Rutland: the development of a county community within the modern age

Thesis submitted for the degree of

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by

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This thesis aims to explore aspects of a largely intangible aspect of rural change: that of affiliation and affinity, to Rutland, a small county within the English East Midlands. It aims at an evaluation and possible explanation of the position that Rutland held as an iconic English rural community towards the end of the twentieth century. This thesis's originality and contribution to knowledge lays in its conceptual framework and its holistic methodology bringing together two themes and various approaches to the study.

Conceptually it uses the idea of the 'imagined community', originally used to explain forms of nationalism, along with the notion of a 'county community' developed to explain social cohesion within the provincial structure during the seventeenth century. It brings these two concepts together and translates them through to the modern age in the consideration of Rutland, famous for its tenacity in defending its county identity.

Differing aspects of administration, culture and representation are studied using a range of sources to provide evidence to argue that concentrating on the dual elements of affiliation and participation, the county community concept can be extended from the seventeenth century and be a useful tool in studying modern rural society.

In a parallel emphasis the roles of different forms of representation are used to give credence to the argument that they were different imagined communities of Rutland dependent upon the point of view of the cultural agent involved as much as the position of the viewer, the consumer of the product. A common factor in the majority of these representations is the consideration of Rutland as part of the rural idyll of the English countryside. Conclusions are drawn as to the veracity of this mythology and its role in sustaining community spirit and reinforcing a perceived distinct county identity in the modern era.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

ARP   Air Raid Precautions

ATV   Associated Television

AWA   Anglian Water Authority

BBC   British Broadcasting Corporation

FSA   Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries

INLOGOV   Institute of Local Government Studies (University of Birmingham)

KRDC Ketton Rural District Council

LAO   Lincoln Archives Office

LCC   Leicestershire County Council

LRNQ   Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries

LNWR London and North Western Railway

LRSM   Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury (Known as the 'Stamford Mercury').

MACE Media Archive for Central England

MFH   Master of Foxhounds

MORI   Market Opinion Research International

NFU   National Farmers Union

NRO   Northamptonshire Record Office

ORDC Oakham Rural District Council

OUDC Oakham Urban District Council

RAF   Royal Air Force

RCC   Rutland County Council

RCM   Rutland County Museum

RDC   Rutland District Council

RLHS   Rutland Local History Society

RLHRS Rutland Local History and Record Society

RM.   Rutland Mercury [From 7 April 1989]

ROLLR Record Office for Leicester, Leicestershire and Rutland

RRCC   Rutland Rural Community Council

TLAHS   Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society

TNA   The National Archives

URDC   Uppingham Rural District Council

VCH   Victoria County History

INTRODUCTION

At the core of this thesis is the question of whether a conceptual model more usually applied in a seventeenth century context – the county community – has portability as a framework to understand the emergence and persistence of a broadly defined Rutland identity. The discussion of this issue is aided by use of another conceptual model, that of the imagined community, exploring perceptions and representations of Rutland which have given credence to a county identity.

Issues of place, identity and belonging in community studies together with representations of imagined community and their utility to this thesis.

From the vast and varied literature on community certain approaches have been extracted to guide this study. Ferdinand Tönnies' original concepts, of elective community participation where self-interest engineers adherence to *Gesellschaft* (society), while kinship and abode would indicate *Gemeinschaft* (community), underlie much of this study.[1] More advanced network theory and central place theory has not proved a great utility to the study of Rutland as a county given the ambiguous nature of Stamford on its borders: politically and administratively excluded, but culturally and economically included within the county community.

However, patterns of dependence and exchange related to market areas in the Rutland area can create theoretical hierarchies of settlement. This emphasises central places at the expense of the marginalised community hinterland. A county study needs to focus on both. The methodical constructs of rural geographers and sociologists during the post-war era failed to define communities by boundaries that remained consistent between rural and urban studies. This echoed the debate (outlined below) within rural history concerning its bias in favour of it being conceptualised within an agricultural framework and the peripheralisation of more general social and cultural themes.

While determinist critiques emphasised scientific analysis and categorisation theory they also re-emphasised the roles and structures of agricultural planning and economic development processes, including migration, through class analysis. This analysis is of limited utility in a study such as this, concerned with the role of tradition, nostalgia and representation of the countryside as defining elements in a rural community. Post-modernist attempts to deconstruct determinist structuralisation have focused on a more cultural study of

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[1] F. Tönnies, *Community and Society, Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (1887, Brunswick N.J., 1988).

rural community defined by kinship, economic relations and the conjunction between private and public spaces.

Community studies came under criticism for being unhistorical, concentrating on the moment in time rather than considering ongoing processes of change, modernisation and development. It was charged that ongoing processes of change, either through internal conflict or external stimuli, were given insufficient focus in situational studies focusing on the community in relative isolation at a given moment in time. There appeared to be a conceptual problem in considering the local in relation to the state within a framework that pays due regard to the notion of change.[2]

In the case of Rutland the dual function of local government, that of being an administrative arm of central government as well as the body charged by the local community to represent its wishes, is crucial in any consideration of Rutland in any rural modernisation debate. This study's conceptual framework pays consideration to these issues by looking at Rutland over an extended period of time and applying historical analysis to evolving trends in situations within the political and social aspects of the Rutland community.

Rural geographers and sociologists moved away from structural and dynamic analysis of rural communities to new approaches to the representation of the rural community as an 'imagined community' developed from the thoughts of individuals and groups and elevated by discourse in the media, academia and political society. The rural community became 'a category of thought, rather than a social or geographical entity'.[3]

The concept of an imagined community drew upon ideas first identified and mooted in the previous post-war generation. A 'granfalloon' is a word invented by the author Kurt Vonnegut in a novel of 1963.[4] Vonnegut describes it as a fictional spiritual movement of people claiming common identity but actually having very little in common. From this fictional concept came a term used in social psychology; granfalloon technique, whereby people are pressured into identifying with a group to ensure loyalty to that group. This in turn gave rise to the minimal group paradigm identified by Henri Tajfel, in which individuals not

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[2] S. Wright, 'Image and Analysis: New Directions in Community Studies', in B. Short, *The English Rural Community* (Cambridge, 1992), p.203.

[3] M. Mormont, 'Who is Rural? Or, How to be Rural: Towards the Sociology of the Rural', in T. Marsden, P. Lowe, S. Whatmore (eds), *Rural Restructurings: Global Processes and their Responses* (Fulton, 1990), p. 40.

[4] K. Vonnegut, *Cat's Cradle* (Harmondsworth, 1965).

known to one another formed groups based on irrelevant and meaningless criteria.[5] However, the idea of mechanical solidarity was first mooted by Emile Durkheim in 1893, where people feel connection through work, life experience and lifestyle factors.[6]

Edward Said described the Middle East as being an 'imagined geography', conceived within the Western mind-set.[7] Said re-emphasised the conception of an imagined community as a form of social constructionism based on perception from second-hand sources. He is distinctly critical of the idea of 'Orientalism' prevalent in the West through over-romanticised interpretations of the Middle East based upon fictional, artistic and cultural representation deriving from the colonial era. He claims the West perceived the Middle East as undeveloped and backward. This perceived lack of sophistication finds resonance in the depiction of English rural communities in popular culture and at times contemporary journalism. This is particularly so in the case of Rutland with its many representations as a backward rural idyll. The truth in the representation of Rutland as being mostly hedges and Hodges will be explored in this study.

The politicisation of debate over community identity was echoed by Benedict Anderson whose treatise on imagined communities in the seminal work of that name was first published in 1983.[8] He defined imagined communities as 'Imagined because members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lies the image of their communion.'[9] Anderson's work, based on a study of nationalism in post-war South East Asia, was a response to the lack of a socialist explanation of nationalism in the peasant societies in that part of the world at the time. Anderson's idea of the modern community is firmly rooted in the post-industrial modern era, rejecting primordialism, which relates ethnicity and nationalism to preindustrial factors both territorial and biological, particularly those relating to a hierarchical society before transformation by 'the revolutionary vernacularising thrust of capitalism'.

Despite the importance of Anderson's work it is difficult to make a direct translation of the concept from an international/regional level down to the level of a district in the English countryside. It is possible to envisage the Anglian Water Authority as 'resource imperialists'

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[5] M. Billig & H. Tajfel, 'Social Categorisation and Similarity in Inter-group Behaviour', European *Journal of Social Psychology* 3 (1973), p.27.

[6] E. Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society* (Basingstoke, 1984).

[7] E. Said, *Orientalism* (London, 1978).

[8] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, 2006).

[9] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p.4.

and the importance of 'print capitalism', crucial in Anderson's argument for creating horizontal communities of common readership, on a level of the local press, reinforcing community identity, as a pertinent point.[10] However, if we interpret the term 'imagined' to be synonymous to the word 'perceived', then a more general and appropriate interpretation and translation of the idea of an imagined community becomes available to be utilised by geographers, sociologists and historians alike. This broad interpretation of an imaginary community, devoid of its political encumbrances, is more applicable to small communities such as Rutland. A major issue remains in that the basis of Rutland's social culture, at least during the first decades of the last century, was derived from landholding derived from the preindustrial era, the antithesis of Anderson's model.

Historians have returned to Anderson's concept and translated it back to different eras in the study of English rural communities. Jan Broadway in her work on the Elizabethan and Stuart gentry concludes that the county gentry belonged to an imagined community, 'which grew out of a perceived affinity based on shared values'.[11] David Eastwood, when looking at the development of county communities in eighteenth-century England, utilises Anderson's concept but concludes that 'if we acknowledge that all political communities are in some fundamental sense imagined communities, we might still conclude that envisioning the county was a more abstract process than most'.[12]

There are limitations to the social construction of English rural communities as imagined communities. Keith Halfacree has suggested that the number and diversity of different representations of imagined rural spaces could lead to a detachment from the geographical and social reality underlying such perceptions.[13] Ways in which the English countryside may be perceived within the popular imagination may not be found to have substantive basis in reality. For example, Rutland has often been perceived as a community given identity by a dominant foxhunting fraternity that shaped its political outlook and literally its landscape. However, in reality, foxhunting did not receive universal support across the gentry, particularly those more interested in shooting, let alone the farming

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[10] A factor that David Eastwood endorses in his examination of the print cultures of eighteenth-century England in D.Eastwood, *Government and Community in the English Provinces 1700 – 1870* (London, 1997), p.94.

[11] J. Broadway, 'A Convenient Fiction? The County Community and County History in the 1650's', in J. Eales & A. Hopper (eds), *The County Community in Seventeenth Century England and Wales* (Hatfield, 2012), p.39.

[12] Eastwood, *Government and Community,* p.93.

[13] K. Halfacree, 'Locality and Social Representation: Space, Discourse and Alternative Definitions of the Rural', *Journal of Rural Studies,* 9 (1993), pp.1-15.

community. Participation was always restricted and popular indifference has been interpreted as tacit support.

Paul Cloke coined the phrase 'virtual rurality' to describe how cultural mapping, within the actual community and landscape itself is based upon perception of that community rather than drawn from the physical social and cultural realities of it.[14] As Michael Woods states, 'The world teems with virtual ruralities, ideas of the rural that are not grounded in concrete places or lived experience, and yet, such is the power and popularity of these ideas that attempts are made to bend rural space to fit their image.'[15]

One of the chief proponents of the reconceptualised community as a symbolic and socially constructed idea was Anthony Cohen, who articulated a new cultural definition of community as one experienced by its members, not reliant upon social structure or in 'the doing 'of social behaviour. It inheres rather in 'the thinking' about it. It is in this sense that we can speak of the 'community' as a symbolic, rather than a structural, construct.[16] The cultural approach to community has been criticised for neglecting minorities.[17] Cloke refers to 'otherness' and the hidden others of the marginalised within a community.[18] He goes on to describe, using the example of Rutland, how the representation of a rural idyll can hide behind it poverty unrecognised even by those it afflicts.[19]

Ruth Liepins countered further criticism of the cultural approach to community by producing a model of community as 'a social construct about human connection that involves cultural, material and political dimensions'.[20] In Liepins' model people, practices, meanings, spaces and structures, each reflect a dimension of community and each is contingent on the other. Methodologies involved include textual analysis and examination of various representations of the community within itself, as well as ethnologically based recording of

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[14] 'If at some time in the past some "real" form of rurality was responsible for cultural mappings of rurality, it may be now the case that cultural mappings precede and direct the recognition of rural space, presenting us with some kind of virtual rurality': P. Cloke, 'Conceptualising Rurality', in P. Cloke, T. Marsden, P. Mooney (eds.), *Handbook of Rural Studies* (London, 2006), p.22.

[15] M. Woods, *Rural* (London, 2010) p.9.

[16] A. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (Tavistock, 1985), p. 98.

[17] C. Philo, 'Neglected Rural Geographies: a Review', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 8 (1992), pp. 193–207.

[18] P. Cloke, J. Little (eds), *Contested Countryside Cultures: Otherness, marginalisation and rurality* (London, 1997), p.2.

[19] Cloke & Little, *Contested Countryside*, pp. 255–6.

[20] R. Liepins, 'New Energies for an Old Idea: Reworking Approaches to "Community" in Contemporary Rural Studies', *Journal of Rural Studies,* 16 (2000), p. 29.

community discourse. By these methods Liepins sees a way to elucidate the various meanings of community and how they are made, remade and at times contested. An examination of cultural and community practice and ritual in relation to everyday communication and cultural mapping of communal spaces, both formal and informal, contributes to an integrated holistic analysis of a multifaceted, multi-layered community. A consideration of a 'sense of belonging' is implicit in Liepins' model, whether territorially or socially configured within the minds of individuals or the collective imagination of the community.

The debate over the future direction of modern English rural community history and this study's place within it

In 2007 Jeremy Burchardt wrote an important article assessing the direction of modern English rural history.[21] He concluded by calling for 'a new countryside history giving full weight to the cultural and representational aspects that have done so much to shape twentieth century rural England. Only in this way will it be possible to move beyond a history of the countryside that is merely a history of agriculture writ large.'[22] This study of Rutland, as a study of an imagined rural county community, aims to be a small part of that process.

This thesis aims to take some of the non-productionist themes of rural history such as those identified by Gordon Mingay and in the seminal work of Francis Thompson (in particular the role of gentry and squirearchy in county society), and contract them down to the level of the Rutland locality and explore them within a local context.[23] As it will be argued that the county community in its affiliatory and participatory aspects during the nineteenth century was centred on the rural governing class, less attention has been paid to the abundant literature from the once radical orthodoxy concerning the fortunes of the labouring class after enclosure and the reform of the Poor Law. This is not to state that agrarian capitalism was insignificant in the development of a county mentality. It will be asserted that the growth in the numbers of freeholding farmers and their significance as ratepayers and electors in the formation of a 'land interest' with the squirearchical landowners is of crucial importance to the development of the county community during the twentieth century. However, much of

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[21] J. Burchardt, 'Agricultural History, Rural History, or Countryside History?', *The Historical Journal*, 50, (2007), pp.465–481.

[22] Burchardt, 'Agricultural History', p. 465.

[23] G. Mingay (ed.), *Rural Life in Victorian England* (London, 1976); *The Victorian Countryside* (London, 1981); F. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1963).

the historiography, valuable as it is, relates to the consciousness of the labouring class in the previous century, unrelated to county affiliation.[24]

Howard Newby and Alun Howkins both attempted a long period history of the English countryside during the last century.[25] Much of their work centres on agriculture, but they also synthase more social aspects of rural history into their appreciation of the past. However, although Newby draws out the distinction between the old villagers and the middle-class incomers shaping perceptions of the rural community, too little is made of the change in the countryside from a producer culture to a consumer culture, inhabited by those unrelated to agricultural production. It is the contention of this study that the Rutland countryside at least was a consumer product, the setting of late twentieth-century consumerism rather than purely the setting of agricultural production with rustic *bijouterie.* Two important aspects of his work, relevant to Rutland, relate to the limitations of deference from the rural workforce towards the squirearchy, which was situational and not all-pervasive, and the significant relationship between nonconformity, political dissent and the occupational culture of railway workers.[26]

Barry Reay's work on the history of individual localities demonstrates that work on individual localities made a valuable contribution to understanding rural change in the nature of rural society within a given region.[27] However, Rutland's position as a county community, in territory and population, over and above the size of individual communities discussed in post-war sociological studies, raises issues of their compatibility with this study. Certain elements, however, can be extracted and comparisons made.

Of all the micro-studies of English rural communities conducted in the last 50 years Ronald Blythe's pseudonymous depiction of an East Anglian village, *Akenfield*, is one of the most useful. It is a writer's impression of a rural community depicted through the edited recollections of rural people, their attitudes and impressions of a vanishing rural way of life captured during its demise. It caught the flavour of the debate over preservation and conservation, prevalent in society and the media at the time. Blythe let the story tell itself.

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[24] P. Horn, *The Rural World 1780 –1850: Social Change in the English Countryside* (London, 1980); K. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England 1660–1990* (Cambridge, 1985).

[25] H. Newby, *Country Life: A Social History of Rural England* (London, 1987); A Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England: a Social History, 1850–1925* (London, 1991); A. Howkins, *The Death of Rural England: A Social History of the Countryside since 1900* (London, 2003).

[26] Howkins, *Death,* p.102.

[27] B. Reay, *Micro-histories: Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England 1800 – 1930* (Cambridge, 1996); B. Reay, *Rural Englands* (Basingstoke, 2004).

This was a time in East Anglia when settlements were beginning to become divorced from the land in which they stood. Blythe caught 'Akenfield' just before incomers entered into the community and diluted the local culture, resulting in alienation from a distinct rural culture centred solely on the land. Paradoxically, within a few years agriculture began to physically dominate the East Anglian landscape as an industrial, rather than a small-scale rural community, concern.[28] Again within an East Anglian background, Robin Page speaks evocatively of 'urban colonialism' and 'death by 1000 BMWs'.[29]

The study of an anonymised Hampshire village,'Childerley', built on the work of Ronald Blythe. In it Michael Bell pointedly re-established the connection between human community and natural community and used the affinity felt between native members of the human community towards nature and the countryside as a point of differentiation between them and incomers into the community.[30] Owain Jones states that 'animals are central to how the rural is constructed in both imaginative and material terms'.[31] Although based on small-scale communities, many of these single settlement studies illustrate factors and situations similar to those observed in a larger community such as Rutland.

Anthony Cohen has contributed to the development of the idea of local belonging. Work on village unity based on the Essex village of 'Elmdon' is notable for its consideration of outsiders, work continued by Paul Cloke and Jo Little in their edited essays on 'otherness'.[32] Keith Snell's work on local xenophobia adds an historical dimension to this debate, although his work is chiefly based on mining rich datasets which fuel study of the nineteenth-century parish.[33] Snell's work begs for reinterpretation on a higher model level than that of the parish. Unfortunately, on a county level records concerning individual association and belonging are not so readily available, the parish being the primary and functional unit of everyday administration during the nineteenth century.

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[28] R. Blythe, *Akenfield* (Harmondsworth, 1969).

[29] R. Page, *The Decline of an English Village* (Barton, 2004), pp. 159, 229.

[30] M. Bell, *Childerley: Nature and Morality in a Country Village* (London, 1994).

[31] O. Jones, 'The Restraint of Beasts: Rurality, Animality, Actor Network Theory and Dwelling', in P. Cloke (ed.), *Country Visions* (Harlow, 2003), p. 283.

[32] A. P. Cohen (ed.), *Belonging: Identity and Social Organisation in British Rural Cultures* (Manchester, 1982) and subsequent works; M. Strathern, *Kinship at the Core* (Cambridge, 1981); P. Cloke, J. Little (eds), *Contested Countryside*.

[33] K. Snell, *Parish and Belonging* (Cambridge, 2006).

Alan Everitt and Charles Phythian-Adams, developed the geographical concept of *pays* and introduced the concept of a 'cultural province', which gave an historio-geographical basis to community studies on a scale larger than that of a village.[34] The validity and importance of the supra-county model in terms of affiliation and community development in Rutland is discussed in chapter 5. Eric Hobsbawm emphasised the 'invention of tradition' to reinforce community identity in modern societies.[35] This concept may have some utility in Rutland's case, where the modern community is often seen as distant if not divorced from its agricultural roots. Is the reinvention of the Morris custom indicative of an inner yearning for bucolic camaraderie of a rural past? Is the development of 'Rutland day', every September at Rutland Water, a recreation of the parish feasts?

The historiography concerning the English countryside as a rural idyll and a key representation of the English identity is vast, mostly interesting but not necessarily contextually informative for this study. Raymond Williams' *The Country and the City* was undoubtedly seminal and hugely influential.[36] In Williams there can be seen the attitudinal disparity between 'progressive' urban values of modernisation and reform and the regressive, 'conservative', rural values of stagnation which informed popular thought during the battles for local government reform in Rutland in the post-war era.

> On the country has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of peace, innocence and simple virtue. On the city has gathered the idea of an achieved centre: of learning, communication, light. Powerful hostile associations have also developed: on the city as a place of noise, worldliness and ambition; on the country as a place of backwardness, ignorance, limitation. The contrast between country and city as fundamental ways of life reaches back into classical times.[37]

It is Williams that reminds us of the central role of literature in perpetuating the rural idyll, a theme important to this study. This is a theme developed by Wiener into consideration of a landscape ideal detrimentally affecting the British economy by being venerated as part of a wider reaction against industrialisation which held back national prosperity.[38]

Howkins developed this perception of an imagined rural idyll, defining it as 'south country', a commodified consumer package of images set in an aristocratic landscape devoid

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[34] A. Everitt, *Landscape and Community in England* (1985); C. Phythian-Adams, *Societies, Cultures and Kinship, 1580–1850: Cultural Provinces in English Local History* (Leicester, 1993).

[35] E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), p.1.

[36] R. Williams, *The Country and the City* (Oxford, 1973)

[37] Williams, *Country and the City*, p.1.

[38] M. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit* (London, 1981).

of social conflict somewhere within south-central England, which could at a geographical pinch include Rutland.[39] Jeremy Burchardt wrote of the rural idyll representing 'the dreams, aspirations, hopes and utopian yearnings of a large part of the population'.[40] Patrick Wright characterised nostalgia for a supposed rural idyll in the reaction to the destructive aspects of modern capitalism generating a sense of displacement, identity crisis and yearning for the secure environment of rural forefathers: a sense of belonging and attachment to the countryside.[41] Wright's analysis has been criticised even by those of his own political persuasion who recoiled at the condemnation of popular heritage culture.[42] As a non-historian Wright's analysis illuminates the debate about rural modernity, shifting it away from conceptions of the national identity towards more general appreciation of the wider issues including elitist and popular imaginings of the rural landscape. Avner Offner found difference between a settled Tory country house landscape and a liberal activism in rambling and nature.[43] This was a theme developed by Nigel Everett. If landscape is to be viewed as a political statement, a territorial depiction of relationships in society, the Rutland landscape has been viewed as both traditionally Tory natural and organic with elements of Whig, improved, enclosed, reconstructed artificial and utilitarian estate landscapes incorporated within it.[44]

Much of the historiography of the English ruralism defines this concept as a mechanism of social control used by elite structures in society to give popular support to their continued dominance of the countryside, inward and backward looking, damaging economic growth. David Matless proposes an alternative point of view, finding and comparing two versions of English identity connected with the rural: the 'organicist', nostalgic and conservative and the modernist 'planner preservationist' typified by Patrick Abercrombie, who spent his schooldays in Rutland. Matless is likewise critical of the romantic effusions of W.G. Hoskins concerning the Rutland landscape whilst as a cultural geographer laying out the theoretical background of the planning debates within Rutland during the 1970s.

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[39] A. Howkins, 'The Discovery of Rural England', in R. Colls and P. Dodd (eds), *Englishness: Politics and Culture, 1880 –1920* (London, 1986), pp. 62–88.

[40] J. Burchardt, *Paradise Lost: Rural Idyll and Social Change since 1800* (London, 2002).

[41] P. Wright, *On Living in an Old Country: the National Past in Contemporary Britain* (London, 1985).

[42] R. Samuel, *Theatres of Memory Volume 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London, 1994).

[43] A. Offner, *Property and Politics, 1870–1914: Landownership, Law, Ideology and Urban Development in England* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 328–49.

[44] N. Everett, *The Tory View of Landscape* (London, 1994).

Hoskins, as will be outlined in chapter 1, was hugely influential in promoting and establishing Rutland as a surviving example of a traditional rural community set in an idyllic almost unchanging landscape. Hoskins established landscape history as an academic subject and rescued the study of local history from parochialism and the *sub genus* local manifestation of great movements in national history. His writings on Rutland, noted for their eccentricity and idiosyncrasy, not only encouraged the exploration of Rutland's past through its landscape but also evangelised for its conservation and preservation.[45] Rutland was 'fighting for its independence against the *urban* theorists who seem to dominate the world of *planning* today' [my italics emphasising terms used in a derogatory sense]. Hoskins was rejecting modernism as inimical to the rural. He was describing Rutland's landscape as the defining element of local community and behind the tenaciousness of the local character resisting imposed change and modernisation.

> So one is all set for a good morning among the churches: not more than three in the morning is sufficient for enjoyment, and perhaps another one or two after tea: and the afternoon perhaps spent lying in a field in the Midland Sun, quietly unwinding. I have found Tixover churchyard a pleasant place for an afternoon doze. It is very peaceful: the only sound the sign of a gentle wind along the grasses of the Welland valley. Then in the evening, the return in the last sunshine of the day to Oakham, or Uppingham, or Stamford (just across the border but a good centre for Rutland) and, one hopes, a good well-cooked English dinner. A week of this treatment in Rutland sends one back ready to fight politicians and jacks-in-office with one hand tied behind one's back.[46]

Cultural geographers have stressed the 'high culture' element in the representations of the English countryside. The middle classes financially supported the dissemination of romantic art and literature of the rural idyll and had done since the days of John Clare.[47] Examination of locational preferences on picture postcards depicting Rutland scenes within the study opens up possibilities of the study of popular culture in rural representation. Looking at spatial practices, such as the recreational activity centred upon Rutland Water, a beginning can be made into mapping a more socially inclusive pattern of representation of the rural within a more consumerist conception of the imagined community of Rutland.

This study aims to show that Rutland attracted support even from those who had never been there because it was a powerful recognised element within the iconography of the rural

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[45] W. Hoskins, *Rutland* (Leicester, 1949); W. Hoskins, *Rutland : a Shell Guide* (London, 1963).

[46] Hoskins, *Rutland: Shell Guide*, p.16.

