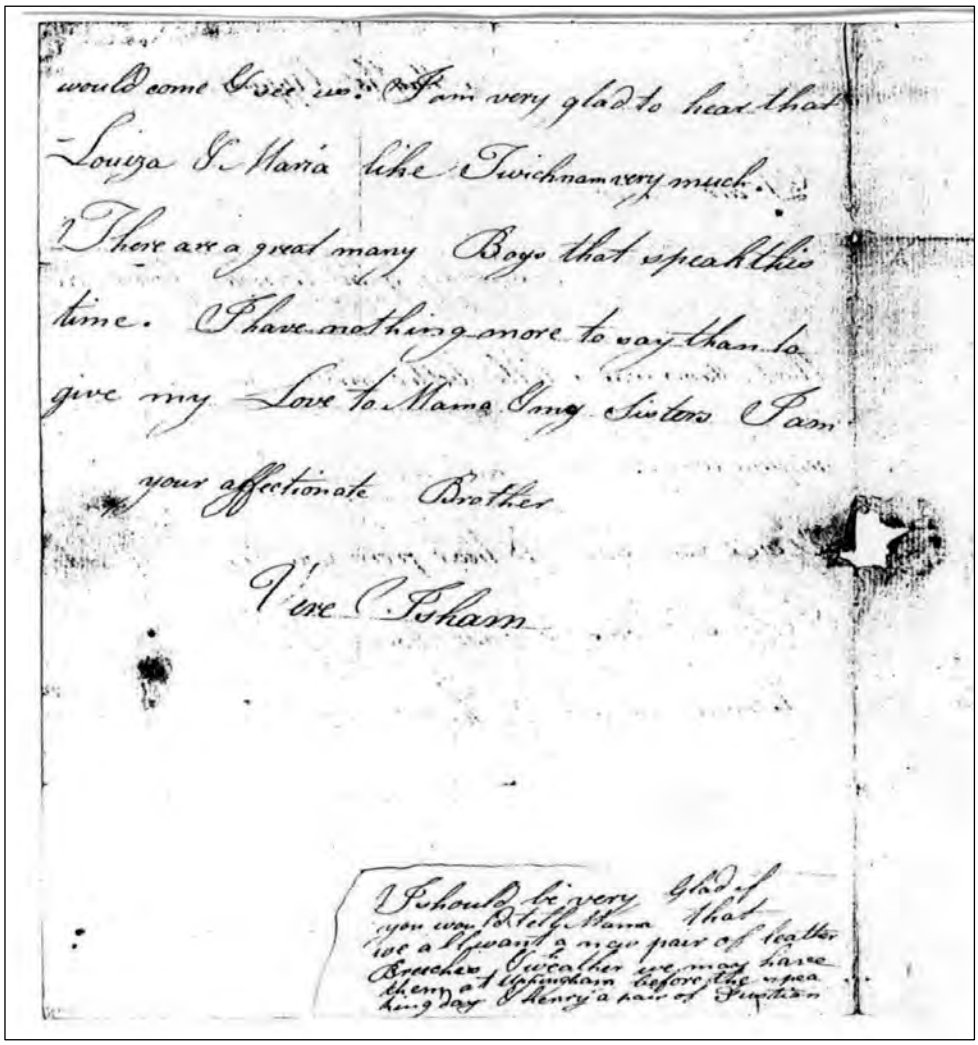
Speech Day at the Grammar School 22 June 1787 as recorded in SM, 29 June 1787

Behind High Street West lay the Grammar School. The Rev Mr Butt paid church rates of £25 on his house and the land the school held, together with an extra £1 10s for 'Chapman's house'; this may have been an empty house formerly occupied by Chapman or it may be a house still tenanted by Chapman; it was probably in what is now School Lane. He also rented a field from the Rector, so his poor rates amounted to £32.

This view of Uppingham shows the original hospital adapted to accommodate the pupils of the Free or Grammar School as it was in the 1830s after the expansion of the warden's house. The Old School Building near the church lies behind the trees at the right of the picture (US Archives, with permission).

The Grammar or Free School, as it was normally called at this time, occupied what was originally meant as an almshouse for old persons of the town; but earlier in the eighteenth century the Governors had decided that the premises were needed for the boarders. So that the poor of Uppingham received their relief in their own homes, and pupils lived in the almshouse (Hospital) and in part of the warden's house with the headmaster and his family. They ate in what they still called 'the chapel'. They were taught in the Old School Building which still stands behind the church. Pupils remembered running from the old hospital (School Lane was then called Hospital Lane) to the Old School along what is now Leamington Terrace and up the steps across the churchyard to arrive breathless (but fit) just as the school bell stopped ringing.

Life inside the school can rarely be seen, but there is one pupil memoir[1] which survives from this period, and one letter (below).


would come & see us? I am very glad to hear that
Louiza & Maria like Twicknam very much.
There are a great many Boys that speak this
time. I have nothing more to say than to
give my Love to Mama & my Sisters I am
your affectionate Brother
Vere Isham
I should be very Glad if
you would tell Mama that
we all want a new pair of leather
Breeches & weather we may have
them at Uppingham before the speak
ing day & Henry a pair of Fustian

Part of the letter from Uppingham School to the Isham family 1787;
the 'speaking day' mentioned in this letter is the one at the head of this chapter (NRO).

The whole letter reads:

To Miss Isham, In the Circus, Bath May 15th [1787] Uppingham

Dear Sister

I was very glad to hear from you that Mama was a little better and I hope she will get well. We break up the 18 of June. I was very sorry to hear from you that Harriott Sophia does not come home this Sumer [m *inserted*] and I should be glad to know how they do. We have not heard from papa since he has been at Lamport but we should be very glad if he would come and see us. I am very glad to hear that Louiza and Maria like Twicknam very much.

There are a great many Boys that speak this time [Speech day]. I have nothing more to say than to give my Love to Mama and my Sisters. I am your affectionate Brother, Vere Isham.

I should be very Glad if you would tell Mama that we all want a new pair of leather Breeches and weather [h *inserted*] we may have them at Uppingham before the speaking day and Henry a pair of Fustian.

The 'speaking day' for 1787 referred to in the letter is described in the notice from the *Stamford Mercury* printed at the head of this chapter.

Going away to school, 1799, from A Buck, Dress in 18th Century England, Batsford
(V and A Museum; Crown Copyright).

There were very many advertisements and notices about the schools of this region in the pages of the *Mercury*. The academic year started in July or early August, and terms ran from July to December and from January to June with only two breaks of about one month each. Headteachers were often given a curacy or a benefice as well as their salary as teacher (amounting in all to about 100 guineas: this seems to have been standard in this region). In some places, they were encouraged to take boarders to increase their incomes and thus save the trustees' costs. They would not only teach but also supervise their out of school activities.

There is no list of pupils at Uppingham at this time but the names of several are known from the records of the universities they attended and for some their military records. Henry Bellairs from Uffington was probably at the school in 1802; he was wounded at Trafalgar and probably fought at Waterloo. There were others who may have been at the school and later fought for their country at Waterloo. With improved roads and the stage coaches, pupils came to the school in Uppingham from Bedfordshire, Lincolnshire (Willoughby, Louth, Surfleet, Boothby Pagnell, Spilsbury), Norfolk, Staffordshire, Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire. One pupil remembered that 'my school fellows .. I found to be very well conducted individuals. The elder boys refrained from quarrelling themselves and did not allow the younger boys to fight with each other; no interference of a master could have produced this same effect'.[2]

Until about 1818, it was usually referred to in the records as the Free School. A government survey in that year may be used as a description of what the Grammar School was like in 1802. In 1818 there were 4 day boys and 31 boarders; this seems a bit low, for Clayton writing in 1889 suggested there were 'fifty or thereabouts' boarders when he was at school in 1806. None was a free pupil; there is a story that Dr John Bell of Uppingham asked the headmaster for a free place as provided by the original school statutes if 'their parents are not able to afford them their instruction', but the headmaster interviewed him and decided he could afford to pay, so the request was refused. Some pupils came from local families. Bell had three sons at the school, and the Barfoot family of Ayston had one. The fees were about £14 but with other costs, the parents paid at least £30 to £40 per half year for board and tuition.[3]

> It is a classical school preparatory to the universities, and it seldom occurs that any child desires such an education who is not able to bear the expense. The sum paid for day scholars is regulated by the governors, being proportioned to the ability of the parents and does not exceed four guineas per annum.[4]

It is not possible to be clear what was taught but by looking at the subjects advertised in the *Stamford Mercury* for similar schools, we can see English, French, 'the whole of Arithmetic on scientific principles', vulgar and decimal, 'the mensuration of Superficies and Solids and Surveying', the classics, religion, music (including instruments), and perhaps some geography ('the use of the globes'), book-keeping ('common and merchant's accounts), drawing (art), and (at Uppingham) dancing[5]. Spare time activities included cricket (which was very prominent), football, kite flying, walking and 'holding Socratic dialogues at "Baynes"' [the pastrycook]. On Friday 29 September 1815, a celebrated cricket match 'was played at Uppingham between eleven young gentlemen of that school and the same number of Oakham School which was won by the latter at one innings, the Oakham single innings being 89 and the Uppingham two innings only 36'.[6]

The Rev John Butt was appointed headmaster in 1794 at the age of 39; he received 100 guineas a year and of course the profits of boarding his pupils. Bryan Matthews says that it is not known what he did between leaving University and coming to Uppingham, but he was living in Uppingham in 1791.[7] Indeed the Butt family seems to have had some presence in Rutland both before and after his headmastership; John Barrett Butt was grocer and seedsman in Uppingham in

1846, and there are many advertisements in the *Stamford Mercury* in 1802 for Butt linen and woollen draper, grocer, hatter, hosier and haberdasher who had stores in both Exton and Stamford High Street. Our headmaster must surely have come from such a reputable local family. In 1811 Butt retired from the school to live in Stamford and he died there in 1831.[8]

Butt played a relatively small part in the life of the town. He never attended the Vestry but he was a member of Uppingham Association for the Prosecution of Felons. The main encounter between gown and town was at the annual speech day in June when the boys declaimed their speeches in Latin, Greek and English, and an exhibition of their work was on display. This was followed by an ordinary[9] at the Falcon and an old boys' dinner at the Unicorn. The 'leavers' ball' was held in the Old School Building in the evening.[10]

Part of the headmaster's time was spent on managing the estate and coping with often fractious governors. He and the governors consulted John Abearn Palmer about a good deal of business: there was clearly some dispute going on about the original decrees of the trust and who could serve as governors, and Palmer went to London and elsewhere on this matter. Palmer attended the 'audit' of the trust's accounts (clearly the AGM) on most occasions, and the law suit in Chancery was abandoned. There was also a dispute about Uppingham School's poor rates. Much of the work concerned the trust's estates especially in Lincolnshire where enclosure and the drainage of the fens took Palmer as far afield as Horncastle and Whaplode:

> Examining the old endowment of the Vicarage of Whaplode and also Queen Elizabeth's Grant to the Governors to see what was granted to them', probably in relation to the enclosure of Whaplode which took Palmer away from the office for some time: 'Being obliged to stay in Town [London] until late on Tuesday Evening the 15th, I could not get to Spalding but by the Wisbeach Mail from whence I was obliged to take a chaise to Spalding which with other Expenses and horse hire amounted to £3 13s 6d.[11]

At the school, Butt apparently added to the row of studies for the senior pupils started by his predecessor in 1794, and he built or rebuilt some of the school buildings. Perhaps because of the insecurity of the time (the war and revolution being in the air), the Governors of the two school trusts were reluctant to spend money, so Butt spent it himself and reclaimed later. The School had problems with local builders, and in 1800 the Governors told the headmaster that only Mr Dorman mason should be allowed to work on the school buildings.

The war affected the school; and although Uppingham School did not set up a formal military corps as Rugby did, Thomas Baines 'the pastrycook' and sergeant of the militia was 'employed to teach the boys military exercises'.[12]

Butt was assisted by various other staff. There was an usher who was paid officially £100 but who seems to have received £50 or £60 per year. The Rev Holgate was appointed usher in 1783 in place of the Rev Sheild and he lived in the usher's lodgings attached to the Old School. He retired but was still living in Uppingham in 1802. In 1802 the Rev Charles Child came to Uppingham as curate at the parish church and usher at the school, but he left apparently in a hurry in 1803, although he stayed on in the parish; he attended a meeting at the workhouse in 1802 and apparently a Vestry meeting in 1807. The Governors appointed Charles (or Thomas) Sanders as usher and he stayed until 1808, 'a man of considerable capacity with a disposition to give himself as little trouble as possible'. Again there seems to have been a problem, so that a senior pupil Henry Barfoot (probably related to Thomas Barfoot esq. of Ayston who was sheriff of Rutland in 1792) was made usher for four months (1807-8) until the Rev John Butt son of the headmaster and curate at Wardley and Belton came as usher and stayed until his father retired in 1811. It was not of course unusual for fathers to promote sons; the Rev Edward Jones did the same at the parish church. In 1811, the 'Mild and gentle Tommy' Barfoot returned as usher to the school where he had been a pupil.[13]

Apart from the usher who seems to have lived in the usher's room at the Old School Building, there was Mr Gosli who came from Stamford once a week to teach French and dancing, and Mr Jeyes the writing master who married Miss Mould daughter of William Mould of Uppingham.[14] John Robson schoolmaster lived in what is now Leamington Terrace and may have taught at the Grammar School also. And John Chapman may also have been a schoolmaster; for Butt was paying rates for Chapman's house in 1802 (but not in 1805 when Chapman rented his house from Thomas Baines), and when John Chapman died in 1805, he appointed Mary Chapman baker and Charles Peach schoolmaster as his executors. Charles Peach schoolmaster came to Uppingham before 1805. In 1807 Samuel Rogers music master moved from Stamford to Uppingham as church organist; but most of his teaching was probably with private pupils of uncertain ages.[15]

Very little is known about the other side of such schooling, the parents. The following advertisement from the *Mercury* in 1802 is however suggestive:

> A gentleman, going to reside in the West Indies, wishes to put his son, only just turned of seven, to a good school where there are not many Boarders (the fewer the better) either in the Counties of Lincoln or Nottingham. He wants his boy to be kept all the holidays, for which he makes allowance; making in all for Washing, Boarding and Teaching £35 a year, which will be paid punctually every quarter by a friend of the advertiser's, or at one of the

> neighbouring banks; and his clothes will be found for him. But above all he wishes him to write a good hand and learn Accounts well. As the advertiser has one sister who lives within four miles of Boston and another at Tuxford, either of those places would be preferred; and in that case his aunt will pay all for him. None need apply but who can bring unexceptionable characters, nor will any more than £35 be given. NB No unmarried person need apply, unless he has a sister or female relation that lives with him.
>
> (SM, 15 Oct)

Other schools and teachers

There were then a number of schools like Uppingham and Oakham in this region at the time. And there were other educational opportunities and individual tuition available in the town. Charity schools were established throughout the region, precariously supported by gifts, sermons, fund-raising activities such as concerts etc. This was the time when the Lancasterian system of schooling (associated with the nonconformists) was in rivalry with Dr Bell's National system. The *Mercury* supported the National system, Drakard the Lancasterian, calling the National system 'the intolerant, bigotted and sectarian scheme of Dr Bell' in which 'every child had to learn the church catechism and attend the C of E church every Sunday whether approved by their parents or not' instead of 'leaving it to parents to say at what place of worship their children should attend'. Boston was reported as deeply divided over this issue, the National School recruiting 'only 100 so far' and the Boston School Society recruiting 350 'who would probably have remained in ignorance and existing only as pests to civilized society'. In Northampton, a society for 1d per week education was set up: 'previously scarcely more than 50 children received a gratuitous education, now there are upwards of 1000'.[16]

Uppingham was slow to come to this. A National (Church of England) School had been established by 1818 with 'upwards of 100 boys', supported by voluntary contributions. A meeting was held in April 1815 to persuade the inhabitants to establish a daily and Sunday school under the energetic chairmanship of the Rev Charles Swann, and this may have been the origin of the National School in Uppingham.[17] 'All the boys of the parish are educated at the national school, and it is proposed to establish a school of industry and religious instruction for the girls', says the 1818 report; but the proposal to found a silk spinning school was rejected in 1818.[18] The Sunday Spinning Schools mentioned in 1790 seem to have disappeared; there was a school of industry in the workhouse ('a spinning school') but this was probably a sweat shop rather than a school, for no teacher can be named. But as late as 1818 it was reported there was no Sunday School for youth or adults in Uppingham. There were probably private teachers but they are hard to see.[19]

We get a glimpse of the life of such a teacher from the will of William Clark of Uppingham in 1790. Described as schoolmaster, he held two copyhold houses, one of which he lived in, the other he rented out to James Easton. Like many others, he was working as a stocking frame knitter in his spare time, almost certainly from his house; for he left to his son Edward a stocking frame 'which is now in his possession', and to his son William 'the stocking frame which is now in his possession together with the tools and implements belonging to me relating to the trade of a stocking weaver and woolcomber'. He gave a long list of furniture ('swing glass, a coffer in my lodging room, four large pictures in the parlour, a coffee pot, my silver watch, one half share of my brewing vessels and barrels and half my books') to his daughter Susannah but since she got married after the will was drawn up, he changed it and gave her one shilling only 'as she has already had her full share of my property'. He appointed 'my dear friend Joseph Furnis clockmaker' and William Watson cordwainer as executors and trustees.[20]

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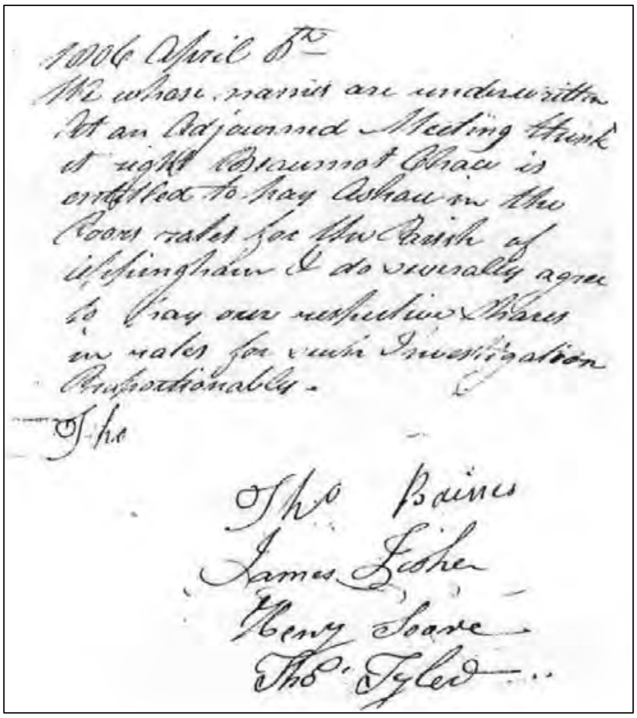
[1] USM, 214, 1899, (Clayton)
[2] Clayton, p.265
[3] Clayton, p.264; *By God's Grace,* pp.50, 54, 48; EdRep, 1818
[4] EdRep, 1818
[5] At Doncaster, a nonconformist school, the curriculum was set out as being Greek and Latin Classics, French and Italian Languages, the Sciences, Philosophy, Geography, History and Religious and Christian Instruction (SM, 24 Sep).
[6] USM, 247, 1893, p.311; Drak, 6 Oct 1815.
[7] Dir, 1791
[8] *By God's Grace*, pp.45-49
[9] 'a public meal regularly provided at a fixed price in an eating-house or tavern' (OED).
[10] SM 4,18 June 1802
[11] Palmer Notebook
[12] USM 247 p.310
[13] EdRep, 1818; Aldred, 1781, 1783; BGG p.45; DE, 1802, 1807; USM, 214, 1899, p.264; RutMag, iv, 84; the records call him Henry Barfoot, but Clayton calls him 'Tommy' Barfoot, USM, 250, 1895, p.53
[14] Drak, 30 Dec 1814
[15] wills Fox, 1802, and Chapman, 1805; DE, 1807
[16] Drak, 2 June 1815
[17] Aldred, 1799, 1802 etc
[18] DE, 1818
[19] Aldred; 1818 Rep
[20] will Clark, 1789

Itinerary 9.
From the School to the Market Square
UPPINGHAM'S TOWN COUNCIL IN 1802


1806 April 8th
We whose names are underwritten
At an Adjourned Meeting think
it right Beaumont Chase is
entitled to pay a share in the
Poors rates for the Parish of
Uppingham & do severally agree
to pay our respective shares
in rates for such Investigation
Proportionably -
Thos
Thos Baines
James Fisher
Henry Soare
Thos Tyler

Vestry meeting signed by 21 residents of Uppingham asserting that Beaumont Chase should pay to the rates, (DE, 1806)

School Lane (sometimes also called Hospital Lane) was full of smaller houses occupied by craftsmen. A large farmyard stood at the top of the lane on the left (now incorporated into the School as Masons Lawn). Along the street lived Francis Bennett cordwainer (or shoemaker) who was the parish clerk. One corner with High Street West was occupied by a large yard from which a carrier business seems to have been carried on (Richard Wade); the White Hart (formerly known as the Cross Keys) occupied the other corner, where Sarah Laxton hosted Vestry meetings, auction sales and other activities. Behind the White Hart was a blacksmith's forge (William Cant). A large grocery store filled part of the road before the corner with Market Place, and on the corner lived John White parish constable. Just round the corner was the Town House (now demolished) which was held by Henry Parker grocer and tallow chandler; it possessed a workshop, brewhouse, barn, stable, great and little warehouses and a coalhouse (ins).

Local government in Uppingham in 1802

Francis Bennett, the parish clerk, and John White, the parish constable, between them would have seen a good deal of the official life of the town. John Bennett was mentioned as parish clerk in 1765, Edward Facon in 1775 and John Bennett again in 1791. John Bennett died 1799 as parish clerk, when Francis Bennett seems to have taken over. He died in 1817. As clerk, he often signed the marriage register as a witness, and he wrote up (very badly) the minutes of the parish Vestry in the churchwardens' book. He had many duties for the paltry sum of 7s 6d a year; but in 1807 he persuaded the council to provide him with an additional sum of 5 guineas a year for his work.[1]

The Vestry was in effect the town council. There were two manor courts, and the Noel (sometimes called Lord Gainsborough's) court is said to have chosen each year a 'headborough' to run the town's affairs,[2] but nothing can be seen of this official during the period under review. It was the parish Vestry, which covered both manors and all the freeholds in the town, which was the only general authority in Uppingham in 1802.

The Vestry met irregularly in the parish church or a local inn, and the sums expended in the inn for meetings are recorded in the accounts: 'paid Mr Lacey [Royal Oak] at Easter Meeting £2 2s 0d'.[3] Officially Church of England, dealing with matters relating to the parish church, nevertheless prominent and active members of the Independent Church like Joseph Seaton and Edward Kemp also served on the Vestry. It seems that anyone could attend the Vestry; although there was one occasion when a committee was set up with three members representing their mothers (which would suggest a household qualification to attend),

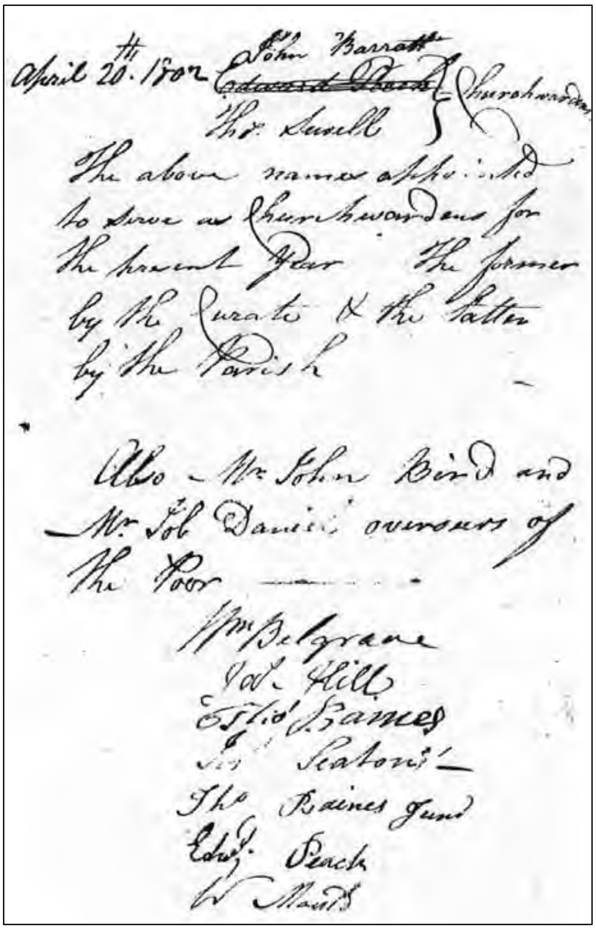
there are no other signs of this, and the names of those who signed the book as being present appear haphazard. Numbers ranged from three to twenty two persons. Proceedings were by majority voting: 'We majority of this meeting have sett our hands'. The Vestry often set up committees to perform certain functions, like audit the accounts of the parish officers or supervise the workhouse. We can occasionally catch hints of disputes at the meetings: at a meeting in 1813, 'the undersigned formed a committee by the majority of the meeting' to re-assess the rates in the town.[4]

What impresses one is the large number of different persons attending the Vestry, often only once. One group sets the rates; a few days later an entirely different group meets to discuss the accounts. Almost the only person who attended the whole time is invisible - Francis Bennett the parish clerk.

The Vestry set the annual church rate (normally at sixpence in the pound but occasionally threepence). This was separate from the poor rate which was often higher and which included any land which the rate payer might hold of the church (such land was exempted from the church rate). As everywhere, the main aim of the Vestry was to keep rates as low as possible (see workhouse below). In 1792, the Vestry, meeting first in the parish church and then adjourning to the Unicorn, ordered 'that the churchwardens do not lay out more than 40s at any one expenditure without the consent of the parish (i.e. the Vestry)'; and in 1812, the Vestry ordered that 'no more than 2 guineas to be paid in passing the Annual Accounts' - that is, the sub-committee should not enjoy undue hospitality while auditing the officers. In 1813, the officers were given permission to borrow up to £200 to meet their expenditure. There was unease that the rating on property was unfair, and a special parish meeting was called in 1813 and a committee set up 'to equalise the rates'. There was a big row in the town over whether Beaumont Chase should pay to the parish rates, and legal opinion from Stamford was sought on the matter; but in the end nothing was done.[5]

Apart from the rates, the Vestry dealt with various town matters. They had some land which they leased out, often in full Vestry meeting. Charities were part of their business, giving bread and looking after 'the charity children'. They dealt with agricultural business, church services and the workhouse or Spinning School, and they discussed bastardy cases. They kept the town fire engine which the Vestry bought in 1735 at a cost of £34 10s 3d,[6] and they spent much time and money on the repair of the workhouse. They paid for sweeping the snow away and for cleaning the church steps from time to time. There must have been many other topics discussed but no record was kept of these debates.[7]

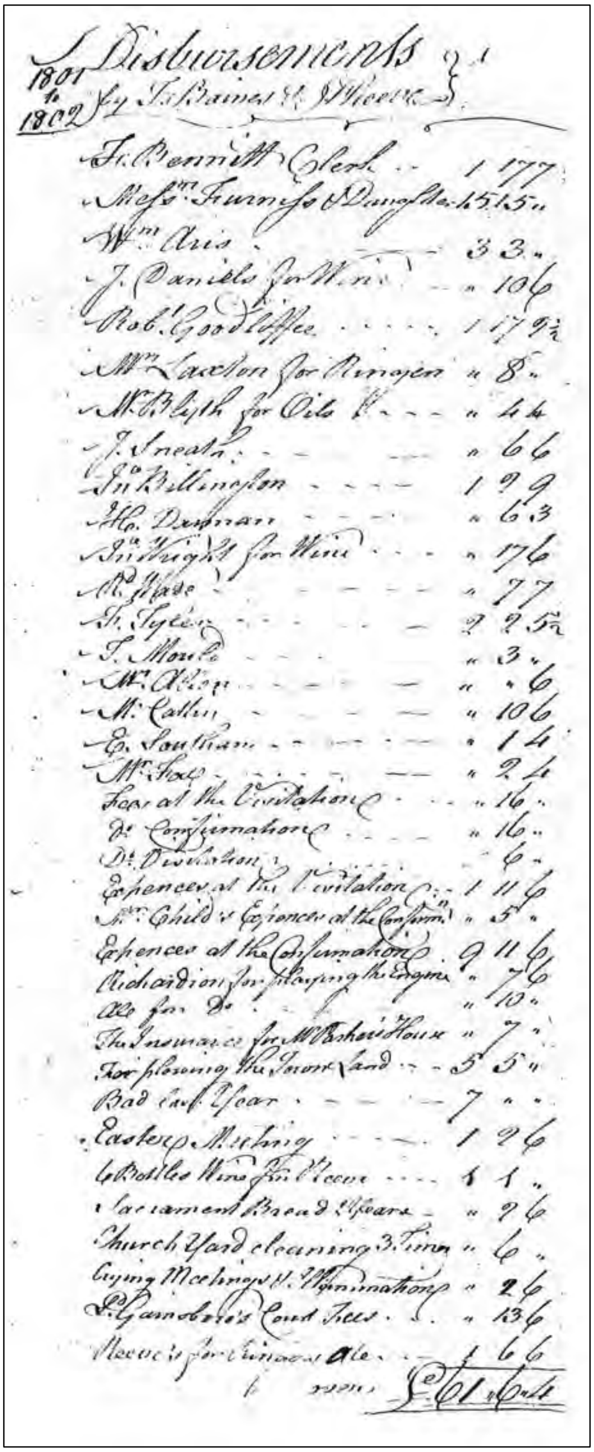
They often discussed the Town House which Henry Parker grocer rented from the Vestry and which was clearly rather dilapidated. In 1793, Henry was asked to take a new tenancy, this time paying a large sum (£250) up front and a very small rent for the next twenty one years, a device which the Vestry was using to raise a large sum which it needed to repay an earlier debt. In 1796, 'paid Henry Dorman bill for work at Mr Parkers house £4 17s 1d'; but in 1815, the house needed major repairs and the Vestry brought a Stamford architect in to advise them on what was needed, but found his advice too expensive; and in the following year when Henry died, there was some doubt as to whether his widow would take on the lease.[8]


April 20th 1802 John Barratt ~~Edward [illegible]~~ Churchwardens
Thos. Sewell
The above names appointed
to serve as Churchwardens for
the present Year The former
by the Curate & the latter
by the Parish
Also Mr John Bird and
Mr Jol Daniel overseers of
the Poor
Wm Belgrave
Jos. Hill
Richd Barnes
[illegible] Seaton's
Thos Raines Junr
Edwd Peach
W Marsh

Page from churchwardens' accounts showing Vestry meeting to elect officers 1802 (DE, ROLLR)

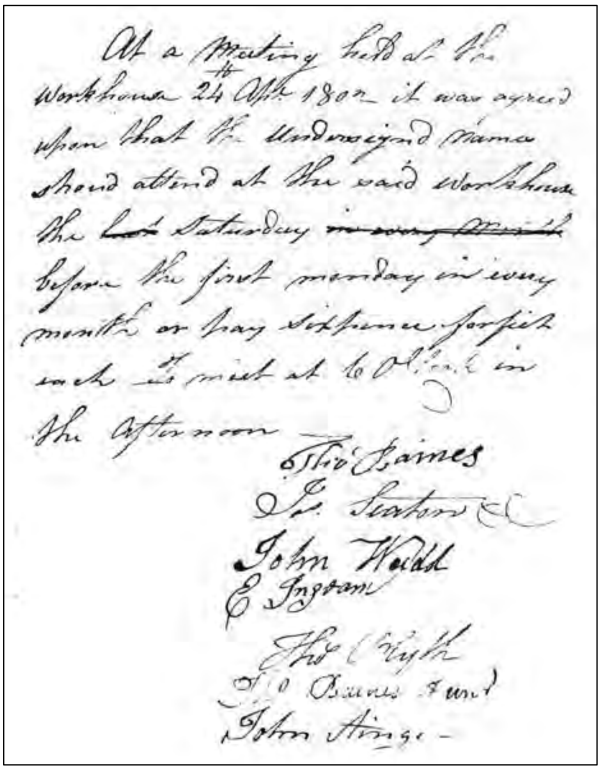
The Vestry appointed the officials - all that is except one of the churchwardens which the Rector or curate appointed; the other was elected by the parish. There seems to have been some continuity among the churchwardens, with the people's warden often (but not always) becoming Rector's warden in the following year. It was not until later that churchwardens stayed in office for many years - Richard Wade from 1819-1830 accompanied for much of this period by Jonathan Gibbons 1821-1830. The two Overseers of the Poor however rarely served more than once. There are a few signs of growing reluctance to serve in the parish offices. Other officers appear occasionally (apart from the Master of the workhouse): a parish constable (John White of High Street West),

the sexton (Mr Knight in 1811), and perhaps a night watchman (a lanthorn and a javelin bought for John Judkin). Mr B Wiles received a salary but it is not clear what that was for. There are no signs of the Overseers of the Highways although we know they were appointed.[9]



Part of 1802 disbursements of churchwardens. Bennett put himself first (DE, ROLLR).

So in 1802,[10] on 4 April, the Vestry met as a committee at the workhouse to inspect it (12 names); on 11 April the rate was set at 6d (four names); and on 20 April the Easter meeting was held, at which Thomas Baines and Falconberge Reeve the outgoing churchwardens rendered their accounts, the list of uncollected levies (which included Mr T Bullock farmer), and their disbursements. The record states that E Peech (the name has been deleted and the name of John Barratt inserted) and Thomas Sewell were elected as the new churchwardens (Peach and Sewell served during the year), and John Bird and Job Daniell were chosen as Overseers of the Poor (7 names). Among the disbursements were payments to various tradesmen for maintenance of the church such as glazing and roofing, to the parish clerk (Bennett would not have missed that out), the annual confirmation service, 'crying meetings and illuminations' (perhaps celebrations for the end of the war), 'B Wiles' salary', and 'playing the engine' (a display to make sure the fire engine was working properly, apparently done every Easter in the Market Place). On 13 May, 'a meeting of parishioners' made an agreement with Mr Bell about his medical work at the workhouse. After that nothing is recorded until 3 April 1803 when the new rate was set. There was no record of the appointment of a master of the workhouse this year, so presumably the previous master (John Pepper) continued.


At a Meeting held at the Workhouse 24th Apl 1802 it was agreed upon that the Undersigned Names should attend at the said Workhouse the last Saturday ~~in every Month~~ before the first monday in every month or pay Sixpence forfeit each to meet at 6 O'Clock in the Afternoon —

Thos Baines

John Wedd

E Ingram

Committee set up to meet at workhouse the last Saturday of each month 1802 (DE, ROLLR)

Palmer and the town council

Palmer acted for the Vestry on occasion between 1799 and 1805, and his notebook gives us a glimpse into what was going on. In 1799, he drew up a lease for some town lands.[11] In 1800, he attended the parish

officers concerning two matters. The first related to the removal of William Clark and his family from Tugby to Uppingham. Palmer examined Clark as to his settlement and followed this up with a long and expensive suit which went to trial in Leicester. The cost to the parish was £36 14s 6d. Secondly, he dealt with the settlement of 'Churchin': this took Palmer to Colsterworth to serve notices and to examine the pauper. The cost in this case was £40 7s 2d. Later, Palmer drew up indentures for some parish apprentices for the officers, and arranged the mortgage of £150 on the town lands when the officers needed to raise a loan. In 1806, the council said they would consult Palmer about Beaumont Chase paying rates,[12] but apparently they did not do so before Palmer died in 1807. The impression given is that the parish officers consulted a solicitor only when they had to. There are no signs of Palmer's involvement in the Vestry other than this.