[47] M. Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal: Anglo American Images of Landscape* (London, 1994). Bunce asserts that the middle classes retreated to the suburbs and rural areas to demarcate themselves from the general population and assume a social position formulated on an archaic gentry lifestyle. B. Short, *The English Rural Community Image and Analysis* (Cambridge, 1992), has some excellent essays on the cultural representation of the English countryside.

idyll. The idea advanced by Williams, Wright and others that attraction to the countryside exists because of widespread alienation from rampant modernism and social change is almost an historical cliché. Aspects of this alienation are considered within a local context. The answer to the question why Rutland mattered so much (if indeed it did) is found within this context as well as a wider imagining of the importance of rural England, in whatever manifestation, to the national well-being. This study of the imagined community of Rutland aims to put aspects of this ruralism within the defined geo-political construct of the county, examining the motives of the creators, popularisers and consumers of Rutland ruralism within the context of a small traditional English rural community struggling for its identity in the modern age.

The county model and the county community hypothesis in English historiography

> England may not unfitly be compared to a house, not very great but convenient; and the several shires may properly be resembled to the rooms thereof. Now, as learned Master Camden and painful Master Speed, with others, have described the rooms themselves, so it is our intention, God willing, to describe the furniture of these rooms.[48]

The use of the county as a framework around which to construct local history owes its origins to the intellectual renaissance of late Tudor England. This in its turn was affected by the rise in importance of the county in Elizabethan governance, and the role of the Reformation enriched local gentry within it. The fathers of English local history, John Leland, William Camden and William Lambarde, encouraged 'patriotism' in their seventeenth-century successors to continue producing county histories. William Burton wrote 'rather than my native country should any longer lie obscured with darkness I have adventured (in some sort) to restore her to her wealth and dignity'.[49]

Eighteenth-century clerics such as Thomas Cox and historian/compilers such as Brayley and Britton continued to produce county segments to national topographical histories.[50] More local produced histories were constrained by the expense of research and publication and the intellectual vigour needed to cope with the growing expanse of raw

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[48] T. Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (1662).

[49] W. Burton, *Description of Leicestershire* (London, 1622), introduction.

[50] T. Cox, *Magna Britannia* (1720–1731); E. Brayley, J. Britton, *Beauties of England and Wales* (1801–16).

material available. 'The pursuit all too often proved to be the ruin of health and wealth.'[51]
Northamptonshire historian George Baker abandoned any attempt at publication in 1841;
however, John Nichols's *Leicestershire*, in part a collaborative effort, did reach publication
25 years earlier.[52] The mid-Victorian county-based historical and archaeological societies
rejuvenated antiquarian studies of the historical counties. The formation of the committee to
create a Victoria History of the Counties of England (VCH) in 1899 institutionalised the
publication of county histories over the next century. Rutland is one of the minority of
counties to have its VCH completed.[53] Independent of the VCH, other county histories were
produced, with a more populist appeal, proving the resilience of the county model within
which the publication of local history was conceived and produced outside the parameters of
parish histories.[54] Local government reorganisation demoting historical counties, instead of
being a threat, proved, as in the case of Rutland, to be an impetus to publication, finding a
sustainable readership prepared to pay for a literary token of their emotional attachment to the
county.

Forty years after Alan Everitt produced his seminal work on county communities, *The
Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion*, the debate over their validity as an historical
construct has largely stagnated.[55] Everitt's original introduction of the concept of county
community was centred on his own community of Kent, which had hitherto in most cases
been considered within a wider metropolitan aegis. It was Everitt's contention that during the
seventeenth century Kent had a gentry community within which local affiliations and
allegiances were dominant and that debates and connections to people and events in the
metropolitan and national arena were only a secondary factor. He considered it to be a
'gentry community' because of the power structures and nature of local office holding at
county level.

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[51] M. Greenslade, 'Introduction: County History' in C. Currie, C. Lewis (eds), *A Guide to English County Histories* (Stroud, 1994), p.20.

[52] Greenslade, *County History*, p.22.

[53] The second, heavily subsidised topographical volume was published in 1935 (with an index a year later). This complemented the general volume published in 1908. The publication and utility of these volumes are discussed in Chapter 3.

[54] Nationally the VCH was relaunched in the 1950s through finding partnerships with local authorities, partnerships which re-emphasised the county model as a construct of local identity.

[55] A. E. Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion* (Leicester, 1966).

There had been county studies before Everitt, seen as valuable in their time; but since then they had gathered dust, being deemed 'antiquarian' and only of secondary interest.[56] Everitt had reinvigorated research on the county as being at the centre of a non-metropolitan study of local history, beneficial for its own sake. He was rejecting determinist doctrines which put the national to the fore, whether in terms of the drift towards Parliamentary liberal governance or the emerging interests of a growing national bourgeoisie and putative working class. He saw the nation as being 'a union of partially independent county states or communities, each with its own distinct ethos and loyalty'.[57] There seemed to be a polarity of loyalty between the local and the national. Everitt interpreted the Restoration to include a desire to return to the conservative traditional rule from local interests rather than the arbitrary vexatious rule from the municipal centre. The basis of Everitt's original thesis was found in the influence of a gentry class embedded in a community, the longevity of which had been extended by kinship, economic self-interest, affinity and attachment to include a nascent paternalistic approach from landlord to tenant. This had its roots in the manorial– peasant relationship, originally reflected in manorial courts and parish structures that now extended, thanks to the 'land grab' at the Reformation and subsequent intermarriage and dynastic entrenchment, to include the instruments of local government on a wider geographical plane such as the county Quarter Sessions.

By the time that criticism of his original narrow interpretation of county community had been published, Everitt had, through working as research assistant to Joan Thirsk, broadened his understanding of county community to include a wider body of people operating under an extensive kinship network in a growing county *bourgeoisie*. In *The Local Community and the Great Rebellion*, Everitt provided a qualified afterthought to his original thesis, extending the argument to the Midlands counties of Leicestershire and Northamptonshire.[58] He again buttressed and extended his arguments in favour of a county community in *Change in the Provinces*, but then his research and publications led him elsewhere.[59] Everitt did not adequately respond to criticism of his thesis because he considered that after introducing the concept, he had moved on with it. This was reflected in 'Dynasty and community since the seventeenth century', in which he considered the county

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[56] For example: M. Coate, *Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum* (Oxford, 1933); A. Wood, *Nottinghamshire in the Civil War* (Oxford, 1937).

[57] A. E. Everitt, *The Community of Kent*, p.13.

[58] A.E. Everitt, *The Local Community and the Great Rebellion*, Historical Association, general series, 70 (1969).

[59] A.E. Everitt, *The Local Community*; A. Everitt, *Change in the Provinces: the seventeenth century*, University of Leicester, occasional papers, second series, 1 (Leicester, 1972).

community within a more provincial and regional geographical attachment and not merely confined to the aristocracy and gentry.[60]

Other historians took up where Everitt left off and explored national themes of the seventeenth-century Civil War period within given localities using a county community model.[61] They were not entirely uncritical of Everitt's thesis or its application. Some found that a county identity asserted itself over partisan national politics within the gentry culture. Others took a more holistic approach to the county and explored political consciousness at the village level. J.S. Morrill, for example, found Everitt's original definition of a county community to be insufficient, being too centred on gentry networks. Urban studies reinforced Everitt's argument for the importance of local determinants in political affiliation during the Civil War period, even if not based within the structural integrity of a *county* community.[62] These studies did focus upon the rising interests of the commercial merchant class which were establishing themselves as powerbrokers with an equivalent significance to that of the nominal gentry in urban centres and their hinterlands. Apart from these passive assenters to and conditional critics of the county community model, others were more severely critical of the gentry-based county community construct, or indeed the county as the basis for provincial or regional distinction if such existed.

Clive Holmes found the county community model to be misapplied, creating a 'roseate aura of mutual love, charity and unity'.[63] He criticised Everitt for being elitist in focusing upon a narrow stratum of society and was particularly critical in his assumption that the community as a whole was reflected in the gentry's outlook. Holmes suggested that a more accurate community would reflect the networks of attachment the gentry had formed at

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[60] A.E. Everitt, 'Dynasty and Community since the Seventeenth Century' in A. Everitt (ed.), *Landscape and Community in England* (London, 1985).

[61] 'In late Tudor and Stuart England most people who could think politically regarded themselves as members of a county community… which stood apart from, sometimes even in opposition to, the greater but remoter community of the nation.' A. Hassell-Smith, *County and Court: Government and Politics in Norfolk, 1558 – 1603* (Oxford, 1974), p.108. See also: J. S. Morrill*, Revolt in the Provinces: the People of England and the Tragedies of War, 1630 – 1648* (London, 1999); J. S. Morrill, *Cheshire 1630–1660: County Government and Society during the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1974); D. Underdown*, Somerset in the Civil War and Interregnum* (Newton Abbot, 1973); A. Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex 1600 –1660* (London, 1975).

[62] For example: V. Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution, City Government and National Politics* (Oxford, 1961); R. Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution: a Study of the Civil War in North England* (Oxford, 1967).

[63] C. Holmes, 'The County Community in Stuart Historiography', *Journal of British Studies*,19, (1980). Holmes extended his criticism of the county community construct in C. Holmes, *Seventeenth Century Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1980) and C. Holmes, 'Centre and Locality in Civil War England' in J. Adamson (ed.), *The English Civil War: Conflict and Contexts, 1640–1649* (Basingstoke, 2009).

university and within the metropolitan legal community which, he found, played heavily on their political allegiances.[64] He also suggested that external influences such as religion, foreign travel and military service overseas would have substantial effect on defining gentry allegiance. He concluded all of these factors were leading towards a more common gentry culture outside of county boundaries. Holmes went on to suggest that a county community would have to include the commercial and agricultural interests, whether peasant, farmer, tradesmen or merchant, within its bounds. This underlying network linked to trade and professions became more extensive in the two centuries following the Restoration.

Holmes found that Everitt had ignored these factors, which conflicted with his thesis, and that he deliberately underestimated the strength of ideological division at the expense of conservatism and deference. Holmes suggested that the gentry acted as brokerage between the demands of the metropolitan central government and the interests of the localities; as such he questioned the validity of county administration as a vehicle for county sentiment, if some such could be defined. Further work on Warwickshire found in that county much to support Holmes's criticism. Ann Hughes' conclusions emphasised the importance of geographical, attitudinal and socio-economic societal factors in the difference between the *fielden* and *arden,* and how these worked against a cohesive county community. In addition she detected other cross-border influences such as kinship and religious jurisdiction playing a significant impact in political affiliation during the Civil War period.[65]

In many respects the county community thesis is a conservative theory stressing continuity over change. Its original emphasis on the gentry community worked against its universal acceptance in an era when, with the wider dissemination of archive material and prosopographical studies, greater emphasis was being sought in establishing a political role for the sub-gentry population.

Mediaeval historians took up the county community concept to explore the origins of gentry community within the provinces. J. R. Maddicott produced a seminal paper in 1978 and there followed twenty years of discussion of the significance of the county within a mediaeval context.[66] Even within the mediaeval approach, historians such as Eric Acheson

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[64] Holmes, *Lincolnshire*, pp. 63–79 & pp. 96–101.

[65] A. Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620–1660* (Cambridge, 1987).

[66] J. Maddicott, 'The County Community and the Making of Public Opinion in Fourteenth Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* fifth series, 28 (1978), pp.27–43; R.Virgoe, 'Aspects of the County Community in the Fifteenth Century', in M. Hicks (ed.) *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Mediaeval England* (Gloucester, 1990); E. Acheson, *A Gentry Community: Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century c1422 –*

question the significance of the county in the thinking of a knightly class settled in the Midland countryside of Leicestershire.[67] Historians of the modern period have neglected the vehicle of a county community upon which to drive their studies. David Eastwood is an exception but he felt driven to comment 'The English counties by contrast commanded no real presence… Everyone lived in a county, but this was sensed, if at all, through processes of incomplete revelation.'[68] This in essence meant that although the county was a territorial designation carrying administrative function within defined borders, foremost in people's minds were relationships based upon kinship, occupational culture and economic networks, which with the evolving transport links extended beyond notional county boundaries. The county as an entity may have had some political influence and importance to the governing class, and to some extent the inhabitants they governed, but it was kinship and economic networks, reflecting the self-interest of everyday life, that were paramount in the imaginations of county inhabitants. The county, when it did reveal itself (Eastwood's 'incomplete revelation') on occasions such as the assizes or on polling day, assumed an importance it did not have to its inhabitants in quotidian life.

A commemoration conference held at the University of Leicester in December 2009 reviewed the county community concept and how the debate had moved forward. The conference papers, taken in a broader perspective, give an indication of how the county community debate could be extended past the seventeenth century through the eighteenth and into the modern era.[69] Jacqueline Eales returned to Kent to widen the concept of Everitt's gentry county community. Through study of two petitions to Westminster she considers the affiliations of the wider community and influences brought to bear upon them. She finds that Everitt simplified some of the arguments over allegiance and that he underplayed the significance of the sympathy of the broad population in favour of parliamentary government. Factors crucial to the debate are determined as being the proximity of Kent to London in the facilitation of news spread and the role of the established clergy in the transmission of news and opinion across the county. The affiliation of and role played by local clergy and

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c1485 (Cambridge, 1992); P. Fleming, A. Gross & J. Lander, *Regionalism and Revision: the Crown and its Provinces in England 1200 –1650* (London, 1998).

[67] Acheson, *Leicestershire,* p.77.

[68] D. Eastwood, *Government and Community*, p. 91.

[69] J. Eales & A. Hopper (eds), *Explorations in Local and Regional History: County Community in 17th Century England and Wales* (Hatfield, 2012).

Nonconformist ministers in the dissemination of metropolitan information, within a county network, if some such existed, is one possible avenue of future research.[70]

Jan Broadway gave consideration of the role played by two early county histories, William Dugdale in *Warwickshire* and William Smith in *Vale Royall* in Cheshire, in giving those counties a sense of place. Her work in this respect provides another avenue of research into the role that county histories played in the establishment of county communities in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The sponsorship of such histories puts the gentry back at the centre of the debate. She concludes that county histories reinforced a conservative gentry community which derived its power from the acceptance of 'hierarchy, continuity, and property rights'. It is in the field of the study of county histories that it may be possible for the county community to be given a symbolic reality which may be no less legitimate than any conflicting social, economic, political affiliations and realities.[71]

Work on the cultural loyalties within the counties draws attention to the extra-county and national influences on the gentry. It may have been that the county was just one level of affiliation which grew increasingly significant as the value of provincial landownership grew in importance as the foundation of the economic and cultural identity of the gentry. How this association with the land developed over the succeeding two centuries is an obvious point of departure in the study of the developing county community. Its concomitant development of charitable landlordism into a nineteenth-century governing paternalism indicates another way ahead for the exploration of the values of a county community.[72]

It is also useful to consider the county community not only as an organic institution, growing from within the county boundaries, but also as an imposed community, an artificial construct, imposed by a governing class upon the provinces for purposes of good government and social control. The Parliamentary County Committees, being chiefly composed of lesser squirearchy, usually ill disposed towards royalist gentry landowners, were considered revolutionary in their time and the antithesis of the acceptance of 'hierarchy, continuity and property rights'. They usually did not figure well, if at all, in conservative county histories such as Wright's *History of Rutland* (1684).

Future studies of county communities could explore how the county governors were seen as collaborationist officials who abdicated their local affiliations in order to become

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[70] J. Eales, 'Alan Everitt and the Community of Kent Revisited', in Eales & Hopper (eds), *County Community.*

[71] J. Broadway, 'A Convenient Fiction?' in Eales & Hopper (eds), *County Community.*

[72] I. Warren, 'The Cultural Horizons of the Seventeenth Century English Gentry' in Eales & Hopper (eds), *County Community.*

agents of a central government agenda of fiscal exaction and legal compliance. This may be seen at odds with a self-governing, agri-centric community based upon principles of cooperation and mutual respect. A by-line of this strand of argument may be consideration of the creation of the county as a myth, not reflected in any long-standing local origins. It is an important consideration how and when this myth became a reality and a point of ready identification within the population as a whole.[73]

Translation of the county community forward into a post-Restoration era lays down some foundations which again can be projected forward into the succeeding centuries. David Appleby contends that the experience of civil conflict resulted in a conservative desire for order and a return to regulated governance within the counties, to provide the necessary background for the success of agriculture and commerce. In comparison with the rule of the Major-Generals or the authoritarian direction of Westminster, he discerns a desire for some form of fiscally prudent local government. Appleby also suggests that the role of religious allegiance may not have been as benign as some people have suggested in the era leading into the eighteenth century. He outlines how the restored lieutenancy developed a new function as an intermediary between the locality and London, being a focus for local internal security. These themes can be brought forward and reconsidered as they are at the centre of the debate over the developing identity of the English rural counties during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[74] As a counterpoint, Stephen Roberts concludes that from a perspective of central government, the county administration existed to enable government of the realm through the facilitation of taxation; provision of militia; provincial law and social order through maintenance of the poor laws. He concludes that the counties were part of a larger whole and that the county as a 'partially independent state' argument is not valid in the later seventeenth century onwards given the complexity of the many-stranded governmental, social, cultural and commercial networks which existed in England at the time.[75]

Early Twentieth-century writing on local government in particular has been affected by the Webbs, evangelists for modernisation and a progressive local politics.[76] Recent historiography on the historical basis of local government occasionally makes passing

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[73] L. Bowen, 'Fashioning Communities: the County in Early Modern Wales' in Eales & Hopper (eds), *County Community.*

[74] D. Appleby, 'The Restoration County Community: a Post-conflict Culture' in Eales & Hopper (eds), *County Community.*

[75] S. Roberts, 'Conclusion: County Counsels: Some Concluding Remarks' in Eales & Hopper (eds), *County Community.*

[76] S. and B. Webb, *English Local Government: The Parish and County* (London, 1906).

reference to the county as an object of attachment and affiliation. David Eastwood revived interest in Georgian local government by examining primary sources from Oxfordshire principally concerning the matters of the poor law, policing and justice.[77] He argues that conflict within the duality of local government, that is local government as a true representation of a locality and local government as an operative arm of centralised national government, is brought out during this period, with central control inevitably taking precedence over local wishes. This duality function is very relevant in the consideration of modern local government within Rutland, both the county council's reluctance to lead in social reform and their resistance to local government reform directed by Westminster and Whitehall. Eastwood suggests that social crisis, perceived or otherwise, led to a re-evaluation of the role of local government as much as institutional change. It is arguable that in the modern age social crisis around the perceived threats and opportunities of modernisation equally resulted in a re-evaluation of the role of local government within England and as such re-conception of the utility of the county in governmental administration as much as a potent symbol of local affiliation.

Modern discussion surrounding issues of devolution and 'localism', whether nominal or substantial, have widened the debate about local identity and community from that of the seventeenth-century county locality to the level of provincial region. The question of provincial identities and loyalties was raised in the literature concerning the local communities in the seventeenth century. It was, however, noted as being less marked in that period than in modern Britain; but on a sub-provincial level the study of the county within the seventeenth century has produced a body of work both suggestive and dismissive of the existence of a county community.

It is significant that no one argument has been successful in completely dismissing Everitt's original idea that some forms of county communities existed within provincial England. Their exact nature, whether generalised across the regions or individualised within defined counties, is still open to debate. Some of the more recent research in this field has drawn out various themes which can be useful in structuring an argument for the transmission of the county community concept forward two centuries and indeed up to the present day.

In conclusion, these themes include an evaluation of the conflicting cultures of affiliation and the importance of the role of communication, news spread, and metropolitan influences to a county community. The identities and values of the local governors and their

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[77] D. Eastwood, *Governing Rural England: Tradition and Transformation in Local Government, 1780 –1840* (Oxford, 1994) , followed later by a restatement of his argument covering a broader time period, D. Eastwood, *Government and Community in the English Provinces 1700–1870* (London, 1997).

government and their vested economic interest in landownership are crucial to the debate; in addition to which the transmission of local heritage provides another distinct theme in the affiliation towards a defined community identity within the county.

The county model is just one of many competing loyalties in palimpsest of varied affiliation in English rural society. Its survival can be largely said to be based upon its legally and geographically defined boundaries unlike the less locally amorphous provinces and regions and community networks based solely upon kinship, market and occupational cultures. The county still figures strongly in topographical literature. As a point of local identification the county community has emerged as a focus for the affiliation of those classified by David Goodhart as the 'somewheres', those citizens whose affiliation and loyalties directed towards a local geographical entity as opposed to the 'anywheres' in society, those who have a more global outlook socially and politically.[78]

In an era of social and cultural change, Brexit and rebellion against globalism, localism and attachment to local communities evidenced by affiliation to the county community, can be said to reinforce the current emphasis upon connected communities. With an holistic approach to the study of the county, incorporating analyses of environment and heritage with that of a study of civil society with an emphasis upon participation, this thesis mirrors the areas of concern raised in the connected communities debate. This demonstrates that the study of a territorialised county, or any small localised model, does not necessarily conflict with the issues raised in the study of connected communities which place a high value upon resilient social relationships within a participatory culture.

The County of Rutland: a model English rural community

Rutland has been chosen as a suitable place to test the concept of the validity of the county community model in the modern era for a number of reasons. Firstly it is possible to discern a number of representations, or imaginings, of Rutland as a county community in literature, media and art which fuelled both popular and elitist conceptions of the county.

Secondly, principally due to the political struggle to maintain its independent county status throughout the twentieth century, it has established an iconic identity as an identifiable small English rural community. Thirdly, Rutland and its county community have demonstratively undergone considerable change socially, economically, politically and physically in its landscape over the last 200 years.

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[78] D. Goodhart, *The Road to Somewhere* (London, 2017).

Defined by reputation as much as a political boundary, Rutland as a county community has been identified as being typical of the smaller communities of the English 'countryside'. Rutland lacks any major town which dominates its minimal acreage. It has a small population; a blend of pastoral and arable landscapes; little industry, a proud independent heritage and at one time had its landownership centred in a few hands in a neo-feudal social structure based upon the dominance of agriculture in the economy. In these respects and others in Rutland is a representation of rural provincial England.

Rutland: the heritage

Rutland is the only midland shire not to be named after a chief town. Historically this has always confused some writers. Rutland was not infrequently called 'Rutlandshire' up until the Second World War. In the nineteenth century this confusion even extended to government circles.[79] *Roteland*, comprising the mediaeval hundreds of Alstoe and Martinsley, is probably derived from an old English personal name: Rota.[80] Having first been mentioned by name in the will of Edward the Confessor in 1066, this territory was separated in 1086 from Witchley hundred, which was administered from Northampton, the former being administered from distant Nottinghamshire.[81]

David Eastwood describes the veneration of the Anglo-Saxon as important to the mythology of meaning and substance of the state.[82] Anglo-Saxon origins gave legitimacy beyond sentimentalisation to governmental structures: the parish, the hundred and the county. This is true in the case of Rutland. Although Rutland's early history is obscure, Charles Phythian-Adams has conjectured from circumstantial evidence that the three hundreds were once part of a *Roteland*, dower land of the Mercian queens, later translated as part of the Saxon queens' territories until the years following the Norman Conquest.[83] Witchley hundred was later subdivided into Wrangdike and East hundreds (Figure I.1). The Royal estate appears to have been centred upon Hambleton in the middle of the county. Phythian-Adams

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[79] For example the Manchester Statistical Society produced two reports in 1839, comparing Manchester with Rutland: Manchester Statistical Society *Education Report Rutland 1839* and Manchester Statistical Society *Population Report Rutlandshire 1839*.

[80] B. Cox, *The Place Names of Rutland*, English Place Name Society 67–69 (Nottingham, 1994), p. 1.

[81] After 1086 Witchley Hundred was divided into Wrangdike and East Hundreds.

[82] D. Eastwood, *Government and Community in the English Provinces 1700–1870* (London, 1997), p. 5.

[83] C. Phythian-Adams, 'The Emergence of Rutland and the Making of the Realm', *Rutland Record* 1 (1980), pp. 5–12.

presents some 'suggestive pointers' that Rutland always has been a border territory dating back to the Romano-British period. Citing archaeological evidence with later place name evidence he suggests that Rutland 'very likely' existed in Anglian times and was subdivided at the time of Domesday by the Crown for administrative convenience.

Figure I.1: *Rutland: Hundreds and Parishes.*

Source: B. Cox, *The Place Names of Rutland*, English Place Name Society 67–69 (Nottingham, 1994)

The most intriguing part of Phythian-Adams' evidence revolves around Aetholnoth's embassy to York (or to the Yorkist Norsemen) on behalf of Alfred in 894. The embassy was sent after the Norsemen's incursions into the 'large territories in the kingdom of the Mercians on the western side of a place called Stamford, that is to say, between the streams of the

Welland and the thickets of the wood called Kesteven by the common people'.[84] This is a fair description of the territory of Rutland without naming it. It goes some way to explaining the apparent deliberate separation of Rutland from Stamford and Norse rule. There is a distinct and noticeable lack of Norse place names amongst the Anglo-Saxon settlements of Rutland.[85]

As a subsidiary crown estate Rutland did not re-appear in the documentary record as a complete territory until the Pipe Roll of 1130.[86] Still partly administered by authorities in Nottinghamshire and Northamptonshire it attained its own sheriff in 1154 and was referred to as a county, *comitatus*, in 1204 when it was given by King John as dower to his Queen Isabella. Rutland emerged as a fully independent county with its own administration by the end of the thirteenth century.[87]

Evidence suggests that Rutland suffered equally as much as the surrounding counties during the Black Death. Outlying settlements were deserted and agriculture centred on the pastoral valleys and the richer arable uplands. From this period onwards the maintenance of the ancient royal hunting Forest of Rutland was in decline, although large parts of Rutland were still subject to forest law during the mediaeval period.[88] Oakham emerged as the county town with its castle being the centre of local administration and justice.[89] The 'Battle' of Losecote Field was fought briefly in 1470 at Empingham by Edward IV during the Wars of the Roses against Lincolnshire rebels supporting the cause of Warwick and Clarence.[90]

Rutland returned two Knights of the Shire to Parliament throughout the mediaeval period and beyond up until 1888.[91] The sixteenth century saw the dissolution of some of the small religious houses in the county and some degree of unrest with early enclosures. This

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[84] A. Campbell (ed.), *The Chronicle of Aethelweard* (London, 1962), p. 51.

[85] Cox, *Place Names*, p. xxxvii.

[86] W. Page (ed.), 'Political History' *Victoria History of the Counties of England, Rutland* (London, 1908), pp. 167-8.

[87] F. and C. Thorn, *Rutland,* < https:/hydra.hull.ac.uk/assets/hull:516/content > (2007) [accessed 10 June 2016].

[88] L. Cantor, 'The Mediaeval Hunting Grounds of Rutland', *Rutland Record* 1 (1980), pp. 13-18.

[89] *VCH* 1(1908), p.170.

[90] P. Haigh, *'… Where both the hosts fought…' The Rebellions of 1469 – 1470 and the Battles of Edgecote and Lose-cote Field* (Heckmondwike, 1997).

[91] A single member constituency represented the county until 1918 when it was joined with Stamford, an arrangement which continued to 1983 when it was joined with Melton Borough in a new Leicestershire constituency.

period also saw the emergence of the Cecil and Noel families and the beginnings of the growth of their property holdings within Rutland.[92]

The seventeenth century period of civil war saw Rutland largely governed by committee on behalf of Parliament with a small garrison at Burley as a satellite of a larger centre of local administration at Rockingham Castle just across the Rutland border. Local royalist families such as the Noels, Heaths, and Bodenhams were largely driven from the county which was subject to raids from the royalist garrison at Belvoir Castle.[93] The Restoration saw the consolidation of power locally by the Noel family, and the advent of the Finch family in the county, after Daniel Finch purchased the ruins of Burley on the Hill from the Villiers family and built a Palladian mansion with dominating vistas of the Vale of Catmose in its stead.[94]

Landownership became centred on the families of Noel (Exton), Finch (Burley), Cecil (Burghley House, Stamford). They were joined in the political ascendancy by the Heathcotes of Normanton during the eighteenth century after the London banker, merchant and former Lord Mayor, Sir Gilbert Heathcote purchased the Normanton estate in 1729. The eighteenth century saw the county community, still a gentry community, consolidated around the governing interests of these families together with their client squirearchy in the smaller estates across the county. The explanation of the transfer of power away from these families towards a broader more socially inclusive county community in a democratic age forms a large part of this thesis.

Rutland was one of the historic English counties maintaining an independent local government structure after the Local Government Act of 1888. Rutland County Council had three rural district councils and one urban district Council within its area until the Heath/Walker reforms abolished both these and Rutland County Council in 1974. Rutland retained its own district council in the years of occupation by Leicestershire between 1974-97. It had been suggested that Rutland be split between its neighbouring counties but retained the battle to remain intact as a district within Leicestershire. In 1997 after a campaign of agitation by the local community Rutland regained its 'independence' in local government by gaining status as a unitary district council in the local government reforms of that decade.

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[92] B. Matthews, *The Book of Rutland* (Buckingham, 1978) gives a readable synthesis of the development of Rutland's history in comparison to the more academic *VCH*.

[93] P. Scaysbrook, *The Civil War in Leicestershire and Rutland* (Banbury, 1977).

[94] Burley had been burnt to the ground in panic by fleeing parliamentary troops to prevent its capture by the royalists after the siege of Leicester in 1645.

Officially Rutland is Rutland County Council Unitary District Council, choosing to return to the county council name when the powers and responsibilities were returned to Rutland from Leicestershire. In everyday usage it is referred to as Rutland County Council (RCC), except by pedants and lawyers. The struggle by the Rutland community to maintain its county council which was a major factor in the post-war Rutland community brought the hitherto overlooked and unrecognised part of the rural East Midlands considerable attention during this period. Rutland became an iconic English rural community under threat from modernisation, a factor which further suggests why should be considered to be a suitable area for the testing of the thesis of a renewed county community.

Rutland: topography and transport

Rutland is the smallest of the English Midland shire counties, measuring just 18 miles north to south and 17 miles east to west, having a 75 mile boundary enclosing just 147 square miles of largely good quality agricultural land (Figure I.2). Comprising 56 villages and hamlets including two market towns, it is the smallest unitary district by area in mainland England. It borders Leicestershire to the west and north, Lincolnshire to the north east and Northamptonshire to the south. The former soke of Peterborough and county of Huntingdonshire lay just beyond the Rutland borders across Burghley Park. They are now deemed to be within Cambridgeshire.

The Northamptonshire ironstone and Lincolnshire limestone belts pass through Rutland, giving characteristic colour and style to vernacular building, particularly that of the widely lauded local churches. The highest point in Rutland is 646 feet above sea level at Flitteris on the western boundary and the lowest 56 feet at Belmesthorpe on the boundary with Lincolnshire.

> [These heights] sound trivial, yet in reality they give everywhere the sense of enormous distances and of oceans of fresh air flowing over them. So though Rutland looks crushed on the map between its larger neighbours, it gives one in fact a sense of space almost everywhere, and curiously, too, a sense of its own particular identity.[95]

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[95] W. Hoskins, *Rutland: A Shell Guide* (London, 1963), p.7.

Rutland is home to the Cottesmore Hunt, and with its largely stone built villages, impressive churches and extensive agricultural interests, its cultural landscape has been described as 'farming and foxes under God'.[96]

Figure I.2: *Rutland: The Geographical Context*

Source: By Nilfanion - Ordnance Survey OpenData:County boundaries and GB coastline National Geospatial-Intelligence AgencyIrish, French and Isle of Man coastlines, Lough Neagh and Irish border, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=12131918.

An assessment conducted on behalf of Rutland County Council found that Rutland comprised five landscape types: High Rutland; Welland Valley; Vale of Catmose; Rutland Water basin,

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[96] In 1959 Mr. H.T. Skins remembered the days when villagers were expected to 'go to church and vote Tory'. 'Smallest Shire Stands Firm', *The Times,* 13 March 1959.

and the Rutland Plateau.[97] The pastoral landscape of the fertile Welland valley forms a natural southern boundary with Northamptonshire. Rutland has light well-drained limestone soils on to the east and north bordering Stamford and Lincolnshire, and heavy clays and scattered villages and lodges of the former forest area to the west bordering Leicestershire. In between, folding and alternating east flowing river valleys and uplands are crossed by once important north-south drift roads and the still important Great North Road (A1).[98]

The Great North Road together with other north-south and east-west ridgeway routes bisecting the county were crucial to Rutland's economic development. Improvements have been made to the A1 (Stamford bypass, 1961) as well as to the A47 (culminating in the Uppingham bypass, 1982). Oakham on the A606 was eventually bypassed in 2007, after 40 years of agitation. It was one of the first major achievements of the new Rutland County Council. The construction of Rutland Water itself instigated major road improvements on the A606. Oakham regained a direct rail connection with London via Corby in 2000. In an earlier era, the coming of the railways in the latter half of the nineteenth century reformulated trade routes and reinvigorated the local economy, encouraging trade and migration into and out of the county.

Rutland: population

The population of the Rutland is around 40,000, 97 per cent of which are 'white'.[99] The population had risen 8 per cent between 2001 and 2011. But with a population density of 260 per square mile Rutland is one of the least populated areas of the East Midlands. Rutland population had remained near 20,000 since the beginning of the twentieth century. The National Census of 1951 showed that out of a population of 20,537 in Rutland just under half, 8,666, were born with in the county.[100] The remaining population originated from all over the United Kingdom and abroad. Of this remainder unsurprisingly Rutland's neighbouring

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[97] D. Tyldesley & Associates, *Rutland Landscape Character Assessment* (Nottingham, 2003). Landscape analysis through character mapping has been heavily criticised within the region for its neglect of facets of the historical landscape. J. Finch, 'Wider famed countries", historic landscape characterisation in the Midland shires', *Landscapes* 2 (2007), pp. 50–63.

[98] Many would consider the Chater, Guash, Glen, Eyebrook and their tributaries as streams but in Rutland they are considered 'Rivers'. They all flow into the River Welland on Rutland's southern boundary.

[99] Census 2011 gives a population total of 37,369. RCC Economic Development Department, *Key Statistical Data* (Oakham, November 2016).

[100] The 1951 census totals of Rutland population included 1802 living in defence establishments created immediately before and during the Second World War (RAF Cottesmore and RAF North Luffenham). These 'resident aliens' comprised just under 9% of the county's population, an insignificant figure in percentage terms but perhaps less relevant in a discussion about cultural homogeneity.

counties claimed the highest numbers of Rutlanders born within their boundaries. It is perhaps notable though that despite the association with Leicestershire made increasingly by central administration and popular literature, the county with the most immigrants to Rutland was in fact Lincolnshire with 2,227 Rutlanders born within its three divisions. 1,425 Rutlanders were born within Leicestershire and 927 within Northamptonshire. As a point of comparison Rutlanders born in other counties were measured in their dozens and low hundreds. London with 649 and Yorkshire with 602 had the highest of the totals of the other counties/areas.[101]

The census data demonstrates that Rutland's population had doubled within the last 70 years. This movement was principally by mass immigration which has dramatically affected county society. Drawn in part by the attraction of Rutland's countryside, these new migrants reinvigorated declining villages investing wealth into both the restoration of village buildings and village and county culture. In 2016 Rutland rated 149/152 of the upper tier local authorities and 301/326 of all local authorities, by rate of average score in indices of deprivation.[102] Culturally Rutland is more diverse with the former village populations becoming eclipsed by incomers. The incomers have reinforced the political conservatism of county society, Rutland having elected a Conservative MP since 1885. In other ways Rutland has developed a more cosmopolitan culture. Rutland has 21 outlets whose principal product is ethnic food and 5 coffee shops. However, allegedly Rutland is the only county in England not to possess a McDonald's fast food 'restaurant'.

The 1911 Census of Rutland recorded 2378 individuals employed in domestic service, including 1533 women; 2521 in agriculture (including 105 women); 690 involved in conveyance including 448 on the railways; 227 involved in quarrying, including 15 lime-burners and 15 coal and coke dealers; 502 people involved in the building industry and its allied trades and 620 who derived their occupation from the supply of food, drink and lodging.[103]

Since then employment on the railways and in quarrying has largely gone. Industry has developed a muted presence within Rutland being most apparent at the cement works at Ketton started during the interwar period, and with small engineering-based industry centred

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[101] General Register Office, *Census 1951 England and Wales County Report Lincolnshire and Rutland* (London, 1955) p.104-5. Table 19 Birthplaces and Nationalities of all population.

[102] RCC, *Key Statistical Data* p.20.

[103] *Census of England and Wales. 1911. Counties of Northampton and Rutland. Area, Families or separate occupiers and population; also population classified by ages, condition as to marriage, occupations, tenements, birthplaces, and infirmities.* (London, 1914), Table 9, p.16.

on Rutland's old market towns of Oakham and Uppingham. Both these towns are famous for their public schools, established from the old county grammar schools during the nineteenth century. Stamford, immediately to the east of Rutland but within Lincolnshire, is a larger market town including eastern Rutland within its hinterland. Despite the large influx of an immigrant population it was found that 60 per cent of Rutland's 'commuters' travelled to work within the county.[104]

1n 2016 it was estimated that out of 14,000 employee jobs 2,250 were in manufacturing, the same number in trade, and 2,500 employed in education. The numbers employed in agriculture were so low that they did not feature in the official statistics.[105] This dramatic change in Rutland's economy has had an equally dramatic effect in the county community. Most of Rutland's modern population lives a life devoid of any connection with agriculture or the pastoral traditions which formed the previous county culture. Rutland's agricultural and hunting heritage is largely consigned, recorded and preserved in the county museum,

Hospitality and other tourist related activities have become an important part of the local economy since the construction of Rutland Water, Europe's largest man-made reservoir in the 1970s.[106] The creation of Rutland Water reasserted the importance of nature and the natural environment to the identity of Rutland's rural culture. This may be considered ironic considering the reservoir was an artificial construction which imported much of the water and wildlife, notably the Rutland ospreys, from elsewhere. Rutland is typical of an area where the 'countryside' is seen as a leisure resource: a land-based product to be harvested and consumed by tourists and visitors.

Given the dramatic social change Rutland has undergone since the First World War, it is a highly suitable place to use as a laboratory in which to test the practical resilience of the concept of a county community, and how it has survived, adapted and thrives into the twenty

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[104] RCC, *Key Statistical Data* (2016), p.27.

[105] Ibid. p.22. 'This is probably because numbers employed in agriculture no longer tend to be economically significant. A lot of the work in Rutland tends to be contracted out by farmers to sub-contractors and hence are not recorded as FTEs under agriculture. As Rutland is mainly arable farming the employment rate per farm tends to be very low. The previous key employment stats in 2010 show them as being below 200. [RCC] appear to have used NOMIS data:< https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/lmp/la/1946157132/printable.aspx> [accessed 22 March 2017]. Agriculture is also missing from their stats but there is a footnote on the NOMIS page referencing this: "Notes: % is a proportion of total employee jobs excluding farm-based agriculture. Employee jobs excludes self-employed, government-supported trainees and HM Forces. Data excludes farm-based agriculture". E-mail from James Friesland, RCC Economic Development, to author 20 March 2017.

[106] RCC estimated that 1,500 jobs were involved in the accommodation and food service industry in 2016. RCC, *Key Statistics Data* (2016), p.20.

first-century. In 2012 a report from the Office of National Statistics found Rutland to be the 'happiest county' in the mainland UK.[107] In Rutland, community still matters, a sense of belonging unites a county community and invigorates quality-of-life in a transformed English countryside. How this came about, how the county community was changed from an oligarchic gentry structure into a broader based, socially more inclusive community is at the centre of this work.

Rutland: a modern county community? The key questions

This thesis aims to answer a number of key questions concerning the development of Rutland as a county community in the modern age. First, how the county community developed within Rutland and what was its significance. Secondly, what were the key factors involved in this evolution of the imagined county community? This will involve a look at the instigators of change within Rutland and whether that change was structural/institutional, cultural, economic and political/democratic. It will look at whether change was imposed by external factors or developed due to internal causes. Particular reference will be made to local leadership within the county. This thesis will focus on selected areas of the culture, economy and governance more than others because of their significance to the development of the county community. This will be commented on within the relevant chapters.

Thirdly, this research will consider whether the county increased in importance within the modern period, or diminished in terms of sense of belonging and why this might be so. This will involve consideration of possible conflicting affiliations to a communal sense of belonging. Fourthly, the question of what Rutland as a county represented to whom and why places the imagined community, and differing representations of Rutland, at the centre of the exploration of community identity and this thesis.

Finally, and in conclusion, this thesis aims to answer the question whether we can use the concept of the county community to understand modern structures of belonging and identity within the English rural hinterland. This conclusion may provide evidence in the continuing 'somewhere/anywhere' debate in wider British, European and geo-global politics as outlined by David Goodhart as this thesis was being finalised.[108]

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[107] < http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105160709/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/wellbeing/ measuring-subjective-wellbeing-in-the-uk/first-annual-ons-experimental-subjective-well-being-results/first-ons-annual-experimental-subjective-well-being-results.html > [accessed 14 June 2016].

[108] D. Goodhart, *The Road to Somewhere* (London, 2017).

Sources and Methods

In many senses by trying to plot a sense of belonging we are chasing the intangible in political history. There are few cases where opinion on identity has been measured in quantifiable scientific terms within Rutland's past. The major exception is opinion polling during the years of struggle for independence which provided some direct tangible proof of a sense of belonging within the county community. Evidence of popular support for the independence campaigns to retain Rutland's local government identity also figures highly in this thesis.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when democratic participation was not as widespread, a sense of belonging in the evolving county community is often implied but not quantified in the documentary record. After local government reform the archive official record becomes more substantial both centrally and locally. However these dry records of decisions made often do not include any substance of the preliminary discussion or indeed the voting patterns in the decisions taken. The official minute books and Whitehall correspondence have proven to be a blunt weapon in discerning and evaluating the nature of affiliation and the sense of belonging.

Estate records, including personal correspondence, while at times proving useful and evidential, either have largely not survived or been quite selectively deposited in archives for the modern period. Substantial official records such as those relating to the Rutland Quarter Sessions and many police records were destroyed as a result of "paper salvage" during the Second World War. Particular published reports such as those relating to the Rutland Education Department, political parties and other societies and organisations, where they have survived and been archived have proved to be very useful. The most helpful archive in this respect has proved to be that of the Rutland Rural Community Council (RRCC).

Contemporary press reports both local and national but principally those of the *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury* (LRSM) and *Grantham Journal* (GJ), have proved illuminating in providing evidence of the feelings aroused by issues at the time, evidence that has not necessarily been found in the arid archives of the official record. This is particularly so concerning the Rutland independence struggles and the controversy surrounding the construction and naming of Rutland Water.

There are few relevant biographies published but some have been used together with published obituaries. This thesis uses supplementary first-hand reminiscences and records, documented and published and in some cases verbally assured and volunteered to the author

on a non-attributable basis. This has been reassuringly useful, particularly as concept of affiliation can remain elusive and largely unmeasurable compared with the concept of participation which can be measured in memberships, voting records and recorded attendance.

Census, Parliamentary and other reports from central government have likewise been examined for evidence to support the arguments. It is however in the more ephemeral literature, where it has survived in diaries, scrapbooks and archived election material to mention but three examples, which has proved to be of great use. These were, and remain, difficult to track down and were often found by accident. Ephemeral tourist literature has been substantially used in the chapters concerning the representation of the county and in particular that of Rutland Water.

Contingent upon the use of documentary sources is the consideration given to artistic and photographic representation and the creation and preservation of artefacts as part of county imagery. Secondary literature, historical, topographical and more generally concerning Rutland has been sourced and included where relevant. The publications of the Rutland Archaeological and Natural History Society (RANHS) and the Rutland Local History and Record Society (RLHRS), and its predecessors the Rutland Local History Society (RLHS) and Rutland Record Society (RRS) provided crucial first-hand source material as well as substantial commentary.

New media, radio, film and television archives have been used to support more traditional documentary sources. In some cases it has not proved necessary to examine complete archives, for example those concerning Rutland's military tradition, in order to extract sufficient material to justify conclusions reached on tangential aspects of particular elements of Rutland's county community. Selectivity has proven to be the key, given the constraints of time and length. A more substantial, wide-ranging and detailed study of subjects and areas covered in this thesis is certainly possible. However this thesis remains in most cases the first attempt to bring much of the primary source material out of the archive and place it in context with analytical commentary.

Thesis structure

Issues such as elective belonging, perceived loss of identity, and the importance of tradition in the debate over rural transformation, are difficult to quantify and appreciate, as, at times are other differing perceptions of county identity. The question remains how to gain a better understanding of the county as a dynamic community with spatial form and evolving

expressions of power. In following the lead of Ruth Liepins it is possible to reconceptualise the county community by considering material, political and cultural dimensions, territorial and imagined of the community.[109] Liepins defines community as having four elements: people, meanings, practices, space/structures, the governing element of which is concerned with sharing experience and interest. Communities practised through everyday life via the medium of direct communication (meetings, exchanging goods, services) and indirect communication (media). Liepins distinguishes between territorial place-based communities and imagined communities. In this study, Rutland can be viewed as both and both are taken into consideration.

This thesis encompasses 10 chapters across three themed areas: culture, society/economy and governance. In the first chapter consideration will be given to artistic representation of the county in both elite and popular as well as symbolic art and iconography. Special reference will be made to the use of the horseshoe as an identifying county symbol. The chapter will move on to consider whether Rutland has developed a literature of identity in books, articles and other printed matter. Particular mention will be given to trade directories and tourist-orientated literature. Topographical literature, particularly that authored and influenced by W.G. Hoskins, will form a major part of this section. Attention will be focused on the role of the local press in forming a cohesive horizontal community. Other media representations of Rutland on film, radio and television will be included before analysis of two critical representations of Rutland as a county conclude the chapter.

Two cultural topic areas have been excluded from the first chapter for consideration in their own right due to their importance to the cultural representation of Rutland as a county community. The examination of the imagined community of Rutland as a 'hunting shire' involves both a theme in representation and an historical narrative of how the sport developed within Rutland. An attempt will be made to answer the question 'how representative was hunting as an interest and concern of the whole community?' The development of the study of local history and appreciation of local heritage within the county forms the third chapter. This will focus on the question of whose history was being recorded and preserved. It will plot a movement towards a more democratic, holistic approach to community history which coincided with the expansion of the county community.

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[109] Liepins M., 'New Energies for an Old Idea: Reworking Approaches to "Community" in Contemporary Rural Studies', *Journal of Rural Studies,* 16 (2000).

The cultural section concludes with a chapter bringing together elements of associative and elective culture within Rutland. The growth of county-based societies and associations could be said to reflect a more cohesive commercial, leisure and administrative community across the county. A number of these associations will be examined, particularly that of the Rutland Agricultural Society and the formation of a 'County show'. The association by Ruddles brewery with its home county in the promotion of its products will be considered. Rutland's military tradition, particular that of its elective territorial forces, will also form an important element in the study of county associations.

The economic section of the thesis is explored in chapter 5 which will consider how surrounding market towns could take Rutland as part of their hinterland, and how, if at all, Rutland could readily identify with these economic centres. This chapter on competing affiliations to the county construct, while fore-fronting economic factors, also will include consideration of a regional and provincial identity and Rutland's position within the East Midlands. The chapter on Rutland Water, although in the economic section, crosses all themes considered in this thesis. While focusing on the considerable economic and social change the reservoir brought to Rutland after its construction, the political significance surrounding its construction, naming and the issues concerning planning and exploitation will be emphasised. This chapter will conclude with a section on the emergence of Normanton church as a cultural icon for the county.

Chapter 7 will return to the issue of representation and imagined communities. It draws from the discussion of previous chapters to consider the socio-economic implications of Rutland and the rural: Rutland as deep England. It will consider how Rutland has been represented and imagined as part of rural idyll, a contingent part of the national identity, deeply ingrained in the national psyche. It will look at socio-economic change in the Rutland community and will conclude with some observations about the development of a virtual community.

The final two chapters will comprise a section on Rutland's governance. They consider Rutland's county administration from a cultural perspective. It will be argued that there was a parallel growth in county government both as an agency of central government and as a representation of the local community. It will examine cultures of engagement, participation and affiliation within the various structures of government as much as the wider Rutland community. Due consideration will be given to how the structures of government within Rutland developed over the last 200 years. An analysis will be undertaken of the representative nature of both the traditional institutions of county government as well as that

of Rutland County Council. Evidence will be sought for a more democratic, participatory and representative culture as well as for the County Council's role as governor, enabler and facilitator of community development. As a comparison the work of Rutland Rural Community Council will be outlined over the same period.

The penultimate chapter will focus upon post-war social change in Rutland and the response of the County Council to it. Inevitably the struggle by the County Council to maintain its existence throughout this period will figure highly in the analysis and discussion. The importance of the 'independence struggle' as a galvanising factor bringing the county community together is the overarching theme of this chapter which will lead on to a last chapter containing my conclusions.

SECTION 1

The Cultural Representation of Rutland as a County Community: an introduction

The first section of this thesis considers the role of cultural representation in the development of Rutland as a county community. It asks the fundamental question how art, literature and performance enhanced Rutland's image, or indeed created a representation of it, 'an imagined community'. Assuming some diversity in these imaginings, it looks at how significant they were to the county and how dependent they were on the cultural agents involved. The underlying question here is whether these representations bolstered an existing county community or helped create one in their own image.

As previously stated hunting is considered in a separate chapter due to the resilience of its imagery and representation in county imagery during the modern age. The development of perception, study and interest in local history is likewise considered separately based upon an assumption that perception of heritage (in this context largely self-perception), is crucial to the development of community. It will be asserted that a sense of its own past is a fundamental part of the identity of the county community. The crucial factors here will be how local heritage has been represented in literature and how inclusive a conception of the county community has been imagined in local histories and their representation.

It is proposed in this thesis that one of the ways in which the success of Rutland as a construct can be measured is in the success of societies and associations within the county, taking its name as the defining parameter of their organisation. A consideration of this associative and elective part of county culture concludes this section.

CHAPTER 1

The Literary and Visual Construction of Rutland

This thesis is centred on the premise that the County Community, a conceptual model more usually applied to the seventeenth century, can be translated the modern era and prove utility in the understanding of the evolution of a modern English rural community. In order to do these additional cultural factors, over and beyond the consideration of the production of county histories considered as part of the seventeenth century county community debate, must be considered.[1]

It is conjectured that art could play an important role in cultural reinforcement of community identity. As well as the more traditional forms of drawn, painted, printed and sculpted representational and symbolic art, other artistic forms may be considered. These could include architecture, planning, music, drama and recreational arts including sport.

Architecture and landscape planning (as a form of imposed artistic governance) are vast subjects, but our subjects that prove tangential to the issue of *county* identity. Local building materials thatch, locally quarried limestone and ironstone and Collyweston slate provide a visual and physical reminder of an at times distinctive culture of building relating to the *area* but it is not one defined by the *county* boundary.[2] Rutland sits on the limestone belt diagonally crossing England from the Cotswolds to the Humber, indeed Rutland has been characterised as being in building terms a kind of northern Cotswolds.[3] Local building materials and styles figure highly in twentieth century topographical literature concerning Rutland. The culture of stone quarrying and its use as a building material is important to a local socio-economic culture but not one distinctively or entirely related to Rutland alone. Although built heritage and its artistic planning and representation, adds to the county identity, it is not exclusive to Rutland. It is considered within the discussion on topographical literature and in particular the chapter on Rutland Water has a more detailed discussion on the role of planning in the maintenance of the county identity. Also within that chapter is a

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[1] J. Broadway, *No Historie So Meete Gentry Culture and the Development of Local History in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Manchester, 2012).

[2] K. Hudson, *The Fashionable Stone* (Bath, 1971); LCC, *The Local Tradition* (Leicester, 1975); J. Best, S. Parker, C. Prickett, *Using the Environment 6,The Lincolnshire Limestone (a) Quarries – Weldon and Ketton* (Northampton 1978); D.S. Sutherland, *Northamptonshire Stone* (Stanbridge, 2003). S. Jones, *The Village Homes of England* (London, 1912)

[3] H. J. Massingham, *The Face of Britain, Cotswold Country: A Survey of Limestone England from the Dorset Coast to Lincolnshire* (London, 1949).

detailed consideration of Normanton Church as a symbolic if not iconic architectural representation of Rutland itself.

Again, in terms of cultural differentiation, Rutland does not have a distinct tradition in either music or drama that is exclusive to the county itself. In terms of traditional culture, mummer's plays have survived and the revived Morris men have in turn revived the plays in recent years.[4] Metropolitan influences flowing up the Great North Road, through Stamford and under the benevolence and patronage of local gentry extended 'culture' into Rutland. However, allowing for local difference, this can also be said of much of provincial England. It is probable that Shakespeare's players first performed Twelfth Night at Burley and Handel performed for the Noel family and friends at Exton.[5] Travelling theatre groups performed in the local towns supplementing the performances of Stamford Theatre.[6] During the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, both Oakham and Uppingham Schools, small town Elizabethan grammar schools transformed into 'public schools', attracted, exhibited and performed art and culture to the area. Uppingham School in particular attracted well-known artists and musicians to perform in the school and town.[7] Both Oakham and Uppingham have town theatres, performance spaces and sports centres open to the local population due to the cultural endeavours of their respective public schools. However in terms of the formation of the distinctive county culture much the same could be said other and market towns such as Oundle across the Northamptonshire border. Rutland Rural Community Council (RRRC) did much to encourage and promote culture in particular music and performance art during the mid-years of the last century. This is discussed elsewhere in this thesis.