The overall picture of the Vestry and officers then is one of relative inactivity unless pressed; but among the general inhabitants there was great concern about the amount and equality of the payment of the rates. We have in Uppingham wide participation in a limited form of self-government; a considerable number of the major residents doing only what was the legal minimum to keep the town happy.

LIST OF PARISH OFFICERS, UPPINGHAM

	CHURCHWARDENS	OVERSEERS OF THE POOR	OTHERS
1798	William Mould William Watson	T Holmes T Tyler	
1799	William Watson John Lacey	Edward Ingram Robert Robinson	
1800	William Watson Thomas Baines	Robert Cave Francis Tyler	John White constable
1801	Thomas Baines junior Falconberg Reeve	John Wadd William Gamble	
1802	Edward Peach Thomas Sewell	John Bird Job Daniell	
1803	Matthew Catlin junior Richard Wade senior	Thomas Baines junior Richard Wade junior	Thomas Ashling master of workhouse
1804	Mathew Catlin Richard Wade junior	Thomas Bullock Joseph Seaton	John Pepper master of workhouse
1805	William Mould Job Daniell	J White F Reeve	John Pepper and John Wadd master of workhouse
1806	William Mould William Dean	Edward Kemp Edward Peach	John Pepper master of workhouse
1807	William Watson Edward Peach	J Hill H Larrett	John Pepper master of workhouse
1808	William Watson Henry Larrett esq	T Blyth W Mould	John Pepper master of workhouse
1809	William Watson James Hill	Mr Allen Mr Ainge	John Pepper master of workhouse

[1] DE, 1807; Aldred
[2] Pigot's Dir, 1829.
[3] DE, 1810
[4] DE, 1810, 1798, 1813
[5] DE, 1792, 1812, 1813
[6] Aldred
[7] DE, 1786, 1806; Aldred, 1735
[8] DE, 1793, 1796, 1815, 1816
[9] DE, 1811, 1801
[10] DE, 1802
[11] DE, 1799: this is probably in an earlier notebook
[12] DE, 1806

Itinerary 10.
The Rectory
RELIGIOUS LIFE IN UPPINGHAM IN 1802

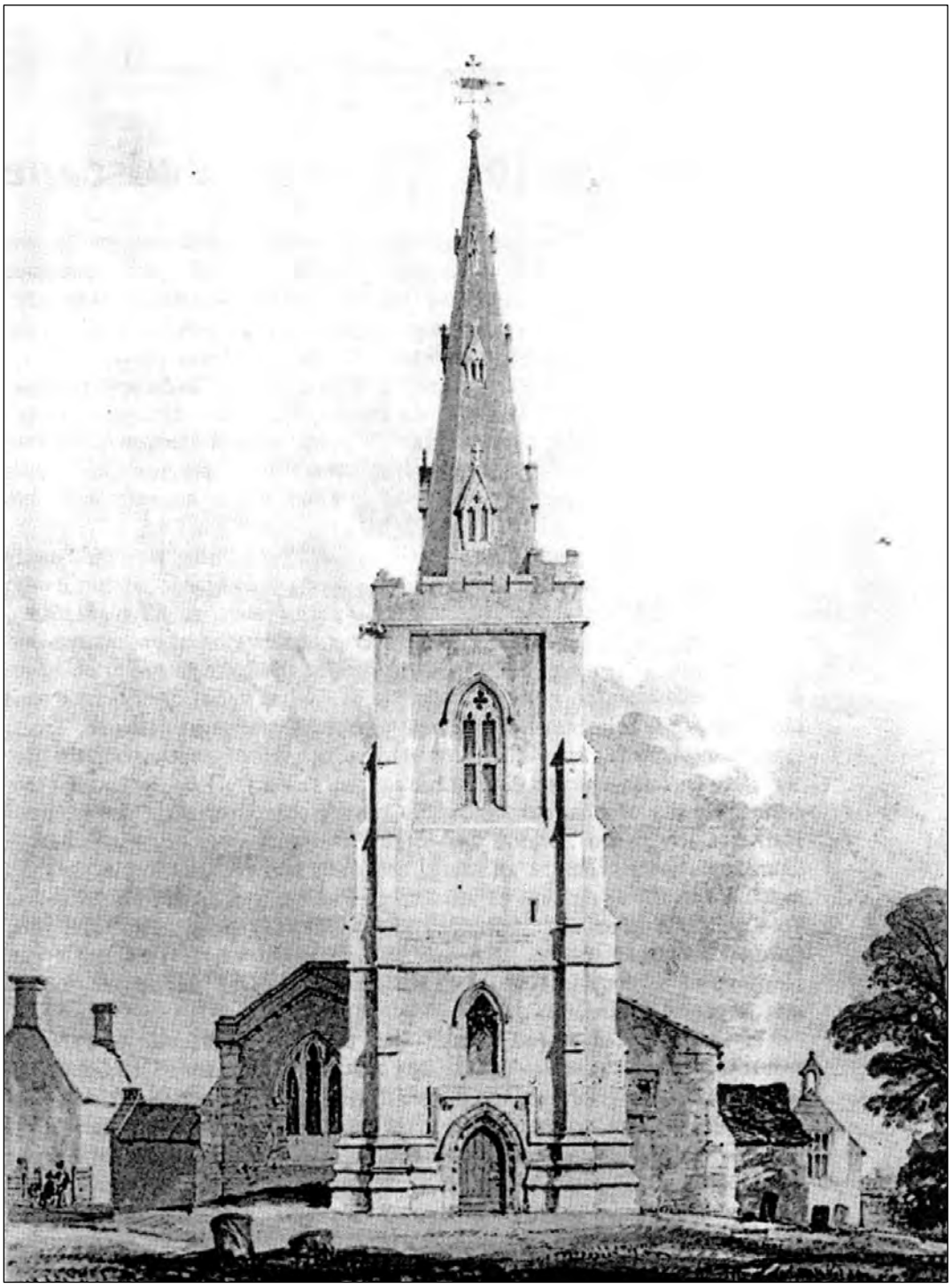
> When we consider that in our churches, in general, we breathe a gross stagnated air, surcharged with damps from vaults, tombs and charnel-houses, may we not term them so many magazines of rheums created for the benefit of the medical faculty? and safely aver that more bodies are lost than souls saved by going to church, in the winter especially which may be said to engross eight months of the year. I should be glad to know what offence it would give to tender consciences if the house of God was made more comfortable or less dangerous to the health of valetudinarians; and whether it would not be an encouragement to piety, as well as the salvation of many lives, if the place of worship was well floored, wainscotted, warmed and ventilated, and its area kept sacred from the pollution of the dead.

(Smollett, *Humphrey Clinker,* 1771)

Just round the corner stood the Rectory House. Much of it has been demolished; and the Pump Inn which adjoined it on the north side has now completely gone. By appearance, it was apparently a seventeenth century stone house, but by 1802 it was said to be dilapidated. A survey was made in 1801 to see if the Pump was once part of the Rectory House but it was reported that it was not and never had been (CR).

The Rector the Rev Edward Jones, MA Cantab, did not live in the Rectory House in 1802. He had come to Uppingham in 1786 as Rector of Loddington 1761-1781, and he continued to live at Loddington, being buried there in 1815. Non-residence and plurality of the clergy was a matter of considerable concern, especially at a time of growing population when so many people seemed to be alienated from the church; so the church reform movements of the time advocated a usable parsonage house in every parish, and by the 1830s, they had made a great deal of progress throughout the country. In Uppingham, the Rectory House was occupied probably by the curates who served the parish under Edward Jones - his two sons the Rev Edward Jones junior who was married in 1802 and who became Rector of Greetham, and the Rev Francis Jones. In 1802 a new curate came to Uppingham, the Rev Charles Child who also served as usher at the Grammar School. He married in 1802 a Miss Thompson of Chelsea. Apart for the demolition of a barn in 1809, few repairs were done to the Rectory, so that in 1818 soon after the Rev John Giles Dimmock was appointed Rector, he had licence to live elsewhere while the Rectory was being done up.[1]

Rectory, Uppingham before alterations in later 19th century
(parish church collection, printed with permission)



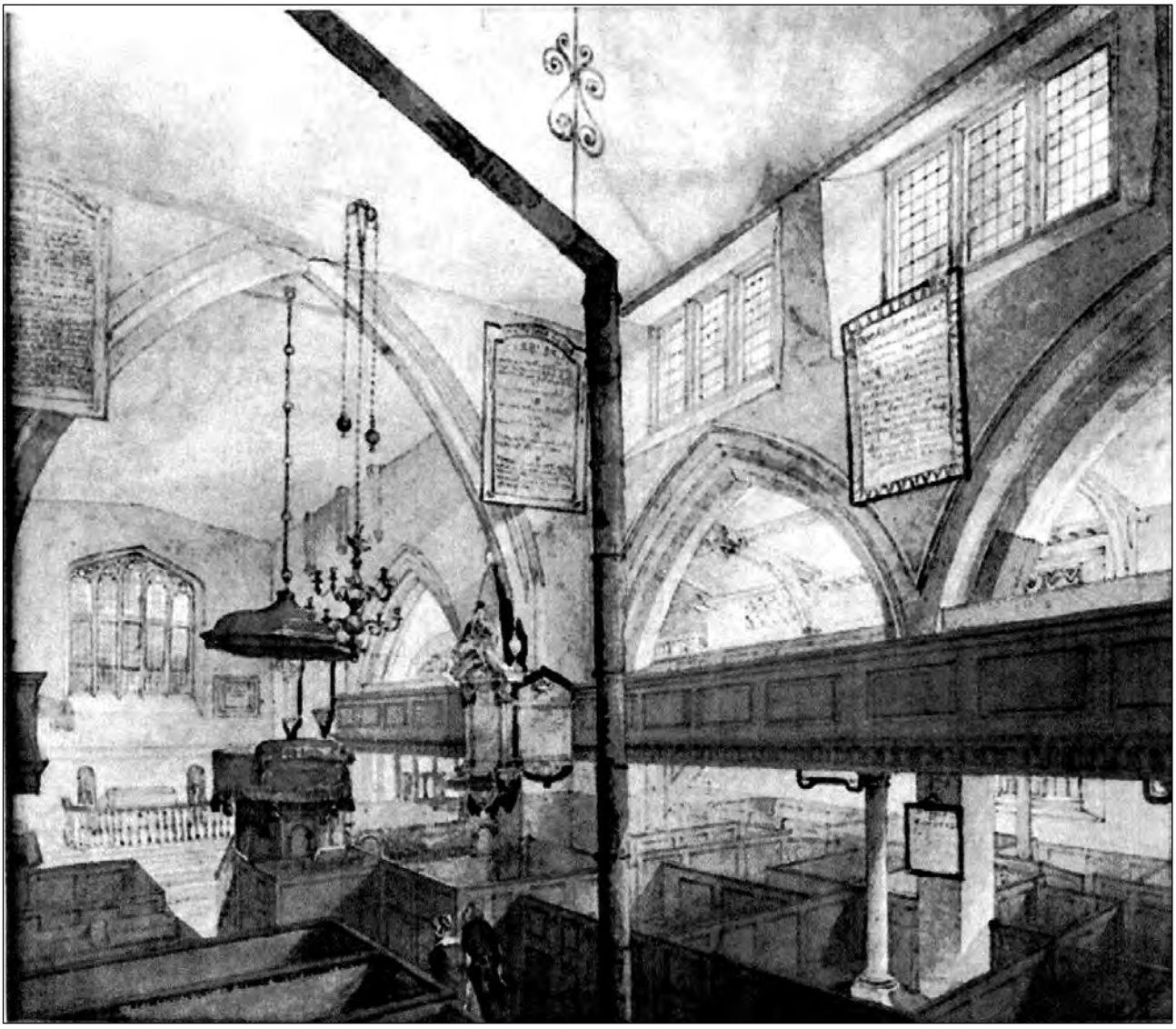
View of Uppingham parish church in the 18th Century
(NAS Collection in NRO)

More attention was paid to the church than to the Rectory House. Throughout the period the parish church was constantly undergoing repairs, especially in the 1770s. The tower and steeple were pointed in 1804 but needed further work in 1820. A new clock was purchased in 1776 and given a new dial in 1807. A Vestry room was added in 1823.

More work was done to the interior. The galleries which seem to have been built on the south and west sides of the church in 1776, at the same time as the 'old and ruinous and decayed gallery now standing on the north side' was renewed, were being improved in 1793: 'gallery erected and built in the chancel'; in 1799, and again in 1825: three new galleries next to the chancel arch 'because the church is clearly in want of an increased number of sitting places'. The Ten Commandments inside the church were repainted in 1799, and the Kings Arms restored in 1821. Family pews were often mentioned: Mr Blyth for example paid 7s 6d for his pew for two years, and several title deeds reserved the pew rights. But concern about those who had no private or rented pew expressed itself: in 1807, the Vestry discussed the erection of two pews in the

front gallery for the use of the parish.[2] An organ was bought and installed in 1777 to replace the instrumental music which the church had employed before: a bassoon was bought for the church in 1763. An organist who also served as clock winder is first mentioned in the same year, paid £12 p.a. In 1801, the churchwardens paid '5 guineas to Mr Furniss whitesmith to repair the organ and put it in tune', and at the same Vestry meeting, Mary Furniss was appointed organist at an annual salary of 10 guineas, increased in 1807 to 12 guineas; and when she died in 1809, the church hired Samuel Rogers music master from Stamford at a salary of £20 p.a., and he remained at the church for many years. The bells took up a lot of the time and care of the churchwardens, being largely restored in the 1770s, and the ringers received payment for special occasions. John Rudkin rang the town bell at 8 o'clock and 5 o'clock each day. There was a choir, for 'the singers' feast' is mentioned in 1768, and a church ale or fund raising event is mentioned in 1823.[3]

But attendance at church may not have been pleasant, as the dyspeptic Smollett pointed out at length. Apart from the building, dark and dank, services would not always be decorous: 'Agreed .. that John Tempest shall be paid two shillings and sixpence every three months so long as he shall keep the boys and dogs quiet in the Church on Sundays'. In Uppingham there obviously was some disagreement about the services: a meeting of the Vestry in 1791 determined 'to take the sense of the parishioners in general whether the old version psalms and tunes shall not be sung in the church at the time of divine service which was usually sung for a number of years back'; meanwhile 'the 100th and 104th old version and old sence psalm be sung Sunday next'. There was some attempt to enforce the statute against swearing on a no doubt recalcitrant population. The clergy recorded the baptism of illegitimate children of which there seemed to be many; but this was not confined to the poor; Henry Larrett doctor and the farmer family of Crowden were responsible for three cases of bastardy.[4]



Interior of Uppingham parish church in the 1830s by Edward Falkner showing galleries and the height of the box pews
(parish church collection with permission)

Nonconformity and conformity

Elsewhere in Uppingham, things were relatively quiet. **The Independent church** had existed from the very early eighteenth century. It received a new licence in 1777, and some trustees clearly held some property, for they received an allotment of land in the enclosure of 1804. Dr James Bell seems to have been the leader of the trustees. It is possible that it may have met somewhere near the Market Place initially, for there is an odd note in the Land Tax returns of 1803 that James Bell and others were taxed for the Meeting House at about a point in the itinerary which corresponds to Baines Corner. But in 1798, Richard Seaton junior of Manton acquired from Rebecca Tookey two copyhold cottages in the tenure of Robert Sewell; they seem to have been in Meeting Lane and were converted into a Meeting Room for the use of Protestants Dissenting from the Church of England.[5] Certainly by the time the enclosure map was drawn in 1804, the Independent Church was at its present site in Adderley Street. The Minister may have changed in 1802, for in 1801 he was William Ward who had been with the church since at least 1793 and in 1803 the Minister was John Allason who stayed until 1806-7. Neither may have lived in Uppingham: neither Ward nor Hollingworth his predecessor is listed in the 1791 *Directory*.

There are few signs of the members in Uppingham; many seem to have come from the surrounding villages. The key families in Uppingham were those of Dr James Bell, Joseph Seaton, Edward Kemp and rather later the Hopkins. David Davis tailor and Sarah his wife were members. Robert Goodliffe and his wife had their first child (1801) baptised in the parish church, and the three children which followed 1807-1811 were baptised in the Congregational Church. But perhaps relations between the two churches were cordial; John Leake the postmaster and his wife Anne had the first of their three children baptised in the Independent Church, the third in the parish church, while the second child was baptised in *both* churches in a period of three weeks, first in the parish church and then later in the Independent Church. Even Dr Bell erected memorials in the parish church to his wife and family rather than in the Independent Church. On the whole, the Independents seem to have formed a cohesive group, often acting as witnesses and executors to each others' wills. James Hill woolstapler may have been a member, since his son Everard and his son-in-law Edward Kemp both became keen members. When Pastor John Green arrived in 1807, nineteen persons signed a new covenant. The licence was renewed and a new church was built and opened in April 1814. The scale of the new church and the quality of its finishing reveal great vision on the part of what was then a small congregation, confident that it would grow large. We cannot see any other religious groups in 1802 - the Methodists and the Baptists came later in the nineteenth century.[6]

There is very little mention of religious life in the *Stamford Mercury*. Many religious books are advertised among the general publicity given to books at that time. There are references to Sunday Schools in 1785-6, and one reference to a Sunday Spinning School, meaning a school for poor persons. There are letters about religious topics, especially relating to ghosts, whether they are (Christian) spirits, and a description of the emergence of new sects. No doubt Uppingham had members of the Rutland and Stamford Auxiliary Bible Society, at the Annual Meeting of which the newly ordained Rev Mr Green spoke, but if so, there are few signs of this or other religious manifestations at the time. Perhaps this was a community which Wesley would have claimed needed 'awakening'; but equally it may be that our sources do not tell us much about a vital part of Uppingham's culture in 1802.[7]

But they do reflect the general concern about the state of religion in the country and the threat to the established church. Commenting on the rise of Sunday Schools in Nottingham in 1802, the paper comments: ‘we are concerned to learn that only 400 [pupils out of 1863] are initiated in the tenets of the Church of England’. Most were Methodists and the rest Baptists and Independents.

> The numerous Sunday Schools in this country are one of its very prominent and honourable characteristics; and we sincerely hope, though we dare not without dread, that the preponderance of the established religion may not ultimately be shaken by the innovative sects that are in so great a degree fostered by these institutions (SM, 15 Oct).

Clearly concern over the state of the established church and for the souls of the people influenced some of the 'middling sort of persons' in Uppingham when they invited John Green to come to help them build a living church in the town.

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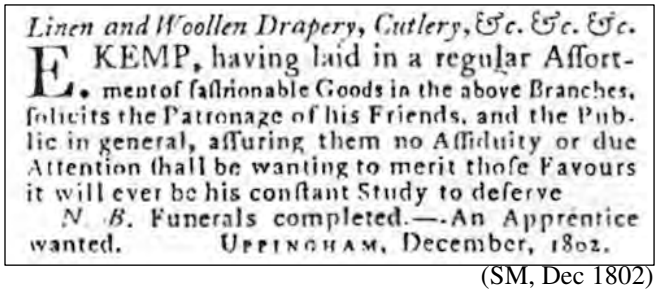
[1] Clergy; *By God's Grace* p46; CR, 1818; SM, 13 Aug 1802
[2] For pews, see deeds; DE, 1806; DE, 1807; DE, 1804; UppRut p13; Aldred; NRO Faculty papers, 1809; TiR; DE, 1776; ROLLR Upp parish papers, 1818; Irons; UppRut, p.81; will, Furniss, 1804
[3] DE, 1763; DE, 1801; DE, 1809; DE, 1791; DE, 1768; UppRut, p.67; see article in *Rut Mag,* ii, pp.33-38 for a fuller description of the church.
[4] DE, 1735, 1791; DE bastardy papers
[5] CR
[6] Drak, 22 April 1814; PR; CongReg; CongCh; Stacey
[7] Drak, 3 Feb 1815; Aldred;

Itinerary 11.
The Market Place (General)
TRADING AND MANUFACTURING IN UPPINGHAM IN 1802



Linen and Woollen Drapery, Cutlery, &c. &c. &c.

E. KEMP, having laid in a regular Assortment of fashionable Goods in the above Branches, solicits the Patronage of his Friends, and the Public in general, assuring them no Assiduity or due Attention shall be wanting to merit those Favours it will ever be his constant Study to deserve

N. B. Funerals completed.—An Apprentice wanted. UPPINGHAM, December, 1802.

(SM, Dec 1802)

The Rectory House stood on the corner of Leamington Terrace which was not yet fully developed in 1802 but still recognisable; John Robson schoolmaster lived there in a house rented from John Fox the clockmaker. Various inns stood here - the Pump next door to the Rectory and the Chequers on the corner of Leamington Terrace and London Road. Below at the east end of Spring Back Way were some of the town's farmyards, barns and hay stores.

The rating list then moves into the Market Place. Gathered around the Market Place were some of the most prominent and active citizens of the town, especially if we add the properties which lined the western side of London Road such as the Rectory and the Town House occupied by Henry Parker grocer and tallow chandler, which faced into the square.

We cannot position everyone in the Market Place. But William Dean wine and spirit merchant and gardener (nursery and seedsman) and Thomas Blyth grocer had large stores on the east side of the Market Place, and Richard Wade ironmonger and whitesmith probably held part of what is now Norton's ironmongers. The shops on the north side of High Street on either side of the Falcon described themselves as being in the Market Place.

There were other buildings in the Market Place (see Itinerary 12). The small building still standing may have been a lock-up. The shambles (mostly now gone but part is used for the public toilets), built (or rebuilt) in 1786, 'were taken down and new ones erected' in 1826. The old shambles were more extensive than the later ones, for 'all the materials from the old shambles with shops in front and a smith's workshop behind were sold so as to enlarge the Market Place'. A water cistern and pump were installed in 1818.[1]

The Market Place was, then as now, full of activity. The weekly market, the sheep market and the two annual fairs filled the area and spread to the Beast/Cow Market, Hog Market and other parts of the town. This was where a woman would be whipped for public deterrence, although the parish stocks were on Beast Hill near the Pinfold.

The Noel estate owned the Market Place: hence its claim to several cellars which ran from the larger shops under the market place area. It also owned 'several shops in the Market Place'.[2] These may have been temporary but long-term stalls as in many other market places at this time. Here gathered the citizens to exchange goods and gossip. Conveniently near to the church, it would have seen life every day. Not just with Uppingham residents, for here was where those who came from outside the town to trade and use the services offered by a market town assembled before and after conducting their business (see carriers above).

Uppingham was a trading centre. The fairs in March and July were well known for 'horses, cattle and coarse linen cloth'.[3] There were relatively few manufactures here and none on a large scale. The town was on the very edge of the framework knitting region of Leicestershire but there were at least four framework knitters, some of them having more than one frame. There were makers of furniture from wood, especially chairs and trenchers. There were a number of weavers and tailors in the town. In particular, there were several smiths, and watch and clockmaking made a significant contribution to the economy of Uppingham at this time. The list of 31 parish apprentices put out to masters show that 14 out of 31 were put out to masters outside of Uppingham; in Uppingham, seven were placed with framework knitters, and others with two tailors and two gardeners, and a single ironmonger, butcher, wheelwright, cordwainer, stonemason and chairturner each.[4]

The census of 1801 shows that Uppingham was an agricultural town. Although only 6% were directly engaged in agriculture and 20% were in trades,[5] these trades were mainly related to agriculture. There were butchers and bakers, a cornfactor, several engaged in the wool trade, gardening, seedsmen and nurseries, land agents and auctioneers. There were a number of mills (all windmills, no watermills) and many maltings. There was a prominent group of wine, spirit and liquor

The Rectory, the Pump, the Town House and other shops which lined the west side of London Road, now all demolished (part of the Rectory remains as the Surgery). These originally formed part of the Market Place but later encroachments came between them and the square (photo: private possession, with permission).

merchants, into which trade John Morris of North Luffenham seems to have invested a good deal of his wealth.

Not all of the shops were open all the time. Slater in his Memoirs written several years later says that a number of tradesmen came over from Stamford occasionally, especially on market day. 'Mr Drakard of Stamford .. attended on Market days'. 'Mr Jeremiah Belgrave of Stamford used to have a grocer's shop which he attended on Mkt days'. 'Mr Mills of Stamford used to attend at Upp Mkt as Druggist afterwards Mills and Hope'. Uppingham was perhaps seen by some persons as an outpost of Stamford.

Billhead c1814 of John Ainge whose workshop stood behind the Unicorn (Uppingham parish records in ROLLR)

Churchwardens' accounts, receipt from Falkner's grocers 1818 (parish records in ROLLR)

But while those who lived in the villages came into Uppingham on market day and no doubt other days, some of the tradesmen had shops in the villages outside. Richard Holmes junior, butcher, for example, when he took over after the death of his father Richard Holmes senior in 1814, said that he would 'continue as butcher in Uppingham, Belton and Wing'.[6]

Perhaps the most substantial in terms of numbers and their wealth and influence were the drapers. We can see at least five engaged in this trade. And some were very wealthy such as William Belgrave. Henry Soare draper was advertising for an apprentice in 1802. Joseph Seaton had a shop in the Market Place and was rich enough to buy John Cooke's bookshop (5 High Street East) in 1811 for more than £1000 and continue to expand his business there. Joseph Ross was another draper probably on a smaller scale, and Smith Mitton draper's shop (he was dead by 1802) seems to have been continued by his wife. Edward Kemp started his long and prominent career in Uppingham as a draper in 1802.

Fashions and clothing

Buying clothes is not of course a luxury, although some clothes can become a luxury item. It is not just changing fashion that creates the drapery business in towns like Uppingham, although that clearly will affect some trade. It is personal growth and the use of clothes that make this an on-going item of shopping.

But there were two things which made the drapery and tailoring industries especially important in the period about 1802. One was the change of fashions from an earlier stiff and elaborate style towards more comfortable wear. Men were adopting a liking for casual country clothes and women were taking to a softer, more rounded Neo-classical womanly shape. This was in part made possible by the second change, from woollen and leather clothes to cotton and various variants of cotton and linen. Many of the visible socially distinguishing features of dress were disappearing owing to the rapidly increasing importation of cotton from the new colonies of America. The woollen industry therefore faced increasing problems, personified in Uppingham by the troubles of James Hill woolstapler (see below) but no doubt felt by the other woollen workers in the town. It was reported in the *Stamford Mercury* that long wool (a coarser type of fleece) was being smuggled from England to France in exchange for illegal brandy, despite the prohibition against such exports.[7] If it continued, the paper alleged, 'thousands of poor [English] workmen must be turned adrift to starve'. Stuff (i.e. woollen) Balls were mounted in Stamford as elsewhere to rescue the rural woollen industry; and the official requirement that all burials should be in woollen was still in force; it was rescinded only in 1814. The spinning schools so beloved of the poor law officers and charitable donors at this time were a part of this struggle. But they failed against the tide of the new economy and the industrial revolution.

The clothing trade then was booming, in Uppingham as elsewhere. The best shopping for the more affluent Uppingham residents was to be found in Stamford which was the main centre of fashion for the region. Robert Owen who worked for Mr McGuffog, a tailor in Stamford, wrote of this period,[8] 'The articles dealt in were of the best, finest and most choice qualities that could be procured from all the markets of the world; for many of the customers were amongst the highest nobility in the kingdom - such families as Burleigh, Westmoreland, Ancaster, Noel-Brown, Trollope.' Mr Myers offered 'to supply the ladies of Stamford and its neighbours with the Most Elegant and fashionable Fancy Goods which he flatters himself will be found well worthy of attention'. Mr Butt (probably a relative of the headmaster of the Free School in Uppingham) has 'selected from the most fashionable houses in Town a very elegant and extensive assortment', all offered at a full 20 percent below the usual prices. George Bunting announced just before Christmas that his drapery and haberdashery store held 'upwards of one hundred pieces of choice and beautiful cloths'.[9]

Uppingham's shops would be smaller and less opulent, but its advertisers were no less fulsome. In December, Edward Kemp, a linen and woollen draper opening his new store for the first time, set out his pledges in an advertisement (see head of this chapter). Henry Soare of Uppingham 'wanted immediately an Apprentice to a

Linen and Woollen draper in full business. A premium is expected.' (SM15, 29 Jan - the premium was a fee paid for the opportunity to learn a trade). But the biggest draper in town, William Belgrave, did not advertise his goods in the *Mercury*.

Many tradesmen would combine drapery with grocery, kitchen goods and crockery and, as in the case of Kemp, undertaking. They generally lived at their place of business. There would be no stated hours of business, especially for proprietors living on the premises, and not all shopkeepers were men. Gas lighting did not arrive in Uppingham until 1839, so candles and oil lamps would make for dim, smelly, somewhat hazardous interiors. Drapers' shops were particularly dark because of the custom of hanging wares around doorways and windows, a better way of displaying cloth rather than in rolled bolts. Outside 'parish lamps' - street lamps fuelled by very poor oil - cast little illumination. These shops would also attract buyers from Uppingham's surrounding villages where there were substantial families living in comfortable circumstances.[10]

Other clothes were 'tailor-made' for individuals by tailors or sempstresses and milliners. In Uppingham, Hopkins and Tyler, Cant and Davies all appear as tailors, and Holmes and Cave as breeches-makers. In October 1787, Frances Lewin announced that she had set up in business as a milliner and dressmaker close to the Market Place. She had been apprenticed in Leicester, and having presented 'her Respectful Compliments to the Ladies of the Town of Uppingham', offered 'to accommodate the Ladies with every article to the Utmost of her Powers' (SM 1787). She added that she would also take in Clear Starching. Eleanor Furniss, a dressmaker born in 1770, and Catherine Shelton, a sempstress born in 1780, were probably active in such capacities in the town in 1802.[11]

But for those who could not come in from the region to the tradesmen, there were the travelling salesmen. Peddlers were unpopular in many quarters and were required to be licensed, and when the number of country shops increased, an attempt was made in 1790 to repeal these licences and have hawking made illegal. However, London wholesalers and the expanding textile industries that supported the travellers recognised the value of a wider distribution to the middle and lower reaches of a rural market, and opposed any legislative attempts to prevent trading. Jane Austen writing in 1800, said that she had bought for herself 'from a passing pedlar … 6 shifts at 3s 6d per yard and four pairs of stockings.' The gowns and shifts referred to by contemporaries were not the garments themselves but lengths of materials, just enough to make a dress or petticoat. Even after ready made garments appeared in shops, dress materials were offered or advertised at so much 'the gown' or 'the dress', and these lengths were often bought by hawkers from established drapery shops and then re-sold. Smith and Company of London offered 'Lengths of clear Muslin from 10s 6d the Dress' in the *Stamford Mercury* in 1802.[12]

For most clothes for men, women and children were made at home. There was then a great demand for cloth lengths. Many of the drapers advertising in the 1802 *Stamford Mercury* were offering lengths of cloth and the more simple items of women's wear - cloaks, shawls, petticoats, gloves and dress trimmings - so females had either to ply a needle themselves or to seek the services of a 'mantua-maker' (dressmaker). There

A visiting pedlar (engraving by W H Pyne 1803) from Hartley and Elliott, 1925

was, of course, no sewing machine, but it was at this time that the tape measure made its appearance, making accurate body measurement calculations possible. There were very few dress patterns available. Before the 1789 French Revolution, 'fashion babies' - pattern dressed dolls - had been sent from Paris to London so that current French styles could be copied, but that practice had disappeared. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, fashion style was often distributed by word of mouth or letters - especially from friends who had travelled to London. Existing clothes were also borrowed and copied, and for the wealthy there were some expensive, exclusive fashion plates. Jane Austen complained, 'I cannot determine what to do about my new gown. I wish such things were to be bought ready made.' Men were better served, and for many years had been supplied with coats, breeches, waistcoats and shirts. But although men's shirts could be bought ready-made, most were still sewn by the women of the family, an accepted regular duty. Jane Austen made shirts for her brother, and in 1797 she warned her sister Cassandra, 'When you come home, you will have shirts to make up for Charles'.[13]

In these circumstances, most people had very few clothes; Sunday best was reserved for the emerging middle classes. Uniforms for school children were beginning to appear in the charitable schools for the poor, but those attending the fee-paying schools were expected to wear what they would have worn at home. It is no wonder there was a flourishing trade in second hand clothes, usually run by women. They are often mentioned in wills and probate inventories (Marriott's inventory lists 'Waring A Peril £2', see Appendix 3), and insurances always had a separate section for apparel. And there was a flourishing crime of theft of clothes, often recorded in the paper. Uppingham would have had its light-fingered fraternity, many living locally, but others passing through the area. Doors and windows were vulnerable; open carts and wagons offered attractive plunder; washtubs and laundry baskets left unattended could be ransacked; washed clothes left out on bushes to dry presented no problems; lack of security meant easy entry to inns and lodging houses, and shops offered attractive pickings. There was always a host of 'receivers' ready to negotiate terms. The *Stamford Mercury* in 1802 (8 Oct) reported the activities of John Vernon, a 'sharper' held in custody for robbing several ladies of wearing apparel. This enterprising individual 'assumed the fashionable manners of a Bond Street lounger', and 'his practice was to attend such ladies as invited him to their lodgings and there steal whatever was portable.' His booty included seven pairs of silk stockings and a silk cloak. One bashful victim from whom he had stolen a chemise declined to prosecute. A more heinous crime of the period was that of 'child stripping' - robbing unattended children of their clothes, generally in poorer parts of towns. 'A woman named Robinson was on Saturday fully committed for trial on five separate charges, for stripping and robbing infant children of their clothes in different parts of the metropolis' (SM, 17 Sep).

And clothes could not be washed too often in case they disintegrated. But then people did not wash themselves very often. A doctor writing of the affluent at the time remarked 'many men and ladies though accustomed to wash their hands and faces daily, neglect washing their bodies from year to year.' Heated water and large mahogany wash tables fitted with mirrors and brass or copper bowls can be found in the bedrooms of larger houses; and smaller simpler washstands with surfaces for copper or ceramic bowls would be used in Uppingham's middle class homes. But for most, a wooden tub was in general use for body or clothes washing. Soap, unless homemade, was taxed until 1853, and consequently a black market had sprung up with soap being smuggled onto the Western shore of England from Ireland where there was no tax.[14] Tallow chandlers can be found in Uppingham in 1802, but much soap was homemade from tallow (animal fat), kelp, vegetable matter and wood ash, all boiled together. It looked unattractive and had an unpleasant smell, but was cheap and easy to make. A better class of soap was sold in Uppingham: Mr Drakard, who had been appointed retail agent for Uppingham on the instructions of an exclusive London supplier, had for sale 'the amazing Middlewoods Abyssinian Flower Soap famed for its fragrancy and cleansing properties', but at one shilling per square it was beyond the pocket of many. And for those who could afford such luxuries, Mr Drakard had 'the satisfaction to inform the Nobility and Gentry of Stamford and Uppingham that he is appointed Agent….for British Imperial Dentifice and Lotion for preserving the Teeth and Gums and giving them that Permanency and Beauty so desirable to every person.' (SM, 26 Mar)

It is perhaps difficult to imagine the impact that cotton imports had had on the country. This cloth contributed a good deal to the cleanliness of common dress. It could be easily washed, even boiled (boiling killed lice), although the lighter weight cottons and muslins were fragile and frayed easily. Francis Place, writing in 1820, remembered 'the wives and daughters of London shopkeepers and traders in their leather stays and quilted woollen petticoats, worn day by day until they were rotten and never washed.' Dorothy George also refers to such unwashable clothes as 'linsey-woolsey' (mixed wool and linen) petticoats padded with horsehair and cotton wool, worn till they dropped to pieces from dirt'. Cotton smocks and aprons worn by the labouring classes were more easily washed, although they were often worn to cover dirty and stained basic dress.[15]

Keeping such clothes clean caused a great upheaval; the process was complicated and full of problems. Little wonder that washdays came at widely spaced intervals, and even less frequently in the winter. Parson Woodforde wrote in 1799, 'Washing week with us. We wash every five weeks' - this in a well-

organised household.[16] Washing was carried out - only on dry days - in kitchens and backyards. Water was heated in cauldrons or coppers supported by bricks or stones over wood fires, then transferred to tubs, with extra water required for rinsing. Some kind of paddle was used to beat the clothes and release caked-in stubborn dirt. Streams of dirty, discoloured water would run through the open channels that bordered Uppingham's pavements on the fine days when many householders took advantage of the opportunity to launder. Finding a space for drying was not always easy, and washing was often left spread out over bushes and grass.

Technical laundry aids were beginning to appear at this time. In October 1787, Todd and Beethan and Co. of London offered a Patent Washing Machine for which they were the sole and exclusive agents. The smallest size which would wash 8 shirts at once cost £2. 7s 0d, the largest four guineas, ('Double the quantity of Shirts in the Same Time'). The 'Finest as well as the Coarsest Article' would be safe 'as there is no Friction'. 'One of the said Machines may be seen at work every Tuesday morning at Mr Glanville's, Stamford' (SM, 1787). Ironing was often dismissed, but for those who desired a less wrinkled finish, a 'box iron' with a hollow container into which was inserted a heated unit or the 'sad' or flat iron would be used, usually in pairs, one being heated, and the other in use.[17]

The wealth of Uppingham in 1802

Uppingham was not of course simply a drapery town; there were many other trades and crafts. But drapery and tailoring were among the more significant wealth generating activities of the town in 1802.

Many of the shops and especially the inns which were in greater danger of fire took out insurance, and their records are informative. They show for instance that most of the shops had considerable amounts of stock, far in excess of the value of the property in which it was held. William Belgrave draper in 1781 had a house and shop worth £200, household goods valued at £100 and trading stock of £1400; he apparently could not maintain such indebtedness, for when he reinsured himself four years later, his house was reduced to £150, he excluded his household goods, and his stock was reduced to £850. But he far outstripped in wealth the rest of this group of Uppingham merchants. Many of the others were also heavily over-stocked: Blythe the grocer had a house worth £300 and stock worth £350; Southam the ironmonger a house valued at £70 and stock at £300, Cook the grocer and druggist had a house valued only at £80 and stock at £320, Henry Allen woolstapler had £300 stock against a house worth £100.[18] It is no wonder that many sought mortgages to help pay for their trade.

And this raises the question as to where the funds were obtained to help develop this economy. Deeds frequently reveal that much was done on mortgages, as the examples of John Cooke bookseller and Joseph Seaton described above show. Capital was available, often at the discretion of the local solicitors who apparently usually knew where money was lying idle. Much of it came from women like Ann Grant or Ann Pepper (see below page 59) with capital to invest; and much came from outside the town - from Stamford and even further afield.

In 1802 there does not seem to have been a bank in Uppingham; but banking soon started in the town - indeed, in the Market Place, at the initiative of James Hill (see next chapter).

Plate from a Fox Clock of Uppingham (Gretton Church: photo Andrew Butterworth with permission)

[1] Drak, 7 Jan 1814; Aldred; UppRut, p.16
[2] RB, 1805
[3] Cooke's *Description,* 1802-10, p.8
[4] The list of occupations has been built up from many different sources.
[5] Census of 1801, Parliamentary Papers; see App 1.
[6] Drak, 25 Nov 1814
[7] SM, 1787
[8] *The Life of R Owen*, 1857, cited in E Ewing, *Everyday Dress 1650-1900*¸ Batsford 1984
[9] SM, 23 April: 5 Nov: 10 Dec
[10] A Adburgham, *Shops and Shopping 1800-1914*, Allen and Unwin pp.6-7; UppRut, p.17
[11] census, 1851
[12] Adburgham, p.3; A Buck, *Dress in 18C England,* Batsford 1979 p.200; Claire Tomalin, *Jane Austen*, *a Life,* Viking, 1997, p.144
[13] J. Dyson, *Inventions*, Daily Telegraph, 2000; Tomalin, p.110; P Byrd, *Jane Austen Letters to her sister Cassandra and others,* Batsford, 1979, p.51
[14] Lawrence Wright, *Clean and Decent,* Routledge Kegan Paul, p.138; D Pool, *Facts of Daily Life,* Robinson, p.70.
[15] Buck, pp.197-8; *The Autobiography of Francis Place*, edited M Thale, 1972, pp,74, 80, 125; D George, *England in Transition,* Penguin, 1931, p.39
[16] J Woodforde, *Diary of a Country Parson,* Oxford, 1978
[17] Ewing, p.100
[18] Insurance records from Guildhall Library, London

Itinerary 12.
The Market Place (South)
THE HILL FAMILIES AND THE START OF BANKING IN UPPINGHAM

Early morning in the Market Place c1790 (drawing by Sandby, Uppingham School Archive): the church tower shows artist's licence (there is only one belfry window) and no clock. The butchers' shambles (right) were demolished in 1826.

In the southern part of the square stood the draper's shop of Joseph Seaton (now Ashdale's chemists), and the warehouses and other trading centres owned by James Hill wine and spirit merchant, including in the eastern corner the Swan Inn with its very extensive and heavily built up yard behind it and passage way through to Beast or Cow Hill.

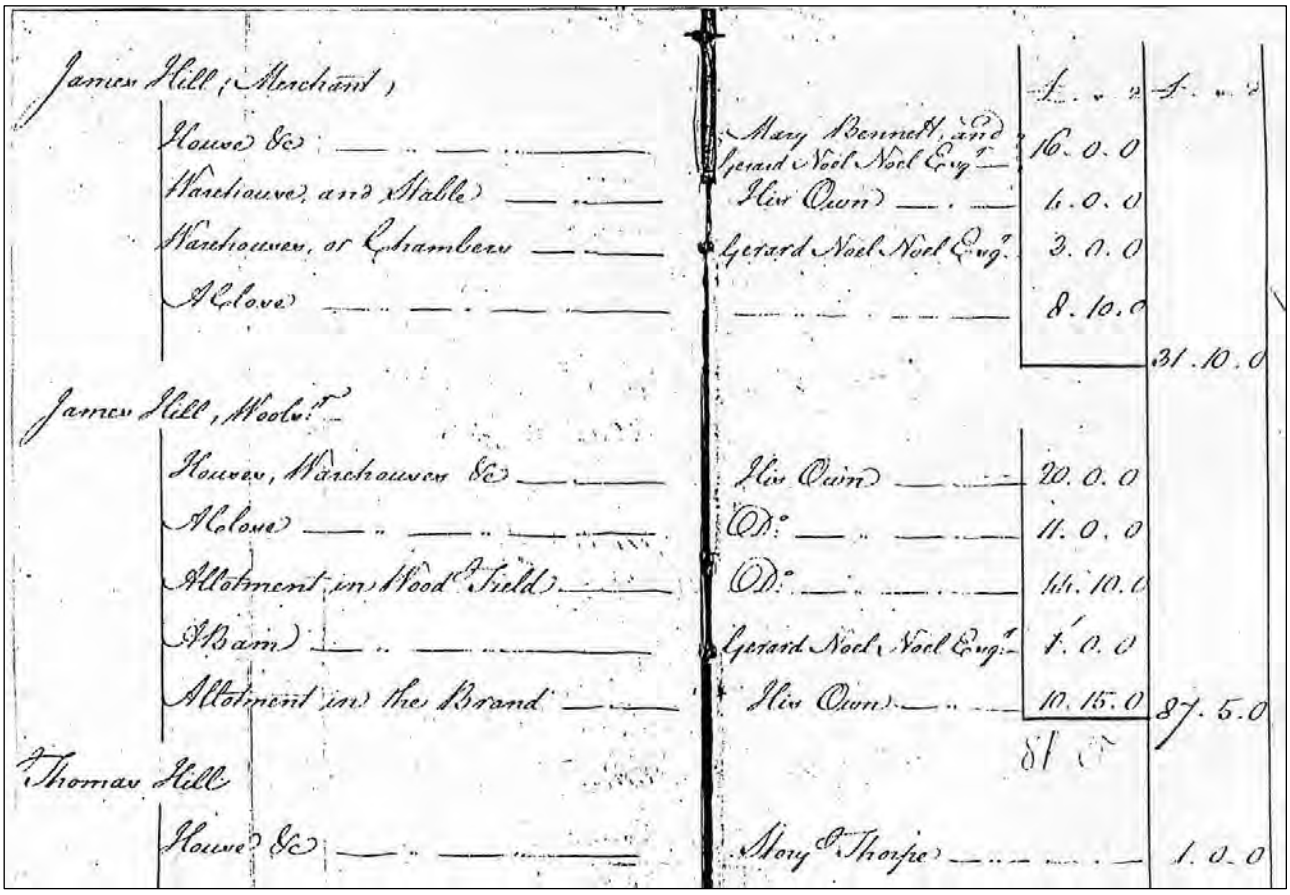
James Hill wine merchant was a key figure in the economy of Uppingham at the turn of the century, for he seems to have started banking in the town. It is therefore worth telling his story in some detail.

The Hill families

As with so many families in Uppingham in 1802 (the Baines, the Sewells, the Cooks, the Tylers etc), there were two James Hill at this time, and they are often not distinguished in the records. Several key records list them both together. The 1791 *Directory* mentions James Hill grocer and James Hill woolstapler; the enclosure records list James Hill merchant and James Hill woolstapler; the 1805 Rate Book mentions both. The parish registers at times distinguish between them. But many records simply speak of James Hill; and although at times we can deduce which one of the two is referred to, there are many occasions when that is not possible. It therefore seems best to outline what we know of each family and then to record the other activities which could have been the work of either James Hill

James Hill woolstapler (c1760-1815)

This James Hill lived along High Street West under what is now Uppingham School. The first reference to this man is in 1781 when his first child was baptised. In 1785 he was a member of the Uppingham Association for the Prosecution of Felons (James Hill without designation; but James Hill grocer was also a



Rate Book c1805 showing both Hill families: Uppingham parish records in ROLLR (DE, No: 1784/35).

member, so this must be the other James Hill). He is called woolstapler in 1791 and again in 1792 when he was churchwarden. As James Hill woolcomber, he was nephew and executor of Matthew Roberts shagweaver in 1785; his fellow executor was Thomas Baines the grazier. He was also executor for Smith Mitton draper in 1798 with Thomas Blyth.[1]

His wife was Mary; and Cornelius their son was baptised in 1781, Everard in 1782, Robert in 1788 (but he died in infancy), Samuel in 1787 (he too died young in 1807); he also had other children, Thomas, James and a daughter Ann (see below).

James Hill's wool trading activities took him far afield. In 1794 he was suing a woman from Huntingdonshire because she had not fulfilled her contract for wool combing.[2]

He acquired considerable property from the difficulties which John Cooke esq. experienced in the 1790s. The enclosure map shows James Hill woolstapler with various properties in the town. He owned a number of houses and warehouses, a close and some land in Uppingham, and he rented a barn from the Noel estate. In 1805, he sold some of his land to Wade.

James Hill woolstapler consulted the local solicitor John Abearn Palmer. He is at first just labelled James Hill of Uppingham, for he came to Palmer first; after the second James Hill came as a client, his account is amended to woolstapler. Much of his business was writing to long distance clients about non-payment (Mr Collins of Warwick, Messrs Lythall Sons and Company, Messrs Pearson and Bunn of Ipswich, etc), at least one of which (in 1797) landed him with a complicated law suit ('Notice of Enquiry of Damages vs Defendant Ellis; Attending to deliver same at Kings Bench prison', 'Journey from London to Sudbury and from thence home to examine witnesses', opinion of counsel that 'proof was to be given of the delivery of as much wool as was sent to the Defendants' etc) which cost him at least £229 in legal fees. In 1795 Palmer acted for Hill in the settlement of an estate on Hill's son Thomas, and he also acted for Hill in purchasing land from John Cooke. The last entry reads 'Notice to Mr Thos Green not too Trespass' (1803).[3]

Since James Hill wine merchant died in 1811, this must be the James Hill who served the Vestry on the important committee to equalise the rates in Uppingham in 1813. He died in 1815, leaving a son James. Cornelius Hill remained in Uppingham as woolstapler and was alive but retired in 1851. Ann Hill the daughter of James Hill woolstapler married Edward Kemp grocer, and they were very active in the Congregational Church. Everard Hill married Eleanor Easter Kemp in 1810, and they too were faithful members of John Green's church in Meeting Lane.[4]

James Hill wine merchant (often just merchant) (c1745-1811)

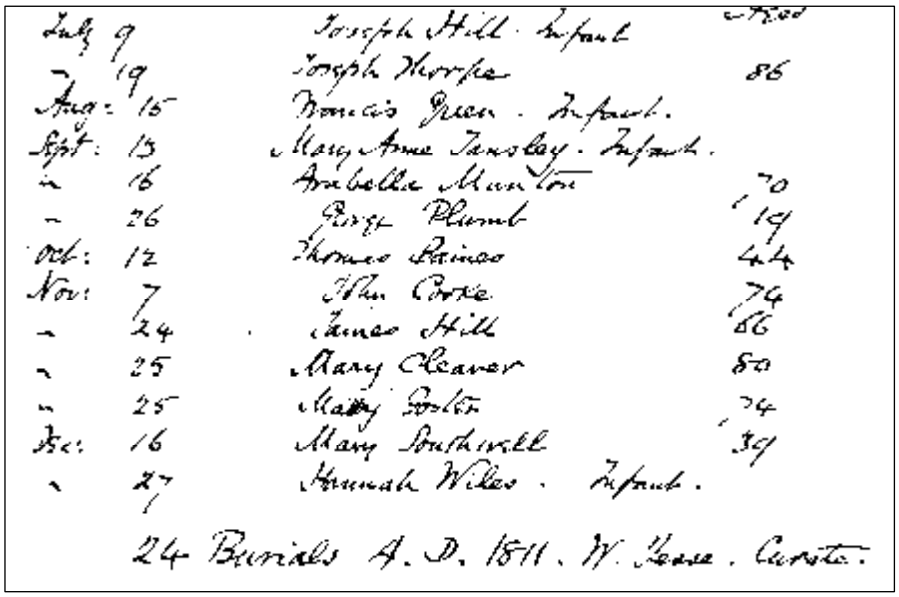
He was born about 1745. He married Hannah Margaretta; she was thirteen years younger than he was (born about 1758), so she may have been a second wife, for their first child seems to have been born in 1783 when James was 38 years old. Was she perhaps a Member of the Bennett family? She seems to have held the Bennett's house in the Market Place before she married James Hill (see below). She died in 1813 aged 55. Their son William died in 1810 aged 27 and his wife Julia (Drage) died in the same year. So that when James Hill himself died in 1811, he was survived by his daughter Mary (baptised in 1784) who married a wine merchant from London (William Wyld). His monument in the church seems to mark with his death the end of an era: 'This family were respected inhabitants of the town of Uppingham for nearly 40 years'.[5]

The first mention of him in Uppingham is in 1785 when he and the other James Hill were members of the Uppingham Association for the Prosecution of Felons. In 1786 James Hill sold wine to the churchwardens. In 1791 he is listed as grocer. He occurs frequently in the Vestry records but he never apparently attended a Vestry meeting.[6]

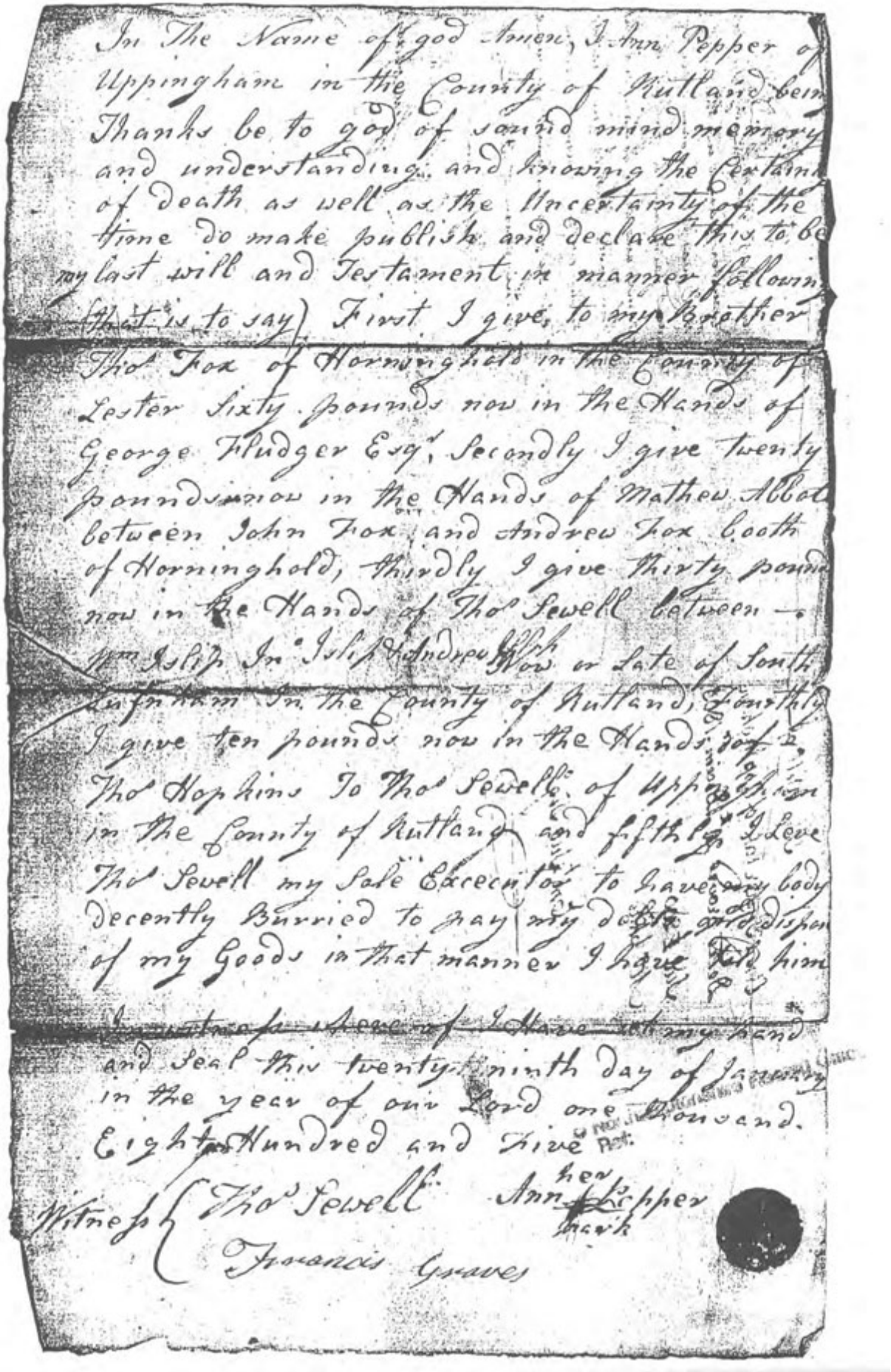
He held and acquired a great deal of property in Uppingham, and he developed some of it into new dwellings. He received no allotment in the enclosure which seems to be odd. The 1804 enclosure map, the 1805 Rate Book and some deeds relating to the disposal of his estate on his death in 1811 enable us to see a good deal of his property (especially the copyhold), but some of the freehold is not very clear:

- the Unicorn, with a house and its workshop and cellar adjoining the Unicorn occupied by John Ainge whitesmith; a yard to the Unicorn; the so-called Rick Yard with its three newly erected tenements or dwellings all let out (these actually lay north of North Street, for they are said to abut south on the turnpike road to Wansford and near to the Unicorn); the bowling green and a close;
- secondly, what is clearly now the Vaults bought from John Cooke in 1798 and divided into many different tenancies;
- thirdly a property in the south west corner of the Market Place with its barns, stables, yards and other appurtenances, which seems to have come to him with his wife Hannah Margaretta; it was apparently first rented from the Bennett family and in 1807 purchased from them (almost certainly the present Post Office);
- fourthly the Swan Inn and its yard bought from John Cooke in 1798 and let to Job Daniell together with a close, and a garden on the other side of Southview;
- and some other small and cheap cottages, one of which was let to Issett for £1.

In many of these transactions, James Hill wine merchant sought the help of the solicitor J A Palmer. In 1798, Palmer handled the purchase of Cooke's lands. In 1801, he bought property from a Miss Treen, and he ejected the landlord from the Unicorn in March 1802: 'Notices (special) to John Wright to quit the Unicorn in Uppingham'. He had a law suit against someone called Jannels: 'Paid Glenham for arresting Jannels and taking him to Gaol £2 14s 6d'. In February 1804, Mr Palmer put down to James Hill's account 'Pd for 2 Barrels of Oysters 13s 4d'. And in 1805, 'Drawing case upon Hills Libel and Instructions for same'. Palmer continued to act for James Hill until Palmer's death in 1807.[7]


July 9 Joseph Hill · Infant
" 19 Joseph Morris 86
Aug: 15 Thomas Green · Infant.
Sept: 13 Mary Anne Tansley · Infant.
" 16 Arabella Manton 70
" 26 Geo. Plumb 19
Oct: 12 Thomas Raines 44
Nov: 7 Wm Cooke 74
" 24 James Hill 66
" 25 Mary Cleaver 80
" 25 Mary Soles 74
Dec: 16 Mary Southwell 39
" 27 Hannah Wiles · Infant.
24 Burials A. D. 1811. W. Keene. Curate.

Parish register entry showing burial of James Hill in 1811 aged 66 (parish records, ROLLR)



In The Name of god Amen, I Ann Pepper of Uppingham in the County of Rutland being Thanks be to god of sound mind memory and understanding and knowing the certainty of death as well as the Uncertainty of the time do make publish and declare this to be my last will and Testament in manner following (that is to say) First I give to my Brother Tho^s Fox of Horninghold in the County of Lester Sixty pounds now in the Hands of George Pludger Esq^r. Secondly I give twenty pounds now in the Hands of Mathew Abbot between John Fox and Andrew Fox both of Horninghold, Thirdly I give thirty pounds now in the Hands of Tho^s Sewell between — Wm Aslip Jn^o Aslip Andrew Fox or Late of South Luffenham In the County of Rutland, Fourthly I give ten pounds now in the Hands of Tho^s Hopkins To Tho^s Sewell of Uppingham in the County of Rutland and fifthly I Leve Tho^s Sewell my Sole Executor to Have my body decently Buried to pay my debts and dispose of my Goods in that manner I have told him I Witness whereof I Have set my hand and Seal this twenty ninth day of January in the year of our Lord one Thousand Eight Hundred and Five

her
Witness { Tho^s Sewell Ann Pepper
mark
Francis Graves

Will of Ann Pepper 1805 indicating the sums of money she had put out on mortgage (NRO).

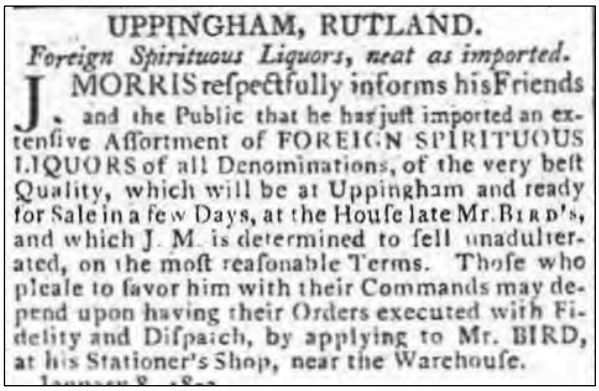
The most significant thing about this James Hill, however, is that he seems to have brought banking to Uppingham. Up to this date, there was no bank in the town although other larger towns nearby had local banks. Money was raised from private individuals, especially through the local solicitors; and several women such as Ann Grant and Ann Pepper lent money to traders as mortgages.[8] But there was great uncertainty at this time, and in 1802 two neighbouring banks failed, Eaton and Cayley in Stamford and Bentley and Buxton in Leicester. In 1804, James Hill of Uppingham is called banker when he advanced £500 in mortgage to Matthew Catlin for the Horse and Trumpet; and on his death in 1811, the building which is now the Vaults was described as 'that tenement or building, part of which is now used as a Warehouse and the other part as an Accompting House or Banking Office, together with the vaults and cellars under, and the rooms and attics over the said warehouse and Banking Office; situated at the South end of the Market Place, abutting East on the Swan Inn .., South on the Church yard, West on the entrance from the Market Place to the Church Yard'.[9]

This James Hill died in 1811. By his will, his executors were not from the town; they were Thomas Mills of Stamford druggist who opened a store in Uppingham, and Samuel Edwards of Spalding gent. His only heir was his daughter Mary who now lived in London. His estate took a lot of settling; it was still being sold in 1814. Indeed, Robert Glenham announced the sale of 'the very valuable freehold property situated in the Market Place with elegant furniture, china, glass and fine old wine, and other effects, the property of the late James Hill esquire' in July 1814, but in August he stated that the sale was postponed to the latter end of October. He eventually put it up in a three day sale; the furniture (which is 'modern, handsome and in high preservation') took up the first day; and on the second day he offered 'the freehold Dwelling house, situated in the Market Place .. newly fitted up and replete with every convenience, would form a genteel residence for a private family, a professional Gentleman or a most desirable situation for trade'.[10] The property was taken over by William Brown Edwards of Stamford common brewer, who continued the banking business 'in the names of Edwards, Harper and Edwards', but very soon the firm went bankrupt[11] and the creditors of Samuel and William Brown Edwards of Stamford and Uppingham bankers met to assess the dividend.[12]

James Hill (uncertain)

We have then two James Hills. The woolstapler was the churchwarden in 1792. But who was the overseer of the poor in 1776, the churchwarden in 1781, 1785, 1786, and 1787? Who served on the audit committee in 1800 (Mr Hill), and attended the Vestry meetings (simply as James Hill) in 1802 (twice) and in 1804 (the workhouse letting) and 1806 (dealing with Beaumont Chase rates)? Who took the lease of church lands in 1806-7? Who served as churchwarden again in 1809-10 and 1810? Who was the James Hill member of the Uppingham Association for the Prosecution of Felons in 1802? Probably James Hill woolstapler, for in 1814 one James Hill was treasurer of the Uppingham Association and that must have been the woolstapler, for the wine merchant was dead by then. And whose rates were in default in 1801? It is tempting to see all of these as James Hill wine merchant, for there were occasions when he was clearly simply recorded as James Hill: for example, some of the houses he owned in 1805 which were rented out were stated as being owned by James Hill.[13] But the evidence is not enough.

What we do know is that both persons show Uppingham tradesmen in action; one within the town, buying up and improving property and eventually acting as banker to the town, the other reaching out to other towns, trading wool and wool products and in the course of this running up substantial legal problems. Uppingham was not a sleepy backwater of a town in 1802 but throbbing with interactions, both within and without.



UPPINGHAM, RUTLAND.

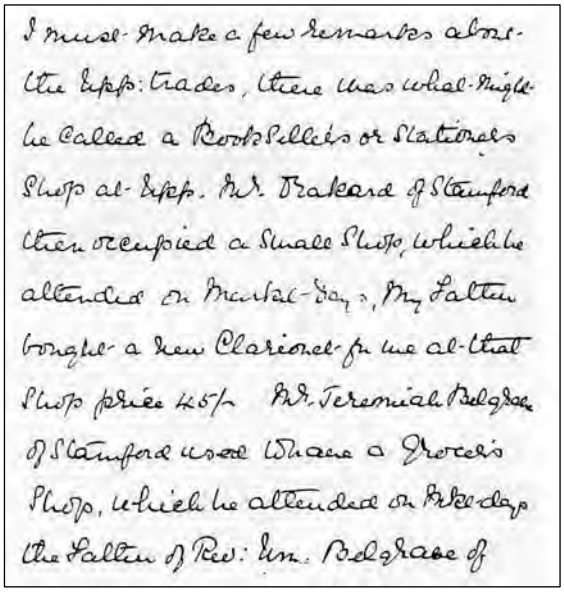
Foreign Spirituous Liquors, neat as imported.

J. MORRIS reſpectfully informs his Friends and the Public that he has juſt imported an extenſive Aſſortment of FOREIGN SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS of all Denominations, of the very beſt Quality, which will be at Uppingham and ready for Sale in a few Days, at the Houſe late Mr. Bird's, and which J. M. is determined to ſell unadulterated, on the moſt reaſonable Terms. Thoſe who pleaſe to favor him with their Commands may depend upon having their Orders executed with Fidelity and Diſpatch, by applying to Mr. BIRD, at his Stationer's Shop, near the Warehouſe.

Advertisement for wines and spirits sold by J Morris (North Luffenham) and retailed by John Bird (SM, 8 Jan)

[1] will of Roberts, 1785, will of Smith Mitton, 1798, NRO; 1791 Dir; DE
[2] Cambridge Record Office, HCP 1/2
[3] Palmer notebook
[4] PR; DE; 1851 census; CongReg
[5] PR; MI in church; will of Hill, 1811, NRO
[6] UppRut, p.14; DE; 1791 *Directory*
[7] Palmer notebook, fol. 72, 203
[8] will of Taylor, 1792; will of Ann Pepper, 1805, NRO
[9] CR; T Traylen, *Life of Gentry,* 1992, p.215; *Turnpikes,* p.84
[10] Drak, 1 July 1814; 5 Aug 1814;7 Oct 1814
[11] Drak, 12 July 1814
[12] Drak, 20 Jan 1815
[13] 1805 RB; DE; SM; Drak, 1 Aug 1814

Itinerary 13.
Drakard's Shop
POLITE LEISURE AND CULTURE IN UPPINGHAM IN 1802



I must make a few remarks about the Uppingham tradesmen. There was what might be called a Bookseller's or Stationer's Shop at Uppingham. Mr. Drakard of Stamford then occupied a small shop, which he attended on Market-Days. My Father bought a new Clarionet for me at that shop price 4s 6d. Mr. Jeremiah Belgrave of Stamford used then a Grocer's Shop, which he attended on Market days. The Father of Rev. Mr. Belgrave of

Part of Slater's memoirs referring to Drakard's shop

Standing on the corner of the Market Place and High Street East was Drakard's shop; it was somewhere near Norton's ironmongers today or in Printers Yard or perhaps what is today Spencers, for that later in the nineteenth century was a printers and book shop (Hawthorns). Drakard's was the informal centre of elite leisure and cultural activities in Uppingham in 1802. It was remembered by at least one of the older residents of Uppingham several years later, as the quotation above shows.

Although not always in attendance, Drakard's shop was probably open for most of the time, for Drakard advertised for an apprentice in 1802 (SM, 1 Jan). His shop remained for many years in Uppingham, as printer, book binder, and seller of general items such as hat cases, bonnet boxes, patent medicines for people and animals, perfumery, stationery, pocket books and umbrellas (SM, 1 Jan). John Cooke's booksellers closed in 1811 (see above), and another bookseller from Stamford, Roden and Craske opened their shop across the road in the building adjoining the Falcon (almost certainly the current Bookshop which William Belgrave held in 1802 and from which he retired to his family home in Preston).

John Drakard was an important figure in Stamford as well as in Uppingham. He was a printer and book binder as well as a bookseller. In 1809 he set up a rival and radical newspaper to counteract the dominance of the Tory *Stamford Mercury*; and later he took over the annual *Stamford Almanac* which Roden had started and developed it into an important tool for tradesmen and customers. The shop in Uppingham served as a centre for many of the cultural activities of the town in this period.

Music in Uppingham in 1802

Drakard sold musical instruments and sheet music, and Roden his successor had pianofortes for hire. Music making and listening was available to those who lived in Uppingham in 1802. By his will of 1804, Joseph Furniss gave to his two daughters (not to his son - for home music making, except perhaps singing, was more a female occupation than a male one) 'all my musical instruments and all my musical books to be divided equally between them for their former services to me'.[1]

Furniss was a watchmaker; but he was called upon by the church authorities to repair and tune the church organ in 1801 for 5guineas; and Mary Furniss his daughter was church organist at a salary of 10 guineas (raised to 12 gns in 1807) until she died in 1809, when a professional was brought in from Stamford, Samuel Rogers music master and organist, at a salary of £20 p.a. But the family had another side; the second daughter Ann (also unmarried) had two illegitimate children soon after her father's death, in 1807 and 1808 (PR).

Furniss reminds us that the main music heard by the inhabitants of Uppingham in 1802 would have been in church. The church had an organ as early as 1611 but

it fell into disrepair and seems to have been replaced with instrumental music. The musicians probably played from a gallery in the church. The church at Ridlington today contains a collection of instruments which would have been played in churches at this time; and in 1763 Uppingham church bought a new bassoon for use in church. But in 1777, the church bought an organ from St Mary's church Nottingham, and there are signs of sung services in the church at this time.[2]

Most of the music making outside of the church would have been in the home - individual or small groups. Samuel Rogers would have provided lessons when needed. He may have been the son of the C Rogers who arranged the subscription concerts at Stamford, which no doubt some from Uppingham attended. Concerts in the Assembly Rooms in January and April 1802 were of vocal and instrumental music. This was the age of Mozart who died in 1791 and Beethoven, but their 'modern' music does not seem to have reached this region yet. The repertoire was mainly Handel, especially the Messiah, with some Haydn, Purcell and other composers not often heard today. There were other entertainments: 'Mr Perry begs leave to acquaint the ladies and gentlemen of Stamford, that he is arrived at the above inn [the Crown in Stamford], where he will entertain them this present Friday (19 November) with his exquisite harmony on a double set of musical glasses and, with his celebrated son from Bath, will perform some of the most favourite pieces of the pedal harp, whose abilities on that grand instrument need no enconium. The entertainment will end with a beautiful display of philosophical fireworks, without smoke, smell or real fire. Doors to be opened at 6.30pm and begin at 7pm. The room will be kept warm' (SM, 19 Nov).

Concerts in churches were frequent; and annual sermons (endowed or for charitable purposes) almost always included sacred and profane music. And each year there were music festivals, mainly in the cathedral and larger churches. Oundle had an annual musical festival: 'We understand that the Musical Festival at Oundle is likely to be well attended; the managers appear to have selected able performers, both vocal and instrumental, and the church is large, handsome and convenient for the purpose'. Performers came from far: violinists from Cambridge and Oxford, viola from Cambridge, cellist from Warwick and double bass from London. But the orchestra would have drawn on local talent: 'The concert will be aided by part of the South Lincoln Band' (Stamford). Furniss may have played in some such group himself. Artists could be prima donnish: 'In consequence of Mrs Billington's engagements preventing her from attending this year, the Musical Festival [at Lincoln] intended to be held in the Cathedral is unavoidably postponed; Mr Ashley offered this Syren the unprecedented price of three hundred guineas in hopes of being able to treat his friends with her delightful powers' (SM, 10 Sep). There was a good deal of audience participation: 'Tickets 3s each with Schemes of the concert, including the words of the Songs and Glees' (Newark, 26 March); 'Any gentleman who will favor the charity with their voluntary performance and would wish to prepare themselves by private rehearsal are requested to attend .. on Tuesday evening next' (Lincoln, 3 Sep).