Recreational culture, as it existed, revolved around cultural 'pastimes' of the village. Feast days, May Day festivities and Plough Monday celebrations recorded in Rutland and now largely disappeared with the agricultural culture can never have been described as a distinctive Rutland county tradition being found across much of the agricultural East

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[4] E. Cawte, "*In Comes I" An introductory leaflet to the Mummers Play* (London, 1972).

[5] G. Ungerer, 'Shakespeare in Rutland', *Rutland Record* 7 (1987), pp.242-7; J. Clark, ' Exton and the Noel Family', *Rutland Record* 19 (1999), pp.382-99.

[6] F. Hance, *Stamford Theatre and Stamford Racecourse* (Stamford, 1970).

[7] B. Matthews, *By God's Grace… A History of Uppingham School* (Maidstone, 1984). R. Sterndale-Bennett taught music there and Charles Rossiter and A.W. Rissik, art. The school sponsored an educational 'Mutual Improvement Society' in the town as well as a series of 'Uppingham Concerts' with important orchestras and performers. Architecturally this school contributes a collegiate atmosphere to the town with buildings designed by notable architects such as G.E. Street, T. Jackson and Piers Gough.

Midlands.[8] With the closing of many public houses county whist and domino leagues have declined. Quoits, once a particular feature of Rutland village culture with quoits beds in many villages has disappeared from the county, to be replaced in a few instances by *petanque,* by bourgeois incomers. Rutland's other sporting traditions such as cricket are mentioned in the chapter on associative culture having a subsidiary influence on county culture, but which in themselves cannot be said to be distinctive of Rutland. The exception to this is that of hunting which due to its importance in the socio-economic and landscape development and the, projection and representation of Rutland is considered in a separate chapter.

Having discounted much of local art and culture as being distinctive to a *county* culture it is necessary to extend the discussion of literature to include genres of modern media pertinent to the county identity. For this reason radio and television are considered along with printed media and topographical and other forms of literature.

Historical literature is considered separately in a chapter on heritage being more supplementary and providing more evidence under that subject heading which is important in the direction of the thesis. After a brief consideration of genres of literature, longer analysis is given to topographical literature particularly that concerned with the propagation of Rutland as part of the rural idyll. The importance of W.G. Hoskins and his writings on Rutland are noted in this respect. Analysis is given to the ambiguous identity of Rutland in the local press and the successive failures of county magazines. An important element of this chapter is the section on the marketing and commodification of Rutland as a separate community area with a distinct identity for the purposes of tourism through both literature and media. After a study of representations of Rutland on radio and television, the chapter concludes with a critical analysis of two negative literary imaginings of Rutland as a community.

Within these preselected areas of study it is necessary to ask the key question of whether the art and literature under consideration supports the contention that Rutland had and has a separate identity within the English East Midlands forming a distinct county community.

Cultural and Symbolic Representation of Rutland in Art

The propagation of original art representing the Rutland landscape, has never been extensive. That which exists in original form, or in reproduction, tends to reinforce the bucolic idyll of the English shires. Landscape studies have largely centred on hunting scenes, with the

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[8] R. Palmer, *The Folklore of Leicestershire and Rutland* (Wymondham, 1985).

Cottesmore Hunt as a seemingly organic part of the landscape. Exceptions to this would be Edward Seago's 'Gwash valley' or the modern landscape art of John Piper and Rigby Graham which focused on particular landscape features (Figure 1.1). Rutland's public schools attracted artists to the county and in the years following 1974, local artist Alan Oliver led a revival in the sale, exhibition and reproduction of Rutland landscape art.[9]

Figure 1.1: *'The Gwash Valley Rutland, 1952' Edward Seago*

The valley before the construction of Rutland Water.

Source: unattributed printer, author's collection. Estate of Edward Seago.

Earlier artistic depictions of Rutland focused on the great country houses of Burley, Exton and Normanton. These were considered within the context of their park environs and were produced as engraved illustrations to topographical books in the early nineteenth century (Figure 1.2). The amateur drawings of Alice Wilkins or architectural depictions of Edward Blore of Rutland churches come closer to providing and identifying a county legacy in art, but these were not widely seen and so cannot be considered as reinforcing county identity. Art, whether done for pleasure or subscription, has been a rather private and elitist activity, not widely propagated and so it cannot be seen as a major instigator in the reinforcement of county identity outside that of the cultural elite.

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[9] Oliver produced two successful books: A. Oliver, *A Sketchbook of English Landscape* (Wymondham, 1985); A. Oliver, *Alan Oliver's Sketchbook of Rutland* (Oakham, 1992). These two publications were part of the resurgence of locally produced Rutland literature published in the years leading up to independence.

Figure 1.2: *Burley on the Hill*

An early nineteenth-century illustration combining three essential elements of the artistic representation of Rutland: Country houses, hunting and pastoral landscape.

Source: T. Allom, T. Neale and T. Rose, *The Counties of Chester Derby Nottingham Leicester Rutland and Lincoln* (London, 1836).

It was the democratisation of art in terms of mass reproduction and widespread distribution that allowed topographical imagery to reinforce a cultural identity. The principal medium for this within the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the popularity of photographic representation of topographical scenes through picture postcards. A picture postcard could reaffirm the geographical location of the sender as a visitor or as a resident. Those depicting local scenes quickly became part of the iconography of the county, providing pictorial representations of the physical background to the county community. They reinforced a sense of Rutland's past in an historic environment through the mediation of the photographer's lens. They were primarily of buildings and street scenes with individuals subsumed into the background or posed in the foreground as incidental ornaments to the main picture. There were, however, some exceptions to this trend.

Figure 1.3: *Hambleton, a postcard by S.C.Cooke*

Egleton Road Hambleton, animated Rutland landscape scene.

Source: author's collection.

S. C. Cooke, keen photographer and schoolmaster at Hambleton, produced a series of animated postcards depicting farming life in the years before the First World War. Although heavily posed and arranged, they were representative of some truth in the rural idyll (Figure 1.3). Andrew Jenkins has located 23 small-scale publishers active, even if briefly, within Rutland during the first 20 years of the twentieth century.[10] Some such as Dolby's of Stamford and Stocks of Uppingham covered a wider area but firms with a regional and national coverage eventually came to dominate the market.

The picture postcard made some local scenes readily identifiable with the area. Burley on the Hill overlooking the Vale of Catmose has been much reproduced in postcard form and is widely recognised as an important visual element of iconic Rutland. It is a noticeable feature from the main roads in the vale. Exton Park and Normanton Park were less well reproduced possibly for the reason that they were less visually accessible in real life. The dual identity of Uppingham, both 'town and gown', was reflected in the many postcards produced of the school to cater for its captive market as well as visitors to the town. Oakham, the rail connected county town gained more visitors. A significant number of local postcards were devoted to the town: its castle and horseshoes; Market Place and Butter Cross (Figure 1.4). Photographic imagery elevated the depiction of the horseshoes at Oakham Castle to that

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[10] A. Jenkins, *Rutland A Portrait in Old Picture Postcards* (Seaford, 1993).

of an iconic representation widely recognised as symbolising the cultural identity of Rutland as a community (Figure 1.5).

Figure 1.4: *Oakham Butter Cross*

postcard produced by T.E.S.L.

Source: author's collection.

Figure 1.5: *Horseshoes on the wall of Oakham Castle*

Source: personal photograph, author's collection.
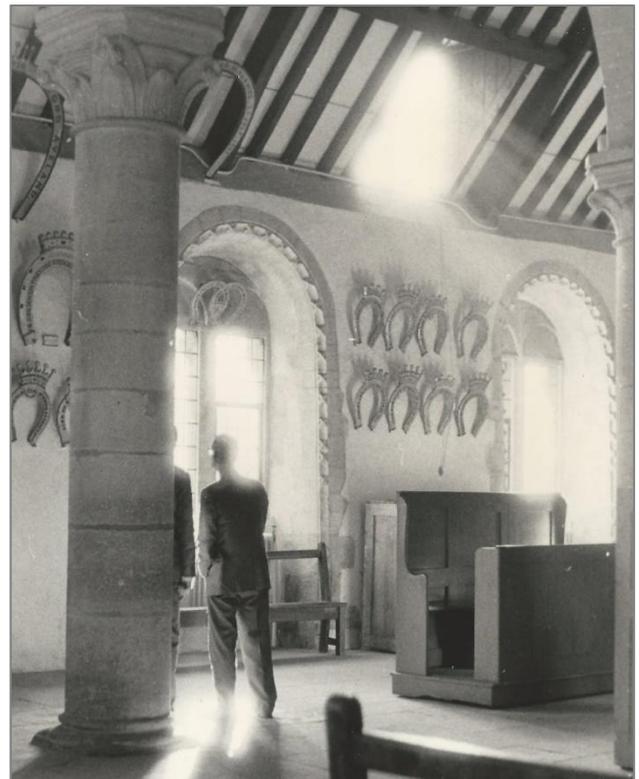
The Rutland Horseshoe

The horseshoe image is as much an iconic county image for Rutland as those of the red and white roses are for Lancashire and Yorkshire or the swords are for Essex. The horseshoe, with its long association with Oakham, had been used as the town badge since time immemorial. John Speed depicts it on his county map of 1611 as being a symbol for Oakham. Its origin probably lies in a punning wordplay with that of the name of Ferrers (farriers) the Norman lords of manor in Oakham and in the practice of visiting peers donating a horseshoe to the Castle at Oakham as a tribute. The first recorded horseshoe, still extant, was that given by Edward IV in 1471. In subsequent years these tributes became large and ornamental reproductions of horseshoes and were hung within the great hall of Oakham Castle.[11]

The extension of the horseshoe image, from being solely related to Oakham, then to being associated with Rutland as a whole, gradually took place up to the late nineteenth century. An interesting example of this is the horseshoe and the heraldic fretty design of the Harington and Noel families being incorporated on a shield for Rutland in the crested chinaware produced by Goss and other manufacturers during the later nineteenth century (Figure 1.6). These ornamental miniature novelties were widely distributed from gift shops and general retailers as souvenirs. With the growth of leisure travel it is estimated that 90% of domestic households possessed some such crested souvenir. Many hundreds of designs were produced with crests added according to the retailer's order. Crested ware carrying the seal of Uppingham School was widely produced for shops in the town.[12] In 1885 Rutland County Council adopted the horseshoe badge, thereby sanctioning its use as a county symbol (Figure 1.7). Famously a symbol of Ruddle's Brewery, it has been extensively used by commercial concerns operating from Rutland as well as civic, sporting and business organisations. It has proved to be a resilient icon of affiliation and community (Figure 1.8).

In 1950 as part of its campaign to retain Rutland as a county, Rutland County Council sought permission for, and was granted, a coat of arms by the College of Arms (Figure 1.9).[13] This coat of arms was used on all county stationery and on county boundary signs. Rutland's coat of arms incorporates the horseshoe and acorn symbols, the acorn symbolising the former Royal Forest, together with a motto: *multum in parvo* (much in little). This political

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[11] T. McK. Clough, *The Horseshoes of Oakham Castle* (Oakham, 1999).

[12] L. Pine, *Miller's Goss and Crested China: A Collector's Guide* (London, 2001), p. 6.

[13] C. W. Scott-Giles, *Civic Heraldry of England and Wales* (London, 1953).

marketing exercise by Rutland County Council bestowed political and cultural legitimacy on the county and its council.[14] In 1958 ORDC was granted its own coat of arms also incorporating the horseshoe and acorn symbols together with those representing the local economy (a bull standing on a rock) and symbols of the leading gentry families. Both Ketton and Uppingham Rural District Councils did not seek a coat of arms but used established badges. Rutland's horseshoe was incorporated into the coats of arms of Leicestershire County Council, Leicestershire Constabulary and the East Midlands Electricity Board after 1974. It was incorporated in the coat of arms for RAF Cottesmore, together with a hunting horn (Figure 1.10).

Figure 1.6: *Crested Goss ware souvenir tray*

A souvenir tray showing a horseshoe surmounting the shield for Oakham and the fretty design surmounting the shield for Rutland, made before the horseshoe became the widely accepted symbol for the county.

Source: author's collection

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[14] The grant of arms was transferred to Rutland District Council in 1974 and back to the re-formed County Council in 1997.

Figure 1.7: *Early uses of the horseshoe as a county symbol for Rutland*
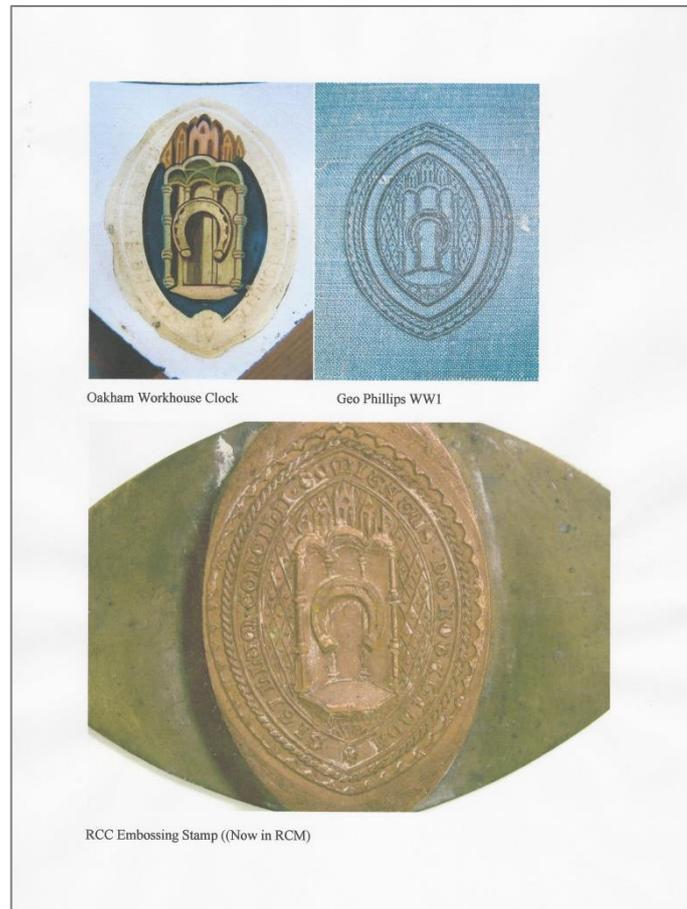
Rutland County Council Stamp (1885) derived from Oakham Workhouse Clock (1838) used by George Phillips (1920). Rutland Constabulary belt buckle (c 1870).

Source: RCM, Robert Ovens and author's collection.

Figure 1.8: *Examples of use of the horseshoe by Rutland businesses and cultural societies*

Rutland Caged Bird Society

The Bowman of Rutland

Rutland Dog Society

Rutland Sinfonia

Rutland Scouts

Uppingham Town Cricket Club

Rutland Horticultural Society

'Ketco' Ketton Cement (1934)
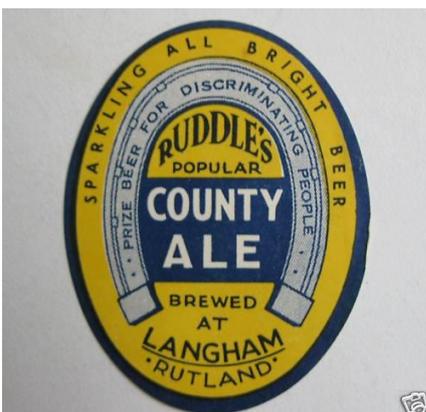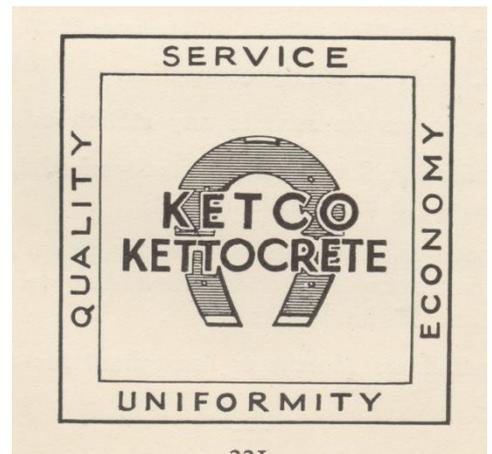
Ruddles Brewery. A 'County Ale' label from the 1950s

Source: author's collection.

Figure 1.9: *Rutland Coat of Arms, vested in Rutland County Council 1950*

Source: B. Matthews, *The Book of Rutland* (Buckingham, 1978), Charles Herbert (artist).

Figure 1.10: *Examples of Rutland imagery as a county symbol in official heraldry*

Oakham Rural District Council

Uppingham Town Council

Leicestershire Police

RAF Cottesmore

Source: *Oakham Rural District Council Guide* (1967); < http://www.leicesterprevent.co.uk/useful-websites/ >
[Accessed 31 March 2017]; < https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/RAF_Cottesmore > [Accessed 31 March 2017] and
author's collection.

Rutland: Towards a Literature of Identity

The practical and symbolic significance of trade directories

Trade directories, far from being just utilitarian listings, carried political and cultural information relating to the county districts and parishes. They gave legitimacy to the concept of a broader county community related to commerce and residency by listing individuals and businesses, other than those solely in the squirearchy. Local, as opposed to regional, directories listed most of the population of the towns and villages, street by street. The provincially published directories concentrated on prominent members of the community and local businesses. County information was given prominence and reinforced county identity. Some topographical information was also included to widen the appeal of these publications. National publishers such as Kelly and Wright produced provincial directories amalgamating counties. The most usual amalgamation locally was that of incorporating Leicestershire and Rutland within the same volume. This started with White's directory of 1846 and continued throughout much of the ensuing century.[15] More locally produced versions of national directories were also published as combined directories and almanacks. Matkin's (Oakham), Hawthorns (Uppingham) and Dolby's (Stamford) were local examples within Rutland of almanack/directories which also included a substantial amount of county information and topographical/historical articles.[16] Widely read and distributed, these functional publications reinforced a sense of county identity within the wider county community. Some were produced annually up until the Second World War. Due to the paper shortage and other wartime exigencies, both Kelly's and Matkin's directories ceased publication in 1941. They were not restarted after the war. Although Dolby's continued until the 1970s it was on a very much reduced scale and did not include Rutland information. Hawthorns had ceased annual publication many years before. The archival collation of *local* directories is very patchy so it is difficult to determine exactly when they began or ceased publication. For practical purposes they were superseded by the growth in telephone directories after the Second World War. Although very inconvenient to the local population, Rutland was divided into the Leicester and Peterborough postal/telecom regions. No Rutland county telephone directory was ever published.

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[15] W. White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Leicestershire, and the small County of Rutland; together with the adjacent towns of Grantham and Stamford; comprising General Surveys of both Counties and separate Historical, Statistical, and Topographical Descriptions of all their Hundreds, Towns, Parishes,...* (Sheffield, 1846).

[16] George Phillips wrote a number of articles for Matkin's Oakham Almanack, for example, 'Rutland in the Olden Time', *Matkin's Oakham Almanack, 1897*. For Phillips see Chapter 3.

Rutland: topographical literature and the imagined community

Early topographical literature concerning Rutland reinforced the image of a gentry community centred on great houses in a picturesque landscape. Historical elements, culled from Wright and Cox, reinforced this perception of a polite, bucolic county. Rutland had its own discrete sections in early nineteenth-century topographical works covering the whole country, such as Brayley and Britton (1807), Cooke, Dugdale (1819), and Moule (1839) among others.[17] Towards the end of the century, topographical journey descriptions began to appear on the popular market from general publishers, but they were very much based on the region or wider locality.[18] Nationally produced armchair and practical travellers' guides to the English counties included Rutland, in conjunction with a neighbouring county in one volume.[19] The most successful of these was *Highways and Byways of Northamptonshire and Rutland* (1918).[20] The tendency to group Rutland with Leicestershire, in literature if not in other matters, was not seen as the default position at this time.

A fair proportion of this literature was directional and descriptive and not necessarily overly enthusiastic about any distinctive particularity or identity to Rutland. Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Northamptonshire and Rutland*, first published in 1878, is rather dismissive.

> No very great space is required for all that need here be recorded of the smallest county in England … The county nowhere rises into lofty ground … and the only river of note is the Gwash … Rutland has no claim to be regarded as a picturesque county. The tourist in Rutland will hardly desire to do more than visit Oakham, perhaps Uppingham, and some of the principal churches. For Rutland nothing need be added to the information given in the several routes.[21]

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[17] E. W. Bayley & J. Britton, *Beauties of England and Wales* (London, 1807); G. A. Cooke, *Topographical and Statistical Description of the County of Rutland* (London, c1810). This small slim volume is noteworthy in that it appears to have been published as a separate part of a larger national series. This would make it the first publication dealing with Rutland on its own since Wright in 1684. J. Dugdale, *The New British Traveler: or Modern Panorama of England and Wales* (London, 1819); T. Moule, *The English Counties Delineated* (London, 1839).

[18] For example: J. A. Gotch, 'A Stroll by the Welland' in *The Builder*, 18 September 1886 (reprinted in *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*); J. S. Hissey, *Over Fen and Wold* (London, 1898); W. C. Boswell, *Along the Great North Road* (Norwich, 1939); A. Parr, *A Walk from Leicester to the East Coast and a few Thoughts, Delights and Impressions along the Way* (Leicester, 1915).

[19] *Black's Guide to the Counties of Leicester and Rutland* (Edinburgh, 1885) and A. Harvey & V. Crowther-Beynon, *The Little Guides: Leicestershire and Rutland* (London, 1912) being just two examples.

[20] H. A. Evans, *Highways and Byways in Northamptonshire and Rutland* (London, 1918).

[21] Murray, *Handbook for Northamptonshire and Rutland* (London, 1878).

Rutland was subsumed into some general appreciation of the Shire Midlands. In terms of the early modern tourist its main attractions was its ecclesiastical architecture, the collection of horseshoes at Oakham Castle and the picturesque views of Burley on the Hill and Normanton Park from their respective valleys. The audience for this literature was the leisured middle classes of Victorian England. Thus to most people Rutland was not well-known outside the world of foxhunting, ecclesiastical architecture and Victorian railway excursionists.

Rutland as 'countryside': depictions of the rural idyll

In the early twentieth century three factors can be discerned from Rutland's topographical literature. There was an increase in popular tourism from the surrounding areas coming into Rutland as a result of the railway and, latterly, by 'motoring'.[22] Secondly, interest in the area growing as a result of Rutland being one of the hunting shires, and lastly the growth in consideration of Rutland as being part of a romantic English rural idyll.

Before the boom in car ownership in the 1960s Rutland featured as a tourist attraction in periodicals aimed at rail users or early motorists.[23] These short articles echoed much of the armchair topography produced at the time and were lyrically appreciative of the Rutland landscape the county seemingly organically engendered. This literature was part of the cult of ruralism, one of the dominating traits in English culture and society during the mid-twentieth century, and has particular significance in Rutland.

Rutland was being closely related to an idealised version of rural England. Rutland, not a holiday destination in itself, benefited from excursion traffic at a time when the creative forces of the countryside were at their highest influence in British culture. Romantic evocations of the countryside appealing to the sentiment and nostalgia of the reader were readily available with the growth in literacy, and the increasing availability and affordability of books and journals. To the Rutlander, they reinforced a sense of being special, of having a rural identity grounded in the agricultural heritage of the countryside and buttressed by the proximity to nature that that identification brought. At the same time it gave credence to a

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[22] Murray's *Handbook* was the first publication concerning Rutland to focus on railway tourism.

[23] For example: W. H. Owens, 'Rutland for the Tourist', in W. Sharp (ed.), *LMS Magazine* 14 (September 1937), pp.426-7; 'In England's Smallest County, Rutland's Attraction for the Traveller', in F. J. Camm (ed.), *The Practical Motorist* 1 (4 August 1934), p. 489; F. Howell, 'Twenty-four Hours for Rutland', in C. Jennings (ed.), *The Motor,* 2661 (11 February 1953). For the significance of motoring literature see J. Minnis, 'A Lost Elysium? The Motor Car and England in the Interwar Years', *Local Historian* (October 2014), p. 270 and D. Jeremiah, 'Motoring and the British Countryside', *Rural History* 21 (2010), pp. 233–50.

special identity as being England's smallest county, proudly independent with its own sense of community and place.[24]

Florid topographical essays were redolent with praise and appreciation: 'The child of our counties'; *The King's England, Leicestershire and Rutland* (1937), was one of the first nationally produced publications concerning Rutland that attracted local attention. According to an Uppingham bookseller at the time it 'provided much of interest especially in regard to the illustrations', though these were modest by modern standards. Reprinted four times by 1947, it was however recognised locally that 'the text does not provide a great deal of detail and unfortunately is not always accurate.' [25] 'Rutland needs no poet to sing… Rutland changes only for the better, serene and tranquil, wrapped in a cloak of sweet content, she lives in rare simplicity in the heart of England.' [26] 'The leafy roads of Rutland, like the answer to an escapist's prayer';[27] 'If any American wanted to see such a humbly rich slice of England, rich in cattle, houses and customs and fields of corn, I should say: "Go to Rutland".'[28] 'The general air of pastoral prosperity and old feudal hunting, has given the people of Rutland that happy simplicity of nature, that essential calm philosophy, which makes them the pleasant, friendly rather shy people that they are.'[29] 'It is really quite surprising how Rutland has maintained her character.'[30]

The evocative depiction of Rutland as a rural idyll fomented by national publications found a distinct local echo. In 1953, an Uppingham printer published a travelogue by two sisters from Caldecott, journeying around the villages of Rutland, with their three dogs in a Morris Minor. *Just Rutland* proved to be a popular success, 'an impression of Rutland as Rutlanders see it'. It summarised 'the atmosphere of its placid countryside'.[31]

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[24] An early essay extolling Rutland's individuality can be found in T. W. Ditchfield, *The Counties of England, their Story and Antiquities* Vol. 2 (London, 1912), pp. 52–63.

[25] A. Mee (ed.), *The King's England, Leicestershire and Rutland* (London, 1937), p. 229; M. Fisher, 'Changes in Rutland', *LRSM* 23 August 1985.

[26] Mee, *Leicestershire and Rutland,* p. 231.

[27] D. Golding, *Home Ground: a Journey to the Heart of England* (London, 1949), p. 202.

[28] J. Wentworth Day, 'Rutland' in C. E. M. Joad (ed.), *The English Counties Illustrated* (London, c1955), p.305.

[29] Day, 'Rutland', p. 307.

[30] N. Wymer, *Wheatsheaf and Willow* (London, 1948), p. 202.

[31] J. & A. E. Stokes, *Just Rutland* (Uppingham, 1953), pp.11–12.

Hoskins' Rutland: an English Brigadoon?[32]

W. G. Hoskins, a lecturer at the University College of Leicester, wrote his booklet *Rutland* in 1949 as a companion volume to his *Touring Leicestershire*, published the previous year. Costing 2/-, well-illustrated with photographs, this brief guide and gazetteer was a commercial success. Fisher suggests that 'this must have been the first guide book to bring a real awareness of the delights of Rutland to the public at large'.[33]

> Rutland is a small part of England as she used to be before the Industrial Revolution – unspoiled, clean, full of fine buildings, of country smells and sounds, of sound arable farming with great stone barns, of neatness, order and natural good taste almost everywhere. No other county in England surpasses Rutland for unspoiled quiet charm; no other county, except perhaps Dorset, even rivals it as a whole. They say the best things come in small parcels: Rutland is both very small and very good…so rich in things that used to matter – fertile soil and fine building stone, woods for timber and game, and rivers for power and fish – that it was divided into more than fifty parishes, nearly every one with a handsome church, and a populous village, and most with a good manor-house built of the local stone. This compact richness is Rutland's most outstanding quality.[34]

Hoskins was engaged write to the *Shell Guide for Rutland*, at the time of Rutland's independence campaign in the early 1960s. With more space and editorial encouragement to indulge his enthusiasm Hoskins extolled the virtues of Rutland's villages and countryside. He describes Rutland as 'branch-line England' to be enjoyed at a leisurely pace, church crawling as a 'slow motorist' picnicking in churchyards. The book was a commercial, critical and political success. The new style photo-laminated jacket, with its symbols of Rutland's independence struggle on the cover, sold 987 copies within a fortnight of its publication and became the popular evocation of Rutland for a generation of locals and visitors alike (Figure 1.11).[35] Although the publishers stipulated 'a company policy instruction to avoid bias to either side', Hoskins' evocative depiction of Rutland as a landscape and community under

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[32] *Brigadoon* was a popular 1954 MGM film musical depicting an idyllic Scottish village which appeared from the mists every century, for only a day, so as to preserve the village and not let the outside world influence, change and destroy it.

[33] Fisher, 'Changes in Rutland'.

[34] W. G. Hoskins, *Rutland,* (Leicester, 1949), p.5.

[35] < http://www.shellguides.freeserve.co.uk/biblio.htm#Rutla63 > [accessed 13 February 2016].

threat made the book a seminal work, reinforcing the cultural identity of the Rutland county community at the time.[36]

Menig criticises Hoskins' 'fusion of history and emotion' and his 'deep sentimental bias', whilst Matless takes a more even-handed view that 'Hoskins' aesthetic of English landscape is associational, intimately bound up with his narrative of English history'.[37] Hoskins is viewing history through the prism of landscape and discerning not only heritage but an ongoing identity in a rural community. His view of socio-economic history seeking out 'peasant civilisation' is removed from the construct of solely using the framework of landholding and manorial estate.

Hoskins saw the county, and in particular Rutland, as a validation of the communal identity of an independent yeoman tradition, as valid here as at Wigston. Yeoman culture was a particular theme in Hoskins' published work. His affection for Rutland was demonstrated by his choice of giving his 'farewell to the academic world' to the Rutland Record Society in 1980.[38] He saw Rutland as a microcosm of rural England to be protected and conserved.

> The one thing everybody knows about Rutland is that it is the smallest county in England. Perhaps most people also know by now that, being small, it is fighting for its independence against the urban theorists who seem to dominate the world of planning today. Rather than being exterminated in favour of a larger unit with no historic meaning, it should be set aside at once as England's first Human Conservancy. We have nature reserves of various kinds for the protection of rare animals, birds, and plants. Only the human being is not protected against incessant noise, speed and all the other acids of modernity. Rutland is still largely untouched … still a picture of a human, peaceful, slow-moving, pre-industrial England … One would like to think that one day soon at each entrance to this little county beside a glancing willow-fringed stream, there will stand a notice saying 'Human Conservancy: Abandon the Rat-Race at this Point'.[39]

It is debatable whether Hoskins was being serious or realistic here. However, he is fusing together an identity for the county community based on heritage, way of life and environment. His work included emphasis on the vernacular buildings and the overall village-scape in giving Rutland an aesthetic identity to itself as well as being part of a wider rural idyll.

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[36] He concluded a piece called 'Time off in Rutland' with: 'A week of this treatment in Rutland sends one back ready to fight politicians and jacks-in-office with one hand tied behind one's back.' W. G. Hoskins, *Rutland: a Shell Guide* (1963), p.15.

[37] Menig quoted in Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London, 1988), p. 189.

[38] RLHRS archive. Letter, W. G. Hoskins to Yuri Galitzine, 3 May 1980.

[39] Hoskins, *Shell Guide: Rutland*, p. 7.

Wright, through 'the collective recitation of their distinguished forefathers', described as 'a retrospective ceremonial substitute for the perpetual chantry', legitimised Rutland's elite county community in the seventeenth century.[40] Hoskins, through his description of the Rutland landscape, heritage and lifestyle of its inhabitants, deduced and legitimised an identity for the Rutland county community of the twentieth century. Hoskins' success was to alloy historical geography and socio-economic history together to bronze a reinvigorated approach to local history to allow communities like Rutland to assert a communal identity. 'W. G. Hoskins' supreme achievement was to have been both visionary and poet of that disappearing world to which he saw himself as having just belonged'.[41] W. G. Hoskins, 'more than anyone created the image of Rutland and a sense of special identity'.[42]

Figure 1.11: *Rutland A Shell Guide, W.G. Hoskins (1963)*
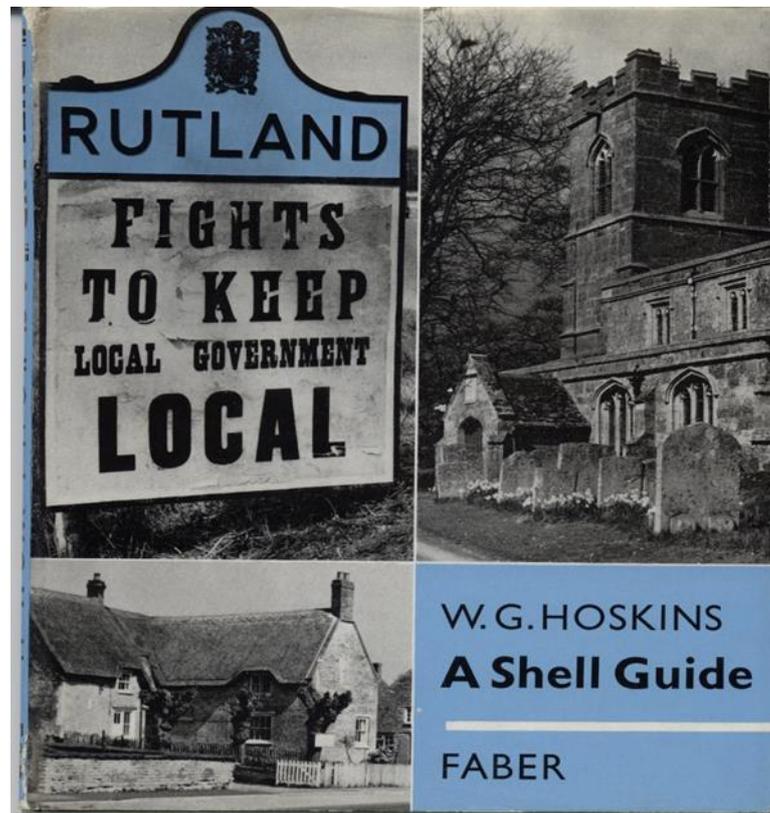
Source: author's collection.

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[40] C. Phythian-Adams , 'Leicestershire and Rutland' in C.R.J. Currie (ed.), *English County Histories: A Guide: A Tribute to C.R. Elrington* (Stroud, 1994), p. 230.

[41] C. Phythian-Adams, 'Hoskins' England', *Transactions of Leicestershire Archaeological and History Society* 66 (1992), pp. 143-59.

[42] B. Waites, 'Obituary: W. G. Hoskins' in *Rutland Record* 13 (1993), p. 147.

Figure 1.12: *Barry Driscoll's artistic evocation of Rutland*

The artist Barry Driscoll was engaged by Shell to provide a jacket illustration for W. G. Hoskins, *Leicestershire and Rutland: The ShellMex and BP Shilling Guide* (London, 1964). However the imagery in his artwork relates solely to Rutland. A pheasant stands on Rutland limestone paving adjacent to a framed map of the County propped up by the Hibbins stonemason's gravestone from Ketton. A portrait of John Clare stands against the Harington tomb from Exton and in front of a Norman column from Stoke Dry church from which hangs a hunting horn. A cartouche from one of the Noel tombs at Exton surmounts horseshoes hanging on Oakham Castle Wall. A fox, hunting the pheasant, crouches in front of a stone wall incorporating both ironstone and limestone and stile which leads through to a country lane past oak trees alongside Wing Turf maze. The lane leads past the Norman architecture of Tickencote church with Burley on the Hill and open vistas of pastoral and arable landscape interspersed with Fox coverts in the background. This illustration was also used in the promotion of Hoskins' *Rutland A Shell Guide* (London, 1963).

Source: extracted from unsourced 1963 magazine advert, author's collection.

'Après moi le déluge': topographical literature in Rutland after Hoskins and Rutland Water

In Rutland, as elsewhere, the last 25 years of the twentieth century saw a dramatic increase in topographical and local history publications. As elsewhere, this can be explained by the dramatic fall in the cost of printing and publishing, renewed interest in local studies and the enthusiasm of local authors. In Rutland, the creation of Rutland Water acted as a particular stimulus to the production of literature to cater for the increasing numbers of visitors to the area.

In 1984 Richard Adams, chief planning officer of RDC, together with Rutland incomer Gillian Dickinson, produced *Rutland: a guide and gazetteer*, which was the first comprehensive travelogue for Rutland since those produced by Hoskins 20 years previously.[43] Adams was a successful photographer and his annual *Rutland Calendar* sells out each year. However, it was not until the twenty-first century that the market was presented with books of photographs of contemporary Rutland.[44]

Bryan Waites, a Yorkshireman, was head of geography at Leicester Polytechnic, before moving to teach at Oakham School. Like Phillips before him churchwarden of Oakham, and active in community work, he used the creation of Rutland Water as a catalyst for many articles on Rutland in both local and national journals.[45] He also wrote guides to the two towns and six books of local walks, mostly concerning both Leicestershire and Rutland. [46] In addition to these, he wrote a series of essays in the *Stamford Mercury* on aspects of Rutland's history, later republished in book form.[47] In 1997, he edited *Celebration of Rutland,*

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[43] Hoskins went on to produce a motorists' booklet; its cover by Barry Driscoll featured symbols of Rutland's county identity set within a landscape background. W. G. Hoskins, *Leicestershire and Rutland: The ShellMex and BP Shilling Guide* (London, 1964) (Figure 1.2). G. Dickinson & R. Adams, *Rutland: a Guide and Gazetteer* (London, 1984).

[44] D. Brabbs, *A Year in the Life of Rutland* (London, 2013) and A. Faulconbridge, *Our Rutland* (Wellington, 2011), amongst others.

[45] For one example of many: B. Waites, 'Rutland: a True English Region' in *The Ecologist*, Vol. 13 no. 6 (1983).

[46] B. Waites, *Pub Walks in Leicestershire and Rutland* (Newbury, 1993) was the first.

[47] B. Waites, *Remember Rutland* (Stamford, 1984); B. Waites, *Rutland Alphabet* (Stamford, 1985); B. Waites, *Rutland Heritage* (Stamford, 1986).

a large portfolio of various articles on the county. This had 756 subscribers and sold 1500 copies.[48]

The conjunction of Leicestershire and Rutland in literature was seemingly dependent on perceived commercial advantage in the eyes of the publishers or alternatively a desire to be inclusive by either the author or the publishers. This ambiguity of approach, opportunist or inclusive, long predates the local government reorganisation of 1974. Pevsner produced a joint county edition in the *Buildings of England* series in 1960.[49] Rutland's limited public sculpture was included in a joint county publication, whereas Rutland merited its own volume in the *Ironstone Quarries of the Midlands* series.[50] Publications from Leicestershire Museums, Archaeological and Records Services naturally emphasised the conjunction of the two counties.[51] Rutland merited its own volume in the *English Place Names Series* and the *Phillimore Domesday* series (ironic considering the treatment of the county in 1086).[52] Alecto chose to include it with the Northamptonshire volume.[53] Academically, some historians are following the lead of Charles Phythian-Adams in rejecting the county unit as an artificial construct within which to study an historical theme. Phythian-Adams prefers a more regional approach and one based more on *pays* than on a purely county-by-county basis.[54]

Rutland was included with Leicestershire under the Watsonian vice-county system devised by H. C. Watson in 1859 to divide the British Isles into study areas for natural history. This was one of the first administrative amalgamations of Rutland with Leicestershire, albeit in an obscure academic area.[55] As a result much natural history publishing has been conducted on a joint county basis.[56]

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[48] B. Waites, *Celebration of Rutland* (Oakham, 1997).

[49] N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England: Leicestershire and Rutland* (London,1960)

[50] T. Cavanagh, *Public Sculpture of Leicestershire and Rutland* (Liverpool, 1988); E. Tonks, *The Ironstone Quarries of the Midlands: History, Operation and Railways. Part Seven: Rutland* (Cheltenham, 1989).

[51] The most successful locally, unsurprisingly, being R. F. Hartley, *Medieval Earthworks of Rutland – a Survey* (Leicester, 1983).

[52] B. Cox, *The Place-names of Rutland* (Nottingham, 1994); F. Thorn & C. Parker, *Domesday Book 29: Rutland* (Chichester, 1980).

[53] A. Williams (ed.), *Northamptonshire and Rutland Domesday* (London, 1987).

[54] C. Phythian-Adams, *The Norman Conquest of Leicestershire and Rutland – a Regional Introduction to Domesday Book* (Leicester, 1986); C. Phythian-Adams, 'The Emergence of Rutland and the making of the Realm' in *Rutland Record* no. 1 (Oakham, 1980).

[55] J. Dony,'Presidential Address 1968', *Proceedings of the Botanical Society of the British Isles*, 7 (1968), p. 314. The system was inconsistent: Linlithgow, smaller than Rutland, was kept as a separate vice-county even though it adjoined Midlothian, which was smaller than Leicestershire.

In terms of cartography, since Saxton produced his regional map of 1576, very few maps of Rutland have been produced commercially outside of those included in atlases, histories, directories and journals. Deadman lists only six in this respect. As in the early county literature the lack of sufficient numbers of gentry subscribers inhibited commercial production. The 1824, first edition, old series Ordnance Survey of Rutland was as an additional sheet to the Lincolnshire set, chiefly subscribed to by gentry interested in foxhunting. Out of the 381 subscribers in 1818 only seven came from Rutland.[57] Rutland has long been mapped with Leicestershire or as part of a wider region, particularly when it came to hunting or cycling maps.

On the other side of the equation, micro-village histories, in print and online, have recently affirmed a more parochial identity. However, this has tended to complement the cultural identity of the county.[58] In recent years Rutland has been the setting for science fiction, crime novels as well as children's literature.[59] Printed literature has confirmed Rutland as an established and recognised cultural unit.

As Rutland became well-known in the 1970s due to the reservoir and the independence struggles it began to be featured across the national press and recreational periodicals promoting the county as a destination for day trips and 'weekend breaks'. This aspect of media representation had a recreational focus but also managed to underline the quality of life and 'traditional' nature of Rutland's community.[60]

> 'With their county status removed, and some of their land permanently flooded, Rutlanders still manage to preserve their identity.'[61]

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[56] A. R. Horwood & C. W. Noel, *The Flora of Leicestershire and Rutland* (Oxford, 1933); M. Browne, *The Vertebrate Animals of Leicestershire and Rutland* (Leicester, 1889); Fray *et al, The Birds of Leicestershire and Rutland* (Leicester,2009). Rutland does, however, have a thriving Rutland Natural History Society, founded in 1965. This produces its own publications but works with the Leicestershire and Rutland Wildlife Trust and the Leicestershire and Rutland Ornithological Society.

[57] D. Deadman & C. Brooks, *An Illustrated Guide to Printed Maps of Rutland, 1576–1900* (Leicester, 2012); Hayley & Margery, *The Old Series Ordnance Survey Maps of England and Wales 5* (Lympe, 1987).

[58] T. Cutting, *Bisbrooke* (Bisbrooke, 2000); M. Whetstone, *Ryhall* (Ryhall, 2000); M. Smith, *Whissendine* (Whissendine, 2000) ; Uppingham Local History Group, *Uppingham in 1851* (Uppingham, 2001); <http://www.langhaminrutland.org.uk/ > ; < http://thelivingvillage.co.uk/index.php > , [Accessed 13 January 2016]. among others.

[59] P. Hamilton (science fiction); L. Doughty, F. Palmer, R. Goddard (crime fiction); L. Harris, P. Beese (children's fiction).

[60] P. Martin, 'Reflections about Rutland', *Financial Times*, 5 August 1970.

[61] D. Petry, 'Rutland Forever', *Guardian* 27 April 1985.

'Put simply, Rutland is different … and is determined to remain so.'[62]

'Of all the counties, which combine in their infinite variety to make up the green patchwork of England, Rutland is the smallest, the least spoilt, and the most completely satisfying.'[63]

'I like Rutland and its vaguely scholastic atmosphere. This still feels squirearchical country, an image of England I'd hate to lose.'[64]

Developed from the wayside tourism and the emotional enthusiasm of Hoskins, most commentators' imaginings of the county community of Rutland were enthusiastic, affectionate, and perpetuated (albeit in modern terms) a depiction of Rutland as a relatively undiscovered and undeveloped part of the English rural idyll.[65]

Rutland as a commodified rural space through the promotion of tourism

There was very little official promotion of tourism in Rutland until the mid-1970s. There had been an early guide to Oakham Castle as well as a couple of guidebooks to Burley on the Hill when it was open to the public in the 1950s.[66] Apart from Hoskins there are only the annual booklets containing both local information and an area guide, produced for Oakham and Uppingham Rural District Councils by Burrows of Cheltenham or Home Publishing of Carshalton/Croydon. [67]

While topographical literature remarked that Rutland was part of 'undiscovered England', tourist literature concerning the county was scarce and unremarkable. Rutland attractions merited inclusion in the annual publication *Places to Visit from Leicester*.[68] As an indication of tourist literature in the 1950s the Travel Association leaflet covering the East

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[62] R. Waterhouse, 'Out for the County', *Guardian* 4 December 1973.

[63] H. D. Martineau, 'County Cameo', *This England* (Spring 1972).

[64] M. Bradberry , 'Undiscovered Country: the heart of Rutland' *Country Homes and Interiors* (March 1995). pp.112-4.

[65] This depiction of Rutland was not restricted to the national press. In the wake of the independence battles foreign press also reported Rutland as being undiscovered English countryside, imagined for its readers as being stereotypically English in attitude and landscape. For example, Rutland as reported in New South Wales, *LRSM*, 15 September 1967; P. & K. Wade, 'Rutland England's Idyllic Countryside', *Gourmet* (June 1997), a publication with distribution across North America.

[66] P. Finch, *Oakham Castle* (Oakham, 1903); English Life, *Burley on the Hill* (nd,1950s, two editions).

[67] Either Home Publishing or Burrows were the preferred publishers used by many small councils in England to produce similar guides to their council areas during this time. L. Elgar-Pike, *Oakham, Rutland The Official Guide* (Croydon, c.1947–73); *Oakham and/Uppingham Rural District, Rutland Official Guide* (Croydon, c.1959–73).

[68] Leicester City Council, *Places to Visit from Leicester* (Leicester, various dates 1950s onwards).

Midlands in the 'Come to Britain' series failed to mention Rutland at all.[69] It is difficult not to conclude that Rutland remained un-marketed because it was seen as unexceptional within a regional context.

In the wake of the national publicity pertaining to the independence struggles and the creation of Rutland Water in the 1970s the East Midlands Tourist Board produced a 'mini guide' to Oakham and Rutland in 1979.[70] Rutland District Council's ambivalence on the issue of tourism developed into ambiguity during the late 1970s in response to the threats and opportunities raised by Rutland Water. It produced an annual monochrome three-fold leaflet listing attractions and some accommodation.[71] Until 1985 Rutland District Council principally saw tourism as a 'development and control' issue.[72]

In 1985 Lord Young wrote urging local authorities to promote tourism to the economic benefit of their communities and to support their local tourist boards.[73] Leicestershire County Council (LCC), began marketing Leicestershire more effectively. Outlining amendments in the renewal of Rutland's Structure Plan, LCC stated that 'the County Council considers that some economic benefit may accrue to Rutland from controlled tourist development'.[74] RDC responded by suggesting a tourism strategy involving 'a sensible balance between promotion and control'.[75]

Part of the strategy involved the creation of a Rutland Tourism Advisory Committee to aid the District Council in its deliberations. Its aim was 'to bring together public and private interests involved in tourism in the area to provide a regular forum for debate on matters relating directly or indirectly to the development and control of tourism in Rutland'.[76]

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[69] British Tourist and Holidays Board, The Travel Association, *Come to Britain, Area Folder no6. England. East Anglia and the East Midlands* (c.1955).

[70] East Midlands Tourist Board, *Mini Guide, Oakham and Rutland* (1979, subsequently reprinted).

[71] Rutland District Council, *Rutland '78* (Oakham, 1978 and subsequent annual issues).

[72] Rutland District Council, *The Involvement by Rutland District Council in Tourism in Rutland* (Background paper for and by RDC, 1987). *Rutland District Council Tourism Strategy* (Oakham, February 1995) still emphasises 'control'.

[73] Lord Young, *Pleasure, Leisure and Jobs – The Business of Tourism* (Cabinet Office Enterprise Unit, 1985).

[74] LCC, *Draft Proposals for Alterations to Rutland Structure Plan* (Glenfield, 1984) Policy R/EC 21.

[75] RDC meeting minutes 17 December 1984.

[76] Rutland Tourism Advisory Committee, Constitution, Terms of Reference (A) (1985).

Rutland Tourism Advisory Committee produced its own folded leaflet to supplement the annual listings leaflet produced by the District Council.[77]

The growth of the tourism sector within Rutland's economy was reflected in the creation of the Rutland Tourism Association in the early 1990s. A vibrant coalition of commercial interests, this Association promoted the county through a 'Value Rutland' campaign promoting shops and businesses. One of its members, the newly formed Rutland Design Company, produced some colour leaflets for the Association with attractive and distinctive graphics promoting Rutland and these were distributed across the area and through the regional tourist board. They promoted Rutland as 'England's Secret County' and also produced accommodation and conference booklets.[78]

Leading members of the Rutland Tourist Association were close to those campaigning to restore Rutland's independence. Capitalising on the publicity resulting from Rutland's independence campaign in the 1990s, the Association marketed a Rutland passport and their posters and publicity material were to be widely seen across the county promoting Rutland as an area with a distinctive rural heritage and tradition as well as an attractive unspoiled part of rural England. A number of members produced Rutland souvenirs carrying the Rutland logo including a specially produced Rutland independence teapot.

Rutland District Council, and after 1997 the restored County Council, promoted tourism as a key element of the economic development of the county. Leicestershire County Council had promoted Rutland as part of *its* county attractions up until and beyond 1997. Rutland District Council initially provided tourist information points across the county as well as an information centre in Oakham. Both RDC and RCC worked in conjunction with AWA and the latter with the newly formed Welland Partnership of regional local authorities promoting the area. The promotion of the county through both the local authority and the Rutland Tourism Association reflected a renewed confidence in community identity as much as a realisation of the importance of tourism and the service sector to the economy of the county community.

In 1991 East Midlands Tourist Board estimated that tourism in Rutland was worth £11.2 million a year to the local economy and helped provided 1000 jobs. Another survey suggested that 20 percent of the local income was due to the tourist/service sector. An

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[77] Rutland Tourism Advisory Committee, *Churches and Historic Buildings of Rutland: where to go and what to see* (Oakham, 1986).

[78] Rutland Tourism Association, *Rutland, England's Secret County* (Oakham, nd).This leaflet went through various reprints, eventually being renamed *Rutland, Quintessential England.*

advertisement, advertising Rutland as a tourist destination, in the 1997 Christmas edition of the nationally popular *Radio Times* resulted in 950 responses. It was estimated that 60 percent of Rutland's employment lay in the service sector in 1999. Successive tourist surveys found that the majority of visitors to the county were on short breaks attracted by the countryside and the rural nature of the county more than any individual attraction such as Rutland Water. However, this survey was undertaken at Oakham tourist information centre, away from Rutland Water itself.

However, there was still a certain ambiguity in the community as a whole in marketing Rutland as being 'undiscovered' and 'unspoiled', taking pride in its rural nature as well as exploiting it for commercial gain. The final decade of the twentieth century, as a result of astute and effective marketing and publicity attendant on the regaining of independence in 1997, saw Rutland re-imagined as a tourist destination: at times idiosyncratic, but an attractive rural English community proud of its heritage and rural setting.[79]

Rutland and the ambiguities of the local press

The growth in the provincial and local press postdates the seventeenth century debate surrounding the county community. Newspapers have been the most important printed element in cultural reinforcement of the county community within Rutland. *The Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury* (*LRSM*), first published in 1712, used to claim that it was Britain's oldest surviving newspaper.[80] Until the mid-nineteenth century, it was largely a regurgitation of national and international news received from London together with advertisements and items of provincial interest. Its main market was the farming and business communities spread across Eastern England stretching from the Humber to the Fens. With the widening of literacy and the introduction of local correspondents more focused local news was reported and the newspaper, widely known as the *Stamford Mercury*, became the primary vehicle of a printed record within the locality.[81]

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[79] Rutland Tourism Association Newsletter, March 1998, Rutland Tourism Association Newsletter October 1999, Oakham TIC survey 1997, 1998 published in Rutland Tourism Association Newsletter, May 1999.

[80] D. Newton & M. Smith, *The Stamford Mercury: Three Centuries of Newspaper Publishing* (Stamford, 1999). The claim to be Britain's oldest surviving newspaper , dating from 1695, is disproved in M. Smith, *Stamford Myths and Legends* (Stamford, 1991), p.57.

[81] 'Lincoln' was finally removed from the paper's masthead in 1987.