Dances often accompanied the concerts: 'after the concert, a ball'; non-subscribers' tickets cost 3s. Most of these took place outside Uppingham, but in 1802, 'the first subscription ball' was advertised to take place at the Falcon on 31 December; tickets were 4s for men, 3s for women sold by E C Channock of Uppingham.[3] A great event of the year was the Mayor's Ball at Stamford held this year 'to commemorate the Happy Event of the Restoration of Peace' (SM, 23 Apr). And there were other public 'masqued balls (no dominoes)' which could be attended (SM, 23 Apr).

The Theatre

There was also the theatre. Performances were held in Uppingham from time to time. There is an oral tradition that a barn in the Hall grounds just off Adderley Street was used from time to time for theatrical performances. In 1802 Mr Edwin Williams Comedian was hauled up before the Justices for not having a licence for him and his company to perform in Uppingham: 'having met with a very favourable encouragement from the inhabitants of Uppingham, he has removed thither, depending upon .. the reception at Uppingham not rendering it necessary to trouble them for a particular license as at Oakham'. The Magistrates however 'refuse to countenance or consent to Mr Williams and Company of Comedians acting any interlude or play at Uppingham or elsewhere in the County of Rutland'.[4]

But mostly the focus for the theatre was on Stamford. A Company managed by Mr Robertson was located there, and it went on tour: Peterborough (June-July), Spalding (August), Lincoln, where Mr Robertson also managed the theatre (September-October), Newark (November) and Grantham (December). He brought in lead actors from London and elsewhere: 'Mr Robertson announces that Mrs Brunton's engagement expired at the end of the Lincoln season but Mr Robertson has prevailed upon Mrs Brunton to perform two nights previous to her departure for London; the nature of her engagements in London prevent her from agreeing to do more' (SM, 5 Nov). One man shows also came to the area: Mr Incledon of Theatre Royal Convent Garden London will put on .. a serio-comic vocal rhetorical and musical entertainment never before exhibited called Variety or Something New, written expressly for the occasion; the songs with three exceptions only entirely new'; the show, with piano accompaniment, was in three parts.

The plays on offer, even for the Royal family whose theatre going was announced in the *Mercury*, were largely trivia. Few classics can be seen in the programmes except Shakespeare (Othello, Hamlet, The Winter's Tale) and the School for Scandal (at Newark,

by desire of the Newark Troop of Nottinghamshire Yeomanry Cavalry). It was a long evening: the normal pattern was for a play to be performed ('serio-comic'), followed by a musical interlude and then always a farce: 'Mr Robertson Manager of Stamford Theatre will (for this night only) sing several comic songs and perform the character of Muns in the farce [Prisoner at Large]; also during the evening, a song and two fashionable dances by Miss Robertson of the same theatre will be performed' (SM, 8 Oct). Audiences were expected to join in, and sheets with words were available.

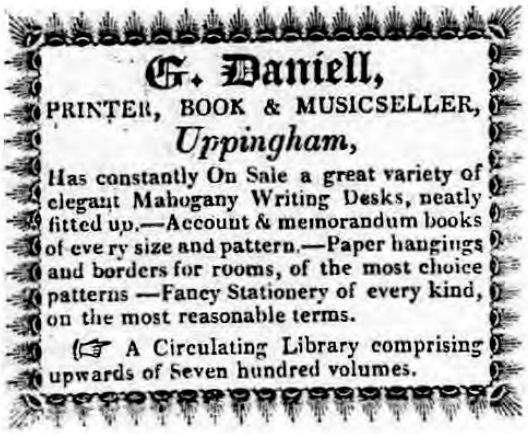
This may have been to help overcome the unpleasant environment: 'It having been suggested to Mr Robertson last year that the Boxes admitted too great a current of air so as to occasion it to be extremely cold, Mr Robertson most respectfully informs the Ladies and Gentlemen of Grantham and its vicinity that he has boarded up the Box Lobby and erected a fireplace within it, which he not only hopes will meet with the approbation of the public but contribute to their comfort and convenience. Care has been taken to have the Theatre properly aired' (SM, 10 Dec).

This was the professional theatre. There would of course be amateur dramatics which would not get into the paper until something drastic happened:

> As a strolling company was lately performing the play of King Lear in a country barn, the tragic hero at the scene of the pelting storm, stepped forward and thus addressed the audience: "Ladies and gentlemen, I humbly beg that you will be so kind as to suppose at this moment 'a war of elements', as I am very sorry to inform you that our *thunderer* is gone tippling to an alehouse, and that the rats of this barn have destroyed all the peas we rattled in a sieve for the representation of hail". It is hardly necessary to add that although the audience was rustic, the tragedy instantly became a comedy (SM, 8 Jan).

Books in Uppingham in 1802

For those who could not go to the theatre, there was always reading - apart from the *Stamford Mercury*, that is. We do not know how many copies of the *Mercury* were sold in Uppingham at that time. But it is clear that there was a major market in and around the town for books, for booksellers have been recorded in Uppingham since the late 17th century. The newspaper is full of advertisements for books, no doubt in part because the editor Richard Newcomb acted as retail agent for most of them. John Bird bookseller, John Drakard and John Cooke esquire stationer (for Cooke, see pages 19-23 above) both traded in Uppingham in 1802. In 1791, Cookes' stationers was listed in the Directory; Roden and Craske opened their new shop as booksellers and lottery agent in Uppingham in January 1814 in a shop immediately adjoining the Falcon Hotel; and in 1829-30, George Daniell bookseller, stationer and printer was firmly established in the town. Most of the grocers (who sold medicines as well) also held stocks of books on medical and related matters, just as booksellers sold medicines.[5]



Drakard again took the lead, and many inhabitants of Uppingham would have visited his shop in the first instance. For in January 1802 he circulated the catalogue of his new subscription library in the Market Place of Uppingham containing near 2000 volumes (he had a similar library in Stamford High Street; SM, 1 Jan). The wealthier and cultured of Uppingham would have gone regularly to borrow and return books of all kinds.

Relatively few seem to have bought books for general rather than religious purposes. Books can be found rarely in particulars of sales at this time –only one sale mentioned books - but they can be seen in some contemporary wills. William Clark schoolmaster who died in 1790 left 'half my Books' to his daughter Susanna (the remainder presumably went with the rest of his possessions to his widow); John Marriott auctioneer (died 1805) possessed a 'quantity of books' valued at £1 10s 0d out of a total estate worth £67 18s; and as we have seen Joseph Furniss watchmaker who died 1804 left to his two daughters 'all my musical books to be divided equally between them'. In the insurance policies we examined, Thomas Bloor surgeon and apothecary listed his books separately although their value amounted to only £5 out of a total estate of £200. No doubt other households in Uppingham and in the villages around who collected their shopping as well as their newspapers from Uppingham at that time possessed books in their homes.[6]

Publishing of books was a major industry and selling them a major trade at this time, so that it is not surprising that the newspaper reported that 'booksellers protest that the duty on paper is harming their trade' (SM, 1 Jan). Many and very long advertisements for newly published and older books appear in almost every issue of the newspaper. The books were often divided into several different categories: ephemeral novels (similar to our paperbacks today); more serious

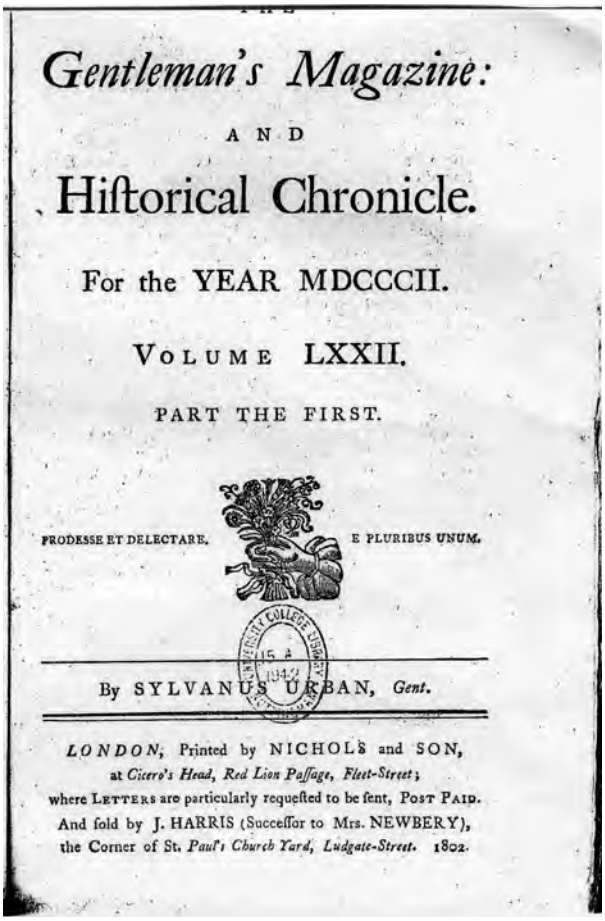
fiction regarded as 'literature' even in their own day; poetry and drama; the classics; religious texts; history, science books and travel; school textbooks for the increasing school market; political tracts and so on. Many booksellers held very extensive stocks; Drakard set out to catalogue the books he held for sale, and the list nearly reached 1000 titles. Books from London could be ordered and obtained in a relatively short time.[7]

Journals too were being issued regularly. The famous *Monthly Register* was started in 1802, joining such other publications as *Monthly Magazine*, *The Weekly Register* (a religious paper), and *The Farmers' Magazine* (quarterly). More popular magazines too were advertised, such as *The New Wonderful Museum and Extraordinary Magazine* or *Radcliffe's New Novelists Pocket Magazine of Entertainment and Delight:*

> the only new and original magazine published at sixpence, each number with superb engravings: issue number 1 on Wednesday 1 September to be continued monthly; containing an elegant and chaste collection of original novels, tales, romances, lives, memoirs, voyages, travels etc, with a judicious selection from the writings of those authors whose books have in any degree excited public notoriety, the whole written, adjusted and compiled by Mary Anne Radcliffe of Wimbledon, Surrey (SM, 27 August).

Some people in Uppingham then would have had access to the polite culture of their day, to the newly emerging Romantic Movement which engaged the attention of its population. In this same year, both Coleridge and Scott published major works, Hume's *History of England* was issued, and Wordsworth wrote his 'Ode to Westminster Bridge' - happenings which the *Stamford Mercury* and publications such as the long-standing *Gentleman's Magazine* and other literary journals together with Drakard's library would have made accessible to readers in Uppingham.

How many people could read? We cannot say for certain. In comparison with other towns and villages, very few persons getting married in Uppingham church in and around 1802 marked the register with a cross rather than signing their names - one possible indication of illiteracy at the time. As we have seen, there were a number of schools and teachers in and around the town apart from the Grammar School (most of whose pupils came from outside Uppingham rather than from the town). But it is most likely that the reading skills and habits at this time came from the home rather than from schools - Uppingham was primarily a trading town, and traders quickly developed their own literacy practices. There was of course a genteel element including several educated women such as the two Parker sisters who left elaborate wills, Mrs Pepper and Mrs Hart. Mrs Tookey appears to have been a senior servant of Lady Spencer of Northants: widow of a grazier from Cottingham Northants, she left 'to Lady Charles Spencer a mourning ring and her ladyship's own picture', as well as 'a mourning ring to my sister Jane Harrison of Epping in the county of Essex; I likewise leave my reading glass to Mrs Belgrave'.[8] One can imagine meetings of ladies like this at Drakard's new subscription library in the Market Place. The newspaper fitted into this world of elite culture, and would have been valued and read aloud to others whose skills or eyesight did not allow them to peruse it for themselves.


Gentleman's Magazine:

AND

Hiſtorical Chronicle.

For the YEAR MDCCCII.

VOLUME LXXII.

PART THE FIRST.

PRODESSE ET DELECTARE. E PLURIBUS UNUM.

By SYLVANUS URBAN, Gent.

LONDON, Printed by NICHOLS and SON, at Cicero's Head, Red Lion Paſſage, Fleet-Street; where LETTERS are particularly requeſted to be ſent, POST PAID. And ſold by J. HARRIS (Succeſſor to Mrs. NEWBERY), the Corner of St. Paul's Church Yard, Ludgate-Street. 1802.

The Gentleman's Magazine established itself since 1731 as the most popular high-brow monthly reading material throughout the country

[1] will of Furniss, 1804, NRO
[2] Aldred; Church guide
[3] Channock is not otherwise known in the town; was he the Rev E G Charnock who acted as executor for Sarah Laxton in 1811, will NRO?
[4] RutMag, iv, pp.152-3
[5] Aldred; Drak, 1 Jan, 18 Feb, 1814; 1791 Directory
[6] wills of Clark 1790, Marriott 1805, Furniss 1804, Furniss 1809, NRO; insurance records, Guildhall
[7] Drak, 10 Nov 1815
[8] will of Tookey, 1810, NRO

Itinerary 14.
The Pastryshop
UPPINGHAM, THE MILITIA AND NEWS OF WAR AND PEACE IN 1802

> Baynes the pastry-cook shop was kept by a sergeant in the Militia who was employed to teach the boys military service.
>
> (Clayton)

There were a number of very large shops between the corner of the Market Place and the corner of Horn Lane (Queen Street). Here stood the drug shop of John Bird, agent for the Stamford Mercury, and the ironmonger's shop of Edward Southam which Mary Shelburne his daughter and heiress sold in 1802 to Edward Kemp who turned it into a draper's store. Here (in one of the yards behind) lived Joseph Furniss watch and clock maker and organ mender and his daughter who played the organ in church. For behind the big street-front shops stood a number of yards such as Printers Yard and Reeves Yard. In Queen Street stood the Royal Oak (now Cross Keys), a blacksmith and two large drapers' stores, Ross and Soare.

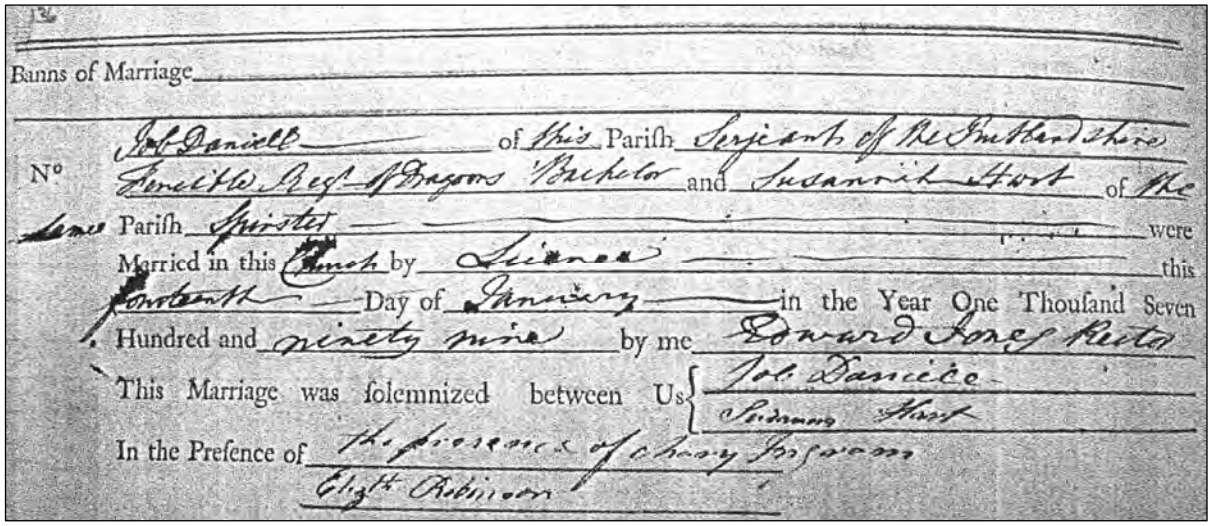
And at the back of Printers Yard just off High Street East in 1802 was a sweetshop run by Elizabeth Baines widow.

'Baynes's' was not any old sweet shop. It was run by Thomas Baines confectioner and pastry cook and Elizabeth his wife, until his death in 1794, and afterwards Elizabeth his widow continued to run it. Perhaps she was the dominant figure, for in the 1791 *Directory*, while Thomas was still alive, she is listed as Elizabeth Baines grocer. Perhaps he was away on militia duties.

Thomas Baines gentleman, proud to the last to record himself as quarter master of the Rutland Fencibles, made his will in August 1794 and it was proved in October 1794; he was 46 years of age. His widow took over all his property and was paying her rates in 1801-2. He left two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, both unmarried at the time. He is therefore to be distinguished from the Thomas Baines senior, farmer, who rebuilt 28 High Street West, and Thomas Baines junior, farmer and grazier, who died before his father in 1811 aged only 44 years. Job Daniell of the Swan Inn took over this Thomas Baines' duties as 'serjeant' of the Rutland Fencibles.[1]

Baines and his wife then ran 'Baynes's', as the boys called it. It was not the only pastryshop patronised by the boys:

> About three-quarters of the distance between the great gates and the main road [i.e. along School Lane] dwelt Mother Burbidge, general purveyor of penny tarts. After mid-day school, the sale began, and in the general rush the tarts frequently disappeared without payment. She then resorted to the plan of dispensing them through the window.[2]


Banns of Marriage

N° Job Daniell of this Parish Serjeant of the Rutland shire
Fencible Regt of Dragoons Bachelor and Susannah Hart of the
Parish Spinster were
Married in this Church by Licence this
fourteenth Day of January in the Year One Thousand Seven
Hundred and ninety nine by me Edward Jones Rector
This Marriage was solemnized between Us Job Daniell
Susanna Hart
In the Presence of the mark of Mary Simpson
Elizth Robinson

Job Daniell, landlord of the Swan Inn, was married in 1799 as 'Serjeant of the Rutland Fencible Regiment of Dragoons', no doubt in full uniform. He married the daughter of the landlord of the Bell Inn

But Baynes's shop was special for at least three reasons. First, it was the recruiting office for the militia; for Thomas Baines was sergeant and recruiting officer for the Rutland Fencibles. Secondly, we know that some of the boys from the Free School used to gather there, and over tea hold hot debates.[3] For (thirdly) Baines himself was well known at the School as a teacher of military matters. This is the only evidence we have of the boys in the Grammar School being involved in military-style activity. Uppingham School did not have a cadet corps during the Napoleonic Wars unlike Rugby School[4], although it would have been from their ranks that some of the country's military officers would have been recruited; it is known that some of the pupils later fought at Trafalgar and at Waterloo.

These facts must mean that this tuck shop was where the boys, and probably other Uppingham residents, gained much news about what was happening in the country at the time. One can envisage Thomas Baines reading carefully the pages of the *Stamford Mercury* to make sure he could pass on the latest tit-bit to his customers. For the *Mercury*'s main purpose was to tell those who lived far from London what was going on.

War and Peace

The main concern of the international news contained in the *Stamford Mercury* of 1802 related to the war with Napoleon. It was largely a naval war and, apart from Napoleon's vast territorial ambitions in Europe, much of the disputed territory was in the West Indies, where the European powers were bent on expanding their empires and securing the lucrative trade.

The literary flourish and ironic tone of the commentary is obviously directed at a sophisticated readership. But there is also a propaganda element intended for the public at large, which seeks to allay the very real invasion fears by mocking the French in general and Napoleon in particular. For example, on reporting the news that Bonaparte had declared himself President of the new Italian Republic, the editor comments:

> Not Alexander himself in the Temple of Jupiter... seemed more lost in the clouds of his own inflated vanity (SM, 5Feb).

1802 was a strange moment of hiatus in the conduct of the Napoleonic wars, for peace was being negotiated. These negotiations were conducted much more publicly than today and were followed and debated keenly. The long-drawn-out process leading to the signing of the Peace Treaty at Amiens (fighting had stopped in October 1801) was discussed in great detail: 'A Privy Council was summoned late at night to meet the king this forenoon at Windsor when His Majesty is expected to sign the warrant for proclaiming peace' (SM 30 April). 'Peace will be publicly proclaimed in London by the heralds with all the pomp suitable to so great an occasion, an extraordinary Gazette will be published, the [Hyde] park and tower [of London] guns will be fired, and general revelry and illuminations will succeed' (SM 16 April). It is not surprising that before the end of the year, a book entitled *A Faithful and Accurate Account of the Late War* was being advertised in the pages of the *Mercury*.

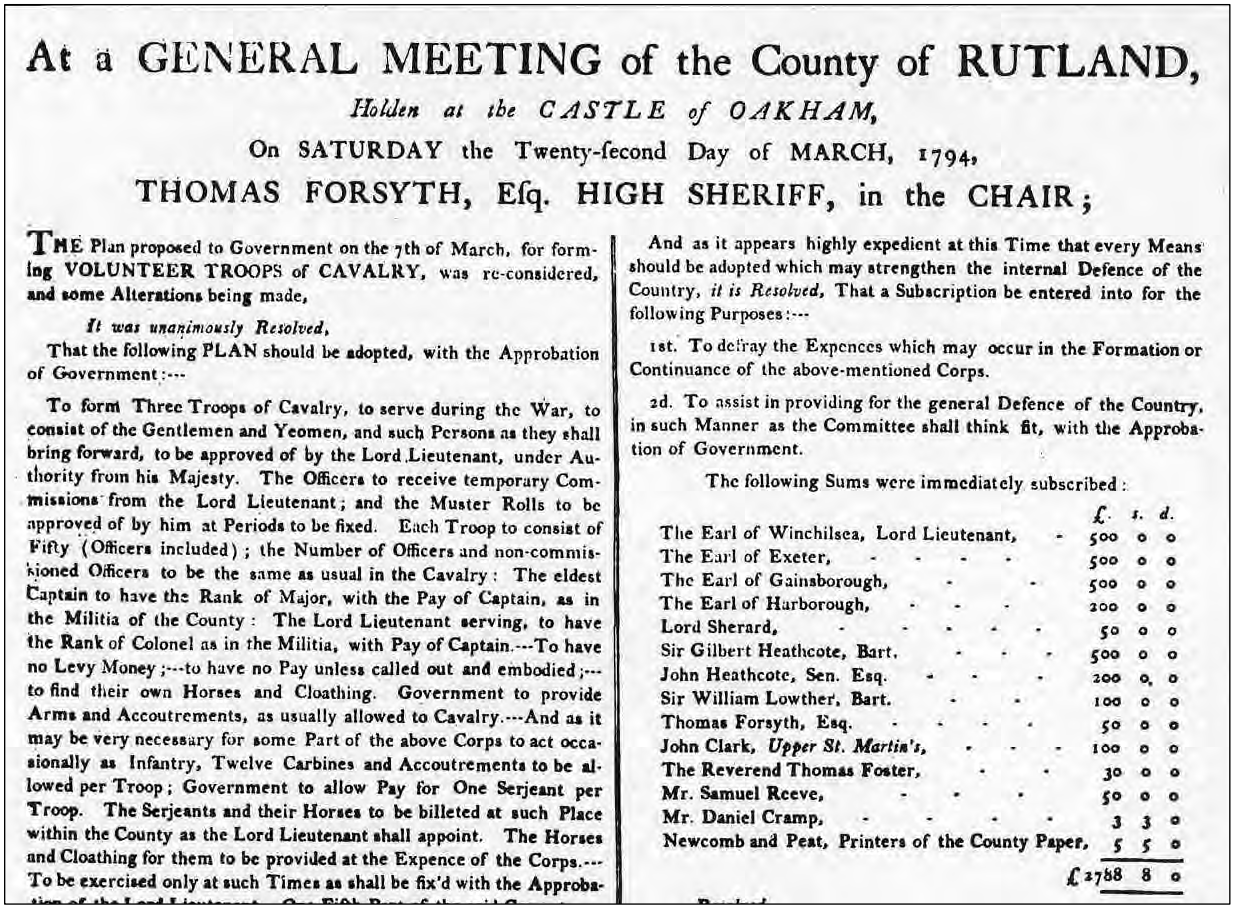
It was thus assumed hostilities had ceased for good. Celebrations took place everywhere. Unfortunately those that undoubtedly took place in Uppingham are not reported (although we do have a record of the celebrations in Uppingham which followed the victory of Waterloo), but there was a Ball of Peace in Stamford, and in Peterborough during the festivities a young woman was accidentally shot when firearms were let off in jubilation. 'A curious occurrence is said to have taken place a day or two ago in [London]. The preparations made at the house of M Otto [the official French envoy] for the general illumination, have daily attracted immense crowds to view them. Over his door was put, in colored lamps, the word "Concord". John Bull [the English populace] read this as *Conquered*, and began to make a *row*. M Otto came out to explain the word; but nothing would convince the mob, but that the meaning was that the *English are conquered by the French*. M Otto finding his attempts at explanation fruitless, very good-naturedly ordered the offensive word to be removed, and that of Amity is substituted in its place. M Otto's splendid illuminations will cost 800£.' (SM, 30 April).

The war had of course been felt in Uppingham as elsewhere in the form of higher prices apart from other impacts. A pupil at the School later wrote: 'The demands of the navy for oak timber had thinned the trees on these lands [near Uppingham], with the exception of one, the wood called Stockerston Wood, in which were magnificent oak trees the axe had never reached'. The main impact of the Peace on Uppingham (apart from celebration) was the return of the soldiery, both the regular army and the militia. In 1802 the Volunteer Act was passed to stand the militia down throughout the country, and many of the local volunteer regiments were disbanded. 'Yesterday the Rutland regiment of militia marched into Oakham where they will be, we understand, disembodied tomorrow' (SM 23 April) with 'a sum equal to 14 days pay'. Stories of soldiers returning home to find that their families had left, only to be reunited after a chance encounter, were avidly devoured and recirculated through the pages of the *Mercury*. Another result reported at great length in the paper was the dismantling of the barracks and the Prisoner of War camp at Norman Cross nearby, where no fewer than 1800 French soldiers who had died were buried; the goods were sold and some buildings were taken down. But as the tradesmen of Uppingham watched through the pages of the *Mercury*, Napoleon, at first a figure of fun, became a real threat again. 'Bonaparte has lately presented 43 celebrated pictures to the city of Bruges. One of them, The Flight Into Egypt, we may presume he was very glad to get rid of', snorted the paper in September, reminding its readers how Napoleon had

been beaten in Egypt. Each week the papers brought further news. They watched a plot against him in Paris, sneering at his suspicious nature; they described in detail the uniforms of his new army. They reported him invading Switzerland and annexing part of Spain even before the ink on the Treaty of Amiens was dry. The readers in Uppingham learned that he had formed a new Alliance with Prussia and Russia and that Great Britain were seeking allies from Austria and also from Russia.

In fact, fighting had never fully stopped; and the war in the West Indies, especially St Domingo where the French were encouraging the black slaves to rise against their white masters, was reported almost every week; news was invented when there was none: 'There is no further news from that quarter, and indeed all that can be looked for is a recital of murder and barbarity .. 20,000 more French troops are about to embark immediately for St Domingo' (SM 16 April). 'The present may be considered as a crisis in the colonial system of Europe. If a Black Government were to be established in St Domingo, all the other islands would be insecure' (SM 26 March). Although in June the West Indies campaign was said to be at a successful conclusion, trouble broke out again there and in Malta and Egypt.

In these circumstances, it was felt to be hazardous to pay off the navy. The major topic here was of a mutiny in which naval officers were killed by rank and file sailors, and the trial and execution of many men were followed with great interest. When it was seen that France was again building men of war, the navy was put into commission. Towards the end of 1802 in the *Stamford Mercury,* the signs of an impending return to war became more ominous. In October, a meeting at the Crown Hotel in Oakham put the new Militia laws into execution, and the sale of the Barracks at Norman Cross was countermanded. In November, guns and stores for 17 ships were sent to Portsmouth. The militia was re-mobilised; Rutland was informed it must raise 83 men for the army. Ballots were held to choose those who should go or who should pay others to go, and it was possible to take out insurance against this ballot: Richard Newcomb was agent for a firm of London insurers against being included in the ballot, and 'persons liable to be drawn in the ensuing ballot in Stamford and surrounding counties including Rutland may be indemnified by application to R West confectioner in Stamford' (SM 3 Dec). A local person was fined for failing to produce a list of men to serve in the militia. Thus by the end of 1802, the euphoria created by the peace seems to have evaporated and it became clear that Uppingham, along with the rest of the country, would have to make a contribution to the renewed war.



At a GENERAL MEETING of the County of RUTLAND,

Holden at the CASTLE of OAKHAM,

On SATURDAY the Twenty-fecond Day of MARCH, 1794,

THOMAS FORSYTH, Eſq. HIGH SHERIFF, in the CHAIR;

THE Plan proposed to Government on the 7th of March, for forming VOLUNTEER TROOPS of CAVALRY, was re-considered, and some Alterations being made,

It was unanimously Resolved,

That the following PLAN should be adopted, with the Approbation of Government:---

To form Three Troops of Cavalry, to serve during the War, to consist of the Gentlemen and Yeomen, and such Persons as they shall bring forward, to be approved of by the Lord Lieutenant, under Authority from his Majesty. The Officers to receive temporary Commissions from the Lord Lieutenant; and the Muster Rolls to be approved of by him at Periods to be fixed. Each Troop to consist of Fifty (Officers included); the Number of Officers and non-commissioned Officers to be the same as usual in the Cavalry: The eldest Captain to have the Rank of Major, with the Pay of Captain, as in the Militia of the County: The Lord Lieutenant serving, to have the Rank of Colonel as in the Militia, with Pay of Captain.---To have no Levy Money;---to have no Pay unless called out and embodied;---to find their own Horses and Cloathing. Government to provide Arms and Accoutrements, as usually allowed to Cavalry.---And as it may be very necessary for some Part of the above Corps to act occasionally as Infantry, Twelve Carbines and Accoutrements to be allowed per Troop; Government to allow Pay for One Serjeant per Troop. The Serjeants and their Horses to be billeted at such Place within the County as the Lord Lieutenant shall appoint. The Horses and Cloathing for them to be provided at the Expence of the Corps.---To be exercised only at such Times as shall be fix'd with the Approba-

And as it appears highly expedient at this Time that every Means should be adopted which may strengthen the internal Defence of the Country, *it is Resolved,* That a Subscription be entered into for the following Purposes:---

1st. To defray the Expences which may occur in the Formation or Continuance of the above-mentioned Corps.

2d. To assist in providing for the general Defence of the Country, in such Manner as the Committee shall think fit, with the Approbation of Government.

The following Sums were immediately subscribed:

	£.	s.	d.
The Earl of Winchilsea, Lord Lieutenant,	500	0	0
The Earl of Exeter,	500	0	0
The Earl of Gainsborough,	500	0	0
The Earl of Harborough,	200	0	0
Lord Sherard,	50	0	0
Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Bart.	500	0	0
John Heathcote, Sen. Esq.	200	0	0
Sir William Lowther, Bart.	100	0	0
Thomas Forsyth, Esq.	50	0	0
John Clark, *Upper St. Martin's,*	100	0	0
The Reverend Thomas Foster,	30	0	0
Mr. Samuel Reeve,	50	0	0
Mr. Daniel Cramp,	3	3	0
Newcomb and Peat, Printers of the County Paper,	5	5	0
	£2788	8	0

Part of a poster announcing the formation of the Rutland Militia in 1794. Note that the Stamford Mercury editors were among the initial subscribers (Rutland County Museum)

The Militia

Early in the year 1802, many of the local volunteer regiments (the militia) raised to support the regular army were disbanded. The Rutland Militia however was one of the few groups to stay more or less in being throughout the year and to continue in service until the war with France finally came to an end with the Battle of Waterloo in 1815.

After the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, bearing in mind the troubles of the civil wars, the regular army was disbanded by parliament, and the general militia system which had existed since medieval times also fell into neglect. However, with the threat of a French invasion in 1756, and the absence of the King's Army during the Seven Years' War, the Government decided that the Militia should be re-organised. In 1757, the Militia Act was passed to give better control and organisation to this important local defence force. At that time it was very unpopular and caused riots.

Under the Act, the Lord Lieutenant was in charge in each county and was responsible for the raising and the administration of the County Militia. The officers were drawn from the local gentry, who needed to have a fixed income according to rank. A Commission given on merit was rare and never exceeded that of captain. The rank and file came from the general population. A quota was laid down for each parish and the men were to be chosen by lot. They served for three years, with annual camps and regular drill days. Funds were raised by local subscription from the well-to-do and were distributed through the Spring Assizes or the county sheriffs in the form of a bounty or horses.

The aim was that the militia was to be 'embodied' in times of national emergency. They could be deployed outside the county, but only in England, Scotland or Wales. Its purpose was to perform home duties to free the regulars for the front line.

The Rutland Militia was first established in 1757. There were two companies, one for Uppingham, the other for Oakham. The Rutland Battalion numbered 120 (14 officers and NCOs, 4 drummers, and 102 rank and file. The government provided the uniforms and the standards, and local gentry and notables took the lead. Recruitment was through rallies; by application to a Recruiting Officer, by gentlemen representing the corps holding sessions at inns, and, 'by beat of drum'[5] (echoes of Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer,* 1706). Volunteers were excused military service to the King and received an allowance for the 88 days they were expected to spend on exercises each year. Typical duties were garrison duties, guarding forts, prisoners of war and equipment.

They must have needed their drummers. For the Rutland Militia seems to have done a lot of marching. In 1760, they were ordered to Bristol for six months; in 1761, they were ordered to Bristol again for six months; in 1762 the regiment was ordered to Hull. Having completed their 3 years service, they were then 'disembodied', and for the next ten to twelve years they were stood down except for the monthly training periods. In 1776, they were again embodied on account of the American War of Independence. In that year, we glimpse them giving service to their local community when they assisted at a fire in Belton in which 27 houses were burnt. Their help was invaluable in fighting the fire and in salvaging personal belongings from the houses.[6]

In 1779, they were marching again, to St. Neots and to winter quarters in Maidstone. In 1780, they marched through Wrotham and Cray to Dartford, where they were attached to the artillery as pickets and sentries; and in 1781, they spent the summer at Coxheath before returning to Rutland where one company was stationed at Oakham, the other in Uppingham. They were described as a 'Small but well turned out corps of Militia', and the drummers and fifers 'beat and play pretty well'. From 1798-99, they served on the south coast, guarding the many forts, coastal batteries and gunports. They went to Lynn in 1800 and to Bristol in 1803. They offered to go to Spain with their commander, but were refused; however, in 1811, they did go to Ireland. They were re-organised in 1808 along with all the other militia groups in the area; and this combined corps became known as the Rutland Light Infantry.