The wide remit designated by its title soon became more restricted to the locality around Stamford, where it was published and printed. It became centred on the commercial hinterland of that town. Rutland news, such as assizes and elections, had been reported throughout its history, enlarging in scope with the development of local government and county associational culture in the twentieth century. Rutland village news jostled with that of villages extending into the Lincolnshire wolds and fenland. This perceived identity crisis was to some extent ameliorated by the introduction of separate 'Rutland', 'Stamford' and 'Bourne' editions in 1939.[82] In February 1952 an Oakham office was opened to serve Rutland.[83] However, through much of its existence Rutland readers, unless they had widespread active business connection, would be reading of communities 20 or 30 miles away which they had seldom heard of or never visited. In 1959, seemingly without paying much attention to its Rutland readership, the *Stamford Mercury* supported the creation of a new county, based on Peterborough, absorbing Stamford and dismembering Rutland in the process. When this proposal did not receive support from Stamford the paper dropped its editorial stance and instead supported the campaign to retain Rutland as an independent authority in its geographical entirety.[84]

The cultural dissonance within the region, together with the perception of political and commercial opportunity, resulted in rival publications being launched within the area. These were all without exception nominally and commercially centred on market towns and were mostly short-lived.[85] The nearest rival to the *Stamford Mercury* was the *Grantham Journal*, which gave widespread coverage of news from Rutland and its villages through a network of local correspondents throughout much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[86] Towards the end of its existence, in the 1970s, *The Journal* carried much of the same reportage as the *Mercury*, being published from the same stable. During this time it covered news mostly from Oakham and the villages in the north of the county. The Leicester-based provincial press, although occasionally mentioning Rutland affairs, has never produced regular sustained

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[82] In 1987 the Rutland edition was renamed *Rutland and Stamford Mercury*. In 1989 it was further renamed the *Rutland Mercury*.

[83] Newton and Smith, *Stamford Mercury*, p. 244.

[84] Ibid., p. 252.

[85] Newton and Smith and the British Library mention 15 titles most of which disappeared within a decade of their first publication, or were amalgamated titles covering a larger area. Newton and Smith, *Stamford Mercury*, Appendix 6. British Library Newspaper Collection.

[86] The *Grantham Journal* was founded in 1854. It produced a localised edition for Rutland from 1942. This edition was expanded and retitled *Melton and Rutland Journal* from 1969 until 1985. It became the *Rutland Journal* (or *The Journal* in 1985), in that year until it finally ceased publication in 1989.

coverage of Rutland news. The daily *Leicester Mercury* is distributed locally, as is *The Corby Evening Telegraph*, which has limited circulation in the Uppingham area.

Rutland gained its own newspaper with the introduction of a monthly freesheet which became known as the *Rutland Times* in 1977. Based in Oakham, and growing out of the increasing community identity with the nominal county community in the wake of the independence struggles, it was a commercial success. Both advertisers and readers were eager to support its publication so that after changes in ownership and injection of capital, the county newspaper became fortnightly (1984) then a paid-for weekly publication.[87] With the decline in local correspondents by the *Mercury*, the *Rutland Times* was able to capitalise on its local connection and identity and became a serious rival to the *Mercury* in the last 15 years of the twentieth century. By 1984 it had a substantial circulation of 10,000 copies and 'represented a significant challenge to the *Mercury*'s local ascendancy'[88]

The Rutland Times became a champion of the county's cause during the fight for 'independence' in the 1990s under the editorship of Rutland born and bred Eddie Hudson. It wrote regular reports on behalf of campaigners for independence during this period and produced special editions as local government reform passed through Parliament. Wrong-footed by the *Rutland Times*, the *Rutland Mercury* was noticeably less enthusiastic about promoting the case for Rutland independence. In trying to differentiate itself from its rival, it alienated many community activists.

Amalgamations in the provincial press in the early twenty-first century resulted in both the *Rutland Times* and *Rutland Mercury* being brought under the same ownership. Although both papers are still published, they carry the same reportage, and with the closure of editorial offices in Oakham the local news element in both publications has considerably diminished in favour of regional advertising and centrally produced leisure reading copy.

Rutland: attempts at a county magazine

County magazines were a significant twentieth-century periodical genre. Usually thoroughly middle-class yet rooted in their place of origin, they exuded a confident self-image, territorial

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[87] It was variously known as the *Rutland Times, New Rutland Times* and *Rutland County Times*, latterly reverting to the *Rutland Times* on its masthead.

[88] Newton and Smith, *Stamford Mercury*, p. 260.

identity and a sense of sophistication.[89] The failure of the *Rutland Magazine* was as much to do with its reliance on one man, George Phillips, writing, editing, and producing it as the vagaries of a limited readership within a small geographical area. Its appeal to the antiquarian minded middle class was not extended to a wider readership, or if it was (records concerning its demise are no longer extant) the income derived therefrom could not outweigh the problems George Phillips found in producing it. Whatever these problems were, Phillips was not able to sustain its publication past the fifth volume in 1912.[90]

A similar fate met Hoskins' attempt at producing a joint county magazine, *Leicestershire and Rutland Magazine*, in the post-war period.[91] This ceased after seven issues in 1950. *Leicestershire and Rutland Life*, which, as it proclaimed, 'aimed to strike a blow for culture within the two counties', merged with its rival, *The Leicester Topic*, in 1965 within a year of its first publication.[92] Alan McWhirr's *Leicestershire and Rutland Heritage* ceased publication after 16 issues in 1992.[93] A revival of *Leicestershire and Rutland Life* was attempted by the publishers of the *Leicester Mercury* in the early years of the new millennium.[94] Likewise the *Rutland Magazine* was reborn as a title by the publishers of the *Rutland Times*, in the wake of the successful Rutland independence campaign in spring 1997.[95]

Certain traits and themes emerge from the failure of these publications. First, as far as Rutland was concerned, with the exception of *Leicestershire and Rutland Heritage* which was produced in association with the Leicestershire Museums Service, there was little actual Rutland content to sustain a local readership within Rutland. *Heritage* ceased because of the inability of its parent organisation to subsidise its declining readership. Aimed squarely at the 'heritage' market, it found that that market was insufficient to maintain publication. The

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[89]A. Hobbs, 'Lancashire Life Magazine 1947–73. A Middle-Class Sense of Place': *Twentieth Century British History*, 24 (2013), p. 423.

[90] Phillips G. (ed.), *Rutland Magazine and County Historical Record: an Illustrated Quarterly journal devoted to the history, antiquities, biography, dialect, folklore, genealogy, topography, natural history etc. of the County of Rutland,* 5 volumes (Oakham 1903-08).

[91] W.G. Hoskins & J. Simmons (eds), *Leicestershire and Rutland Magazine* (Leicester, 1948–50).

[92] *Leicestershire and Rutland Life* (Leicester, 1964–65). *Leicester Topic* had little Rutland content in it and was mainly Leicester-based, as was its rival, the upmarket *Leicester Graphic*, which was at the centre of a scandal involving the falsification of circulation figures to gain advertising. Both magazines eventually folded.

[93] *Leicestershire and Rutland Heritage* (Leicester, 1987–1992).

[94] *Leicestershire and Rutland Life* (Leicester, 2004–15).

[95] *The Rutland Magazine* (Oakham, 1997–2007).

content of the other magazines varied between heritage, topography, culture and 'human interest'. It was mostly derivative from previous publications with little innovative content.

Other magazines were more vanity publications for their publishing houses and did little to reinforce any county identity. In so far as this is true a further factor became apparent in that the market area, Leicestershire and Rutland, is an area of disparate parts with no strong cultural connection cohesive enough to form to sustain a ready readership willing to purchase a joint county magazine on a regular basis.

The failure of the reincarnation of the *Rutland Magazine* was slightly different. Again it was perhaps a vanity project of the Johnston Press, publisher of the *Rutland Times*. With falling sales its publication could no longer be subsidised, after surviving ten years. As *Rutland Magazine* it had failed to produce a regular subscribing readership. The content, while broadly cultural, did not appeal to a wide enough paying audience. In 2005 in an attempt to save the magazine it was renamed *Your Country and* its target area was widened to include a wider geographical area around Rutland. This attempt to create a cultural affinity within a wider area failed.

The printed magazine format, from the evidence of Rutland, proved not to have sufficient literary appeal to sustain an economically viable publication. Attempts to create a wider imagined community likewise failed and it would appear that in some areas there are limitations on the cultural sustainability of a county magazine, especially one from a small geographical area. Present day magazines bearing the Rutland name, *Rutland Living* and *Rutland Pride*, are mostly advertorial publications, reliant on advertising income. Produced by outside publishing houses as part of a string of similar magazines, their content and range is not restricted to the promotion of solely Rutland businesses. Content unrelated to commercial promotion varies considerably, and is generally topography blended with human interest.

Rutland: from BBC Home Service to Rutland Radio

The rare but at times significant appearance of Rutland material in either news reporting or programming on both radio and television reached a far wider audience than that achieved by the local press. News reporting of Rutland's independence struggles by both the BBC and regional commercial television reinforced the county image of an indignant rural population fighting for its identity and aroused considerable sympathy nationwide. Significant in this respect was the radio broadcast made by Kenneth Ruddle on the BBC Home Service on 4

October 1949 in *My Native Heath* series. He spoke of how every schoolboy had heard of Rutland and of 'the quiet beauty of the rolling undulating fertile land that greets you as far as the eye can see'.[96] Oakham was featured on the BBC Home Service's *Down Your Way* in 1957 at the time that Rutland's county status was being questioned by central government. From the mid-1960s television became the dominant news medium with radio taking an ever diminishing role and audience. In Rutland's case this was evidenced when on 'Independence Day', 1 April 1997, Classic FM gave a live broadcast from Oakham Marketplace during the morning and hardly anybody turned up.

Rutland was one of the first areas to apply for a local contract to produce its own radio station. A local group was formed in 1985, The Rutland Community Radio Trust. In its application to the Home Office, it cited the enhanced community identity of Rutland as one of the primary reasons to be taken into consideration in its application. Although this application was initially unsuccessful, pressure from within the community on the government resulted in Rutland being accommodated in a further release of waveband. [97] 'Rutland Radio', a commercially successful radio station, has been operating in Rutland since 1998. Its broadcast area extends over the county and intrudes upon those areas covered by BBC Radio Leicester and Hereward Radio in Peterborough. In the quarterly period before March 2000 Rutland Radio had a 17.3 per cent of the share of the listening public within its transmission area, which compared favourably with some other small radio stations in other regions.[98]

Rutland (Weekend) Television

Rutland fell between the transmission areas of both the BBC Midland (later East Midlands) ATV/Central region and that controlled by both the BBC and ITV Anglia region. Local television reception improved over the years but many in the eastern side of the county still preferred to tune in to the East Anglian Sandy Heath transmitter for regional television programming. Anglia TV and BBC Look East, particularly in their early days, gave strong

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[96] *My Native Heath*, Kenneth Ruddle, BBC Home Service broadcast 4 October 1949.

[97] The original application failed because the Home Office felt that Rutland was too large an area! The Home Office intention was to create a broadcast area 'of about 5 km. within a district'. Letter. Home Office to Michael Latham MP, 21 October 1985. Independent Broadcasting Authority News Release: IBA advertises first five incremental ILR contracts, 10 January 1989.

[98] Quarterly Survey of Radio Listening – Survey of the Period ending March 2000. Radio Joint Audience Research. < www.rajar.co.uk > [accessed 24 January 2016].

agricultural coverage and reported events and news from Stamford and Peterborough which some Rutlanders found more in keeping with their cultural outlook.

Both regional and national television found the struggle for Rutland's independence to be a newsworthy story worthy of inclusion in news bulletins and extended magazine programmes. BBC and ATV Television cameras were present when the independence campaign held a public meeting at Oakham Castle in 1960 and at the public inquiry held in July 1962. The BBC sent down Fyfe Robertson to produce an item for the *Tonight* magazine programme. Broadcast in the early evening, the programme attracted an audience of up to eight million.[99] Lady Martin, lacking any prevarication, gave a typically forthright interview. 'It was great copy and a polished performance.' 'There is no need for hordes of officials in Rutland prying into people's homes. If any child in this county is being ill-treated… we get to know about it damn quick. Everybody knows everybody else's business. I can't go out wearing my make do and mend panties, without the whole village knowing about it. I have to wear my best'.[100] National broadcast media played an important role in directing public opinion across the nation and overseas towards a sympathetic approval of Rutland's struggle to retain independence. This can be demonstrated by some of the letters received from Britain and overseas in Sir Kenneth Ruddle's correspondence file. It was, however, undoubtedly press coverage that kept most of the nation informed at this time. [101]

The depiction of an idyllic rural Rutland continued to be the background TV programming concerning the county, of which the short documentary depiction of Rutland in the *Know your Midlands* series broadcast on ATV on 10 September 1957 is typical.[102] The independent spirit and beautiful countryside of the county features in the ATV documentary *Long Live Rutland*, broadcast in 1975.[103] Anglia TV reported the construction of Rutland Water in its news bulletins and produced a half-hour documentary in 1977.[104]

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[99] Museum of Broadcast Communications (Chicago),< http://www.museum.tv/eotv/tonight.htm > [accessed 9 February 2016].

[100] Lady Martin quoted by Duckers, *Place in the Country*, p. 79.

[101] RCM 1980/62. Uncatalogued file of letters and press cuttings kept at Rutland County Museum.

[102] Media Archive of Central England, < http://www.macearchive.org/Archive/Title/know-your-midlands-10091957-rutland/MediaEntry/39047.html > [accessed 9 February 2016].

[103] Media Archive of Central England, < http://www.macearchive.org/Archive/Title/long-live-rutland/MediaEntry/1617.html > [accessed 6 February 2017]

[104] *The Day they Drowned Rutland*. Anglia TV, directed by Michael Edwards, documentary broadcast 13 November 1978. This was prefaced by images of rural scenery and the local hunt.

BBC *Gardeners' World* regularly broadcast from Barnsdale, under the direction of
Geoff Hamilton in the 1980s. After Hamilton's death Barnsdale gardens were open to the
public and gave a considerable boost to the local economy as visitors were drawn from afar to
visit Rutland.[105] BBC *Pebble Mill at One* produced a feature on Rutland's independent
heritage, interviewing Prince Yuri Galitzine in 1981.[106] The overall impression given by
television and radio programming was of Rutland being a distinctive rural area with a vibrant
community worth visiting to appreciate both its attractions such as Rutland Water and
Barnsdale as well as the beautiful countryside.

Rutland's reputation for being small and thrifty was used by comedian Eric Idle in his
sketch show for the BBC, *Rutland Weekend Television*, which ran for two series in 1975–
76.[107] This parody of light entertainment television at the time used as its background a small
amateur television station running on a shoestring budget to link together a series of comic
sketches. The satire was affectionate and drew attention to the key factors in Rutland's
struggle for independence: localism; amateurism; and community loyalty (Figure 10.1). The
use of Rutland's name in this respect was perhaps negative publicity to its political cause, but
those appreciative of Eric Idle's humour were amused.[108]

Rutland: a negative identity, a community in denial

To a large extent, Rutland's image to the outside world, as a community and as a county, was
shaped by the topographical literature and broadcast imagery within which it was depicted
during much of the twentieth century. There were, however, some notable exceptions to this
depiction of a close-knit, contented community set within an idyllic, bucolic landscape: the
epitome of the English countryside.

The Myth of the Rural Idyll: Poverty in Rural Leicestershire was published by the
Leicester Child Poverty Action Group in April 1983 and drew upon an unpublished case
study of the previous year and the findings of a 1980 Leicestershire Rural Community

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[105] Other programming featuring Rutland included *Wild About Food* (Carlton TV, Autumn 2000), a cookery programme based at Hambleton Hall. Carlton also produced a series *Heart of the Country* (2000–4), which made a number of programmes featuring rural life in Rutland.

[106] *BBC Pebble Mill at One* broadcast 31 March 1981.

[107] Rutles fan website, < http://www.rutlemania.org/rutles1.html> [accessed 9 February 2016].

[108] Rutland Weekend Television, opening title,< https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JldBvtzMYTI > [accessed 9 February 2016].

Council conference, 'Rural Life – or Death'.[109] Although the survey was conducted with local assistance, the implication, in the full sub-title, was that its findings were directed towards policy facilitators at Glenfield, where it sensed power had shifted. The report's authors were deeply critical of Glenfield's alleged mishandling of rural poverty and the publication of the report received considerable publicity. It deliberately set out to confront the image of Rutland as a caring community within an idyllic rural background. Furthermore, it found

> that attitudes in general suggest that those living in poverty rarely identify themselves as such, thus the issues are never raised collectively, and thus poverty is preserved, in what outsiders still seem to see as the rural idyll of Rutland.[110]

The report's conclusions, finding a local 'categorical denial of poverty in Rutland', were countered in the criticism of the report for relying on only 20 surveyed participants, conducted in fieldwork only lasting three months in 1982.[111]

The report considered 10 factors which helped indicate a level of hidden rural poverty. These poverty indicators (housing; cost of living; employment and unemployment; family breakup; health; illiteracy; accessibility (with social and recreational implications); low income; planning and conservation, and finally delivery of services) were each evaluated and conclusions drawn. The report concluded that

> whilst the root cause of poverty lies in the inequalities which exist in British society the rural idyll is, in our view, the major factor in the perpetuation of poverty in Rutland. The 'rural idyll' is central to Leicestershire County Council's planning policies in the area, the theme of conservation and preservation underpinning the employment, movement, settlement and recreation policies of the structure plan for Rutland. This reflects the desire of the urban middle class and the rural landowning class to maintain Rutland's role as the 'green lung of Leicestershire'.[112]

The report attacks the notion of an imagined county community, undivided by social class. The authors attack 'newcomers' into the community for only trying to maintain local services, such as schools or shops, for selfish needs, maintaining their rural idyll, rather than those services such as health and social services of more use to the rural poor. This was demonstrably untrue: amongst other things a local campaign to maintain maternity services at

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[109] R. Fabes et al. *The Myth of the Rural Idyll: Poverty in Rural Leicestershire. A Case Study of Rutland District and its Implications for County Policies* (Leicester, 1983); L. Worsley, *Poverty in Rutland, Community and Youth Work Course* (unpublished report, Leicester Polytechnic, 1982); 'Rural Life – or Death', Leicestershire Rural Community Council conference, 11 October 1980.

[110] Fabes, *Rural Idyll,* p .4.

[111] Ibid., pp. 8, 17.

[112] Ibid., p. 44.

Rutland Memorial Hospital, was conducted at this time. The cross-community campaign involving both natives and incomers was ultimately unsuccessful but its leader, Jane Daws, went on to become a successful district councillor. One of its campaign messages was that Rutland babies should be born in Rutland and that Rutland mothers should not have to travel 20 miles outside the county to give birth, which proved to be both a practical/health-related issue as much as a sentimental one.

Finding social division within the county community, the report also castigates those it sees as poverty stricken by 'unwittingly conspire[ing] with the more affluent to hide their own poverty by denying its existence'.[113] It disparages the community values which it sees as 'symbols' of the rural idyll: the significance placed on the family, the work ethic and good health.[114] It notes charitable response within the community to perceived local need as being paternalistic and therefore anachronistic and unworthy. In particular, it mentions the role that parish councils play in liaising with housing authorities, and perceived local need. Liaison between the various levels of local self-government had always been at the heart of the county community.[115] It implies that the poor are indigenous to the community and that poor people do not move into the county. Castigating the poor for their 'lack of material aspirations – emphasising the importance of cultural heritage', it particularly mentions 'the poor of one village who feel they are richer than affluent newcomers because they are indigenous Rutlanders'.[116] This stance sets itself solidly against any notion of a meaningful community based on affiliation. It is solely concerned with material considerations of 'wealth', given that material deprivation was more keenly felt in a wealthy community.

The report was not well received locally, which was hardly surprising given that it criticised the attitudes of both local authorities and the local population, including the 'poor'. It set out to dispel 'the myth of the rural idyll' but had a skewed idea of it. The authors explained how their conception of the rural idyll concealed poverty, but failed to understand quality of life issues beyond that of material deprivation. It dismisses community self-help as being charitable and paternalistic and claims the community had a vested interest in maintaining 'a certain acceptable level of poverty essential to the status quo'. It talks of the 'happy poor', once transformed by declining material circumstances, rising like *sans culottes*

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[113] *Ibid.,* p. 55.

[114] Ibid., p. 55.

[115] Ibid., p. 54.

[116] *Ibid.,* p. 43.

challenging 'the social order which is paramount to the rural idyll'.[117] The Rutland community did not like to read or hear this criticism by outsiders of their community values.[118]

Divisions within the county community were later explored by Nigel Duckers, whose book, *A Place in the Country*, was published by Michael Joseph in 1990. He thanked the people of Rutland who allowed themselves to be interviewed for his book before apologetically stating, 'we have, of course, presented an edited version of your world but we hope it is an affectionate and truthful one'.[119] He knew at the time of writing that he was approaching his subject from a preconceived vantage point that would not find full favour with many of those whose lives he aimed to depict within the book. He drew a distinction between the 'Old Order' of traditional rural life, still evident in Rutland, and the 'Contemporary Countryside', the new order of incomers, new wealth and a diffuse social structure.

Duckers was an outsider who aimed to use the imagined community of Rutland as a *leitmotiv* within which to dissect the rural idyll and demonstrate how English country life, or at least that of south/central England within the metropolitan aegis, had changed over the previous 50 years.[120] He was able to secure the confidence of both the old squirearchy and the new ruralists colonising the county, and interviewed them for their memories of and aspirations for their life in Rutland. Together with Huw Davies, who photographed them within their domestic and natural environment, he integrated these interviews into a narrative progression of changing Rutland during the twentieth century.

The overall impression Duckers gives is of a community under the strain of great change, mourning and nostalgic for a world lost, and anxious and apprehensive of changing values of a modern countryside. The majority of the interviewees seemed firmly embedded within the community and have commitment towards it. Duckers does not ignore the comical, almost caricature, aspects of life under the old order, but he does so with affection. He pokes fun at some of the individuals by allowing some of their off-the-cuff remarks, and perhaps some of those which may, or should have been, off the record, to be recorded

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[117] Ibid.*,* pp. 54–7.

[118] The report received widespread publicity even on the television news: *Central News* 26 April 1983.

[119] Duckers, *A Place in the Country*, p. ix.

[120] The publishers added the subtitle 'Social Change in Rural England' on the dust jacket (but not on the title page) as an afterthought to increase the likelihood of book browsers picking it up to investigate its contents.

verbatim. Lady Martin, stalwart of the Women's Voluntary Service and later the County Council, talking of discovering incest at Greetham, being a case in point.[121] Some people saw a 'hatchet job' done on their reputation as a result. Mrs Lois Blake, Secretary to the Rutland Agricultural Society, comes out particular badly in this respect. Duckers refers to Alathea Boyle sitting, 'her hair permed as stiffly as her highly strung personality, sobbing' over what she claimed to be her lost birthright. Clearly out of sympathy with his subject, Duckers failed to realise that she was expressing herself in the early stages of dementia.[122]

Some of the incoming 'new ruralists' were self-deprecating, describing themselves as 'SOILERS: sold out of London and living in rural splendour'.[123] Others, by allowing their values and lifestyle to be depicted, opened themselves to ridicule. Duckers allows the snobberies and small-minded attitudes to speak for themselves and the telling editorial direction is given in the photographs. These reinforce and at times dominate the text giving a lasting impression.

Huw Davies' skills as both portrait and landscape photographer are apparent in this volume. Many of the posed photographs of county individuals within their comfortable domestic settings are notable for their comparison with the personal disorder and at times squalor of the poorer Rutlanders in their accommodation. The standard of photographic portraiture is high but there is a possible intended severe juxtaposition between the formal portraiture of Lord Gainsborough, outside his shooting lodge at Exton (facing page 1) (Figure 1.14), with that of the visual collective disorder of the Wallace family on the council estate within the same village (page 4) (Figure 1.15). Sir John Conant looks posed and uncomfortable in his front hall next to a wall of estate maps, a suit of armour containing a Mickey Mouse mask and various rackets, shooting sticks and golf clubs. The picture is spacious, his family is implied but absent (page 31) (Figure 1.16). The implication is of a life of leisure, built from land ownership. A comparison could be drawn with the previous picture of Fred and Winnie Clare in their domestic setting, eking out a living, making Christmas crackers in a crowded living room surrounded by family (page 26) (Figure 1.17). The page previous to that (page 25) depicts 'Jim Galt, retired estate cowman', living in one-roomed squalor surrounded by domestic debris and filth. The picture is included for gratuitous shock value and for comparison with other aspects of the Exton estate, as there is no reference in the

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[121] Duckers, *Place in the Country,* p. 66.

[122] Duckers, *A Place in the Country,* pp.101–110; Duckers, *A Place in the Country,* pp.52–4. The book was heavily criticised within Rutland over the judgement of these and other issues.

[123] Ken and Linda Edward, Greetham incomers: Duckers, *A Place in the Country,* pp. 117–119 (Figure 1.13).

text to Galt (figure 1.18). Elderly, infirm Betty Warner, in the dilapidated kitchen of her country cottage on the Burley estate (page 142) (Figure 1.19), faces comparison with 'Joss Hanbury, MFH', with dirty jodhpurs and bloodied face, playing hockey with his daughter in the expansive ballroom of Burley House up the road (page 173) (Figure 1.20). Keith and Val Childs 'at home' in their pink satin and carpeted bedroom at Holywell Hall (page 139) (Figure 1.21), compares with the cramped caravan of the Johnson family, a few miles away at the Casterton Motel site (page 144) (Figure 1.22). The contextualisation and positioning of the photographs within this book is deeply subversive and, without having an overt political agenda, the book pursues a keenly observed critical line, comparing and juxtaposing lives and attitudes. The selective inclusion of content aims to dispel any notion of a meaningful rural idyll that can be carried across divides of social class.

Figure 1.13: *The Edwards family in their converted barn at Greetham*

The photograph of the tanned Edward family in their converted barn swimming pool, complete with life-size plastic sheep, was much reproduced as an icon for urban newcomers colonising the countryside.
Source: N. Duckers & H. Davies, *A Place in the Country* (London, 1990), p.119.

Figure 1.14: *Lord Gainsborough at Fort Henry*

Source: N. Duckers & H. Davies, *A Place in the Country* (London, 1990), p.1

Figure 1.15: *The Wallace family at Exton*

Source: N. Duckers & H. Davies, *A Place in the Country* (London, 1990), p.4.

Figure 1.16: *Sir John Conant at Lyndon Hall*

Source: N. Duckers & H. Davies, *A Place in the Country* (London, 1990), p.31.

Figure 1.17: *The Clare family at Exton*

Source: N. Duckers & H. Davies, *A Place in the Country* (London, 1990), p.26

Figure 1.18: *Jim Galt retired estate cowman*

Source: N. Duckers & H. Davies, *A Place in the Country* (London, 1990), p.25.

Figure 1.19: *Betty Warner at home at Burley*

Source: N. Duckers & H. Davies, *A Place in the Country* (London, 1990), p.142.

Figure 1.20: *Joss Hanbury and daughter at home at Burley on the Hill*

Source: N. Duckers & H. Davies, *A Place in the Country* (London, 1990), p.173

Figure 1.21: Keith and Val Childs at home at Holywell Hall
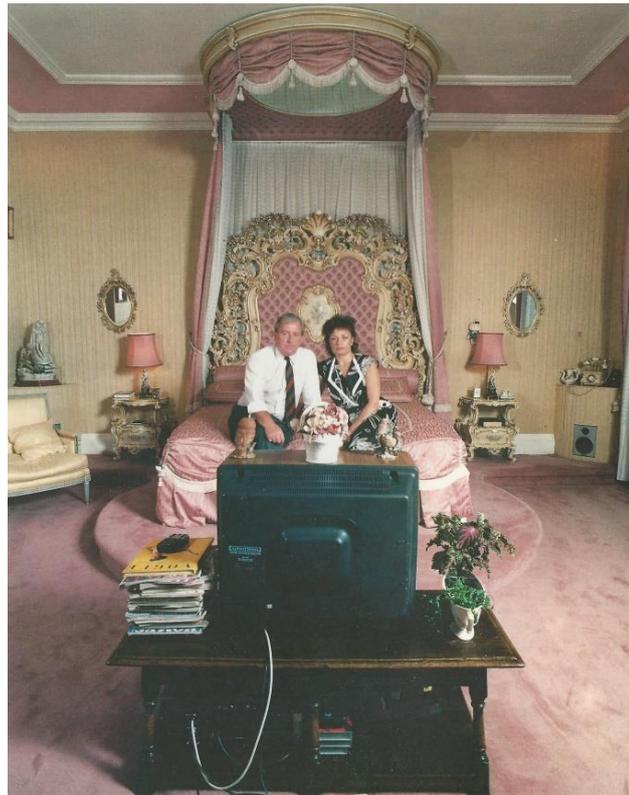
Source: N. Duckers & H. Davies, *A Place in the Country* (London, 1990), p.139.

Figure 1.22: *The Johnson family in their caravan at the Casterton Motel site*

Source: N. Duckers & H. Davies, *A Place in the Country* (London, 1990), p.144.

Duckers and Davies were aware that the book would cause a stir within Rutland. In this respect, if not in others, they were accurate. The book itself was a *succès de scandale.* The *Leicester Mercury,* in characteristic tabloid overstatement, reported a 'Clamour to read Rutland's saucy secrets', as Walkers booksellers in Oakham recorded that over 200 copies had been sold within a month, which at a £16.99 price tag in 1990 was considered to be 'a lot'.[124]

It must be ironic that the materially dispossessed rural poor of Rutland championed by Fabes *et al.* Or depicted by Duckers and Davies would likely not see or could ill afford the books within which their lives were recorded. Both these examples of literature, one for a specific policy-influencing readership and the other for a more general readership, were aimed at national audiences rather than a local readership alone. They were a corrective to the elegiac prose of much of the topographical writing produced about Rutland which was often quoted in planning and more general discussions of the county identity. They shed light on another aspect of the county community, beyond that of pretty stone villages in a pastoral, hunting landscape. In exploring the various social cultures within the county they challenged the depiction of Rutland as an inclusive county community. They suggested that the imagined county community consisted of different 'imaginings' dependent on divergent aspirations, material wealth and positioning within the overall social structure of the county.

Conclusion: Rutland represented; the imagined county community

The literature and media representation of Rutland throughout the twentieth century gave focus to Rutland being depicted as part of a widely accepted image of the shires of rural Midland England. This depiction had importance within the national psyche and notions of 'heritage', 'tradition' and 'countryside'. It also had the more local benefit of reinforcing a distinctive local identity based on topography, 'way of life' and rurality. It was this identity together with notions of kinship, intimacy and communality expressed in local political and cultural behaviour which reinforced the notion of a vibrant, active and defensible county community, distinctive from its neighbours. The county community, in terms of media representation at least, may be considered an amalgam of differing points of view, or imagined communities centred on a belief of belonging reinforced by physical occupation and participation in political, social and cultural life within the given geographical area.

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[124] *Leicester Mercury*, 9 July 1990.

In short, artistic literary and media representation reinforced the identity of the county community in two ways. Firstly, whether esoteric or popular, it gave the county notable and recognisable identification to those living *outside* its bounds. Secondly, bolstered by the first point, it reinforced the identity and heritage of people *within* the county by giving Rutland recognition on a wider stage, recognising particular traits, symbols and peculiarities as being distinctive to the locality and giving it a personal and individual identity distinct from elsewhere.

CHAPTER 2

GONE TO EARTH: THE COTTESMORE HUNT AND THE IMAGINED COMMUNITY OF RUTLAND

> Situated partly in Leicestershire and including Rutland, 'The Cottesmore' forms one of the most favoured group of countries which are held by most people to be ideal hunting grounds of England.[1]

Hunting throughout much of the modern era was so central to the perceived county community of Rutland particularly that imagined by outsiders, that it needs particular treatment separate from the wider literary and visual construction of the county.

The key questions to be answered in this chapter are how hunting shaped both the landscape and the artistic and literary imaginings of Rutland and why this came about. This leads to the question of did hunting help define Rutland as a distinctive county. A subsidiary but not tangential question will be how far enthusiasm for hunting was reflected as a preoccupation of all its inhabitants and the more democratic and inclusive county. Did the image reflect a dominant or peripheral reality?

During the twentieth century there was a perceived change in political and social 'imagining' of Rutland, by the casual observer, from being a county community principally associated with the landed interest of the gentry to that of less oligarchic 'land interest' representing all facets of a more democratic and widespread ownership of land and interest in agriculture, whether as farmer, tenant or labourer. One of the ways in which this change can be demonstrated is in an exploration of the development of the hunting community and the associated imagery of Rutland as a hunting shire after 1850, when the introduction of both the railway and metropolitan money changed the nature of foxhunting across the Midlands.

Rutland and the Cottesmore Hunt

Rutland has a long hunting tradition dating from the mediaeval period, when deer hunting (and poaching) were long established in the Royal Forest and its environs. James I was the last King to hunt the county in 1603. It was in Ryhall that the seventh-century Saint Tibba, patron saint of hawking and fowling, was buried until translated to Peterborough Cathedral. Early fourteenth-century carvings of 'reynard' on capitals at Oakham church indicate the

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[1] 'Hunting Countries: The Cottesmore', *The Foxhound and National Horse Breeding Notes* (January 1914), p. 106.

longevity of the fox in the landscape culture of Rutland.[2] M. De Belin's thesis of a transitional hunting environment directed by the changing hunting interests of the elite away from deer hunting towards foxhunting can be envisioned in Rutland and what became the 'Cottesmore country'.[3] In his analysis of the East Midlands hunting countries Jonathan Finch blended an analysis of social and spatial geography to give an overall historic landscape characterisation, which he claims other geographers and anthropological sociologists had hitherto ignored. He put hunting central to the community identity of 'the Shires'.[4]

'The Shires', described by T. F. Dale as 'a term sanctioned by long use', comprises the hunting countries of the Quorn, Belvoir, Cottesmore, Fernie, Pytchley, Woodland Pytchley, Atherstone and Warwickshire hunts.[5] As such, 'The Shires' comprises the former grazing districts of Leicestershire, Rutland and Northamptonshire with parts of Warwickshire and Lincolnshire. Historically and culturally Melton Mowbray is seen to be the capital of the hunting shires. During the nineteenth century 'golden age of hunting' the Cottesmore benefited from being within hacking distance of Melton, and as a consequence attracted a large field of visitors to their meets. In 1914, it was recorded that the western part of the Cottesmore country, 'the grass of which is as near as perfection for hunting purposes, as it is possible to find constitutes a "going" which is hardly equalled anywhere in England'.[6] The central area comprised more mixed farming with post and rail fences and blackthorn hedges whilst the eastern part, up to the fens, was noted for its woodlands and walls.

[2] K. Varty, 'Reynard in Leicestershire and Rutland', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 38 (1962–3), pp. 1–8.

[3] M. De Belin, *From the Deer to the Fox. The Hunting Transition and the Landscape 1600–1850* (Hatfield, 2013).

[4] J. Finch,' "Grass, Grass, Grass": Foxhunting and the Creation of the Modern Landscape', *Landscapes* (2004) pp.41–52; J. Finch, ' "What More were the Pastures of Leicester to me?" Hunting, Landscape Character, and the Politics of Place', *International Journal of Cultural Property* (2007), pp.361–83.

[5] T. F. Dale, *Foxhunting in the Shires* (London, 1903), p. 1; M. Clayton, *Foxhunting in Paradise* (London, 1993) p. x.

[6] *Foxhound*, 1914, p.106.

Figure 2.1 *Cottesmore Country*
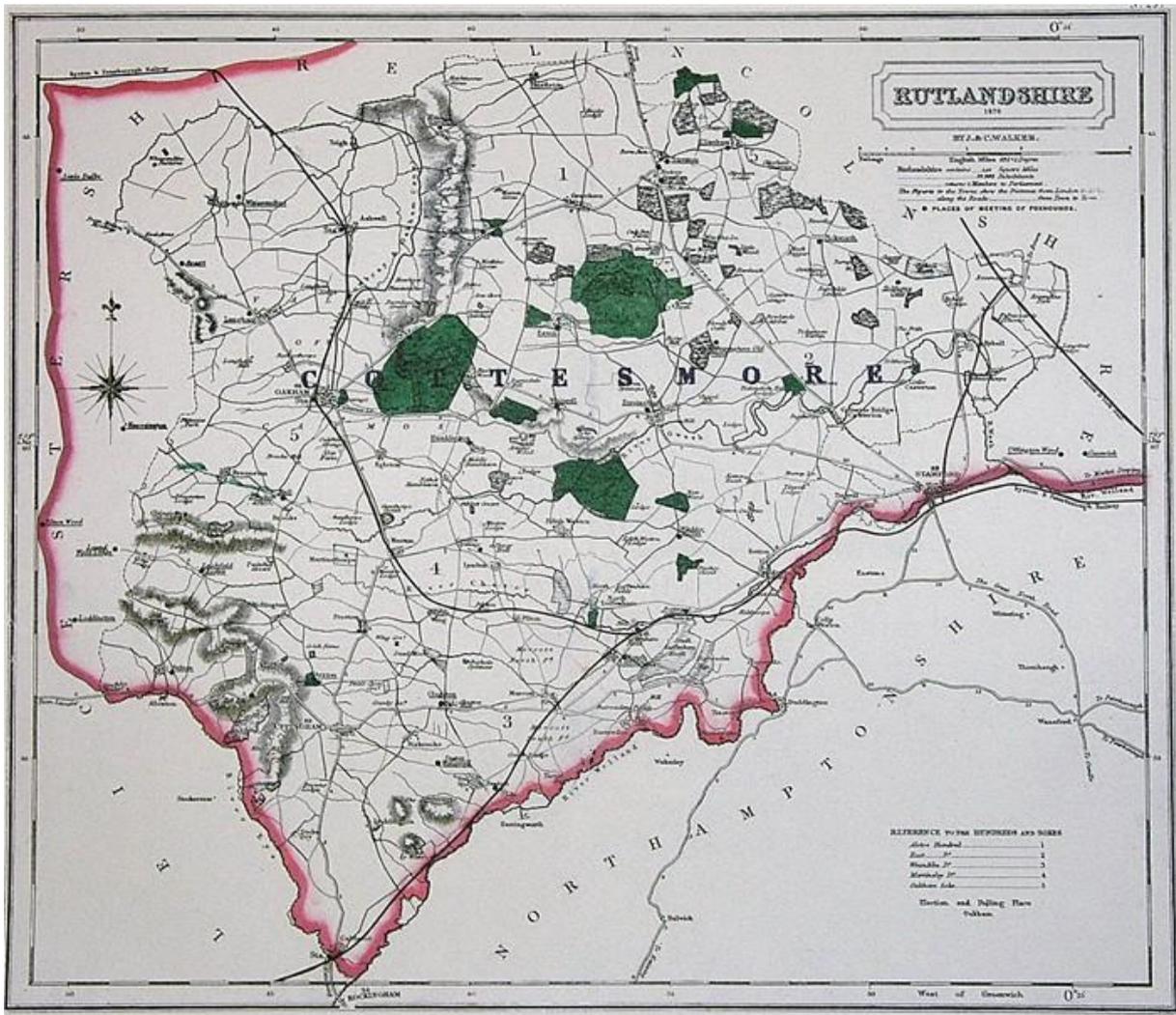
Source: Hobson's Map of the Cottesmore Hunt Territory (1870).

Cottesmore country encompasses the whole of Rutland as well as some of the Lincolnshire estates of the Earl of Ancaster (Grimsthorpe) and Lord Kesteven, two of its aristocratic supporters (Figure 2.1). Finch was not the first to observe that the boundaries of hunting countries and historic landscape characterisations were not co-terminous with county boundaries. Hence it can be rightly observed that Rutland is a hunting county set within the Cottesmore 'hunting country'. In common with other hunts, the Cottesmore territory was divided into different countries: 'Monday country', territory to the east of the Great North Road extending into Lincolnshire; 'Tuesday country', territory west of the Oakham-Uppingham Turnpike; 'Thursday country', the northern and eastern halves of Rutland; and 'Saturday country', land above Oakham or below Uppingham.[7]

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[7] Clayton, *Foxhunting*, p.21.

The Cottesmore Hunt appears to owe its origins to the pack of hounds translated by Henry Viscount Lowther from Cumberland to Fineshade, Northamptonshire around 1666.[8] The next 200 years saw various shifts in ownership and stabling between the aristocratic families of the area, principally those of the Lowther and Noel families. It took the name 'Cottesmore' after it was stabled at Cottesmore Hall c.1804. The popularity of hunting in the Shires grew to dramatic proportions as a favourite seasonal leisure pursuit of a cultured elite in the late nineteenth century, due to the growth of the railway network and the conversion of arable land to pasture due to the agricultural depression. Hunting in the Shire packs drew many sojourners to Rutland during the season. Hunting boxes, whether lavish, such as Barnsdale Hall, a 'Jacobethan' affectation constructed in 1890 by Viscount Fitzwilliam, or more vernacular domestic halls and 'cottages' rented for the season, dominated around half of the Rutland villages during this time. There were significant social benefits to the local economy created by these establishments in terms of both commerce and employment of domestic and equestrian staff.

The Cottesmore Hunt was, outside of its earlier years, never a totally exclusive sporting and social network. For all the social pretensions and at times snobbery of some of its subscribers, the hunt always welcomed new money (of the right sort) to help fund and sustain its activities. It has benefited from a succession of talented amateur huntsmen during the course of the twentieth century. At one stage, it was even noted for advancing female emancipation by accepting large numbers of ladies in the field.[9]

Itzkowitz points out that not all local landowners hunted, particularly during the early nineteenth century, and this is true of Rutland.[10] The Earl of Harborough (1807–59) was particularly opposed to hunting. There was a strong connection between the Cottesmore Hunt, Stamford Races in the 1820s, and steeplechasing later in the century. From this evolved point-to-point racing which was crucial to the sport's popularity. In terms of equestrian sport many were hunting to ride rather than riding to hunt. Many were also attracted to the Cottesmore for social rather than sporting reasons. Cuthbert Bradley spoke of the Cottesmore as being 'one of the most desirable hunts from a social point of view'.[11] There

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[8] Clayton has the most accurate and insightful history of the Hunt published to date.

[9] A. Traylen, *Hunting the Cottesmore in Rutland* (Oakham, 1977), p. 3.

[10] D. Itzkowitz , *Peculiar Privilege. A Social History of English Foxhunting, 1753-1885* (Hassocks,1977) p.41.

[11] C. Bradley, *Good Sport with Famous Packs, 1885–1910* (London, n.d.[1911]), p.201. As a noted author and hunting parson of a Rutland parish (Stretton) he may however have been rather biased.

is also a close connection between the Cottesmore Hunt and the county authorities, which at times could work to the hunt's advantage. A Police Report of 11 January 1927 stated, 'Damage caused to a newly constructed footpath on the side of the Great North Road at Horn, through gentlemen of the Cottesmore Hunt riding thereon. The District Council declined to take action.'[12]

Lionel Edwards described the social milieu hunting the shires during the golden age as a 'rather overcrowded paradise with a somewhat mixed company of angels'.[13] Blow characterises them as 'the bevy of barking socialites' in a 'snobs' Paradise'. The 'moral' tone of some of the social aspects of hunting society was notorious.[14] The Cottesmore subscribers attempted to distance themselves from racier aspects of the Melton Hunt scene and forge a local identity based on the distinctive hunting within Cottesmore country. This attachment to the hunting landscape extended to a common sense of identity and what Marvin calls 'webs of sociality' supporting communal activities centred on Rutland.[15]

The pessimism felt about hunting after the deleterious effects of the First World War were reflected in the actions of Arthur Bird, a stud groom for Alfred Codrington at Preston Hall, who decided that the great days of hunting were over and, as a consequence, left his position to become a market gardener at Bisbrooke.[16] However, the 1930s saw 'a splendid pre-war decade of hunting' under the mastership of 'Chetty' Hilton Green, 'a stimulating personality and genius as huntsman'.[17] The Cottesmore Hunt survived two world wars and the increasing conversion of grass to arable, a process which extended throughout the post-war era. The hunt became less exclusive and more inclusive of the local farming community who were not able to ride to hounds, but still appreciated the sport and the tradition. Significantly in this respect a Cottesmore Hunt Supporters Club was set up in 1972 to formalise community support. Hunting had lost its sojourners of the interwar years and most people in the field were natives or established visitors. Interestingly, and perhaps in reflection of attitudes

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[12] Traylen, *Hunting,* p.7.

[13] L. Edwards, *Scarlet and Corduroy* (London, 1941) p. xx.: S. Blow, *Fields Elysian, A Portrait of Hunting Society* (London, 1983), pp. 108, 115.

[14] 'My great aunt Augusta Noel always bewailed that the Hunt brought such naughty ways in its train. Would not inoculation against an unspecified disease peculiar to the "Shires" be advisable to those intending to hunt with these packs?' N. Bentinck Lady, *My Wanderings and Memories* (London, 1924), p.192.

[15] G. Marvin, 'English Foxhunting: A Prohibited Practice', *International Journal of Cultural Property* 14 (2007), p. 350.

[16] A. Traylen, *Ancestral Houses of Rutland* (Stamford, 2005), p. 21.

[17] Clayton, *Foxhunting,* pp. 273-4.

towards local government by the county elite, the Cottesmore Hunt eschewed professional for amateur huntsmen during much of the twentieth century. It was noticeable that this was not detrimental to the success of the hunt in the field.

Rutland as a hunting community in literature and imagery

The literature of hunting concerning the shire packs, particularly that produced between 1850 and 1960, is rather extensive. Although some comprised hunting reminiscences, mentioning days in Cottesmore country, very little is solely concerned with hunting with the Cottesmore.[18] In hunting literature there is little distinction between the pastures of Leicestershire and those of Rutland. Nimrod, in 1843, reminds his readers that the Cottesmore was a Rutland hunt whilst latterly Michael Clayton, with his intimate knowledge of Rutland's hunting landscape, draws a comparison between it and that of Leicestershire in that it is 'not necessarily better but noticeably different'.[19] The Cottesmore Hunt does not have a published history as such outside of the individual chapter mentions in the works of T. F. Dale (1903), C. Simpson (1926), R. Greaves (1960) and M. Clayton (1993).[20] Traylen did produce a thin pamphlet, *Hunting the Cottesmore in Rutland*, in 1977, comprising a brief text drawn from Simpson together with photographs of the pre-war hunting elite.[21] Simon Blow's *Fields Elysian: a Portrait of Hunting Society* contains some references to Cottesmore personalities.[22] The recorded reminiscences of Dick Christian (1779–1862), a Rutland-born huntsman and 'rough rider', give a glimpse of what hunting was like in Rutland at the

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[18] Notable examples of hunting reminiscences containing references to hunting with the Cottesmore would include: 'Brooksby' (Pennell-Elmhirst), *The Cream of Leicestershire.11 Seasons' Skimmings, Notable Runs and Incidents of the Chase (Selected Reports from 'The Field')* (London, 1883); J. O. Paget, *Memories of the Shires* (London, 1920); H. S. Davenport, *Memories at Random: Melton and Harborough* (London, 1926);'Nimrod', *Nimrod's Hunting Reminiscences, Comprising Memoirs of Masters of Hounds, Notices of the Crack Riders and Characteristics of the Hunting Countries of England* (London, 1926, originally published 1843); G. Paget, *Rum 'uns to Follow. Memories of 70 years of the Shires by a Melton Rough Rider* (London, 1934); L. Edwards, *A Leicestershire Sketchbook* (London, 1935); E. Morrison, *Fox and Hare in Leicestershire. Random Thoughts and Memories* (London, 1954).

[19] 'Cottesmore House, it must be remembered, is not in the county of Leicester, but in Rutland, and so indeed are the majority of Lord Lonsdale's fixtures': *Nimrod*, p. 46; Clayton, *Foxhunting*, p.4.

[20] Dale, *Foxhunting* (1903); C. Simpson, *Leicestershire and its Hunts: the Quorn, the Cottesmore, the Belvoir* (London, 1926); R. Greaves, *Foxhunting in Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Rutland* (Tunbridge Wells, 1960); M. Clayton, *Foxhunting* (London, 1993). Michael Clayton moved to Rutland to hunt after a career as a BBC journalist. He has written extensively on hunting both for *Horse and Hound* and in a number of books.

[21] A. Traylen, *Hunting the Cottesmore in Rutland* (Oakham, 1977).

[22] S. Blow, *Fields Elysian: a Portrait of Hunting Society* (London, 1983).

beginning of the nineteenth century;[23] and the poem by William Bromley-Davenport (1821–84) recalling the 'Dream of an Old Meltonian' asleep on the benches of the House of Commons and imagining himself on a run through Cottesmore country is equally famous.[24]

Cottesmore Hunt scenes and meets were regularly depicted in periodicals ranging from *The Illustrated and Sporting News, The Field, Horse and Hound, The Tatler* and *The Graphic* to the more provincial *Leicester Graphic*. The first three mentioned had a sporting bias; the latter three were examples of society journals. Jonathan Finch describes foxhunting as being 'a particularly evocative view of rurality'.[25] The Cottesmore Hunt is mentioned in both the pictorial essays of *Illustrated* in 1947 and *The Sunday Times* in 1962 as being indicative of county life, under threat from, even if one step removed, from local government reform.[26] The Cottesmore Hunt even features in the opening sequences of the promotional video produced by the Anglian Water Authority to record the construction of Rutland Water in 1977.[27] The Cottesmore Hunt was seen, 'imagined', by outsiders as very much indicative of the rural nature of the county community of Rutland (Figure 2.2)

The Cottesmore Hunt, and by extension the Rutland hunting landscape, had no equivalent local artists to the early nineteenth-century Meltonians, Henry Alken (1783–1851) and John Ferneley (1782–1860). However, during the golden age of hunting, nationally renowned artists such as Lionel Edwards (1878–1966), Cecil Aldin (1870–1935), 'Snaffles' [C. Johnson-Payne] (1884–1967), John Kenney (1911–72), Michael Lyne (1912–89) and Peter Biegel (1913–86) all included scenes of the Cottesmore hunting the Rutland landscape among some of their original depictions of the work of the shire packs.[28] This oeuvre, reproduced in book illustration and in popular print, gave a steady stream of regularly published images associating Rutland with hunting throughout the twentieth century.

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[23] G. Paget, L. Irvine (eds), *The Flying Parson and Dick Christian, incorporating 'The Druid's' chapters from* Silk and Scarlet *and* Post and Paddock*, and Several Hitherto Unpublished Letters from George Osbaldeston* (Leicester, 1934).

[24] W. Bromley-Davenport, *The Dream of an Old Meltonian* (London, 1901).

[25] Finch, 'Pastures of Leicester', p. 362.

[26] R. Jackson, ' "Hands Off", says Rutland', *Illustrated*, 1 November 1947, pp. 19–23; 'And, of course, there has always been hunting': M. Parkinson, 'Rutland's Last Stand', *The Sunday Times Colour Section*, 9 September 1962, pp. 14–15.

[27] AWA, *The Construction of Rutland Water* [video later DVD] (Oundle, 1977). A grinning Doctor Ransome-Wallis stares from his horse into the camera. He had a practice in Uppingham in the 1950s–80s and is indicative of how the hunt had become more settled with local subscribers than sojourners during the post-war era.

[28] 'Snaffles' lived in and hunted from Oakham for a few years before 1914. He produced work published in *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* and Cecil Aldin hunted with the Cottesmore at the same time.

Figure 2.2 *Rutland as depicted in 'County Songs', Punch, 15 February 1928*

FEBRUARY 15, 1928.]   PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.   179

COUNTY SONGS.
XXVII.—RUTLAND.

Poor Rutland is so very small
There 's hardly any room at all ; -
So very small that no one can
Be aught but Li-li-pu-ti-an.
The little farms have little peasants,
The little woods have little pheasants,
The little barns have little rats,
The little hearths have little cats,
And as for Rutland mice, they chortle
Because, so tiny, they 're immortal.
E. V. L.

Text by E.V. Lucas and illustration by E. H. Shepard. Note the domination of hunting in the imagery.

Source: *Punch*, 15 February 1928.

The readership and consuming audience of these periodicals and books, together with the owners and connoisseurs of hunting art, were spread across the nation and beyond. The marketing and target audience of these artistic and literary products was chiefly centred upon the hunting enthusiasts of the ruling elite. The development of the popular print during the twentieth century, ranging from photographic reproductions on postcards through to limited edition and framed prints, broadened the social range of those reached by these endeavours. Certainly after the Second World War hunting literature became more widespread. However, it still retained an elitist and sectional appeal. The overall impression given by hunting art and

literature was that Rutland possessed a sporting landscape of rolling fields and pastures, crafted by nature and generations of farmers, and hunted over, and in all senses 'managed' by a social elite.

The hunting community of Rutland: myth or reality?

> Nor is hunting the amusement only of the rich.[29]

> Hunting rests ultimately on the public opinion of the district in its favour. The disaffected are often silenced and sometimes obliged to give a reluctant consent and support to hunting.[30]

T. F. Dale spoke of the contradictions in the issue of hunting, inherent in rural society where 'class jealousies seethe under the surface of rural life' but also contain labourers 'whose sympathies [are] always with a bit of "spoort" '.

Structural and social changes in the organisation of hunting within Rutland have been discussed, in so far as they relate to active participants within the elite of the county community. However, it yet remains to discover how far hunting remained a popular pastime and interest of the more passive observers within the county, the majority of its inhabitants, who did not get the opportunity to participate in the sport which became so iconic a pastime of the small rural community. The evidence from Rutland would broadly, but not entirely, lend its support to Itzkowitz's concluding remarks concerning hunting as a cohesive element in rural society.

> For hunting people, and for many who never hunted at all, the sport became an integral part of country society and a bond among neighbours, respective of their social class. This social bond was used, above all else, to justify the demands that hunting made on all who lived within the district, whether they hunted or not. The sport was, therefore, looked upon as a conservative force, which, by binding landlord, tenant, and labourer together and giving them a sense of belonging to the same community, acted as a counterweight to the forces of radicalism, urbanisation, and industrialisation that threatened the stability of that community.[31]

Rutland had the prerequisites for this theory to hold validity, namely a deferential society and the growth of a *land* interest uniting landowners, their tenant farmers, farmer/freeholders and agricultural workers. It must be said that the county community also appreciated the cultural tradition of maintaining a hunting heritage dating back to the time of the Royal Forest of

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[29] Dale, *Foxhunting,* p.6.