Other militia groups marched through Uppingham and left their mark on the town. The Surrey militia passed through in 1795 and Joseph Shrewsbury and James Bradley took advantage (or were taken advantage of) to get married to Uppingham young ladies; and in 1799, when the Durham militia came through, the same fate overtook Benjamin Simson, George Chilton and John Dargue. Before 1806, John Easte a soldier in the Westminster militia married a woman from Uppingham, and she and her child were removed back to Uppingham to go on the parish relief. James Green's life story when examined for poor relief in 1791 puts it all in perspective: born in Saxmundham in 1760; apprenticed as a cooper but ran away to sea as cabin boy to New York; in America for four years; enlisted as a drummer in the British army fighting the rebellious colonists; returned to London and 'I went about with the recruiting officer for four years'; discharged from the (regular) army; immediately apprenticed to Mr Andrews woolcomber of Uppingham and served him for seven years apart from a short period in Leicester. There was much coming and going of soldiers in and around Uppingham during this period.[7]

Other militia groups were formed in the county as the threats seemed to grow. In 1794, Gerard Noel Edwards of Exton resigned his commission in the Rutland Militia because he was made Member of Parliament, but then he founded the Rutland Fencibles because of the invasion scare. They were also called the Rutland Light Dragoons. Thomas Baines clearly transferred from the Rutland militia to this new corps,

for he died in the year it was founded (1794) as Recruiting Sergeant in the Rutland Fencibles. The Rutland Corps of Gentlemen and Yeoman Cavalry (which went under different titles at other times) was also founded in 1794.

When the Napoleonic Wars were becoming heated, and the *Stamford Mercury* of 27 April 1798 lamented that 'the voluntary infantry are stagnant', another group, the Rutland Volunteer Infantry, was formed (1798). Its captains included William Scott and Robert Blyth, and the lieutenants included William Ades of Oakham, solicitor, and John Abearn Palmer of Uppingham, solicitor, together with several ensigns. The force was disbanded in 1801 because of the peace, but it was revived in 1803, when several persons from Uppingham became officers, Palmer this time as captain, William Chapman as lieutenant and Jonathan Gibbons and John Bird as ensigns. This corps was again disbanded in 1808 and joined with the militia. A Rutland Rifle Corps was founded in 1804: in 1808, they also joined the new militia.

We know of one or two others who joined the militia, either voluntarily or by ballot. They included Henry Larrett surgeon, George Hart grocer, John Nutt woolcomber, William Seaton weaver and toll bar attendant, brother of Joseph Seaton (see above pages 22-23).[8] John Tyler of the Rutland Light Dragoons 1798, David Wade trumpeter of the same corps 1798, John Hart soldier of the Rutland Light Dragoons 1798, all proudly gave their titles when they got married in the parish church of Uppingham. William Thorpe also apparently served in the militia.[9]

Pomp and Circumstance

Although the *Stamford Mercury* has fun at the expense of French vanity - the edition of 19th December 1802 comments that 'six copies of the *Moniteur* are filled with a decree signed by Buonaparte for regulating every part of the cloathing of the army from the hat to the button' - much attention was paid to uniforms and insignia in the local militia.

The variety of companies and detailed uniforms indicate the degree of pride involved, both by individual commanders and by their men. It is interesting to note that the uniforms provided by the Government for the Rutland Militia were similar to those of the regular foot regiments, with a helmet of boiled leather, and that the uniforms bore buttons reported as being of pewter with a cut rim and a coat of arms that showed 'the golden horseshoe of the Royal and Ancient Borough of Oakham' beneath a crown. The arms supplied by the War Office were old regular equipment.[10]

The militia also relished military-style pomp. A painting in Oakham Museum depicts a muster at Leicester Race Ground in July 1794 complete with uniforms, banners and a dashing array of cavalry. Steppler tells us that on 29 October 1795, standards, both the Royal Banner and the Provincial Banner, were presented at the Falcon Hotel in Uppingham. Pomp and display also address the important question of morale: we are told that many local farmers volunteered because they were excited by the prospect of displaying themselves in uniform: one local farmer's daughter reported 'a great deal of polishing and brushing and how father was admired in his resplendent uniform'. 'To the *Leicester Journal* it already seemed by 1797 that there was no dress to be seen in the towns and villages of Leicestershire save that of the military'.[11]

Full dress uniform for combined Northamptonshire and Rutland Militia later in the nineteenth century (Northampton Museum: with permission)

But the militia were not only (or perhaps primarily) mobilised against the French. There was a 'demon at home', namely the activities of the Jacobin revolutionaries demanding more democracy and equality in England, a rebellion in Ireland, a mutiny in the navy, and much local disorder, especially anti-Catholic risings and food riots. Some burnt ricks, protesting at modern farmers building new units out of enclosed land. Some broke machines, protesting at the threat to home manufactures. Some rioted in the streets, hoping to provoke a French style revolution.

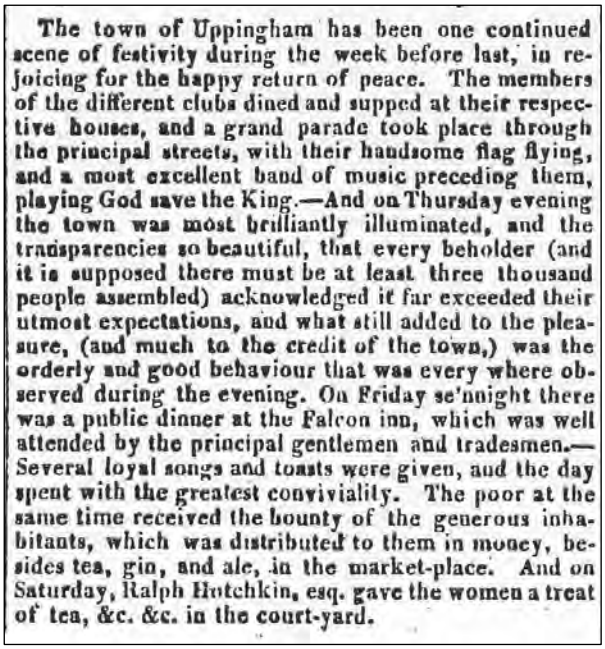
Everywhere the gentry mobilised against the forces of crime and disorder around them. For example, in 1794, the Rutland Constitutional Association, who advertised in the *Stamford Mercury* in April of that year with a list of members' names, attempted to put down a riot in Oakham, but in vain; the militia had to be called in! And in 1795, the *Gentleman's Magazine*

tells us the Association held an Assembly at Uppingham. The Oakham Armed Association, founded in 1798 and lasting until the general disarmament, covered the whole of Rutland. The attention of the two county Associations for the Prosecution of Felons was not only directed against crime, some of it food crime such as sheep stealing, but also against political and industrial revolt such as the extensive disorder in Nottingham and Leicestershire nearby which came to a head during the parliamentary election of 1802, inspired by political discontent, industrial and economic grievances and above all by sheer hunger.[12] Very little of this got into the pages of the *Stamford Mercury*, perhaps deliberately in a desire not to foster local unrest. There are some instances in the paper of 1802 of the Militia being brought in to deal with local riots, and a little later after bull-baiting was outlawed, they were called in to enforce that law. By the end of the period, the militia was acting as an armed police force in the absence of any other civil force.

From the start, the Rutland Yeomanry was seen as an exemplary force. Rutland was the first county to propose raising a volunteer force in early March 1794. A week later, the Government took up their idea, and the regulations adopted by the Rutland corps were those recommended by the Government as a model for others to follow. Although they were a small force of men, at the presentation of the standards in 1795, the Earl of Winchelsea, their first commander by virtue of his position as Lord Lieutenant of the county, described them as 'an example to the whole country' and 'the leading corps of British Yeomanry'. He referred to 'the obligations expressed by the neighbouring counties to the Yeomanry of Rutland for a plan and institution so beneficial to the country'. The presentation and the Earl's words were reported nationally in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Not all the corps raised at this time exhibited such conduct, and we cannot help noting, with some satisfaction, that the Melton Mowbray Volunteer Infantry was disbanded in 1804 for gross misconduct.[13] And we remember from *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) the disastrous effect on the Bennet family of the presence of the militia in the neighbouring town of Merryfield.

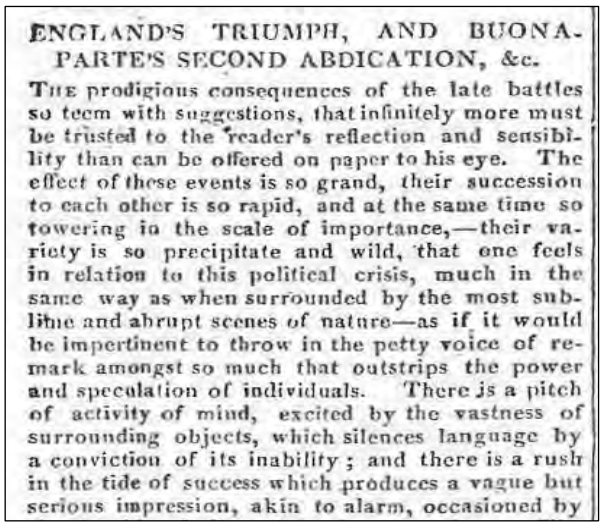
The effect of the War on the local community

The war and the raising of the militia impacted on towns like Uppingham, although it is not always easy to see this in action. First, young men would be absent during their periods of service, which could mean the neglect of their day-to-day occupations. This is likely to have increased the workload of those who had to replace them, especially women. The gratuities they received would, however, provide some compensation for their loss of earnings. And since they were not expected to serve on the front line, there was no immediate danger to their lives. Their presence about the town would lend glamour and cause a certain frisson among the local young women.[14] More seriously, they were a force that could be summoned to help with fire-fighting, local calamities or civil disorder. However, from their constant willingness to offer their services elsewhere, it would seem that the young men, most of whom, like many of their officers, were in their twenties, enjoyed their periods of duty, in spite of the long marches and their absence from home - or perhaps because of it! There may have been an element of 'Dad's Army' about the fact that they had old weapons and aped the military, but they were also obviously motivated by a sense of duty, for the fear of invasion was real and a serious threat to the nation's way of life. This was at the height of the Terror in France, and the general population feared the consequences should this menace cross the Channel.



The town of Uppingham has been one continued scene of festivity during the week before last, in rejoicing for the happy return of peace. The members of the different clubs dined and supped at their respective houses, and a grand parade took place through the principal streets, with their handsome flag flying, and a most excellent band of music preceding them, playing God save the King.—And on Thursday evening the town was most brilliantly illuminated, and the transparencies so beautiful, that every beholder (and it is supposed there must be at least three thousand people assembled) acknowledged it far exceeded their utmost expectations, and what still added to the pleasure, (and much to the credit of the town,) was the orderly and good behaviour that was every where observed during the evening. On Friday se'nnight there was a public dinner at the Falcon inn, which was well attended by the principal gentlemen and tradesmen.—Several loyal songs and toasts were given, and the day spent with the greatest conviviality. The poor at the same time received the bounty of the generous inhabitants, which was distributed to them in money, besides tea, gin, and ale, in the market-place. And on Saturday, Ralph Hotchkin, esq. gave the women a treat of tea, &c. &c. in the court-yard.

Revelries at Uppingham in 1814. Note the role of Ralph Hotchkin esq. of the Hall and the mention of 'clubs' in Uppingham (Drak, 17 June 1814).

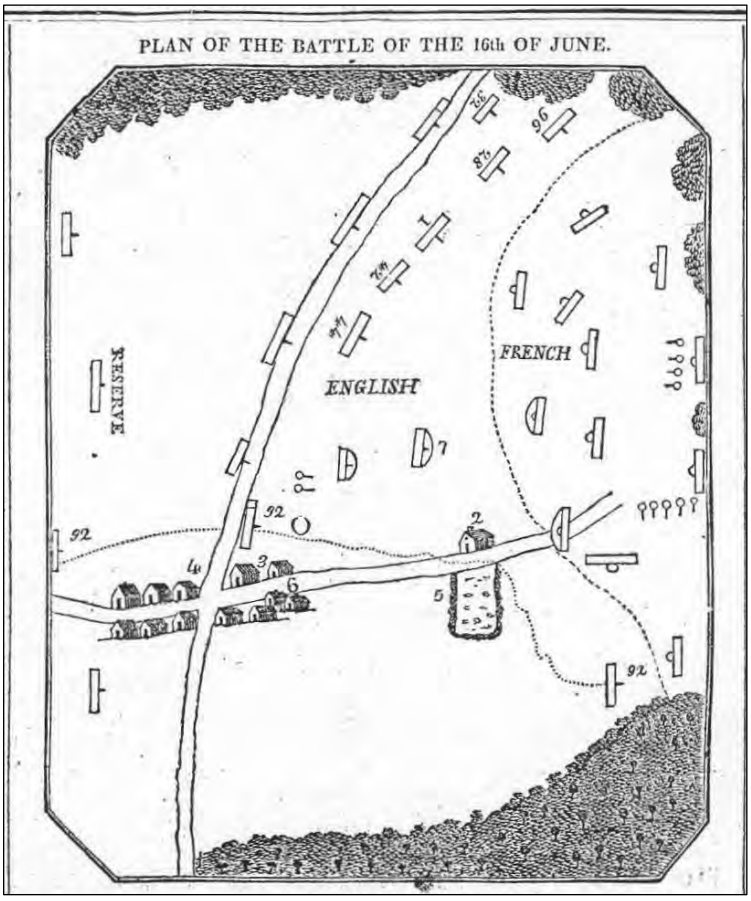


ENGLAND'S TRIUMPH, AND BUONAPARTE'S SECOND ABDICATION, &c.

THE prodigious consequences of the late battles so teem with suggestions, that infinitely more must be trusted to the reader's reflection and sensibility than can be offered on paper to his eye. The effect of these events is so grand, their succession to each other is so rapid, and at the same time so towering in the scale of importance,—their variety is so precipitate and wild, that one feels in relation to this political crisis, much in the same way as when surrounded by the most sublime and abrupt scenes of nature—as if it would be impertinent to throw in the petty voice of remark amongst so much that outstrips the power and speculation of individuals. There is a pitch of activity of mind, excited by the vastness of surrounding objects, which silences language by a conviction of its inability; and there is a rush in the tide of success which produces a vague but serious impression, akin to alarm, occasioned by

Drakard's Stamford News carried long articles about the Battle of Waterloo

The Battle of Waterloo



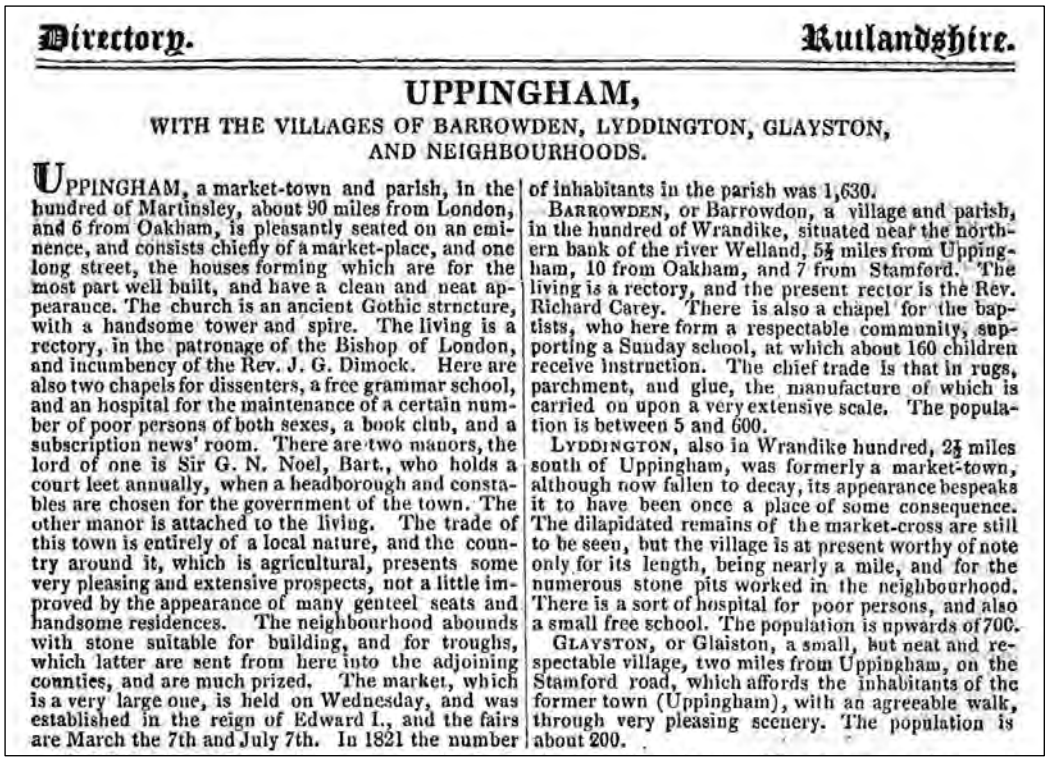
EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN.

We are indebted for the above sketch of the desperate engagement of the 16th, to an Officer, who severely suffered on that occasion in his own person, and more severely in those who were dear to him. The plan is mostly intended to illustrate the following letter, which relates chiefly to the glorious part which the 92d took in the contest. That regiment is designated by its number in three different positions. The dotted line indicates the course of its advance against the enemy. The horizontal road is that leading from Brussels, by which our troops came up. The small circle in front of the second position of the 92d in the ditch, is the spot where the Duke of Wellington was so exposed. The road from the house, No. 2, to the village of Quatre Bras, No. 6, is that by which the French cavalry made the desperate charges recounted below. No. 5 is the garden referred to in the letter as the scene of a dreadful resistance. No. 7 is the Brunswick cavalry, which were routed. The third position of the 92d in the right-hand corner, close to the wood, is the spot to which their gallant remnant had reached when they were relieved by the guards. Here they were exposed to a flank fire from a column and a battery, besides a fire from the body which they had so nobly driven back. The cavalry columns are indicated, on both sides, by a half circle extending from the parallelogram. The guns will be easily distinguished.

Details of the battle from Drakard's Stamford News

[1] PR, 1799, 1811; will of Baines 1811, NRO
[2] USM, 250, 1895, p.54
[3] USM, 247, 1893, p.311
[4] *By God's Grace,* p.243
[5] Services, p.92
[6] Services, p.76
[7] PR; DE overseers of the poor records, ROLLR
[8] By ballot 1779/1782 or 1783, Thomas Collin, George Hart, Henry Larratt surgeon, William Reading, William Russell, William Seaton weaver, Christopher Scot, Joseph Thorpe, Robert Thorpe, and Thomas Wade; also John Nutt comber by ballot, 27 Nov 1782: Militia
[9] PR. John Brunt, of Ontario in Canada informs us, via the internet, that his great-great-great-grandfather, William Thorpe, who was baptised in Uppingham on 24 Nov 1777, was a member of the Rutland Fencibles Cavalry from 1796-1800 and of the Light Dragoons from 1800-1812; and that on 27 February 1809, William Thorpe married Charlotte Bull in Uppingham and their daughter was baptised at Walmer in Kent, while he was stationed at Deal.
[10] Although the Rutland County Museum in Oakham has a rich display in its section on the Rutland Militia, the only known example of a Rutland Militia mess jacket is to be found in the Northampton Regimental Museum; Services, pp.80-81
[11] Steppler, *Britons to Arms,* 1992, pp.68,63
[12] Wells, 1983
[13] Steppler, p.68
[14] Thomas Hardy, *The Trumpet Major,* written in 1880 but recalling earlier times, conveys the sense of excitement among the village girls when a local corps encamps on the local field.

Itinerary 15.
The Hall
LANDLORDS AND GENTRY IN UPPINGHAM IN 1802



Directory. Rutlandshire.

UPPINGHAM,

WITH THE VILLAGES OF BARROWDEN, LYDDINGTON, GLAYSTON, AND NEIGHBOURHOODS.

UPPINGHAM, a market-town and parish, in the hundred of Martinsley, about 90 miles from London, and 6 from Oakham, is pleasantly seated on an eminence, and consists chiefly of a market-place, and one long street, the houses forming which are for the most part well built, and have a clean and neat appearance. The church is an ancient Gothic structure, with a handsome tower and spire. The living is a rectory, in the patronage of the Bishop of London, and incumbency of the Rev. J. G. Dimock. Here are also two chapels for dissenters, a free grammar school, and an hospital for the maintenance of a certain number of poor persons of both sexes, a book club, and a subscription news' room. There are two manors, the lord of one is Sir G. N. Noel, Bart., who holds a court leet annually, when a headborough and constables are chosen for the government of the town. The other manor is attached to the living. The trade of this town is entirely of a local nature, and the country around it, which is agricultural, presents some very pleasing and extensive prospects, not a little improved by the appearance of many genteel seats and handsome residences. The neighbourhood abounds with stone suitable for building, and for troughs, which latter are sent from here into the adjoining counties, and are much prized. The market, which is a very large one, is held on Wednesday, and was established in the reign of Edward I., and the fairs are March the 7th and July 7th. In 1821 the number of inhabitants in the parish was 1,630.

BARROWDEN, or Barrowdon, a village and parish, in the hundred of Wrandike, situated near the northern bank of the river Welland, 5½ miles from Uppingham, 10 from Oakham, and 7 from Stamford. The living is a rectory, and the present rector is the Rev. Richard Carey. There is also a chapel for the baptists, who here form a respectable community, supporting a Sunday school, at which about 160 children receive instruction. The chief trade is that in rugs, parchment, and glue, the manufacture of which is carried on upon a very extensive scale. The population is between 5 and 600.

LYDDINGTON, also in Wrandike hundred, 2½ miles south of Uppingham, was formerly a market-town, although now fallen to decay, its appearance bespeaks it to have been once a place of some consequence. The dilapidated remains of the market-cross are still to be seen, but the village is at present worthy of note only for its length, being nearly a mile, and for the numerous stone pits worked in the neighbourhood. There is a sort of hospital for poor persons, and also a small free school. The population is upwards of 700.

GLAYSTON, or Glaiston, a small, but neat and respectable village, two miles from Uppingham, on the Stamford road, which affords the inhabitants of the former town (Uppingham), with an agreeable walk, through very pleasing scenery. The population is about 200.

Part of Pigot's Directory, 1829

The south side of High Street East beyond Horn Lane (Queen Street) was occupied by a series of smaller craftsmen's houses and shops. There was one large house (now 50-52 High Street East) occupied by one of the town's gentry, the elderly Mr Robert Stafford who died in this year aged 74 (PR). At the east end of the town stood the Hall. Its core is seventeenth century (there is a date stone of 1612 on one wing), but it had been extensively enlarged and refronted during the eighteenth century. It was probably empty or let out in 1802; one house standing in the grounds was occupied by Andrew Porter farmer who was using the barns and stables and may have been looking after the whole property for the owner, named in 1805 as Robert Hotchkin Esq. and Charles B Adderley Esq. The Hall seems to have been held by Adderley since Robert Hotchkin was a lunatic and Adderley was married to Mary, Robert's sister, guardian and trustee (CR). Adderley was therefore holding his wife's interests in Uppingham.

Chest tomb of Robert Stafford gentleman died 1802 aged 74 (ULHSG)

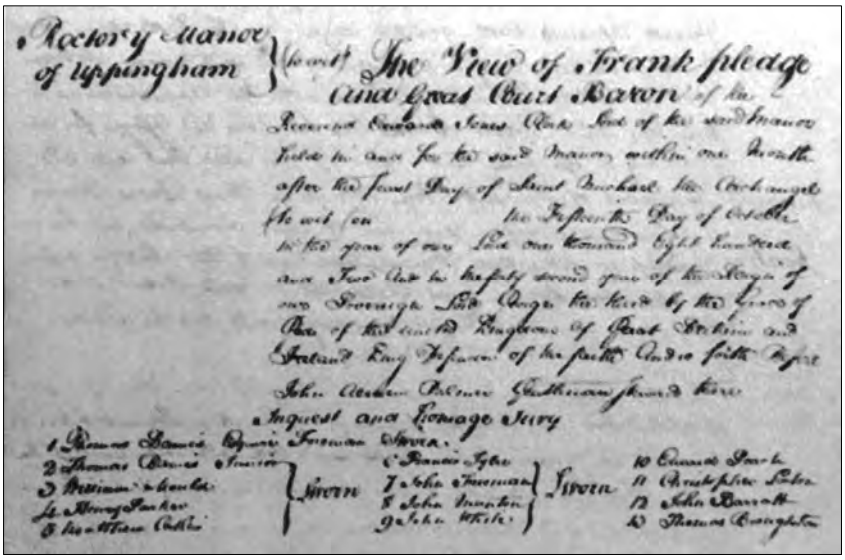
The Hall, Uppingham, October 2002 (ULHSG)

The Hall provokes us into asking who owned what in Uppingham in 1802. Most of the town of Uppingham was freehold, but there were in Uppingham in 1802 three large estates, the Manor of Preston and Uppingham (occasionally called Uppingham with Preston) held by the Noel family, the Rectory Manor held by the Rector, and a non-manorial estate belonging to the combined families of Hotchkin and Adderley. A careful study of the enclosure map of 1804 which lists the different categories of ownership shows 102 freehold properties in the town (that is, outside any manor at all), 55 properties held by 41 different tenants (several were sub-let) copyhold of the Manor of Preston and Uppingham (which also held properties in Preston, Wing and other neighbouring parishes), and 44 tenancies held by some 35-40 different tenants (again some properties were sub-let) copyhold of the Rectory Manor.

These two manors were of considerable antiquity, and they both still held regular manor courts, although these mainly dealt with the transfer of property. The Rector's manor did receive from time to time presentments (accusations) about agriculture and about lanes being blocked: 'the causeway adjoining William Cant's house is in a ruinous and dangerous state', 1800. It appointed manorial constables (Thomas Broughton in 1800) and aletasters (Mathew Catlin and Thomas Broughton)[1] though it is unlikely they tested any of the ale on sale in the town. The Noel manor appointed manorial officers also - a headborough[2] and/or 'thirdboroughs' or petty constables, 'deciners' or tithingmen, that is jurymen, and pindars who looked after the parish pound on Beast Hill. In 1802, John Lacey of the Royal Oak and Robert Breton Fox were elected as constables, and Thomas Baines and Edward Sewell continued as deciners. The pindar was clearly active: in 1815 William Wright was fined for trying to free some pigs of his which had strayed and were being taken to the pound. Both courts appointed officers called 'deciners' (court officials, probably chairmen of the jury) but their duties were internal to the manor court and not part of the running of the town community's affairs.

The two manors were not discrete estates; their properties were often intertwined with each other and with the freeholds (the Rectory Manor was more coherent than the Preston with Uppingham Manor). Nearly one half of the town was held by these manors in what was called copyhold: that is, the owners technically held it of the lord of the manor, but they could sell it and buy other property, pull it down and rebuild, and act in every way as a freeholder except that they had to register such transactions in the lord's manor court and pay an entry fine and a small annual rent, both of which could be fixed for eternity at a very low level. These manors became important at the time of enclosure, for the lords of the manor were entitled to an extra share of land by virtue of being lord of the manor since they were said to hold all unclaimed and common land on their manor.

Of the three great landlords of Uppingham in 1802, the Noel family of Exton had the largest estate. Gerard



The Court Roll of Rectory Manor, Uppingham, 15th October 1802 (Uppingham School Archives, with permission)

Noel Noel (formerly Gerard Noel Edwards but he changed his name so as to inherit) was a member of the Exton family; he was MP for Rutland without a break from 1788 to 1808. As Earls of Gainsborough, they had acquired the main manor of Preston with Uppingham in 1747. But the Gainsborough line died out and although still very wealthy, the family had at this time no title (however, the manor court in Uppingham was still on occasion referred to as Lord Gainsborough's court). In 1813, Gerard Noel Noel who lived at Catmose just outside Oakham, now the county council offices, inherited his father-in-law's title of Lord Barham, and in 1841 his son was created Earl of Gainsborough again. In 1802, then, Gerard Noel Edwards/Noel Esq. was lord of the main manor in Uppingham, and his son Charles Noel Noel came of age, later becoming MP for the county. The Rectory Manor was smaller. It was of course held by the Rev. Edward Jones as the Court Rolls say, 'by virtue of his office or incumbency'.

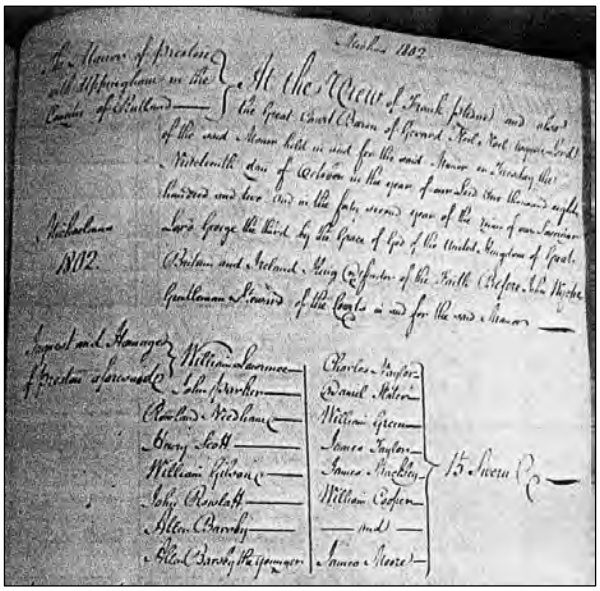
In both cases, the interests of the lords of the manor in Uppingham seem largely to have been financial. Noel did not need to attend at all, leaving everything to his stewards who collected the annual rents and the more irregular entry fines. Bentley Warren was steward for the Noel's manor. The Rector had of course a house in the town (although he lived at Loddington), and at times this Manor court was held in the Rectory with the Rector presiding; but normally John Abearn Palmer steward held the court.

Income came from two main sources (apart from a fluctuating sum from fines for infringement of manorial customs), annual rents from the copyholders and the entry fines which were paid each time the property changed hands and was registered in the manor court. On the Noel's Manor, the amount raised each year by the annual rents and from the more occasional entry fines (which were fixed by manor custom, usually at double the rent) is not known. On

Portrait of Noel MP for Rutland who held Uppingham Manor in 1802 (RutMag, iv, p.84)

the Rectory Manor, the annual rents from his 35 or so tenants came to just over £4. There were eight annual pensions paid by neighbouring clergy and landholders amounting to another £6. 14s p.a., so the Rector could count on at least £10 each year from the manor (his annual income from the benefice was about £140).[3] The entry fines on this manor were 'arbitrary', not fixed. In both cases, since some years saw virtually no changes of copyhold ownership, and these may have

been of small properties, and other years saw many changes, the income from entry fines fluctuated widely.[4] In order to increase the income, the Rector's Manor tried whenever possible to create new life tenancies at a more realistic rent. It must have been hard to live with an income which was so uncertain, but the manor courts provided only a small portion of the income of both the Noel family and the Rector, and it may have seemed at times as if the trouble of asking the steward to hold the manor court and collect these rents and fines might have exceeded their value. One steward charged fees of just over £2 for holding each court, according to the existing records.



The heading of the manor court of Preston with Uppingham held on 19th October 1802 with the names of the sworn jurors (not all came from Uppingham) (ROLLR)

There were other notables holding land and property in Uppingham. The Marquis of Exeter (Burghley estate) and the Earl of Harborough each had a small estate in the town, mostly land rather than buildings. But there was a third substantial landholding in Uppingham in 1802, that of Robert Hotchkin and Charles Bowyer Adderley. Hotchkin of Tixover had acquired some estates in Uppingham before 1770, for he was mentioned in the 1770 enclosure of that time. His daughter Mary married Charles Bowyer Adderley of Hams Hall, Lea Marston in Warwickshire (near Birmingham). Some of these properties in Uppingham were copyhold of the Noel manor, some copyhold of the Rectory manor, and some were freehold. In the 1801-2 lists, Adderley was rated at £40 (almost the largest rate in the town) for all his property, and in the 1805 Rate Book and on the enclosure map, Robert Hotchkin Esq. and C B Adderley Esq. were jointly holding a large swathe of land (including a fishpond) from the Hall through to Queen Street with several buildings on it let out to others. Although it would seem that Adderley visited the town from time to time, his estate must have been managed by someone for him (perhaps Bentley Warren; neither Adderley nor Hotchkin appeared in Palmer's notebook).

All three major landholders were non-resident, although the Rector was from time to time in Uppingham about his church duties, and Adderley was occasionally involved in some of the town's activities (he was listed first among the members of the Uppingham Association for the Prosecution of Felons).

What then of the main residences in Uppingham? Judging by the Rate Book of 1805, the largest or most valuable was the Hall rated at £40, with the Falcon at £36 next. The Unicorn and Blyth's shop (£26) were followed by Belgrave's house rated at £22, and the School and the houses of James Hill woolstapler and John Abearn Palmer, all three at £20. Dr Smith's house in High Street West, and the Swan Inn were rated at £18 and the Rectory at £16, along with two other houses or shops, those of John Cook and James Hill wine merchant.

Two of these larger buildings have been called 'the Hall' and 'Manor House' for some time. But everything is very obscure. It is noteworthy that these two, the Hall at the east end of town and what is now the Thring Centre, stand in their own grounds well away from the main roads. The Hall was built or rebuilt in 1612 according to a date stone on it, and the Thring Centre perhaps about the same time or just a little later. It is as if they are built to be remote, superior, aloof. What is intriguing is that in the grounds of both of them there stands another building of about the same date - what is now 50-52 High Street East dated 1616 on a date stone, and 8 High Street West without any known date stone but about that date or even slightly earlier. Both of these buildings stand on the main road but face away from it, towards the larger house behind them. Such an arrangement is odd and may hint at some connection with the two main manors. That Hotchkin and Adderley came to hold the Hall later is coincidental. But beyond that we cannot go at the moment.

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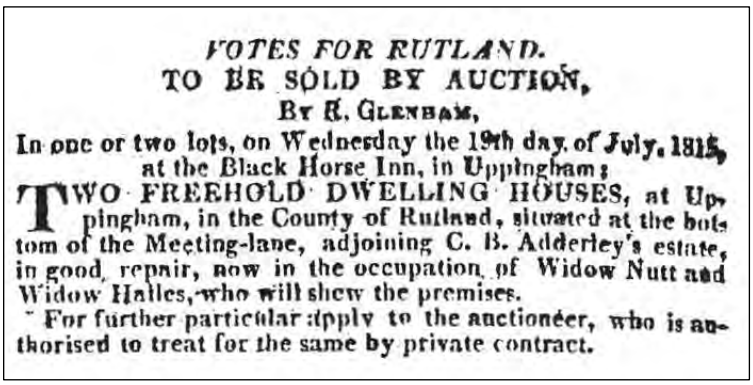
[1] All material relating to the manor courts, except where otherwise indicated, comes from the CR of MPU and RM.

[2] Pigot's Directory, 1829

[3] Aldred

[4] Many of the entries in the register of the Rectory Manor court transactions have not been completed; therefore it is impossible to say how much came each year from entry fines. In 1800 there was only one change of copyhold ownership, in 1801 five, in 1802 one, 1803 two and 1804 two life tenancies; individual fines listed ranged from £15 to £1 7s. Much the same was true on the other manor.

Itinerary 16.
Adderley Street Area and the East End
UPPINGHAM AND THE GENERAL ELECTION IN 1802.



VOTES FOR RUTLAND.
TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION,
By R. Glenham,
In one or two lots, on Wednesday the 19th day of July, 1815,
at the Black Horse Inn, in Uppingham;
TWO FREEHOLD DWELLING HOUSES, at Uppingham, in the County of Rutland, situated at the bottom of the Meeting-lane, adjoining C. B. Adderley's estate, in good repair, now in the occupation of Widow Nutt and Widow Halles, who will shew the premises.
For further particular apply to the auctioneer, who is authorised to treat for the same by private contract.

Drakard's Stamford News, 14 July 1815

The end of the rate list for 1802 seems to be a miscellaneous collection of properties lying mainly along Meeting Lane (now Adderley Street) and around Southview. Many of these were small properties on small plots of land; but being freehold, the holdings could be often subdivided, rebuilt and developed in a way which copyhold properties sometimes were unable easily so to do. And they were often put out on short term leases. This makes them even more difficult to identify.

Being freehold, properties such as those in the Adderley Street area carried with them, despite being often very humble, a right which was often denied to much larger properties, the right to vote. And votes could be important and even valuable at a time of a contested parliamentary election. Apart from the housing needs of the poorer classes and the desires of landlords to develop their spare land on the edges of the town, the building of terraces of freehold tenements could add substantially to the voters in some places where the franchise was more open. Thus selling a freehold in Uppingham was selling a vote.

The General Election of 1802

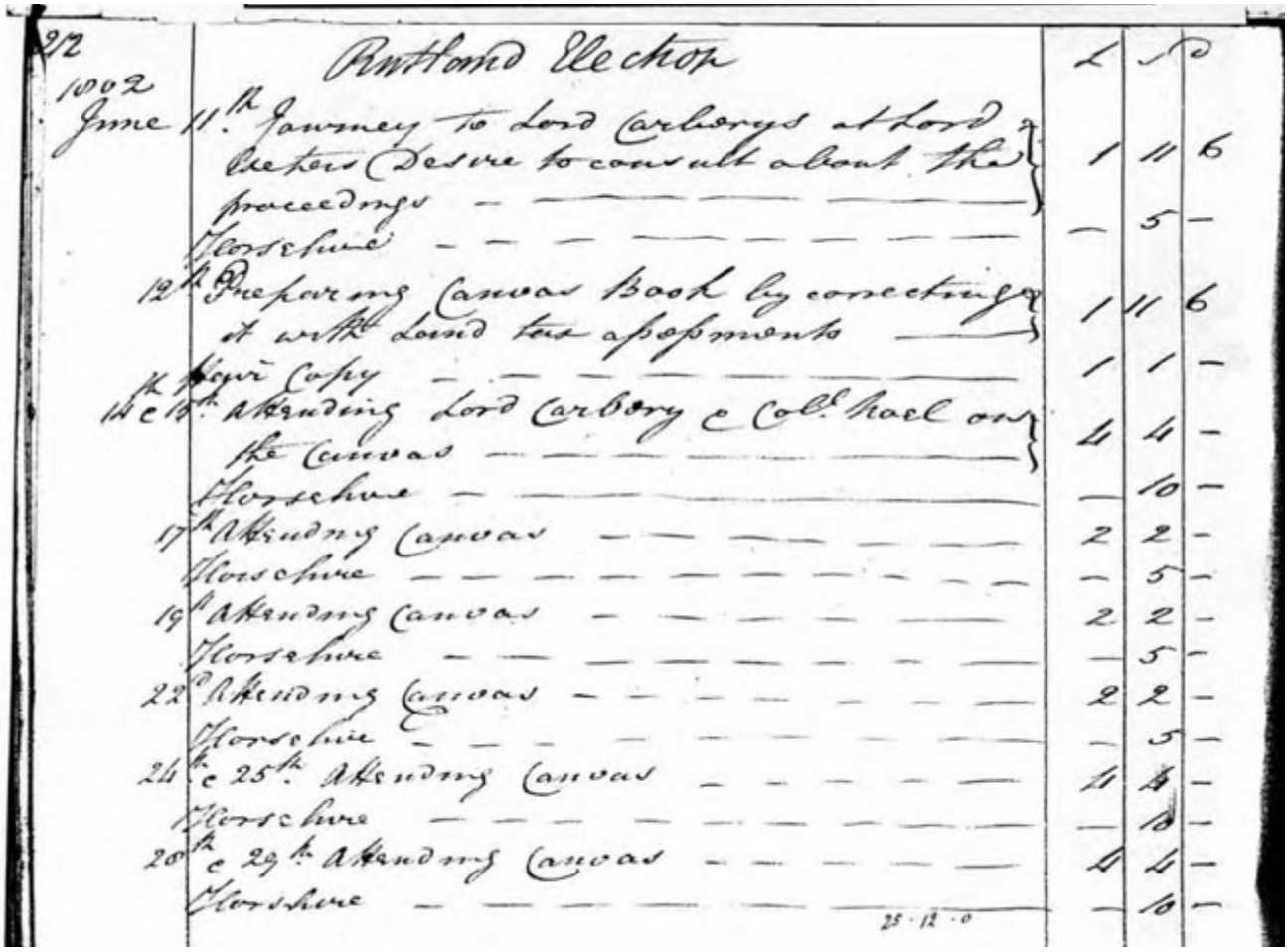
Not that Rutland saw many contested elections. 1802 was a year of a General Election; but Uppingham and its neighbours avoided this, for the Rutland county constituency which sent two MPs to Westminster was not contested. Uppingham's major landlord, the Noel family, had held one seat since 1727, so Gerard Noel Edwards/Noel was returned unopposed again in 1802. The other county MP, Sir William Lowther of Uffington near Stamford, an army officer who also had a house at Cottesmore, inherited estates in Westmoreland in 1802 and in 1807 became the Earl of Lonsdale. So the Noel family and Lord Exeter of Burghley chose a relation of the Noels, Lord Carbury of Laxton Hall, Northants, another army officer who had had a seat in the Irish House of Lords until it had been dissolved in 1801, to represent Rutland. No-one else stood, probably because of the cost of fighting such powers in the district, so there was no election. Lord Carbury did not last long: later the same year, he burst a blood vessel while out hunting, in 1803 he broke an arm which left him permanently ill, and in 1804 he died of a burst blood vessel. Lord Exeter's estate (Exeter was a minor at this time) then put up one of the Exeter estate trustees, Lord Henniker, as Rutland's MP (1805).[1]

Despite the fact that there was no opposition to the candidates in 1802, John Abearn Palmer, the Uppingham solicitor, spent six whole days (and charged handsomely for them) on 'the canvass'.

> 11 June 1802: Journey to Lord Carberys at Lord Exeters Desire to consult about the proceedings …
> 12 June: Preparing Canvas Book by correcting it with Land Tax assessments ..
> 14 and 15: Attending Lord Carbery and Col Noel on the Canvas [also on 17, 19, 22, 24 and 28 June]

He charged 2 gns per day, so the total bill (with travelling expenses) came to £25 12s which had not been paid by the time Palmer died in 1807. Even without a contest, the costs were high, so that no-one was surprised when the paper reported that 'Sir Henry Peyton declined standing for the county of Cambridge on account of the enormous expense of the last contest. It is said that the cost to Sir Henry was £16,000 and as the [Duke of] Rutland family was determined to spare nothing to ensure the election of Sir Charles Manners, Sir Henry Peyton resolved not to impair his fortune by renewing the contest' (SM, 18 June).

The sheriff who made the Rutland parliamentary return was the lawyer William Gilson of Burley who was shortly to start a business in Uppingham.



Palmer notebook entry for election 1802 (PRO, C107/95)

Pitt and politics

The Prime Minister was Addington, although Pitt was clearly still the man of the moment. But Pitt had fallen out with the king who in his saner moments still thought he ran the country. George III had vetoed a bill which Pitt had promoted for Catholic Emancipation, and so Pitt resigned to form a New Opposition party dedicated to Catholic Emancipation and the continuance of the war rather than peace. He was still hugely popular: in 1802 the Pitt Club was formed, and the paper reported on and solicited from its readers contributions towards a statue for Pitt: 'The subscription to Mr Pitt's statue amounts to near £4,600' (SM, 4 June). His birthday celebrations held at Merchant Taylor's Hall in London were described in great detail. 'Reports are in circulation that an offer has been made to bring back Mr Pitt into an ostensible share in the ministry. His Majesty, it is said, has consented to Mr Pitt again entering upon his service, on condition that the question of Catholic Emancipation should not be brought forward as a measure of Government. To this proposal Mr Pitt is reported to have given a decided negative' (SM 25 June). It was to prevent the King from building up ministers in his own interest that Pitt created the collective responsibility of the cabinet system of government that persists to this day.

The main concern of the day was of course the war which affected the whole of the town. But there were other matters: the growth of radical and disaffected elements, especially among the growing numbers of manufacturing workers in the factories and at home, as well as among agricultural workers, beginning the long march towards combinations and unions; the influx of asylum seekers from the continental revolutions and persecutions; the religious debates around the political, legal and social disabilities which both the Catholics and the Dissenters suffered; huge moral issues of the day such as slavery and the poor which generated great heat and little light; increasing demands for political reform - all of these were matters of debate in 1802. What is strange is that the major violence experienced in parts of the country, especially Nottingham and Leicestershire nearby, combining the political radicals and the economic discontented and resulting in an attempted coup in London led by Dr Despard in November 1802, does not feature at all in the pages of the *Mercury*. In Nottingham the general election aroused so much violence that in 1803 parliament cancelled that county election and ordered another one.[2] This omission cannot have been by accident; it must have been part of the paper's policy to inspire calm and compliance among its readers.

Finance, then as now, was perhaps the dominant issue of national politics. The peace and then the renewed war affected the value of state and private finances.

> The funds on Saturday … experienced the most extraordinary and rapid rise .. ever remembered. Money is at this moment pouring in from all quarters of the country to be invested in the funds so that there is great difficulty in procuring stock of any kind for the avidity of purchasers. .. While England is thus profiting under the genial influence of a peace, the funds of France are depressed (SM, 9 April).

The flourishing state of English manufactures and trade was a subject of frequent comment. So much so that notices had to go out about forged money and bonds at this time.

Many of those who lived in Uppingham in 1802 could read about these events in the *Stamford Mercury*, although it is likely that those who lived in the voting properties around the Adderley Street end of town (as also in the West End) would have been less able to read fluently than those who lived elsewhere in the town. The major part of the *Mercury* was made up of news from the outside world brought into the homes and shops of Uppingham. The paper reported (often in great detail) speeches in parliament, especially the budget and taxation: 'Mr Wilberforce gave notice that he would bring forward a motion for the immediate restriction of the importation of Negroes into the British plantations' (SM, 4 June). It is true that sometimes there was little to report: 'On Saturday last a mail arrived from Hamburgh. It brings nothing of general news' (SM, 8 Jan); 'Nothing of import has transpired in the House of Peers during the week' (SM, 10 Dec); 'Since our last a French and Dutch mail have arrived and on Sunday the Paris journals .. came to hand. There is no intelligence of importance in any of them' (SM, 15 Oct). It is strange that the *Mercury* of 1802 still sold despite such statements.

But imparting national and international news was clearly the main aim of the newspaper. The *Mercury* was a tool of the ruling elites. It supported the government, unlike *Drakard's Stamford News* which advocated reform. Reporting the budget speech of the Prime Minister, the *Stamford Mercury* shared his view:

> When he saw, above all, a loyal and virtuous people (with a few contemptible exceptions, numerous in a tavern but nothing in the Strand), he could not but reflect with the most heartfelt gratitude and satisfaction on the prospect of the permanent safety and prosperity of the country (SM, 17 Dec).

> The conclusion of a long and perilous war; the reflections which have been cast on it's conduct; and the possible consequences attendant on it's termination, have been so fully discussed, that we should obtrude ourselves on the attention of our readers, by any further animadversions, when a general peace has silenced the cavils of opposition, and produced a general joy throughout the country. Entertaining as we do, the most profound respect for the Government, by whose wisdom, prudence and energy, the miseries of millions have been relieved, and the honor and independence of our country secured, we feel it to be our duty, at this time, to submit a few observations to our readers, illustrative of the principles on which their future felicity depends (SM, 9 April).

The Court

Less frequently but nevertheless with great interest the paper reported the court doings. George III has stopped hunting. The Prince of Wales has claimed the Duchy of Cornwall. The King's birthday (and the costumes which went with it) as well as the Queen's birthday were noticed in full. While the Royal family were in Weymouth, they attended the plays *Peeping Tom* and *Little Farthing Rushlight* (SM, 3 Sep). On the whole, there was less of this than one would have thought - perhaps the long reign of George III and his frequent bouts of illness had created boredom, and the Prince of Wales was not yet forming his own centre of attraction to the more provincial newspapers.

Miscellaneous news items

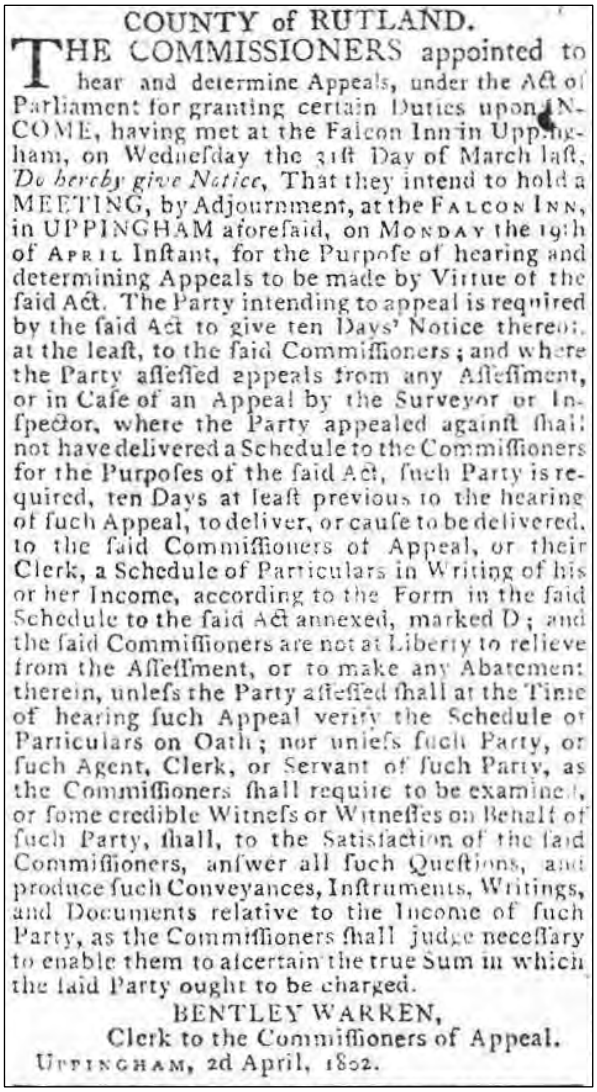
And then there was the gossip - lots of it. Aristocratic births, marriages and deaths, both in Great Britain and abroad, were noted: for example, Prince Gallitzin attended the Russian Emperor Alexander on a visit to Riga. Stories of crime and immorality, of lucky coincidences and brave efforts, of sports (especially 'pedestrianism', walking races) or other kinds of record-breaking feats were related in detail. The weather as today was a constant matter of comment: The Baltic was frozen over. Hot air balloons were all the rage - there are many references to these during the year. Mr Garnerin ascended by balloon and descended by parachute in London – 'never before done in this country'.

Uppingham and national events

How far did all of this impact on Uppingham in 1802? Was the *Mercury* simply a window onto a strange and distant world? The General Election may have been distantly felt but there was no real change there. But as we have seen above, the war was real enough, with impressment and the militia providing everyday evidence. There would have been celebrations for the peace in the town but we do not know what form they took.

Taxes were raised to pay for the war - stamp duties on everything including medicines. Income tax had been introduced only four years earlier (1798) as a temporary measure for the war effort. In its first manifestation, it did not last long (1816) but in 1842 it became a permanent feature of the taxation system. The Excise Office was set up in Uppingham in the Falcon. Mr Ebbage Excise Officer came to live among the community; and commissioners came round to hear appeals against the assessments on which the tax was levied.

Nor was Uppingham cut off from politics at a local level. Apart from Palmer the solicitor who ran the canvass for Lord Carbery, at least three persons living in Uppingham in 1802 had been sheriff of the county, Thomas Baines, William Belgrave and John Cooke, together with Thomas Barfoot esq. of Ayston and Robert Walker of Stockerston.[3] Uppingham played a full part in county life at the time.



COUNTY of RUTLAND.

THE COMMISSIONERS appointed to hear and determine Appeals, under the Act of Parliament for granting certain Duties upon IN-COME, having met at the Falcon Inn in Uppingham, on Wednesday the 31ſt Day of March laſt, *Do hereby give Notice*, That they intend to hold a MEETING, by Adjournment, at the FALCON INN, in UPPINGHAM aforeſaid, on MONDAY the 19th of APRIL Inſtant, for the Purpoſe of hearing and determining Appeals to be made by Virtue of the ſaid Act. The Party intending to appeal is required by the ſaid Act to give ten Days' Notice thereof, at the leaſt, to the ſaid Commiſſioners; and where the Party aſſeſſed appeals from any Aſſeſſment, or in Caſe of an Appeal by the Surveyor or Inſpector, where the Party appealed againſt ſhall not have delivered a Schedule to the Commiſſioners for the Purpoſes of the ſaid Act, ſuch Party is required, ten Days at leaſt previous to the hearing of ſuch Appeal, to deliver, or cauſe to be delivered, to the ſaid Commiſſioners of Appeal, or their Clerk, a Schedule of Particulars in Writing of his or her Income, according to the Form in the ſaid Schedule to the ſaid Act annexed, marked D; and the ſaid Commiſſioners are not at Liberty to relieve from the Aſſeſſment, or to make any Abatement therein, unleſs the Party aſſeſſed ſhall at the Time of hearing ſuch Appeal verify the Schedule or Particulars on Oath; nor unleſs ſuch Party, or ſuch Agent, Clerk, or Servant of ſuch Party, as the Commiſſioners ſhall require to be examined, or ſome credible Witneſs or Witneſſes on Behalf of ſuch Party, ſhall, to the Satisfaction of the ſaid Commiſſioners, anſwer all ſuch Queſtions, and produce ſuch Conveyances, Inſtruments, Writings, and Documents relative to the Income of ſuch Party, as the Commiſſioners ſhall judge neceſſary to enable them to aſcertain the true Sum in which the ſaid Party ought to be charged.

BENTLEY WARREN,
Clerk to the Commiſſioners of Appeal.

UPPINGHAM, 2d April, 1802.

Bentley Warren solicitor of Uppingham served as clerk to the magistrates when they held court at the Falcon (SM, 2 April).

[1] R G Thorne, *The House of Commons 1790-1820,* Secker and Warburg, London, 1986, pp.331-2
[2] Wells, 1983, pp.33-38; Thorne, p.163
[3] RutMag, iv, p.84.

Itinerary 17.
North of the Town
THE WORKHOUSE AND THE POOR

> Gentlemen this is the agreement that I have to propose to you according to the price of meat and bread. I can not maintain them at this time under 3s 3d pr head for the twenty and the agreement to be for one year or three which meet with your approbation and all over twenty to be paid or the other only the parts. To clothe them thereselves and the twenty I will keep myself in cloths for the time of my contract and all the nes[ecary] that is wanted for the use of the family to be found by the parish and the parish to find doctor and all burials and women that are brought into the house for to live in to have 1s 10d for a month and if you should wish for any security for performing the contract I will satisfy the parish I should wish for an agreement to be made and sind by each party. Signed Jn Bacon

[undated: DE, No: 1912/179]

There were a few buildings along North Street - for example, three small houses built on the Rick Yard behind the Unicorn across North Street East. Further along on the north side of North Street West stood the house which later became the Wheatsheaf and next door the row of poor houses later known as Ragman's Row. But the most important building in this part of the town was the parish workhouse which stood on the corner of North Street East and Orange Lane. It is to be distinguished from the later (Union) Workhouse on Leicester Road - this one was older and smaller and was simply for Uppingham parish.

The poor of Uppingham in 1802 are not clearly visible, for until the nineteenth century information is virtually non-existent. The first clear record is the government's Report on the Education of the Poor of 1818 which stated that there were in Uppingham 45 persons out of a total population of 1484 who were designated as 'poor'. But poverty in the Uppingham of 1802 was very real. There was little protection against misfortune, and many labouring families, through the war, agricultural and technical changes, fluctuating levels of prices and wages, or inevitable personal misfortunes, suffered a lowering of domestic standards.

The precise conditions of the very poor are difficult to ascertain. The three key issues were housing, food and clothes. Family was the first refuge, but the most unfortunate would cadge their food and clothes from any available source, for there was often insufficient cash for the necessities of life. Most of the poor seem to have lived on the fringes of the town, at the west end, the east end and along North Street; others lived in some of the courts behind the grander houses, inns and shops. In 1804, Robert Baines a copyhold tenant of the Rectory Manor 'had become insolvent and beholden to

Labourers working on the roads in 1803, from The Turnpike Age, Luton Museums, 1970 (printed with permission)

the Parish of Uppingham. In consequence the said tenement had become much out of repair to the injury of the lord'. This was used as an excuse to give his son (also Robert Baines) a life tenancy instead of a copyhold. Food and fuel were clearly in short supply for some families. And clothes acted as an obvious barrier with the rest of Uppingham society. Even for women involved in work such as cleaning, cooking, laundry and agriculture, the ability to maintain decency and propriety and to look like women was often impossible. For centuries females had been hampered by dresses down to their feet, and their costumes were ill adapted for practical purposes. Smoke from open wood fires, the sooty deposits on pots and pans, the steam and smells and the long arduous hours of farm work created a great deal of discomfort. Women working in the fields on hot days would often discard many of their restricting garments: 'they wear a single flannel or stuff petticoat, no shoes or stockings and their coat [petticoat] is pinned up in the shape of a pair of trousers leaving them naked to the knee' - early evidence of attempts by women to free the legs during hard work.[1] Those unable to make ends meet would have dressed in shreds and rags, often worn until they dropped to pieces from dirt. From North Street West ran a terrace of houses, Allin Row now marked by Allin Cottage 1891, generally referred to as Ragman's Row because of its inhabitants' mean, poor and tattered appearance.[2]

Relief of the poor

The aim of all authorities was to persuade the deserving poor to become self-reliant. In 1802, Francis Bloodworth of Pickworth received a premium from the Peterborough Agricultural Society for having brought up eleven children without parochial assistance (SM, 1 Jan). Many such societies were formed to help the deserving poor and the sick and aged: during the year the Society for the Relief of the Ruptured Poor was established and reported in the *Stamford Mercury* (SM, 2 July). In Uppingham, there were several charities run by the parish church and the parish officials including a weekly distribution of bread to 36 poor persons who attended church service, a feast for poor children and a School for the Poor. The Governors of the Johnson charity which ran the Free School in Uppingham and also the school in Oakham, gave financial support to a total of 90 poor people in both places who each received £8 (later £10) p.a.[3]

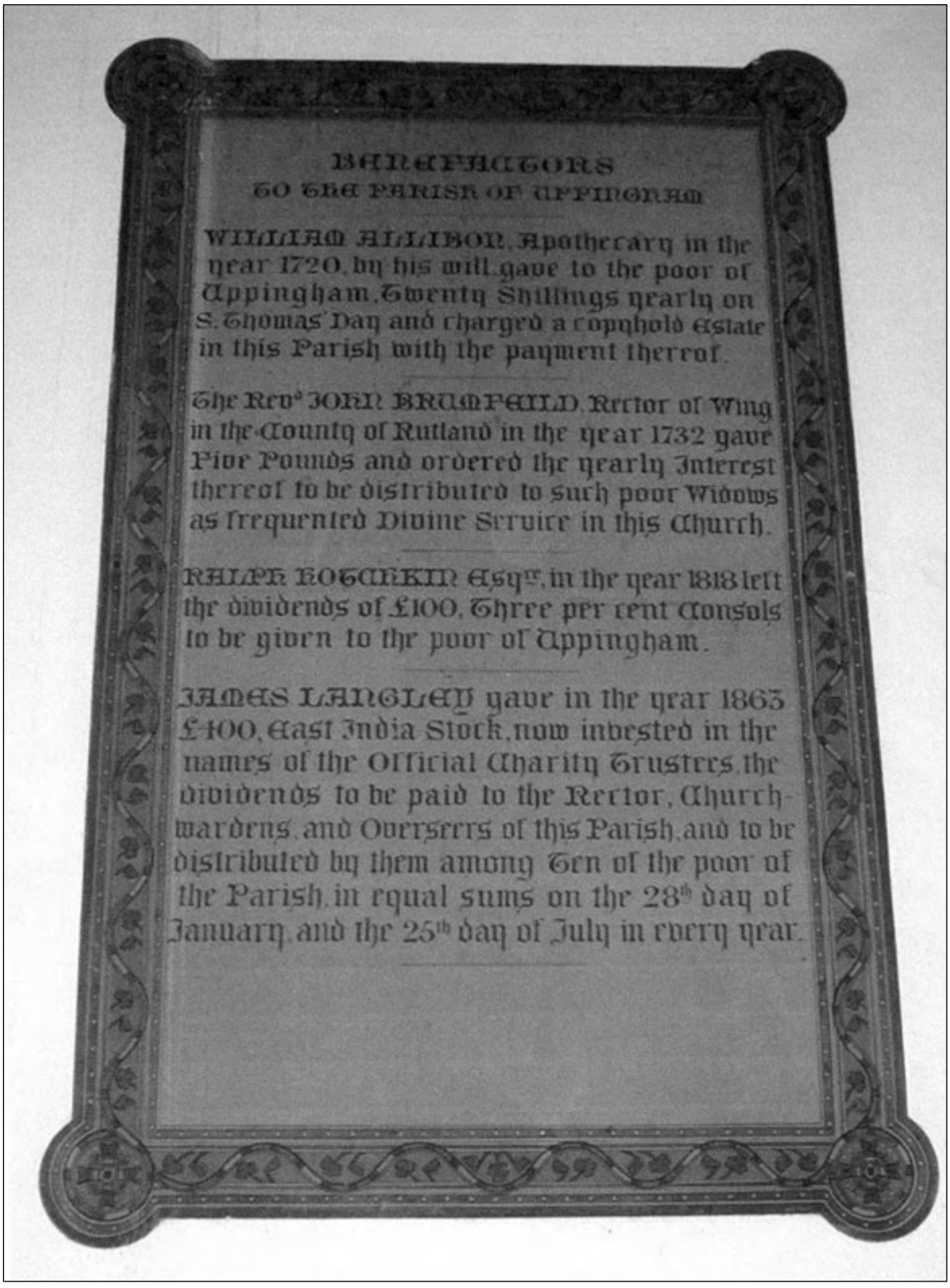
Until the parish workhouse was built, relief in Uppingham was outdoor relief - that is, in their own homes. The almshouse which Archdeacon Johnson had built to house some of the poor had become the Grammar School. Parish Overseers of the Poor were chosen each year, and they engaged in a very busy year, usually with the churchwardens who also handled poor relief matters, examining claimants for poor relief, providing and checking settlement certificates, putting poor children, often orphans, out as apprentices to local tradesmen, dealing with illegitimate children and their parents to try to enforce contributions from putative fathers, and removing those who fell onto the poor relief but who had their parish entitlement in another place. Law suits abounded; consultation with local Justices of the Peace and with solicitors like J A Palmer and Charles Hall took place from time to time. There was much correspondence with other parishes. It may be that increasingly, as the work and the costs rose rapidly during the hard years of bad harvests and the war, making the poor law officers very unpopular, people were increasingly reluctant to serve as Overseer; in 1816, Robert Cave agreed to act provided he received a salary of £25 p.a.[4]

The parish workhouse

Indoor relief began in Uppingham with the first parish workhouse in 1734. There was a reference of the removal of a family from Uppingham to the house of correction in 1726-7 but this may have been at Oakham, for Uppingham seems to have obtained its first workhouse by buying a house which stood in Horn Lane from John White surgeon and ejecting its tenant: 'April 29th [1734]: Agreement about the House in Horn Lane for the use of the Poor in Uppingham, now in the possession of Mr William Row. Mr John White surgeon [the vendor] reserves for himself the seat or pew in the Church, the right of Common and half the produce of the garden'.[5] In 1741, we have the first person (John Tyers) looking after the poor at 25s per month - the sum needed to maintain the poor in clothing and food. Advertisements 'for a humane man to manage the poor' were frequently seen in the *Mercury* (SM, 23 Apr), a difficult task, for some of the residents absconded (SM, 5 Nov).

Legislation of 1723 allowed parishes to build their own workhouse and, if they so wished, to join together to share the cost. In 1739, 14 members of Uppingham Vestry signed an agreement with Thomas Bagnell and James Nutt 'to erect and build .. a workhouse for the poor of the said Parish of Uppingham at the North End of a Certain Lane known by the name of Orange Lane' for £150; and the next year the Vestry borrowed the £150 needed to pay for this building from William Warren. By 1752, Uppingham parish was building a new workhouse, presumably on the site where it stayed until 1836, for the sum of £60 borrowed 'for building a workhouse' was repaid.[6]

We hear little about this workhouse until 1787 when Henry Larrett and James Bell received contracts to provide medical services for the care of the poor. The mastership of the workhouse or House of Industry as it was sometimes called, changed hands frequently, often going to a local baker or innkeeper. In 1791, John Inman was appointed 'to keep the poor people in the workhouse', but in the same year William Watson took over on a three year contract which he never fully completed: he was released early in 1794 on payment of 10 guineas back to the parish.

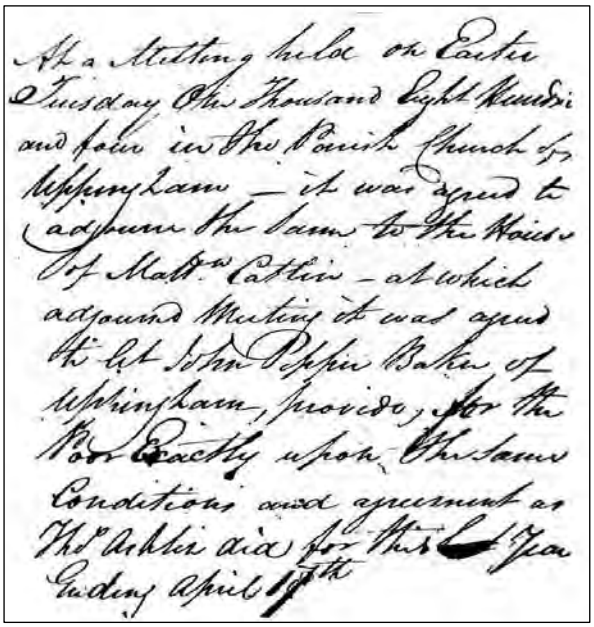


Board in parish church listing Uppingham Charities (ULHSG)

In 1792 the parish was again working on the workhouse but this ran the Vestry into trouble. In April, the Easter Vestry meeting ordered that 'no more money will be expended respecting the workhouse without the consent of the parish'. Ten days later, things had got serious: a very full meeting

> Agreed that the churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor do give notice in writing to discharge the workmen who are employed at the workhouse to proceed no further in the buildings and repairs there without orders from the present officers of the parish; and afterwards if they shall proceed the said officers are desired to apply to the Justices for redress and if that does not appear satisfactory then have recourse to law.

A week later it was 'Agreed that John Barratt, Thomas Mould and Robert Drake who committed the depredations at the workhouse be proceeded against according to law'. In November 1793, the parish officers borrowed £180 'for the purpose of compleating and finishing the parish workhouse', and they raised this sum by making a new lease with the tenant of the Town House 'for the purpose of paying off the part of the debt incurred by enlarging the workhouse'. It was presumably because of this that William Watson gave notice; for by February 1794, it was reported that William Watson 'the present Master of the Workhouse' had applied to leave his position, and the meeting adjourned to give time 'to receive proposals for a new master of the workhouse in case W Watson should be released'. Four days later 'By the majority of those present it was agreed to inspect the agreement with William Watson' and he was released on payment to the parish of ten guineas. Thomas Hopkins tailor took on the task for the next three years, agreeing also to put out to apprenticeship two boys every year. The goods in the workhouse were valued and Watson compensated for his share of them.



Appointment of John Pepper baker as master of the workhouse in 1804 (DE: ROLLR).

The parish officers were motivated by a desire to get the service at the cheapest possible rate. Hopkins took on the task in 1794 when the costs had risen from less than £100 a year in 1741 for all the costs of the poor to £250 p.a., the same as Watson. But costs continued to escalate rapidly. In 1802, James Bell became surgeon to the workhouse at a fee of £19 5s; and in 1803 a new and very elaborate contract was signed with Thomas Ashling of Somerby Leics yeoman to manage the poor as Master of the House of Industry for the sum of £450 p.a. In 1804 John Pepper miller and baker took over at the same figure; it is likely that he had already been Master earlier. In 1805 he ran the workhouse jointly with John Wadd but in 1806, he was again running it alone. But now the cost had risen to £555 p.a. In 1808 the contract was renewed 'and if any Boys or Girls in the House are fit to put out, Mr Pepper agrees to pay half expence'. In 1809 his contract was again renewed at £555 p.a. but two days later the parish officers tried to cut costs by agreeing with Robert Catlin of Market Deeping 'to take the poor including Jane Tyers a bastard, to put out two boys apprentice at his own expenses' at £535 p.a.. In 1811 Robert Catlin renewed, this time at £545 p.a. but in May an allowance was made 'to Catlin Master of the Poor House of an extra £55 on account of the Dearness of provisions for the last Year'.

The workhouse was clearly the main concern of the parish officers and the Vestry. The council often met there. But they were still not happy. In May 1813 they asked for tenders 'for letting to farm the poor of the parish'; two persons competed for the work but because Robert Cant could not attend, the meeting was adjourned for four days. In the event Robert Green of Uppingham yeoman took the poor at £640 p.a.

The escalating costs worried the parish. In 1812, the Vestry appointed 'a committee to inspect and examine the state and condition of the poor (in and out of the workhouse)' and also the accounts; 'two to attend every Monday morning at the workhouse at 9 a.m. and as many as possible on the first Monday in the month; to forfeit for each non-attendance 1s': a year later, the time of the meeting was moved to 10 a.m. and it was said that two should attend every Monday in rotation.

The parish workhouse remained in use until the New Poor Law of 1834 set up the Poor Law Union of Uppingham and a very large new Union workhouse was built out on Leicester Road. In 1838, the parish leased the old parish workhouse on North Street to William Spencer coach builder, reserving 'the lock-up houses and the Room where the Fire Engines are kept adjoining the workhouse'; an insurance record of the same year among the parish records indicates that it had a forge in it.

Poverty then was real in Uppingham as elsewhere at this time. There were few routes out. Education was only for those who were already prosperous. The church was less frequently a route for bright poor boys than in the past. Apprenticeship could bring with it eventual freedom and some measure of prosperity. Charity changed nothing - it kept the poor in poverty.

But there was always the lottery.

The lottery

It is not often known that England had a national lottery for many years. The first National Lottery in this country took place in 1567, but it died out. It returned in 1750 as an annual event until 1826.[7]

Under common law in England, lotteries were lawful. They paid for many public buildings and founded and supported educational, charitable and religious enterprises. Private lotteries, which were seen as being particularly susceptible to fraudulent practices, were first generally prohibited in the early nineteenth century. Most public sponsored lotteries were discontinued not long afterwards, although betting among the people continued as a popular past-time. For example, the newspapers frequently reported bets being placed on how far a person could walk in a given time.

The National Lottery was advertised in the *Stamford Mercury* regularly during the year 1802. The tickets were sold as halves, quarters, eighths and sixteenths by various stockbrokers in London on behalf of the government, but could be purchased locally from Richard Newcomb the printer of the *Mercury* at Stamford as an agent of the London stockbroker. The advertisement in the *Mercury* of 1 March 1802 gives the price of a half ticket at £8 l0s 0d, a quarter at £4 5s 6d, an eighth at £2 3s 0d and a sixteenth at £1 1s 6d. The prizes varied between four top prizes of £20,000 to the bottom 18,000 prizes of £18. The price of the tickets rose as the draw time came nearer, so people were encouraged to purchase their tickets as early as possible.

In the *Mercury* of 23 April 1802, it was reported that a change in the lottery would take place in the mode of the drawing of the lottery and that the following or some similar plan will be adopted:- There will be three lotteries to raise £300,000, each to be drawn between 1 July 1802 and 1 July 1803, the prizes to be paid in money. Each lottery will be drawn in eight days at the rate of 2 days in a week. Each lottery will contain any number of tickets that the Contractors may require provided its drawing is not extended to more than eight days. 'By the adoption of this plan, it is expected that a much larger sum will be raised for the benefit of the Government, and that the low insurance, which has produced such fatal effects on the morals and the comforts of the people, will be effectually prevented'. The newspaper stated that the November draw would commence on Monday 29 November, the second day would be the Thursday following, and draws would continue on Monday and Thursday in each succeeding week till the whole is concluded, 'which will be on the 23 December'.

The frequent and prominent advertisements show that the lottery aroused a good deal of interest. People were known to risk all in their desire to win. One such effect of the lottery was reported:

> Friday a woman in St. Giles, who had lost all her money, clothes and bed by insuring in the lottery, cut her throat after having hung her two infants to a bed post. The horrid scene was discovered by the neighbours breaking open the door (SM, 9 April 1802).

Tickets could be bought from J Drakard printer of Stamford 'who is appointed by Authority of Government to sell tickets and Legal stamped shares for Swift and Co of London'. Drakard also had a shop in Uppingham. Prizes were payable two months after the draw took place, but 'winners requiring their money immediately can have as much as the seller of the tickets has raised from the sale of tickets sold, the balance to be paid later'.

But there was still fraud. A notice in the *Mercury* states:

> For a considerable time past the Public have been amused by two or three persons in the Lottery business with the stale tale of a pretended sale of capital Prizes in whole tickets of £30,000, £20,000 and £10,000 each in value, which it is notoriously known at the Bank & Stock Exchange, remain unsold in the hands of the Contractors and other Speculators who held large quantities of Tickets. It has therefore become necessary to undeceive the Public; as they would rather, no-doubt, go to those Offices who are well known to have sold and divided into Shares the capital Prizes in the last and late Lotteries; and who have given the Holders thereof such ample Proof of their Ability and Alacrity in the Discharge of the same. This, it is presumed, must have more Weight with the Lottery Adventurers, than mere flimsy Assertions founded in Falsehood, and tending to mislead(SM, 19 Nov).

On 24 December, the paper announced with great satisfaction that 'Ticket Number 7329 drawn on Monday last, a Prize of £1,000 was sold by J Branscome and Co of London, and one sixteenth was sold by the Printer of the *Stamford Mercury* and registered to a gentleman at Horncastle'.

The main picture of poverty in Uppingham painted by our sources is how hard it was to get out of poverty. Hard work brought some relief but not much; the lottery and other strokes of luck were ineffective; private and official charity may help for a short term emergency but it did little in the long term, and the costs to the parish escalated throughout this period. The parish workhouse was the last resort. In Uppingham in 1802, it was better to be born rich.

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[1] P Cunningham and C Lucas, *Occupational Costume in England,* p.38
[2] UppRut,13; *Uppingham in 1851*
[3] Char Comm, 1834; DE, 1806, 1786; Drak, 28 April 1815
[4] DE, 1816; 1815
[5] Upp parish records in ROLLR; DE, 1734
[6] DE, 1739, 1740, 1752 (All material on the parish workhouse comes from DE.)
[7] The most accessible history of the lottery is to be found on http://www.naspl.org/history.html.

Itinerary 18.
Around the Town
CRIME AND POPULAR CULTURE UNDER ATTACK

> A regular main of cocks was fought between the gentleman of Rutland and the gentlemen of Northampton at the Falcon
>
> (SM, 1781)

Our itinerary around the town was determined by the rate lists which of course are confined to buildings lived in or traded from. But Uppingham was more than its buildings. There were its fields, partly already enclosed and the rest in process of being enclosed. In these stood windmills, brick works on the Seaton Road, stone pits at the west end of town and elsewhere, a ropewalk, and other facilities. And closer in, there were small 'home' closes where the residents kept animals for immediate use: John Abearn Palmer had his horse stolen from his home close just to the south of Spring Back Way during 1802, and John Cooke esq. sold his closes on Ayston Road near the town. Behind the Unicorn but across the road (North Street East) was a Rick Yard on which three new tenements had just been erected. To the south lay the open but steep areas of the Beast Market (Cow Hill), and the Hog Market or Hill, with the town pound for stray animals.

Hunting in 1790, the main sport of Rutland gentry (Hartley and Elliott)

'Harmless Recreation'

Some of this area would have been used for recreational activities for the residents of the town. We do not have much detail, but we do know of the following sports being played. Races on the racecourse on the Brand to the south of the town were 'discontinued' in 1783, although still listed in 1791; they were not mentioned in 1802. Stamford was the main centre for racing at the time. More sedate activities took their place. Cricket was a major activity, and while the *Stamford Mercury* hardly

mentions it, *Drakard's Stamford News* has many mentions of it, often with the full score card. Gerard Noel Noel promoted the game actively at Exton Park and often played himself in the games. It may be that the editor followed or played the game. The Grammar School played cricket frequently, sometimes against the town team. There was bowling on the green behind the Unicorn. There was hunting in the area, fishing and a good deal of shooting: John Fox was a gunsmith, and game certificates were issued to Charles Churchill, the Rev Holgate, Henry Larrett, John Abearn Palmer of Uppingham and apparently to John Cooke esq. acting as gamekeeper to the Marquis of Exeter in Uppingham. Two men idly shooting at a willow tree on the Brand accidentally injured Mr Gunness, the paper reported in 1805. School pupils engaged in football, hawking, walking - this was probably strolling rather than pedestrianism which was all the rage of the age: men tried to walk faster and longer distances for bets, and their feats were written up with great fervour in the papers. Elsewhere, there were reports of balloon flights.[1]

More energetic and indeed violent activities, often less than legal, are also recorded. A boxing match at a public house (not in Uppingham) was broken up by Bow Street Officers (SM, 9 April). Prize fighting was forbidden but it continued: in 1810 Tom Cribb of Rutland fought a famous match of 33 rounds, and in 1811 at Thistleton, before a crowd estimated at 20,000, he earned from bets £400 for himself and £10,000 for his patron.[2] Fairs and agricultural shows often gave rise to such behaviours, but equally there were spontaneous outbursts of disorder: 'Joseph Rudkin, Thomas Rudkin and John West were indicted [at Rutland assizes] for a riot and assault on the constables of Uppingham during what was termed a "horn fair" in the month of May last'. A horn fair was 'the public expression by villagers of their sense of outraged propriety and decency when some of their fellows have been guilty of 'a flagrant breach of morality'. It involved a series of nocturnal processions with 'rough music'.[3] The prisoners by the advice of their solicitors pleaded guilty of the assault on this occasion and were acquitted on the charge of riot: 'Sentence, three months imprisonment in Oakham gaol and to find security for their good behaviour for one year each'.[4]

Crimes

Such an affair was relatively trivial, even in the eyes of the law of those days, when compared with the crimes listed in the pages of the *Stamford Mercury* in 1802. Stealing of sheep, poultry, cattle and horses (such as Palmer's bay gelding) were the most frequent; poaching, other theft and burglary also occur. Family crimes such as bigamy and abandonment of families (but not domestic violence) were mentioned fairly frequently; there was a good deal of forgery of bank notes and other documents and fraud by travellers and others. A highwayman struck several times in the Empingham area. Apprentices, inmates of workhouses and workmen ran away, and there was even one person who ran away from prison, all being sought through the pages of the *Mercury*. There was the woman who enticed men into her bedchamber and while they were being entertained, bodysnatchers ran in from a secret entry into her room and abducted and killed the 'client' (SM, 10 Sep); but on the whole murder seems to have been rarely reported.

We have to set all this against the times and the paper reporting them. The paper exaggerated the fears of the 'middling sort of people' in order to encourage their support, just as the law exaggerated the offences and the penalties as a deterrence to the poor. This was the age of fear as well as of disorder. Only one case of arson is reported in the area in 1802, well below the rest of the country. This may have been because there were fewer cases or because the paper chose not to report them. Some of the wealthier residents of Uppingham and its neighbourhood joined together in an Uppingham Association for the Prosecution of Felons, significantly separate from the Rutland Association based on Oakham. It was a kind of neighbourhood watch scheme: 'If any person or persons shall be guilty of any kind of FELONY on the person or property of any of the members of the above association, they will be prosecuted to the utmost rigour of the law; and if any person will inform against such offender or offenders, he or she shall, on conviction, receive the undermentioned REWARDS': 5gns for highway robbery, burglary or horse, cattle or sheep stealing, 2gns for stealing pigs, poultry , corn or hay; 1gn for robbing orchards, fishponds, gardens, stealing gates or hedges, and for stealing or damaging wagons or carts or farm implements, etc. The Associations also tried to suppress riots when they occurred. Uppingham seems to have maintained a night watchman and certainly more than one constable. Although some forms of popular culture were being criminalised at this time, on the whole containment rather than enforcement of the statutes seems to have been the order of the day.

Cruel public sports

For it would not have been easy for such small forces, even if they had wished to do so, to have enforced the few existing laws against cruel sports from being practised both in public and secretly. Bear-baiting gardens had been provided by the caterers of popular amusements, but by 1802 the supply of creatures had diminished so much as to make their continued use almost unprofitable. It is alleged that Bear House, later the Bethesda Chapel in Uppingham, had been assigned as the accommodation for performing bears following a town bye-law compelling their incarceration in a securely barred room, and in a deed of 1744, there is reference to Bear Yard, close to Bear House.[5] It is unlikely that these bears would have been used for baiting.

Bull baiting and bull-running, however, stayed popular and well attended spectacles until after 1830, and Stamford particularly was closely linked with this sport. There was a distinct difference between bull-baiting and bull-running. Baiting took place generally at Easter and Whitsun holiday periods as an activity approved of by the Church; many towns still have their Bull Yards, Bull Rings and Bull Lanes, a circumscribed area formerly defined by a ring of carts which provided excellent seating areas; owners of nearby buildings would make charges for the 'letting of windows'. The tethered animal would be goaded, attacked by dogs and beaten with nailed sticks. Eventually the poor creature would be battered to death, cooked and eaten. A letter in the *Stamford Mercury* strongly expressed a writer's feelings: 'The usual apology for bull-baiting is that it makes the flesh of the animal tenderer. We could wish the experience were tried on the hearts of the patrons of this amusement' (SM, 1 Jan). Various writers have suggested that bull-baiting took place in Uppingham; one accuses Uppingham spectators of 'dwelling securely in their carts, well placed to view this "noble sport"'.[6] There is certainly evidence of Oakham's involvement: a correspondent writing to the *Stamford Mercury* in January 1789 complained of 'the brutish custom being exercised at Oakham, where two animals have been tortured to the diversion of a few beasts [i.e. the spectators] to the disgrace of the inhabitants of that place'.

Bull-running, where the bull was let free to run through the streets of the town, was a well-known feature of some towns including Stamford, and this would attract visitors from Uppingham and neighbouring towns and villages. The *Stamford Mercury* of 1786 tells of an ancient custom in Ketton whereby a 'mad' bull was let loose among the 'mad' inhabitants and afforded 'excellent diversion'.[7] In Stamford, the event usually took place in November, and property owners and traders were advised to close shops, doors and gates. The centre of the town was the main site, and some streets were blocked by carts so as to contain the bull's run: 'All avenues of the town are on that day stopped by waggons against travellers; these, when they enter it, observing the shops shut up and the whole town wearing the face of a sabbath for a quadruped to run about the streets, it occasions some shrewd comments not very favourable to our wisdom'. The same writer (no less than John Drakard)[8] has a vivid, virulent description of the chase: 'the gates all shut up, the bull is turned out of the alderman's house, and then hivie, skivy, tag and rag, men, women and children of all sorts and sizes, with all the dogs in the town, promiscuously running after him, with their bull-clubs spattering dirt in each others faces, that one would think them to be some many furies started out of hell'. One feature of this event was the presence of a 'bull-queen' or 'bullwoman' who presided over the day's activities and who is portrayed in the well-known painting 'Bullrunning in Stamford in 1800' now in Stamford Town Council's possession.

Stamford was also a centre for cock-fighting.[9] For despite an abolitionary bill, game cocks were specially bred and trained, and the battles took place in pits or enclosed areas - usually circular, about 20 feet or more in diameter, covered with matting, and surrounded by a barrier. The main reason for the sport was gambling. Events took place over a period of days and on all occasions bets were laid. The George Hotel in Stamford had a 'cocking pit', while on the outer edges of the town there are still the remains of a pit where the viewing niches and outer wall can be clearly seen. The *Mercury* published advertisements for the contests which indicated the large amounts of money involved: 'Cocks to fight for FOUR GUINEAS each BATTLE and 40 GUINEAS the MAIN' (SM, 2 July). The programme for Stamford horse-racing also included cock fights. In Uppingham, the Falcon Hotel was a popular cockfighting venue. Small unadvertised fights between birds owned by local inhabitants would take place on out-of-the way sites on the outskirts of the town, and, as always, money would change hands.

Public spectacles

Prize fighting, cock-fighting and bull running all attracted the populace into the open air when they had little else to do. Public punishments drew the greatest crowds. In 1802, there were over 200 categories of misdemeanours which carried the death penalty, including petty larceny and the theft of any goods over the value of 1s. Such thefts were noticeably related to bad winters and harvests, the level of food prices, population increase and the state of the labour market. Distress bred crime. The stealing of small quantities of food, clothing and firewood suggests a close link between crime and poverty. Even gleaning, a long established practice, carried a threat of prison or fines. Death sentences were sometimes transmuted, but the resulting alternative would be harsh. Perhaps not unexpectedly, women were also committing virtually every kind of crime. Youth brought no clemency: at Peterborough Sessions, Edward Harben a 'lad about 12 years of age was sentenced to suffer death for stealing and afterwards selling a lamb' (SM, 16 Apr).

Capital punishment was considered the accepted deterrent, and by 1800 public execution was a highly structured ritual in which the authority of the state was visibly demonstrated. It also provided great entertainment - this was not a period of sensibility. Cities provided 'outside' hanging areas, and owners of properties overlooking these sites charged spectators for viewing. Tradesmen prospered by supplying refreshments and macabre mementoes of the occasion. 'Last speeches' of the condemned were sold, as were gingerbread effigies of the hanged. A *Stamford Mercury* entry for April 16 1802 included a plea from a condemned man, Edward Painter, accused of stealing two heifers, who 'earnestly intreated with his last breath at the gallows' that the crowd of spectators should protect the ten unfortunate children left fatherless by his death - a perhaps not unreasonable

request after his having provided the main attraction at the event. In 1809 in Lancaster, over 2,500 people paid threepence each for the privilege of a closer sight of the miscreant's corpse. This 'gallows theatre' required the crowd to play its part and to pay for it, but such mobs often became violent and difficult to control, posing considerable threat to people and property. There were exceptions: an execution of eight criminals in Birmingham drew a crowd of 'more than 70,000 .. notwithstanding this amazing concourse, no accident of any import happened and the most perfect peace and quiet reigned' (SM 23 Apr). It is ironic that when public hangings for robbery were being carried out, many of the thousands who turned up were robbed of their purses. Pickpockets regarded such days as their most rewarding and in no way a deterrent. With the advent of the railways, some companies ran special excursion trains to public executions.

Oakham had its own public hanging site; a small hill adjacent to Swooning Bridge which crossed the Uppingham road over a stream held the gallows erected for the execution of condemned prisoners from Oakham Gaol. The last public execution there took place in 1789. In August 1802, the *Stamford Mercury* reported the conviction at Oakham of Jonathan Spencer, late of Braunston 'on the clearest evidence of having stolen six sheep. He received sentence of death and was left for execution'.

Corporal punishments also encouraged public participation, the stocks and whipping post at Market Overton and the strange five-holed stocks beneath the Oakham Butter Cross offering evidence of this. Unfortunately for historians, stocks were necessarily quickly erected and just as easily dismantled and destroyed, and many have disappeared from local towns and villages. Uppingham had its stocks on the Beast Market near the Pound, and those confined within them would have faced an uncomfortable time. Missiles including stones, dead animals, muck, rotten eggs and vegetables could inflict quite severe injuries. Public floggings in which the 'public' part was deemed important provided further attractions. Whips and cat-o-nine tails were used, especially on pedlars, vagrants and adulterers, who were 'whipped out of town', usually by the longest route so as to attract a larger audience. Women were not exempt. In 1785, a woman, 'an old offender', was whipped in Uppingham Market Place for stealing wood (SM, 19 Jan 1785).[10] It was not until 1820 that the whipping of women in public or private was abolished. The painful punishment of 'branding' also left a clearly visible retributionary mark. Convicted prisoners were burned on their left hands with the appropriate letter of their crime, V for vagabond, M for malefactor. This barbaric punishment continued until 1811.

Change

But the beginning of the 19th Century ushered in, somewhat slowly and often reluctantly, a spirit of change and new thinking. Incompassionate conduct towards men and animals continued to provide entertainment for some, but there was increasing hostility towards brutality and inequality. Enlightened thinkers, philanthropists and Christian reformers were seeking changes that would better the circumstances of the poor, the young, the working man and the oppressed. The death rate had been falling, due in part to improved public hygiene installations - sewers, covered drains etc; and Jenner had demonstrated immunity by vaccination. Joseph Lancaster had opened a day school for some hundred boys and girls; the Church Missionary Society had been established, and in 1802 Sir Robert Peel promoted, with the 'Health and Morals of Apprentices Act', an attempt to regulate the conditions of young factory employees.[11]

Changes were also taking place within the penal system. Capital offences - in keeping with a growing regard for property - grew to 222 by 1820 and even included the stealing of a pocket handkerchief, but public opinion against the death penalty for such trifling offences was growing. The law also was presenting itself as more severe in theory than in practice; by 1832 most death sentences, except for murder, were transmuted, although the number of prisoners transported had risen steadily. By 1839, the number of capital offences had fallen to 7, and Sir Robert Peel had introduced the County Police Act with rural police units being formed. Efforts were being made to reform prisoners instead of a demand for retribution. But it was not until 1868, after a public hanging outside Newgate Prison at which, according to a Times reporter, 'the mass of people was immense; a scuffle, a fight; great laughter, a hymn, a sermon, a comic song and so on from hour to hour', that the Capital Punishment within Prisons Bill was passed, and public hangings in England with their 'tumultuous demonstration of indecent delight' disappeared.

The campaign against cruel animal sports faced different problems. Nonconformists, Methodists and Evangelicals were growing in number and power amidst a general move towards respectability and gentility. Leisure time was seen as an opportunity for self-improvement, morally and intellectually, and certain pursuits could only prove distractions. These included the theatre, fairs, pleasure gardens, cricket matches, and steeplechases as well as the more reprehensible prize fighting, bull-baiting and cock-fighting. There had been earlier attempts to suppress the two latter sports, but this had only 'just increased fervour' according to the *Stamford Mercury*. The poorer classes resented and resisted any curtailment of their traditional amusements. Leisure for them depended upon their individual taste, time available and spending money. Social control was felt to be being practised by the upper and middle classes in a process described by historians as 'the attack on the old rural culture' or 'popular culture' or 'an attempt to force gentility upon the town [Stamford]'[12]. In 1802, Mr. Windham MP spoke of bull-running as being the 'favourite sport of the lowest orders which he

supported' (SM, 1 Jan; 16 April). John Drakard pointed out that 'fox hunting and wild-fowling' were also sports which consisted of 'various attacks made by lordly man on inferior animals', adding 'these are exclusively the amusements of the rich utterly denied to the poor, but Bull-running is eagerly enjoyed by the latter ... the rich can do nothing that is wrong and the poor nothing that is right'.[13]

Bull-running then provoked a great outcry from reformers, both on account of its vulgarity and its potential for disorder. Troops were called out from time to time to control the crowds who gathered. During the year 1802, the *Stamford Mercury* reported the Parliamentary debates and observations expressed during the efforts to prohibit bull baiting and other cruel sports. Speculation opened in January with an editorial comment manifesting the hope that the recent Stamford bull-running would be the town's last, and in April there was reference to a petition on bull-baiting. In May the newspaper printed an account of the intention of Mr. Dent MP to bring in a Bill for 'the total abolition [of bull-baiting] every session until this national disgrace shall be interdicted'. Mr. Sheridan MP presented two petitions 'praying for the enactment of a law to prevent this barbarous practice', and further petitions were offered by MPs representing Coventry and Dudley. On the 28 May, there was a Parliamentary debate in which Stamford was the key feature. Mr. Wilberforce (the great slave-trade abolitionist) thought it 'a mean, base and cruel practice; the lowest gratification for human nature to enjoy'. However, as in the current dispute on fox-hunting, both sides were vocal and vehement. Mr. Windham, opposing the Bill, argued that 'bull-baiting was formerly the amusement of the higher orders; it was now gone down to the lower orders, but could that make any difference?' He warned that 'the men of Stamford, though faithful to their landlord the Marquis of Exeter, could not avoid being a little displeased for his endeavours to deprive them of their favourite sport by supporting this [Mr. Dent's] Bill'. The vote cast were AYES (in favour of abolishing the practice) 51, and NOES 64. Mr. Dent gave notice of his intention to continue the struggle.

Much the same was true of cock-fighting. John Drakard[14] drew an analogy when he wrote of cockfighting, 'We are decidedly of the opinion that this practice is far more barbarous than any to which the sporting fraternity are addicted; the spectator is not exposed even to a shadow of personal danger (unlike bull running) ... .these are great excitements to betting and its attendant vices'.

The 'old culture' was slow to die, for it was not lacking in spirit. The alternatives offered to the working classes in what became known as 'rational recreation' - parks, libraries, evening lectures and classes, and controlled healthy sport - were only partially successful. The emphasis on Sunday observance removed pleasure from the only day free for most employees. Bull-running continued despite local bans, and in 1828 troops were sent in to reinforce police attempts in Stamford to break up this activity. This was met with aggressive opposition; community tradition had a generally low opinion of the law and militia. Eventually 53 years after Mr. Dent's gallant Parliamentary efforts to abolish the sports, Mr. Martin's Bill forbidding bull-running, cock-fighting and bear and badger baiting locally was extended to the whole country in 1855.

Almost all of the residents of Uppingham in 1802, both poor and wealthier, would have taken a keen interest in these matters. The pages of the *Stamford Mercury* would have been scanned for news about this regional controversy. Life outside the boundaries of the parish was of vital concern to almost everyone in Uppingham in 1802: and one of the key links to that outside world of which the town was a part was the newspaper which was sold on the streets of Uppingham in 1802.

Shooting with dogs 1777 (Hartley and Elliott)

[1] Aldred; Clayton; SM; *Book of Rutland*; *UppRut* p.13
[2] Rut Rec, 8, p.268
[3] RutMag, iv, p.61
[4] Drak, 29 July 1814
[5] RutMag, v, p.47; CR
[6] RutMag, v, p.47; see also Stokes, 1953, p.21
[7] Dialect p.27
[8] J Drakard, *History of Stamford*, 1822, pp.405-6
[9] Drakard, *History*, pp.401-2
[10] UppRut, p.13
[11] Briggs, 1959, passim
[12] See R C Russell, *From Cock-fighting to Chapel Building: changes in popular culture in eighteenth and nineteenth century Lincolnshire,* published by Heritage Lincolnshire, 2002
[13] Drakard, *History*, pp.415-6
[14] Drakard, *History*, p.402.

Conclusion
UPPINGHAM IN 1802

UPPINGHAM, RUTLANDSHIRE,

IS ninety-two miles from London, in the road from thence to Oakham, from which it is but ſix miles. It ſtands on a riſing ground, and is a neat, compact, well-built, town. Here, by a ſtatute of Henry VII. the ſtandard was appointed to be kept for the weights and meaſures of this county. Here are an hoſpital and a free-ſchool, both built in 1584. Market on Wedneſdays, with fairs March 7 and July 7. The Brand here is noted for horſe-races.

Uppingham is twelve miles from Stamford, twenty from Leiceſter, and twenty-two from Peterborough. By a late ſurvey, the town is found to contain two hundred and ſixty-nine houſes and fourteen hundred inhabitants.—A coach from Stamford to Leiceſter paſſes through here Monday, Wedneſday, and Friday.—A waggon from Oakham every Wedneſday; returns the ſame evening.—The poſt comes every morning from Stamford at ten, and returns about noon; the poſt-office is at the Unicorn inn.—The following are the principal inhabitants:

GENTRY.
Stafford Mr. Robert
Turner Mrs.

CLERGY.
Butt Rev. John
Johnſon Rev. Hugh
Jones Rev. Edward, *Rector*
Holgate Rev. Richard
Kingſman Rev. William
Parker Rev. John

PHYSIC.
Bell James, *Apothecary*
Larratt Henry, *Apothecary*
Smith John, *Apothecary*

LAW.
Palmer John A. *Attorney*
Warren Bentley, *Attorney*

TRADERS, &c.
Abbot Matthew, *Chair-turner*
Abbot Richard, *Chair-turner*

1791 Universal Directory

Having surveyed Uppingham in 1802 as seen through the pages of the *Stamford Mercury* and some other sources of the time, we can now ask, what kind of a picture do we have of Uppingham two hundred years ago?

People

First, how big was it? We know something about this, for the first government census of England and Wales was taken in the previous year, 1801. It was not a thorough census: the Overseers of the Poor for the parish were asked to count the number of houses and the number of families in them (including the uninhabited houses), and to give the totals of males and females. In most cases, a very good guess was the result. Using the information available to them from the rate they collected and from the poor they helped, John Wadd and William Gamble reported that Uppingham had a total of 1393 persons in 1801.

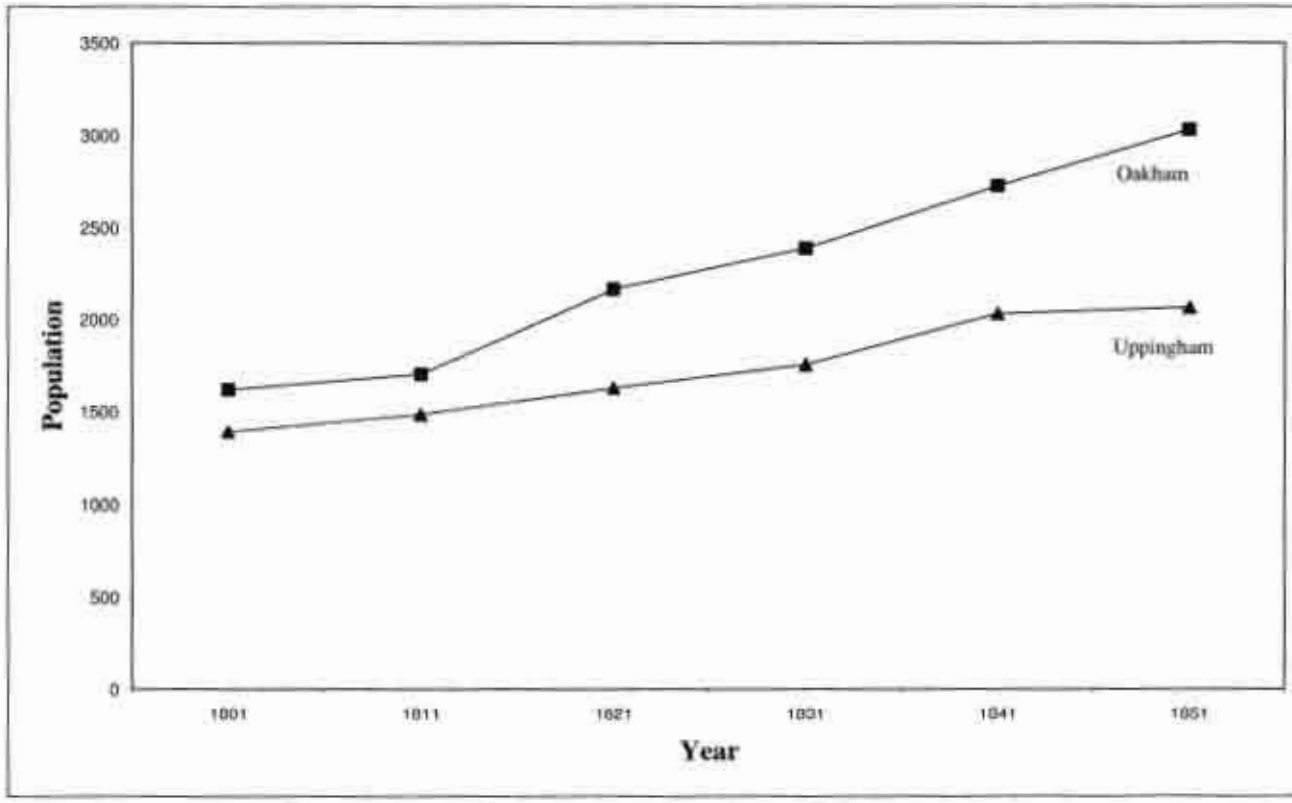
We can compare this with an informal census taken in 1795 (see App 1). This indicated that the population of Uppingham was 1355 at that time, of which 28% were men, 34% women, 22% boys and only 15% girls. While the larger number of boys than girls can be attributed in part to the presence of the boy pupils at the Grammar School, this cannot account for the whole of the difference (303 boys to 209 girls), for there were only about 30 boys at the School at that time. It is not at all clear why there should have been so few girls in Uppingham in 1795.[1]

What is surprising is that the town was very nearly as big as Oakham at that time. Oakham only had 227 more persons than Uppingham in 1801 (and that includes Barleythorpe).

Year	Oakham	Uppingham
1795	1617	1355
1801	1620	1393
1851	3031	2068

But while Uppingham grew from 1393 to 2068 over the next fifty years, Oakham nearly doubled in size over the same period, from 1620 (1801) to 3031 (1851) (Graph 1). We therefore need to ask not 'why did Uppingham grow?' but rather 'why did Uppingham not grow as fast as Oakham?' or 'why did Oakham grow twice as fast as Uppingham?' The answer, we suggest, lies in the fact that Oakham was the county town[2] and this drew many services, transport facilities (early turnpike roads, the canal which was opened in 1802, and the railway in 1848) and persons to that town.

Uppingham was of course also growing both before and after 1802. Taking the parish register evidence, we can see a virtually unbroken and steady growth since at least the middle of the eighteenth century (App 1: Graph 2). Indeed, the evidence suggests that the town had been growing uninterruptedly from the 1690s. There seem to have been some periods of high mortality from time to time but these were always short and, except for the crisis years of 1741-2, never very



Graph 1: Growth of Oakham and Uppingham in first half of nineteenth century.

extreme (App 1: Graph 3). Only in three years between 1764 and 1836 did the recorded burials in the parish church exceed the recorded baptisms. Uppingham seems to have experienced a calm and steady demographic growth - perhaps it was a relatively healthy town to live in.[3] It appears that the children and the wives of the town's doctors survived rather better than many of the other residents of Uppingham.

We can see something of this growth from the parish registers of the time. For example, there were in 1802 47 baptisms and 33 burials recorded in the parish church. This was not unusual. Except for one year, there were always more baptisms than burials in Uppingham from 1780 to 1810; and from 1795 to 1807 the numbers remained steady (see figures in Appendix). Uppingham was showing a remarkably steady growth at this time.

But behind this lay the fact that the growth rate was restrained by high infant mortality. In the year 1802, for example, 33 burials were recorded; of these no less than twelve were described as 'infants'. Four of these twelve had been baptised in the church in the same year. Unfortunately, the parish registers were not kept well enough for us to know how many of the other burials recorded represent mothers dying in childbirth.

Nor can we identify all the persons who moved into the town at this time. The registers for the surrounding parishes in 1802 record that Uppingham men married women from Bisbrooke, Seaton, Lyddington and Caldecott and no doubt other places; but equally five men from outside Uppingham married Uppingham women and no doubt some of these women left the town for their new husband's residences. Uppingham stood at the centre of a region where people came and went all the time.

Properties and professions

The censuses reveal something else about the two towns. Uppingham was rather more urbanised than Oakham. First, Oakham had 1613 persons living in 357 houses (9 of them empty at the time of the census), a density of 4.6; Uppingham had 1393 persons living in 277[4] houses (6 of them empty) showing a much higher density of dwelling, at 5.14 persons. There was a good deal of in-filling in the back yards, and some farm buildings in Uppingham were being converted into dwellings and shops.

And Uppingham was apparently more highly urbanised in terms of occupations. A total of 11.5% of Oakham's population were directly engaged in agriculture, and 14% in trades, as against 6.7% in agriculture and no less than 20% in trades in Uppingham (1801 census). Uppingham would seem to have been rather more of a 'town' than Oakham at the time.

But it was still strongly agricultural: its farmhouses, barns and yards were in the town, not out in the countryside, and livestock and wagons would block the streets daily. Many of its trades and crafts were related to agriculture. The several windmills, the processing and sale of wool, chair making, the curriers, land

agents and gardeners/nurserymen all reflect the agricultural setting. There were some framework knitters who supplemented their main core activities with knitting; several of them took parish apprentices from the Overseers of the Poor. There was a flourishing clock and watchmaking industry serving a wide range of the district; a clock made by the Fox family of Uppingham can still be seen in Gretton church to this day.

The town also provided a range of services for the neighbourhood. Its solicitors acted for clients throughout a wide region. It had no less than three doctors. Its clergy interacted with other clergy in the region; indeed its own Rector lived 15 miles away and commuted when needed. Its Grammar School, like other town Grammar Schools of the day, was already serving mostly outsiders rather than the children of the town, and its staff came from other places for a time before passing on to other posts.

And as we have seen, Uppingham was not remote from the stirring events of the period on a national and even international front. Apart from the stage and mail coaches which passed through regularly, its men served as soldiers in both the regular and volunteer armies. Some of its residents like Dr Bell had links with the international explorations and colonisation of the time.

Power

The strength of its professional inhabitants and the absence of the major landlords probably means that Uppingham was less deferential than many other rural settlements of its time. The Church was relatively weak with the absence of the Rector. Adderley and the Noel family, although MPs, were represented by local men acting as their stewards or land agents rather than in person. Ralph Hotchkin esq. who owned and may have lived in the Hall led the celebrations of the town in 1814, but he does not seem to have been a major figure at this time. In 1802, the chief resident seems to have been William Belgrave of a gentry family but running a store as a draper. He and two others had been sheriffs of Rutland; and while there were some gentry families such as Stafford, Hart and Pepper, none was very eminent nor of long standing, and they give the impression of being decayed (Mrs Hart, Mrs Turner, Mrs Hall, Mrs Pepper, the very elderly Parker sisters, the elderly Robert Stafford).

But the main problem is that the sources we have been able to use are strongly biased towards the wealthy and powerful - and especially towards men. Of the 1393 residents of Uppingham in 1802, 51.6% were women. A fuller study needs to be made of the role of women in Uppingham in 1802. The records are biased of course towards men; they only show women as widows, as poor, as manual workers or as genteel non-workers. We see little of them in the home, little of them running shops, managing their property, suing lawyers. The Uppingham Association for the Prosecution of Felons may reveal a time of change for women. There were no women members in 1785, two women members in 1802, Elizabeth Allin and Mrs Judkins, and five in 1814 (SM, 5 Feb).[5] A woman played the organ in church but was replaced by a man. Women may have taught in Sunday School but the records suggest that both the church and the chapel were run by men. The silent majority needs to be recovered, for there is deliberate obfuscation here: we have found only one reference to 'Mrs Belgrave' in all our sources, although she must have been an important figure in the town in 1802.

Even the poor can only be seen in the surviving records through the eyes of the rich or middling sort of persons. One gap for instance is that of domestic service - there is hardly a mention of a servant anywhere in the records we have seen. But it was upon them, men and especially women, that the prosperity and cultural vitality of the town of Uppingham in 1802 was built.

An improving town?

The period from about 1750 to about 1850 has been labelled 'An Age of Improvement'.[6] How far was Uppingham an 'improving town' at this period?

There were improvements in agriculture (the enclosure). There were improvements in the road system, the lowering of the hills through Uppingham. Many houses and shops were being improved at the time. There were some improvements to the fabric of the parish church but little so far as we can see in religious life; and it needed the arrival of the Rev John Green at the Congregational Church before the religious movements of the day came to be felt in Uppingham. Morally no doubt Uppingham citizens joined the campaigns against slavery so regularly reported in the newspaper; and the heated debate about the bull-running (especially but not exclusively at Stamford nearby), so reminiscent of today's debate about hunting with dogs, would no doubt have engaged the minds and conversation of Uppingham citizens, especially as the town was reputed to have had a similar practice itself once in the past. There was no improvement to the political systems at either national or local level, but the Vestry worked to enlarge and improve the parish workhouse. The town's water supply (yard pumps and market place cistern etc) was being developed further by many private and some public initiatives. Its educational services were slowly improving. The town came to develop a lending library, and was starting its own Subscription Ball like Stamford. It had a separate Association for the Prosecution of Felons (the Rutland Association was associated with Oakham), and it opened its own bank.

Stamford rather than Oakham was clearly the centre for this region. And it was to Stamford that Uppingham looked for much of the money it borrowed for its trade and property mortgages; it was to Stamford that the

town looked for many of its cultural and leisure activities; an architect and a lawyer when needed were drawn from Stamford, and the design of some of the bigger houses and shops seems to have been inspired by the development of Stamford into a major Georgian town of quality.

And it was from Stamford that every week on Fridays the *Stamford Mercury* came into John Bird's shop on High Street East and probably some other outlets; was bought and borrowed; was read at home and in the inns by literate and non-literate alike. The paper told the people what the editors wanted them to hear (Old Toryism); it was an organ by which compliance was urged and peace maintained in a very risky period of internal and external threat. And Uppingham absorbed its messages and remained peaceful, slowly growing in size and prosperity. That the prosperity was relatively shallow, founded on mortgages rather than genuine wealth creation, led to a less prosperous nineteenth century than most other towns enjoyed - and that in turn preserved its fabric rather better than other towns, so that more survives in Uppingham from the past than in many comparable towns. Today, the buildings and the documents complement each other in providing information about life in Uppingham in 1802.

This scene taken in the 1880s has scarcely changed since 1802. Georgian (extreme left), 16th century, 17th century and in the far distance medieval buildings made up Uppingham in 1802 (private possession, printed with permission).

[1] Oakham had 44% children which is nearly normal for the period; Uppingham only 38% children which shows that there was a shortage of children. This is almost wholly among the girls: Oakham had 24% boys and 21% girls, Uppingham had 22% boys, and only 15% girls. Where have all the Uppingham girls gone to?

[2] Uppingham in 1800 had some county functions - the standard weights and measures were kept in Uppingham rather than Oakham, and the county assizes were held jointly in Oakham and Uppingham (Dir).

[3] In 1875 Dr Haviland investigating the outbreak of typhoid which drove the Grammar School to Borth in Wales said that Uppingham enjoyed many healthy advantages over other towns at that time (Haviland Report, 1875).

[4] An informal census in the late 1780s gave Uppingham's population as about 1400 in 269 houses. The figure of 269 sounds like a count. Only 8 houses had been built since that census; see Dir 1791.

[5] UppRut, p.14; SM, 5 Feb 1802; Drak, 6 Feb 1814

[6] Asa Briggs, *The Age of Improvement*, 1959

Appendix 1.
Population Figures for Uppingham (compared with Oakham)

1795 Census[1]

	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
*Oakham Lord's Hold	319	381	236	207	1143
*Oakham Dean's Hold and Barleythorpe	91	106	149	128	474
Total	410	487	385	335	1617
Percentage of total	25.3	30	23.8	20.7	100
*Uppingham	381	462	303	209	1355
Percentage of total	28	34	22.4	15.4	100

At the places marked * there are schools for boys.

Commentary:
Oakham had 44% children; Uppingham 38% children.
Oakham had 50.8% female; Uppingham 49.5% female.
Oakham had 50 more boys than girls; Uppingham had 94 more boys than girls.

1801 Census[2]

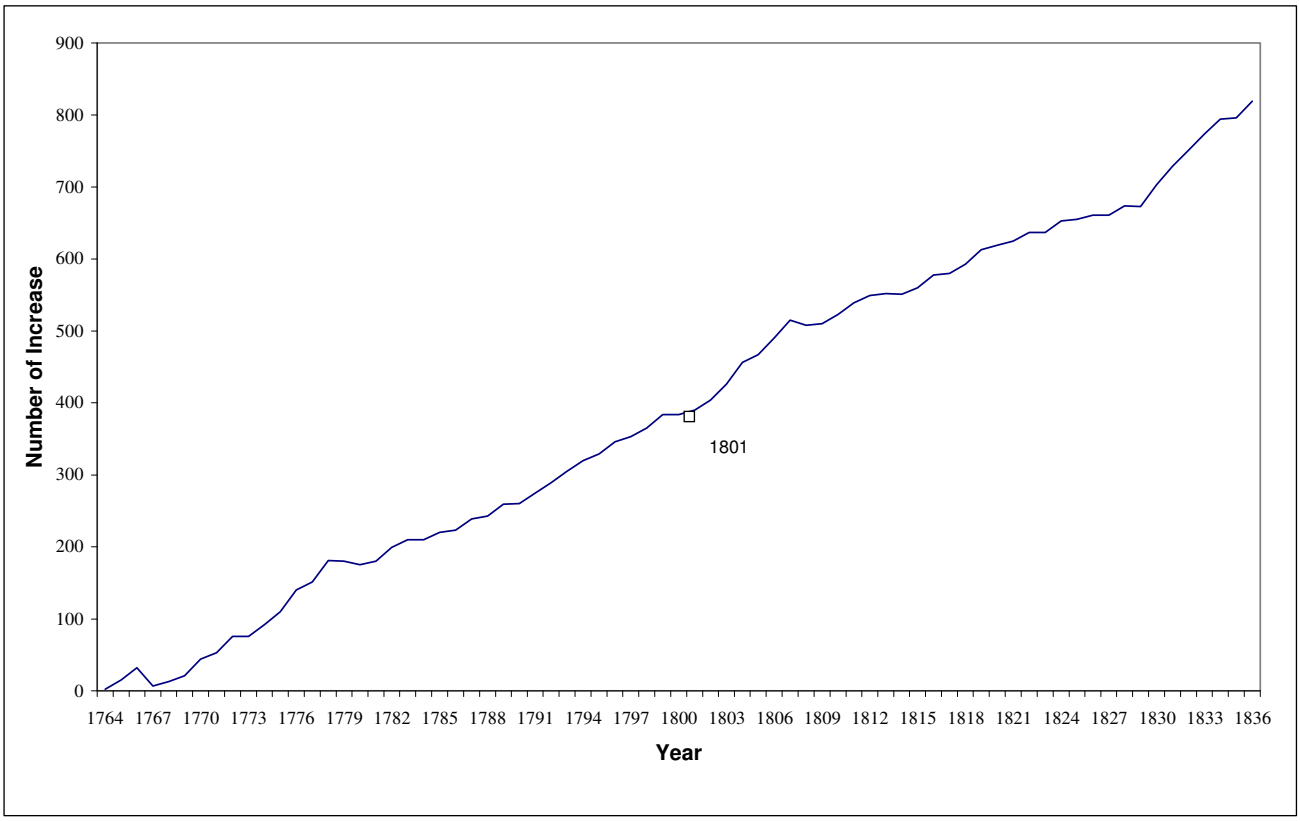
	Inhabited	Houses Families	Unoccupied	Men	Women	Agric	Trades	Others	Total
Oakham Lords Hold	218	225	7	491	565	98	156	802	1056
Oakham Deanshold with Barleythorpe	130	144	2	283	274	88	74	395	557
Oakham total	348	369	9	774	839	186	230	1197	1613
Uppingham	271	303	6	674	719	94	281	1018	1393

Baptism and Burial Figures for Uppingham 1795-1807

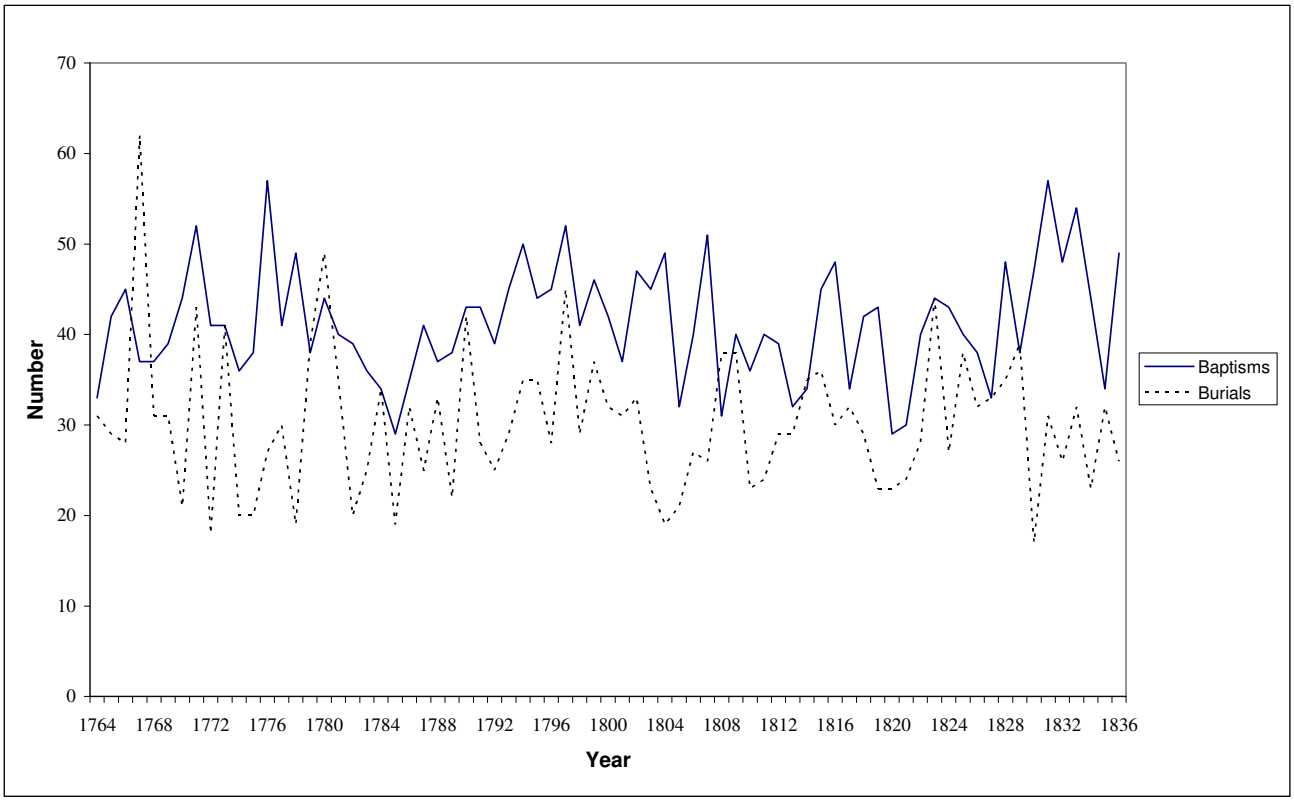
	Baptisms[3]			
Year	Parish	Congregational	Burials	Excess
1795	44	2	35	1
1796	45		28	17
1797	52	5	45	12
1798	41	1	29	13
1799	46	1	37	10
1800	42	4	32	14
1801	37	4	31	10
1802	47		33	14
1803	45	5	23	27
1804	49	5	19	35
1805	32	2	21	13
1806	40	5	27	18
1807	51	2	26	27

Commentary:
Oakham had 52% females; Uppingham 51.6%.
Oakham had house density of 4.52persons; Uppingham 5.03 persons.
Oakham had 11.5% engaged in agriculture, 14% in trades.
Uppingham had 6.7% engaged in agriculture, 20% in trades.

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1795, ii, p.650. This census divides Oakham as usual into Lords Hold and Deans Hold which includes Barleythorpe. The boys school is recorded against both sections of the town.
[2] Parliamentary papers
[3] The figures from the parish registers were collected and tabulated by J C Jennings and pupils from Uppingham School; we are grateful to them for their hard work. The numbers of baptisms at the Congregational Church have been added to the parish church baptisms and compared with the burials at the parish church, for the Congregational Church members were buried at the parish church except for very few. The Congregational Church Register was not available to Jennings when the data was originally collected.



Graph 2: Natural increase of population in Uppingham based on parish register analysis



Graph 3: Baptisms and burials in Uppingham parish church 1764-1836

Appendix 2.
Pubs of Uppingham in 1802

Name of pub in 1802	Comments	Current site so far as can be determined
Bell Sarah Hart	One Bell Inn was mentioned in 1720 (Boult deeds2) with two little new erected tenements standing in the north end of Bell Inn Yard. This was probably the same Bell Inn put up for sale in 1802, SM 19 Feb, but apparently not sold: Nathaniel Clark owned, Thomas Inman occupied in 1803, (LT). However, Falconberg Reeve was holding it freehold in 1804 (map), although RB, 1805 (which is often out of date) says that it was still held by Dennis Taylor and Nathaniel Clark as executors for Mr Hart and Sarah Hart occupied it. Meeting at Bell Inn about the rates 1806 (DE).	A substantial building very close to the Crown.
Black Horse William Wright	Owned and occupied by William Wright rated at £6 (RB, 1805). William Wright went bankrupt in 1814 and in consequence Robert Glenham auctioneer advertised for sale 'all that old-established and good-accustomed inn called the Black Horse now in full business eligibly situated in the centre of the town of Uppingham, with excellent stables, granaries, and other outbuildings, the whole newly fitted up and in the most compleat repair; the house consists of a large dining room, parlour, sitting room, kitchen, brewhouse, and other offices on the ground floor with bed-rooms over; in the yard are two capital stables, one five and the other three stalls; with chambers or granaries over; and also four boxes or single-stall stables; with other conveniences; .. the premises were late in the occupation of William Wright; premises can be seen on application to Mr Bell wine and liquor merchant.' Charles Hall solicitor is the agent (Drak 6 Jan 1815). The possessions of the inn are listed including a hunting horse (Drak 13 Jan 1815). By 27 Jan 1815, Robert Glenham took over the Black Horse (Drak 29 Jan 1815). In July 1815, Glenham conducted an auction on these premises.	By 1841 the Black Horse was at 48 High Street East (CR); but in 1802 48 High Street East was occupied by Thomas Hopkins tailor. This is a very substantial set of premises, no mean pub. It is also freehold. It is possible that it was in High Street West, the Bursary or the house next door (Chestertons), for that is where William Wright was taxed the land tax of 1803 (LT).
Bull	Henry (p.8) says that Thomas Sewell miller in 1799 inherited a tenement formerly called the Bull Inn; he cites the CR. But no sign in or about 1802.	This is somewhere about 37 High Street East; it is the property of Thomas Sewell miller (179 on 1804 map).
Catherine Wheel	CR has admission (Oct 1803) of Frances Treen spinster on surrender of William Hickman to cottage or tenement called the Catherine Wheel with one cellar used with the said cottage under the house and shop of Henry Robinson clerk with free way and passage across Reeve's Yard into Town Street and passage into Cow Hill. But despite being given a name, was it in fact acting as a pub? In 1814 Charles Hall solicitor moved in on the surrender of John Morris and others (CR).	UppRut, p.81 says the Catherine Wheel was first on the site of the Crown, then it was part of Norton's shop in the 1760s but it moved to somewhere about 10-14 High Street East until about 1800; but gives no sources. The description of the property in 1803 (CR) and the position of Hickman's property on the 1804 map strongly suggest the 10-14 High Street East site for this property in 1802.
Chequers Mary Ironman	Owned and occupied by Mary Ironman (RB, 1805). In 1797 and again in 1806 was called Puddle Wart (CR). The inn was also called the George and Dragon in 1829 (Dir).	London Road, now houses
Cross Keys John Munton	Owned by George Ingram; occupied by John Munton (RB, 1805); sale there Jan 1814 (Drak 7 Jan 1814).	In High Street West but now disappeared under School property.
Crown	Empty in 1792 (RB, 1805); held by Holmes and Reeve in 1794 (RB, 1805); in 1802 it was divided into two residences (ins) but was still known as 'the former Crown'. In 1805, Reeve held one house and Raworth held another house both of James Portiss, RB. By 1842 it was back to being the Crown (CR).	Current site High Street East

Eight Bells	Still recorded as owned and occupied by Thomas Holmes in 1805 (RB) but Holmes died in 1802. Came to Charles Peach schoolmaster from 1803 and probably ceased being a public house at this time (UppRut, p.78).	42 44 High Street East
Falcon F Reeve	Sam Dougal was innkeeper in 1784 (ins); Thomas Holmes with Excise Office in 1791, Dir; owned by William Belgrave, held by Holmes in 1802 but taken over by Reeve in 1802 on death of Holmes; let to F Reeve in 1803 and 1805, LT, (RB, 1805). For details of its activities, see Chapter 3.	Current site High Street East
George and Dragon	Mentioned in 1829 Pigot's Directory; was the Chequers; see above.	See Chequers
Horse and Jockey (M Catlin in 1813)	SM mentions Horse and Jockey in 1783 and again in 1813 (M Catlin) (Turnpikes p67; UppRut, p.13) - unless these are misreadings for the Horse and Trumpet.	Almost certainly the Horse and Trumpet.
Horse and Trumpet (sometimes just the Trumpet), formerly the White Hart: Matthew Catlin	Thomas Wade victualler at trumpet in 1777 (ins). Owned and occupied by Matthew Catlin (RB, 1805); he had been running the inn since at least 1792 (CR), and bought it from John Nutt in 1799 (CR). In February 1815, M Catlin announced that he had improved the Horse and Trumpet, (Drak 3 Feb, 17 Feb 1815). In 1804 (CR) and again in 1847-8, it was described as the messuage or tenement heretofore called the White Hart but now called the Horse and Trumpet (CR), but the name White Hart must have been very ancient by this date since this name was being used of the White Hart at 15 High Street West in the 1770s.	About 4 High Street West north side; Traylen says it was once the Black Bull but no dates or sources are given (UppRut, p.75); in 1859 the Rev R J Hodgkinson rebuilt on this site to create Constables School House, and the name Horse and Trumpet moved to another site (see Pump) (UppRut, p.73).
Maltsters Arms	First recorded in 1847 (CR)	South View close to Old Grammar School
Pump Mary Cleaver	Owned by John Fox (died 1802) and then his executors, and occupied by Mary Cleaver (RB, 1805)	Next door to and adjoined to the Rectory; in 1839 (map) it was called the George and Dragon. Later still it became the Horse and Trumpet (UppRut, p.73). There was an enquiry to see whether it was originally part of the Rectory House but it was decreed that it was not and never had been (CR 1802). It was demolished with the road widening scheme of 1960.
Red Hart	In 1846 there is reference to a messuage or tenement formerly called the Red Hart in the Hog Market (CR).	It is suggested as Afric Cottage in Norton or Hog Lane or thereabouts; no sign of it in or about 1802.
Rose and Crown Thomas Barfoot	Owned and occupied by Thomas Barfoot (RB, 1805)	Station Road, now a house
Royal Oak John Lacey	Francis Collingwood victualler in 1779, ins; owned by Edward Sewell (with sheep market); occupied by John Lacey, (RB, 1805)	Now the Cross Keys in Queen Street (Horn Lane)
Sun	Mentioned in 1720-1762 but not thereafter (Boult deeds 1,2,3)	It seems to have been in Printers Yard.
Swan Job Daniell	Held by Joseph Dean 1778 (ins); by William Dean in 1791 (Dir); CR show that it was bought by James Hill wine merchant in 1799 from the executors of John Cooke grocer; in 1814, it was offered for sale with the Unicorn, (Drak, 7 Jan 1814); Hill sold it in 1814 to Job Daniell who had occupied it from at least 1805 (CR; RB).	It occupied the corner of Market Place including the east part of the Vaults and the Chinese take-away shop and the Church rooms.
Talbot	Meetings of Vestry in the Talbot 1764-5 (DE). No other sign	no sign

Three Horse Shoes Thomas Tyler senior	Owned by Robert Hotchkin and occupied by Thomas Tyler senior (RB, 1805).	According to the 1804 map, Thomas Tyler senior held property at the bottom of Adderley Street and Norton Street and on the north side of HSW; it is not clear which if any of these was the Three Horse Shoes but since Hotchkin is involved, it may have been one of the Adderley Street area properties.
Unicorn John Wright	Owned by James Hill wine merchant and occupied by John Wright, 1805 RB; innkeeper John Wright lost mare (SM, 11 June 1802), sale of charcoal at Unicorn (SM, 30 July), UAPF met there Feb 1802 (SM, 5 Feb); in 1814, it was offered for sale with the Unicorn (Drak, 7 Jan 1814). Had bowling green (RB, 1805) but out of use 1814 (Drak, 7 Jan 1814). Inn came to Thomas Inman soon after 1805.	Current site High Street East
White Hart formerly the Cross Keys Sarah Laxton	John Laxton 1774: SM 1774 speaks of John Laxton master of the White Hart as dying of rabies having been bitten by a mad dog (UppRut, p.13). George Ingram (as Cross Keys) 1779, (ins); owned and occupied by Sarah Laxton in 1805, RB. Vestry meetings here in early 1800s (DE). Auction sale held here (SM, 9, 16 April 1802).	Formerly 15 High Street West

Appendix 3.
Will and Probate Inventory of John Marriott Auctioneer 1805

(Northants Record Office)

This relates to the present 26 High Street West.

The Will of John Marriott late of Uppingham Auctioneer decd, Proved 27th February 1805
Sub £200 Charles Child

On the 27th day of February 1805 Mary Marriott the sole executrix in the within will was then sworn well and faithfully to fulfil the same according to law and that the goods chattels and credits of the within named Deceased do not amount in value to the sum of £200. Before me Charles Child surrogate

In the Name of God Amen I John Marriott of Uppingham in the County of Rutland Auctionere Do make publish and declare this to be my last Will and Testament, as knowing the Certainty of Death as well as the Uncertainty of the Time, in Manner and form Following (that is to say). I Give and bequeath to my Dear Wife Mary Marriott All my Real and personal Estates whatsoever or wheresoever they may be found Consisting of Two Freehold Houses in Tenure of Robert Brown and John Peake One Coppyhold House in Tenure of James Mease in the Hog Market and one House upon the Rectors Mannor in Tenure of John Nutt All of them at Uppingham aforesaid and one Close of Freehold Land in the Lordships of Blayston and County of Leicester (near the Pasture) in the Tenure of James Muggleton called Griffins Close I give all the same and every part thereof to her my Dear wife to be at her own disposal immediately after my decease and All my Personal Estate whatsoever in Cash Notes, Bonds or furniture whatsoever I give her All the same for ever and make her sole Executrix under this my last Will and Testament dated this 12th day of June 1804
Signed John Marriott
Witnesses Ann Cobley, Henry Bellaers, Mary Mitton

Inventory
Goods and Effects Appraised on the Premises of the Late Mr John Marriott of Uppingham in the County of Rutland For Administrix by me Robert Glenham Auctionier

	£	s	d
<u>In the House</u>			
30 hour Clock	3	-	-
Oak Bureau	1	5	0
Small Oval Glass	-	3	0
Mahogany Tea Board	-	3	-
Large - do - do [ditto]	-	8	-
Small - do - do	-	1	-
Mahogany Tea Chest	-	2	6
Old Chest of Drawers	-	15	-
6 Chairs	-	6	6
6 - do - do	-	18	-
Round Tea Table	-	8	-
Deal - do -	-	4	-
Small stand	-	3	6
Culander and Brass Ladle	-	1	6
Corner Cupbard	-	8	-
Dutch Oven	-	3	-
Pair Bellows etc	-	1	6
Knife Box of Knives	-	6	-
Fire Irons and Fender	-	6	-
Plate Ring and Frying Pan	-	3	-
3 Sauce Pans	-	10	-
Large Brass Pot	1	-	-
Copper Tea Kettle and Tin - do	-	6	-
Pictors	-	3	-
Pr Brass candlesticks	-	2	-
Pr Iron - do - do and Warming Pan	-	5	-
<u>In the Chamber No 1</u>			
Square oak Table	-	6	-

	£	s	d
Half Tester Bedstead and Hangings	1	-	-
Feather Bed Bolster and 2 Pillows	4	-	-
Pr Blankets and Quilt	1	1	-
Swing Glass	-	4	-
Night Stool	-	4	-
	18	7	6

Page 2:

In the Chamber No. 2	£	s	d
Bedstead and Hangings	3	-	-
Feather Bed Bolester and 2 Pillows	4	-	-
3 Blankets and Quilts	-	18	-
Swing Glass	-	2	-
2 Chairs and Arm - do -	-	3	-
2 Cloaths Horses	-	4	-
2 Cloaths Baskets	-	1	6
3 Pickle Jars	-	1	-
Linen Chest	-	10	-
6 Boxes	-	7	-
5 Prs of Sheets	4	-	-
5 Prs Pillow Cases	-	7	6
Table Cloaths	1	10	-
Napkins	-	4	-
6 Glass Cloaths	-	4	-
Linen Wheel	-	8	-
3 Smoothing Irons	-	3	-
2 Brushes	-	1	6
In the Cellar			
4 Barrels	1	3	0
Brick Tub and Pale	-	13	-
Glass Bottles	-	6	-
Window curtains and Blind	-	1	6
In the Cupboard			
12 Blue and White Plates and 6 China Cups and Saucars	-	10	-
Tea Pot Creem Jug and Coffee Cups	-	5	-
Pots and Basons	-	6	-
4 Pr White Dishes	-	6	-
3 Pr Baking - do -	-	1	6
Plates and Baots	-	1	-
Glass	-	5	-
Silver Watch	1	10	-
Pr Table Spoons	-	18	-
Tea Spoons and Coffee Pot	1	5	0
Quantity of Books	1	10	-
Waring A Peril	2	-	-
In the Close			
Small Stack of Hay	6	-	-
15 Ewes	16	5	-
	49	10	6
	18	7	6
Sum Total	67	18	-
A Bond for 100£	100	-	-
	167	18	-

Uppingham
March 1 1805

Sources and Abbreviations

We have used many sources and referred to most of these in the text and Appendices. For brevity, we have given them abbreviations. Most of these sources are available in one form or another in the collections of the Uppingham Local History Study Group; apply to members of the Group.

AgRep 1794: John Crutchley, *General View of Agriculture in the County of Rutland*, London, 1794
AgRep 1808: Richard Parkinson, *General View of Agriculture of the County of Rutland,* 1808
AgRep 1818: *Review and Abstract of the County Reports to the Board of Agriculture*, vol. 4: Midland Counties, London, 1818 (this includes both the 1794 and 1808 reports)
Aldred: transcript of Aldred's notes for Uppingham, mostly from parish records
BGG: Bryan Matthews, *By God's Grace* (history of Uppingham School) London, Whitehall Press, 1984
BR: Bryan Matthews, *Book of Rutland*, Buckingham, Barracuda, 1978
Briggs Asa, *The Age of Improvement,* London, Longmans, 1959
Cambridgeshire County Record Office, Record of quarter sessions, HCP 1/2
Census, 1851: *Uppingham in 1851,* ULHSG, 2001
Char Rep: *Report of Charity Commission*, Parliamentary Papers, 1839
Church Guide: *Guide to Uppingham Parish Church including the Story of the Organs of Uppingham Church* (revised 2000).
Clayton: Memoirs of John Clayton in *Uppingham School Magazine* no.214, Oct.1889
Clergy: H I Longden, ed. *Clergy of Northants and Rutland*, 6 vols 1938-1943, Northants Record Society.
CongCh: Peter Lane, *History of Congregational Church,* (unpublished), ULHSG
ConReg: *Baptismal Register of Congregational Church in Uppingham 1785-1837*, ULHSG, 2001
Cooke 1802-10: G A Cooke, *Topographical and Statistical Description of the County of Rutland*, undated: c1802-1810
CR: Notes from Court Rolls of Manors of Preston with Uppingham (MPU) in ROLLR and from Rectory Manor (RM) in private possession. Detailed references are available from ULHSG.
DE: parish records in ROLLR: there are churchwardens accounts which contain the Vestry minutes; and there are other sources, mainly poor law; very few highway records. These have detailed reference numbers but since many of the main sources are large books without page numbers, it seems best to refer to these by date rather than number.
deeds: We have collected notes of deeds to several properties in the town. The biggest collection is the Marshall deeds (now in ROLLR); others are NT (Norman Tomson); 48 High Street East; etc. Notes with ULHSG.
Dialect: A R Traylen, ed., *Dialect, Customs and Derivations in Rutland*, Stamford, Speigl Press, 1989
Dir: Directories; *Universal Directory,* 1791; Pigot, *Leicestershire and Rutland,* 1829; Pigot, *Leicestershire and Rutland,*1830-1
Drak: *Drakard's Stamford News:* we have had access to those for 1814 and 1815 (in private possession)
EdRep: Report on Education of the Poor, Parliamentary Papers, 1818
Enc: enclosure records consisting of the award and the map; notes in possession of ULHSG
Gentry: A R Traylen, ed., *Life of Gentry*, Stamford, Speigl Press, 1992
Hartley D and Elliott M M, *Life and Work of the People of England,* Batsford, 1925
Henry, see Mills
ins: notes from insurance records contained in Guildhall Library; photocopies available with ULHSG; index compiled by D D Jenkins.
Irons: transcript of Irons' notes now in Leicester University Library (ULHSG)
LRO: Notes from ROLLR relating to extracts from parish records in file in ULHSG
LT: Land Tax listing for ROLLR, 1803: photocopy with ULHSG

Methodist: M Stacey, *The Story of Uppingham Methodist Church*, undated [2001]
MI: monumental inscriptions in church or churchyard
Militia: Militia Roll, 1779-1783 in OMMR
Mills: D Henry, *Wind and Watermills of Rutland* edited, Stamford, Spiegl Press, 1988
MRI: *Marriage Register Index for Rutland,* part 3, *1754-1837* Leicestershire and Rutland Family History Society, 1993
Newton D **and Smith** M, *History of Stamford Mercury,* Stamford, Saun Tyas, 1999
N Luff Reg: P G Dennis, ed., *North Luffenham Registers 1572-1812*, privately printed, 1896
NRO: Northants Record Office
NT deeds: see deeds
OMMR: D J Browning, ed. *Oakham Marriages 1754-1837 and Militia Rolls 1779-1783*, Leicester University, 1979
Palmer Notebook: notebook of John Abearn Palmer of Uppingham 1785-1807, from PRO C107/95; photocopy with ULHSG
PL: material supplied by Peter Lane of Uppingham
PR: parish registers in ROLLR
PRO: Public Record Office
RB, 1805: Poor Rate Book of Uppingham (uncertain date but about 1805; its entries however refer to some persons dead by 1805).
RCM: Rutland County Museum
RLHRS: Rutland Local History and Record Society
ROLLR: Record Office of Leicester, Leicestershire and Rutland at Wigston, Leicester
RutMag: *Rutland Magazine* (5 vols)
RutRec: *Rutland Record*, journal of RLHRS
Services: A R Traylen, *The Services of Rutland,* Rutland Local History Society, Vol. 11 1978
Slater: *Memoirs of Daniel Slater*, c1875, in CongCh
SM: *Stamford Mercury*: we have had access to the year 1802 and to several other issues of the period
Steppler G A, *Britons, to Arms! The Story of the British Volunteer Soldier,* Alan Sutton, 1992
TiR: Robert Ovens and Sheila Sleath, eds, *Time in Rutland*, Rutland Local History and Record Society, 2002
Turnpikes: A R Traylen, *Turnpikes and Royal Mail of Rutland*, Stamford, Speigl Press, 1982
UAPF: Uppingham Association for the Prosecution of Felons: list of members 1802 in SM, 6 April 1802; list for 1785 in UppRut, p.14; list for 1814 in Drak, 4 Feb 1814
ULHSG: Uppingham Local History Study Group
UppRut: A R Traylen, *Uppingham in Rutland,* Stamford, Speigl Press, 1982
USM: *Uppingham School Magazine*
wills: we have taken notes of many wills for Uppingham in NRO; copies with ULHSG papers

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to thank the following for agreeing to the reproduction of illustrations as follows:

Luton Museum for illustrations from *The Turnpike Age* (1970); Alan Rands; Cobblers; the Rector and the PCC of Uppingham Parish Church; Martin Smith (the Hall); Uppingham School Archives; Falcon Hotel; John Pearson; A. R. Traylen; A. Hackney; NRO; PRO; ROLLR; Messrs Batsford publishers; Wellcome Trust Medical Photographic Library; Guildhall Library; Royal and Sun Alliance; Congregational Church; Andrew Butterworth; Glaston PCC; Rutland County Museum. The other photographs have been taken by or for ULHSG or remain in private possession and are reproduced with permission.

INDEX

DRAKARD's STAMFORD NEWS,

GENERAL ADVERTISER,

FOR THE COUNTIES OF

LINCOLN, RUTLAND, NORTHAMPTON, HUNTINGDON, CAMBRIDGE, LEICESTER, NOTTINGHAM, AND PARTS ADJACENT.

STAMFORD, Printed and Published by and for the Proprietor, JOHN DRAKARD

Drakard's Stamford News and General Advertiser, Friday May 20 1814

UPPINGHAM IN 1802
A YEAR TO REMEMBER?

This survey of the small market town in Rutland has been drawn from many sources. Based upon what the local newspaper, the *Stamford Mercury,* had to say about Uppingham in 1802 and on several rate lists, the book starts at one end of the town and proceeds along its various streets and lanes, talking about different aspects of the town's life two hundred years ago - its farming and trading, its professions such as solicitors and doctors, its inns and houses, its polite and less polite cultures, its struggling local government and the importance of its almost defunct two manor courts, its participation in the General Election of 1802; its involvement in the wars of the period through its militia and the band, its religious life, and the start of banking in the town. Some of the major families are discussed in detail. All this is set against a background of the Napoleonic Wars and the peace just made, short though it was, against the disorder caused by food riots and political revolutionaries, and the topsy-turvy of the enclosure which was going on in Uppingham during 1802. Life in Uppingham in 1802 was anything but rustic calm.

The book represents the work of the Uppingham Local History Study Group over a period of eighteen months. Many of the sources used are illustrated in the book. It will appeal to all those who know and love the town itself; and also to all those interested in family and local history, especially those who cherish small market towns of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries which are often overlooked in the search for the Industrial Revolution.

Copies may be obtained from
Uppingham Local History Study Group
6 Leamington Terrace
Uppingham LE15 9TH