[30] Ibid., p.307.

[31] Itzkowitz, *Peculiar Privilege*, pp.176–7.

Rutland. In institutionalising and organising this sporting activity through the hunt, they were rationalising and defending their rural heritage as much as the visceral thrill of the chase.

During the golden age of hunting, which we can broadly define as being between 1870 and 1950 (so as to include other definitions encompassing a narrower timeframe), the Cottesmore Hunt, among others, was structurally and functionally socially exclusive. Michael Clayton, one of its modern supporters, seeks to defend it against the accusation of being a rich man's sport.[32] He does not deny the influence and impact of 'new money' on the Cottesmore during the post-war years, but in many respects this is a reflection of what had happened in previous generations when the Cottesmore had welcomed outsiders into its ranks, particularly those who were prepared to invest in the hunt.[33] In reality Rutland was a neo-feudal society where the inclusion of sojourners and outsiders into the community was largely dependent upon their breeding, social status and the capital, whether in terms of wealth or *élan*, that they brought with them.

The changing nature of land ownership within the county was reflected in a more inclusive and concerned attitude by the hunt towards the farming community. 'In many respects the support of both tenant and independent farmers became the true justification of the popularity of hunting.'[34] Both freeholding farmers and tenant farmers resented the damage caused to their lands and fencing by large fields of huntsmen and followers. In addition to which, although 'Cecil' could remark that 'the preservation of foxes in this hunt is generally respected', the 'preserved' foxes at times caused destruction to poultry and other livestock before being hunted.[35] Birch-Reynardson, an enthusiastic hunter as well as being a Rutland resident, writing of the Cottesmore Hunt in the 1820s, records how much the Rutland tenantry resented the damage caused to the land by the hunt. His is one of the few books about the Cottesmore Hunt which mentions farmers by name, including them in the hunting scene.[36] J. Otho Paget speaks of the hunt larking over the fields, riding where they wished, at Ashwell in 1855 and the conflict it caused between the hunting and farming communities.[37]

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[32] Clayton, *Foxhunting*, pp.136–7.

[33] Clayton, *Foxhunting in Paradise*, pp. 233–4.

[34] Blow, *Fields Elysian*, p.136.

[35] 'Cecil', *Hunting Tours* (London,1924), p.89. He was writing of the 1850s.

[36] Birch-Reynardson, *Sports and Anecdotes* (London, 1887) pp. 100-1

[37] J. Otho Paget, *Memories of the Shires* (1920) pp.13–15.

However, by the 1880s Cuthbert Bradley spoke of the support for the hunt from the farming community.[38] The neighbouring Billesdon Hunt dispute of 1878 set a dangerous precedent in pitching the farmers against the hunt.[39] In 1881 the Cottesmore Hunt set up a poultry damage fund to recompense aggrieved farmers.[40] The farming interest was cultivated in many other ways. Lord Lonsdale, during his mastership in the early twentieth century, assiduously helped disseminate local agricultural suppliers' names and addresses, throughout and beyond Cottesmore country.[41] Blow stated that 'the hunting field became the centre of rural unity'. Here, he claims, the farmers found 'protection' and understanding of their concerns by the hunting, landowning gentry.[42]

The Cottesmore Hunt demonstrated their value to the agricultural community by sponsoring hedge laying competitions as well as prizes for the best horses at the Rutland Agricultural Show.[43] In the years before the First World War the Leicestershire Yeomanry recruited amongst Rutland's equestrian farming community and the Yeomanry itself had intimate connections with that of the Cottesmore Hunt. When Jimmy Finch was Hunt secretary in the 1920s he was noted for his close relations with local farmers. 'Them Finchs bin 'ere a time and understands we.' [44] Modern masters, such as Robert Hoare, assiduously cultivated good relationships with the farmers on tenanted farms, as much of the larger areas of farmland had been converted to arable.[45] With this increase in arable land, some farmers became opposed to the hunt riding over their fields. To help counteract this attitude the Cottesmore Hunt employed men to follow the progress of the hunt and literally (re)build fences with the farming community.

As long ago as 1903, T. F. Dale had stated that the political interests of farming and hunting were interrelated:

> The particular class of politicians who gird at their sport are not in the least
> likely to be of the smallest use to the farmer in anything he wants. The farmers

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[38] C. Bradley, *Good Sport with Famous Packs.1885–1910* (nd [1911]), pp.60–4.

[39] Itzkowitz, *Peculiar Privilege,* pp. 170–1.

[40] Itzkowitz, *Peculiar Privilege,* p. 169.

[41] *The Foxhound*, 1914, p.116.

[42] Blow, *Fields Elysian*, p. 84.

[43] *Land and Water* 12 November 1892. 183 horses were exhibited at the Agricultural Show that year.

[44] Unattributed quotation, Traylen, *Hunting the Cottesmore*, p. 4.

[45] Clayton, *Foxhunting in Paradise*, p. 234. Hoare's place in the county establishment was reinforced by his ownership of the Crown Hotel, the major hostelry in Oakham during the post-war years.

have an instinctive feeling that from his sympathy with country life a sportsman is their best representative.[46]

Apart from farmers able to hunt themselves a significant number were involved in supporting the hunt by puppy walking.[47] A larger number of county residents and visitors from all sections of society were able to participate in the spectacle of the hunt by 'following'. These followers are largely silent in hunting literature. 'Brooksby' mentions 'Rusticus' observing and conversing with the rider, and another labourer catching a runaway horse during the 1872–3 season.[48] (Figure 2.2) Ernie Marlow in his unpublished memoirs of life in Uppingham in the first two decades of the twentieth century describes how as a schoolboy he would spectate at meets of the hunt.[49] Schoolchildren would often follow the hunt and act as gatekeepers, hoping for a modest amount to recompense them for their trouble by members of the field.[50] Followers of the hunt from the rural community are prominently featured in E. H. Shepard's 1928 illustration of Rutland's 'County Song' (Figure 2.2).[51] The Cottesmore Hunt was involved in other aspects of county life. In 1903 the Master's wife, Mrs William Baird, founded a hospital in Oakham for both hunting casualties and the general population. Activity by the Hunt, partly financed by regular increased subscriptions or by charitable contribution towards the wider county community within which they lived, was essentially conservative in nature.[52] It defended the interests of the hunting community within the broader county community where hunting became seen less as a right and more of a privilege dependent upon the acquiescence and support of the rural community as a whole.

Popular Support for field sports, spread throughout the social culture and the widening county community, has been severely understated if viewed solely in terms of evidence available through surviving literature. Oral tradition and folk history indicate that a ready acceptance of the functional hunting of animals, whether as a source of food or as vermin, was inherent in the rural lore of Rutland. This was combined with a more brutalist tradition towards the use of animals in 'sport'.

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[46] Dale, *Foxhunting*, p. 310.

[47] Blow, *Fields Elysian,* p. 15.

[48] Brooksby, *Cream of Leicestershire,* pp.100, 102.

[49] E. Marlow [memoirs in personal possession, unpublished]. 'This occasion was a boyhood delight, a fortunate glimpse of old England.'

[50] A function not performed only by schoolchildren: Bentinck, *Wanderings*, p.186.

[51] 'County Songs. 27 – Rutland.' *Punch*, 15 February 1928.

[52] Hunt subscriptions had been started in the 1870s and in 1893 'capping' was introduced for visitors and followers.

In an agricultural county such as Rutland, shooting, fowling, rabbiting, coursing, whether undertaken individually or collectively, legally, with the cooperation of landowners, or illegally (poaching), were commonplace. The relationship between landownership and permissive hunting/sport undertaken by landowners or their tenantry is an obvious point of contention and conflict within the broader county community. The enforcement of the game laws and estate regulations prevented the control of vermin in order to preserve it for the seigneurial hunt. This caused resentment in Rutland as much as elsewhere.[53]

There is a seditious, and in the broadest sense, anti-authority/anti-governmental resistance to the suppression of rural sports that extends way back into Rutland's history. The resistance to the suppression of bear-baiting in the seventeenth century, or bull-running during the early nineteenth century, finds an echo in resistance to the attempts to curb or ban foxhunting during the twentieth century.[54] There was at times conflict, with the moneyed equestrian community literally riding roughshod over smallholders' land. Whilst there was a certain amount of indignation against the visitors to the county in this respect, there was also a realisation of the wealth through commerce that the hunting community brought to the market towns in particular and the county at large.[55] T. F. Dale, in his guide to foxhunting published in 1903, emphasised the responsibility of hunting visitors and sojourners to be 'morally bound' to support local businesses, charities and the local economy.[56] Clayton reiterated the social and economic benefits of the Cottesmore Hunt, in a recapitulation of the arguments put forward by the Countryside Alliance in the 1990s.[57] With the broadening of the hunting community to encompass those farmers able to afford to hunt themselves and the followers whether by foot, bike, dog cart, horse and cart or latterly motor-vehicle, the popularity of foxhunting during the twentieth century has been much misrepresented by some elements of the media and lobbyists and politicians as being entirely an elitist sport.

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[53] If not enforced by tenancy agreement there was generally a cultural taboo against the shooting of foxes locally: D. Palmer, *Well! I was only 10. Memoirs of a 1940s Childhood* (Rushden, 2009), p.19.

[54] *Perfect Diurnal* 24–31 July 1643; R. Russell, *From Cockfighting to Chapel Building. Changes in Popular Culture in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 2002), chapter 2, 'The Unlamented Past. Elements of the Older Culture', details the Stamford bull-running controversy.

[55] Analysis of trade directories for Oakham, in particular between 1850 and 1941, indicates a significant number of businesses related to equestrianism and by extension hunting. Invoices from local businesses received by the Cottesmore Hunt between 1951and 1956 indicate the following products or services provided: saddlery; furniture hire, haulage, tailoring, provender and animal foodstuffs, gun supplies; veterinary services and supplies; stationery, catering, petrol and motor repairs, marquee hire, smith work, equine supplies, boot making and leather goods, agricultural supplies, carpentry and silverware. (Documentation in personal possession.)

[56] Dale, *Foxhunting,* pp. 300–2.

[57] Clayton, *Foxhunting in Paradise*, p. 3.

In 1946' *The Times* quoted the Secretary of the British Field Sports Society as stating that foxhunting was the 'yeoman sport of our countryside, with the general and enthusiastic support of the farming community'.[58] At the same time, however, came increased migration into the county by people with metropolitan sensitivities, divorced from the land and pastoral concerns. These people, while broadly accepting of rural life, also had concerns about issues such as ecology and fox welfare. It was the gradual growth of this section of the modern rural community which undermined the case for support of the hunt of being representative of a large proportion of county society.[59] To these incomers equestrianism was an aspirational, but not openly accessible, participatory sport but was an attractive observational leisure activity.[60] The hunt attracted new supporters and hunting retained significant support among some high-income migrants into the county as well as followers who did not ride in the field. However, as Paul Milbourne pointed out, 'a more complex relationship between nature and society exists in middle-class commuters' spaces (e.g. rural Leicestershire) where farming is less dominant in economic and cultural terms, and much less significance is attached to hunting ruralities'.[61] This 'complex relationship' remains yet to be fully explored within the changing community, politics and national legislative framework encompassing social attitudes within Rutland.

As Rutland's rural community, or that part of it intimately connected with the land, decreased in numbers during the twentieth century, resistance to imposed governmental interference with, and regulation of, foxhunting became more vociferous. Increasing numbers of immigrants settling in Rutland during this time were largely indifferent or antipathetic to foxhunting, even if they may have appreciated it as part of 'local colour' and rural tradition. Those Rutlanders who supported foxhunting came to see the battle to preserve it mirroring the battle to preserve Rutland itself against outside interference from Westminster and Whitehall, alien bodies outside of rural life and unable to appreciate the workings of a rural county community.

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[58] M. Tichelar, '"A Blow to the Men in Pink": The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and Opposition to Hunting in the 20th Century', *Rural History* 22 (2011), p.102.

[59] K. Hoggart, 'The Middle Classes in Rural England 1971–1991', *Journal of Rural Studies* 13(1997), pp. 253–73, and J. Heley, 'The New Squirearchy and Emergent Cultures of the New Middle Classes in Rural Areas', *Journal of Rural Studies* (2010), pp. 321-31, gives an exposition of this trend.

[60] Like many hunts the Cottesmore has its own Pony Club.

[61] P. Milbourne, 'Hunting Ruralities: Nature, Society and Culture in "Hunt Countries" of England and Wales', *Journal of Rural Studies* 19 (April 2003) pp. 157–171.

In the agitation leading up to the Hunting Act 2004 members of the Cottesmore Hunt Supporters' Club were active in the lobbying by the Countryside Alliance against what they saw as the cultural disinheritance of rural communities. In the months before the implementation of the Hunting Act, up to 1000 people turned out to support the 2005 New Year's Day meet of the Cottesmore hunt at Uppingham, almost equalling the number that supported the Boxing Day meet at Cutts Close, Oakham the week previously.[62] A *vox pop* interview with locals at the bar of the 'Fox and Hounds' at Exton, later that year, found fulminations about 'the antis' moving into the area and them being 'townies' and 'do-gooders'.[63]

Constrained by the workings of the Hunting Act, the Cottesmore Hunt operates as an equestrian sport across Rutland and beyond and still provides 'local colour' at the traditional Boxing Day and New Year's Day meets. From being an elitist leisure pursuit, famed as much for its social as sporting possibilities, foxhunting developed into a more inclusive activity encompassing in various guises different elements of the county community whether as active participants or passive observers.[64] It did however remain principally equestrian, and therefore, because of the costs involved, elitist, even if it was an open elite.[65]

> Foxhunting provides an opportunity to take part in a tradition. It unites the participants in a common purpose, and they regard the sport as truly their own. Amateurs who join in find themselves part of the group, sharing in a custom which enjoys a considerable appeal in many parts of the country.[66]

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[62] *Rutland Times* 31 December 2004; *Rutland Mercury* 7 January 2005.

[63] *Leicester Mercury*, 12 October 2005.

[64] James Howe makes some trenchant observations about the acquiescence of the rural community in what he considered to be an elitist sport: J. Howe, 'Foxhunting as Ritual', *American Ethnologist* 8 (May 1981), p. 286.

[65] An analysis, from a local perspective, of the subscription lists to the Cottesmore Hunt during the 1991–2 season indicates that the subscribers were a mix of commerce and country, manored and moneyed with a sprinkling of stranded gentry and *folies* bourgeois: Clayton, *Foxhunting in Paradise,* pp. 268–9.

[66] M. Dannemann, 'Foxhunting; a Form of Traditional Behaviour providing Social Cohesiveness', in V. J. Newall (ed.), *Folklore Studies in the Twentieth Century* (Totowa, N.J. 1978), pp.167–168.

CHAPTER 3

RUTLAND: THE OWNERSHIP OF THE PAST

This chapter considers Rutland's past as part of the county's identity. It considers whose history was recorded; who recorded it; and for what purpose. Consideration is given to how can a communal identity be found in its past; how the past was recorded and transmitted and did all this activity amount the creation of a communal heritage.

Examination is made of the principal published histories and of individuals, groups and societies involved in the propagation, publication and representation of county heritage. Representations of folk history during the twentieth century within terms of literature, pageant re-enactment and memorialisation within the context of the museum lead on to a summation of the achievement of the popularisation of local history over the last 50 years and the role it played in the reinforcement of Rutland's community identity.

Early literature concerning Rutland, both historical and topographical, was restricted by the political and reading tastes of Everitt's gentry 'county community'. The antiquarian endeavours of Thomas Brudenell, John Lord Harington and Sir Wingfield Bodenham in the antebellum years of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries informed the first and seminal county history of Rutland published by James Wright in 1684.[1] A conservative historian, he was a Tory lawyer and incomer into Rutland. The son of the restored Anglican vicar of Oakham, he purchased the Manor of Manton in his own right. He ingratiated himself to Rutland's restoration establishment by indulging in what Phythian-Adams calls 'the cult of the gentle dead'.[2] Much of his county history is taken up with manorial histories and the pedigrees and funeral monuments of the local gentry. His depiction of the county community as being solely a community related to manorial landholding and political office holding was

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[1] J. Wake, *The Brudenells of Deene* (London, 1953), p.106-7; John Lord Harington was the source of historical and cartographic information for John Speed's *Theatre of Empire of Great Britaine* (1611), J.Broadway, *'No historie so meete' Gentry culture and the development of local history in Elizabethan and early Stuart England.* (Manchester, 2012), p.209; Sir Wingfield Bodenham's 'Rutlandshire ', which chiefly comprised a series of notes and transcriptions undertaken while he was a prisoner in the Tower of London during the Civil War, was one of the major sources for James Wright's 'History'. ROLLR.DE 2191; *Rutland Record* 2 (1981); J. Wright, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland: collected from records, ancient manuscripts, monuments on the place, and other authorities, Illustrated with sculptures.* (London, 1684) . 15 pages of *Additions*, including four plates and an index were produced in 1687. These were supplemented by nine pages of *Farther Additions* in 1714.

[2] J. Simmons, 'James Wright', *English County Historians* (East Ardsley, 1978), p.45; C. Phythian-Adams, 'Leicestershire and Rutland' in C.R.J. Currie (ed.), *English County Histories: A Guide: A Tribute to CR. Elrington* (Stroud, 1994), p.230.

enhanced by the addition of plates of county seats paid for by the gentry themselves.[3] 'To the Nobility and Gentry inhabited in within, or otherwise relating to, the County of Rutland, James Wright presents and dedicates this work'.[4]

Wright's *History* was the only commercially produced book solely relating to Rutland, to reach publication in its entirety, until c.1810. Thomas Blore failed to find any significant sponsorship, other than that of the Noels, for his *History of Rutland* of which only one part was published in 1811.[5] Blore campaigned against the Cecil interest in the Stamford election of 1809 and being too aligned to the Noel faction no doubt hindered sponsorship for his project.[6] Blore, like Wright, was a lawyer of the Middle Temple and held a small estate at Manton. He used the same title for his *History* as Wright and followed many of his predecessor's conventions. His *History* was heavily biased towards parochial/manorial history with suitable pedigrees and illustrations by his nephew Edward Blore.[7]

What Roey Sweet recognises as the 'power of the imagined community' and the 'rhetoric of county patriotism' were present in a provincial impulse to produce local history.[8] However, in Rutland's case it appears to have been muted by the diminutive size of its county community, with fewer subscribers of sufficient wealth, academic, charitable or political interest. A publication centred on a small area such as Rutland, would be considerably constrained by its limited appeal to a general readership outside of the county. There were limitations to the literary reinforcement of the social, cultural and political ascendancy of the gentry and the educated literate elite within provincial society. L & J. Stone suggests that the gentry of Northamptonshire, saw no need to finance county histories as they were already well established within the county and had no reason for a literary reinforcement of their political and cultural heritage which was beyond dispute. They suggest that this is the reason that no full, successful history of Northamptonshire was published contemporary to early

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[3] The sole content of the *Farther Additions* (1714) was poetic tribute and illustration, of then Tory, Daniel Finch's magnificent new mansion at Burley on the Hill.

[4] Wright, *Rutland,* p.A2

[5] T. Blore, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland*, *Part 2 Volume 1 East Hundred* (Stamford, 1811). He grouped his parishes under the archaic Hundreds, something Wright had not done. This antiquarian celebration of the Hundred was continued up until the V.C.H.

[6] J. M. Lee 'Stamford and the Cecils 1700-1885: a study in political control' (Oxf. Univ. B.Litt. thesis, 1957). pp.103-4.

[7] ROLLR DE1324 Blore Correspondence File in Exton (Noel) Deposit. Blore's annotated copy of Wright's 'History' is at the British Library. R.F.S., 'A Grangerized History of Rutland', *British Museum Quarterly* 3 (1928) p.23.

[8] R. Sweet, *Antiquairies: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-century England* (London, 2004), pp.41-2.

histories of Rutland or Leicestershire.[9] It cannot be insignificant that, after Wright, there was to be no successful publication related solely to Rutland for 100 years. Harrod failed to find sufficient interest to republish Wright in 1788. Francis Peck's proposed *History of Rutlandshire*, likewise proved to be abortive [10]

Rutland: the antiquarian impulse

Reverend William Stukeley stimulated antiquarian interests in the district around Stamford during in the 1730s. Stukeley built up a network of antiquarian friends including William Whiston, Thomas Barker and George Finch in Rutland where he conducted some antiquarian exploration.[11] The development of antiquarian interest in local history from then onwards was, to a significant extent, reliant on local squirearchy and clergy widening their parochial interests and enthusiasms to include consideration of the county as a whole. Mid- Victorian interest in mediaeval history and ecclesiology focused attention to Rutland's church architecture and mediaeval past. 'The preservation of the past seemed the responsibility of the Victorian propertied classes'.[12] Reverend Harwood Hill gave a paper on the early mediaeval origins of Rutland to local architectural societies in 1871.[13] The Lincoln Record Society, founded in 1910, researched and produced publications pertaining to the mediaeval diocese of Lincoln which included Rutland.[14] Within the Diocese of Peterborough, Reverend Longden produced his 16 volume *Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy* for the Northamptonshire Records Society.[15] The Associated Architectural Societies included that of the 'Archdeaconry of Oakham'; however this was more of a nominal association with just a few Rutland clergy

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[9] J. Broadway, 'A convenient fiction? The county community and county history in the 1650s ' in J.Eales & A. Hopper (eds), *The County Community in Seventeenth Century England and Wales* (Hatfield, 2012) p.108-9;L. & J.C. Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540 – 1880* (Oxford, 1984), p.547.

[10] J. Simmons, introduction in J. Wright, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland* (East Ardsley, 1973) ,p.x; C. Phythian-Adams, 'Leicestershire and Rutland' p.230; David Boyd Haycock, 'Peck, Francis (1692–1743)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 < http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21738 > [accessed 6 Feb 2016]

[11] S. Piggott, *William Stukeley an Eighteenth-century Antiquary* (London, 1985).

[12] A.J. Kidd, 'Between Antiquary and Academic: Local History in the Nineteenth Century' in R.C. Richardson (ed.) *The Changing Face of Local History* (Aldershot, 2000), p.95.

[13] J. Harwood Hill, *Notes on Rutlandshire. A Paper read before the Northamptonshire and Leicestershire Architectural Societies at their Annual Meeting, held on the sixth day of June 1871, at Uppingham* (Leicester, 1871).

[14] C. Currie & C. Lewis (eds), *A Guide to English County Histories* (Stroud, 1994), p.252.

[15] H.I. Longden, *Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy from 1500*, Northamptonshire Records Society (Northampton, 1938 – 52).

being members. Rutland-based clergy such as Reverend Edward Irons, Reverend Cuthbert Bradley, and Reverend Mordaunt Barton were actively involved in the investigation and publication of local history in the years before the First World War.[16]

The clergy were supported in their researches by local squires such as Vernon Crowther Beynon who lived at Edith Weston. He was a FSA, with a particular interest in local archaeology and numismatics and contributed to the Rutland Victoria County History (VCH). A third class of individual actively involved in the pursuit of historical and in particular natural history research within the county included schoolmasters appointed to Oakham and Uppingham Schools, emerging as public schools from their grammar school origins during this period. Uppingham schoolmasters Howard Candler and C.R. Haines wrote chapters on natural history in the VCH, and Haines produced a book *The Birds of Rutland*. An Uppingham schoolmaster Guy Messenger later wrote the definitive county Flora. John Barber of Oakham School was a noted archaeologist and contributor to Rutland publications during the twentieth century.[17] A fourth section of the community, the professional and business people, chiefly centred in the market towns of Oakham, Uppingham and Stamford, completed the cross-section of the county community taking an active interest in local heritage. An analysis of the Rutland Archaeological and Natural History Society membership of 1915 shows that out of the 87 members, including 33 women, 24 were members of the clergy or their families; 22 were members of the local squirearchy; 11 were members of the local business community and seven were connected with the local schools. There are 23 other members which I have not immediately connected with any the aforementioned groups but likely to have been part of the cultured professional middle-class either retired or of independent means.[18]

Antiquarianism resulted in the development of 'particular' literature, written and directed for both general and selected readerships. Rutland came to have published volumes on geology, natural history, church bells, church plate, and other matters relating to the

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[16] Reverend Edward Irons (1851-1923), Rector of North Luffenham was a prolific contributor to the *Rutland Magazine*. His manuscript notes are at the David Wilson Library at the University of Leicester. (Special Collections, MS 80) The parish elements of these have been published online by the RLHRS. < http://www.rutlandhistory.org/ironsindex.htm > [accessed 6 February 2016]; Reverend Cuthbert Bradley, the pseudonym of the author 'Cuthbert Bede', Rector of Stretton and contributor to the VCH. A. Sanders, 'Bradley, Edward (1827–1889)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3185, accessed 6 Feb 2016]; Reverend Mordaunt Barton (1835 – 1904), Rector of Tickencote, contributor to the *Rutland Magazine.*

[17] C.R. Haines, *Notes on the Birds of Rutland* (London,1907); G.Messenger, *Flora of Rutland* (Leicester, 1971).

[18] *1915. The 13th Annual Report and Transactions of the Rutland Archaeological and Natural History Society* (Stamford, 1916), pp.5-6.

enthusiasms of the Victorian middle-class, validating the county as a framework for the study of the subjects.[19] *Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries and Antiquarian Gleaner*, was edited published quarterly by two Leicester booksellers between 1889 and 1895.[20] The claim of distinct connection between Leicestershire and Rutland, made by them was never proved and may have been stated for commercial convenience rather than as assured fact.[21]

By 1900 the pursuit of local history had extended from the gentry base to encompass the new county community. The interest of these individuals was still proprietary, but it was also an expression of personal enthusiasm for the subject and the locality. This resulted in local contributions to the *Victoria County History for Rutland* when it was published in 1908 and 1935.

The publication of the *Victoria County History of Rutland* marked the apotheosis of the antiquarian impulse within the county. Rutland is one of the few counties to have a complete VCH.[22] Following a traditional arrangement, including elements of natural history, the academic, restrictive language in the arrangement of the content did not make it an evangelical text for the encouragement of the study of local history within Rutland.[23] Stark and rather dull, they fossilised preoccupation with church history, landholding and manorial descent which bore little relation to the later post-war twentieth-century interest in general social and economic history. Constable, the original publisher of VCH, 'was aware of the need to appeal to the landed establishment, as well as those who wish to join them by carrying their new money into county society.' 'The evidence of early subscriber lists suggests that this was correct, and the inclusion of natural history, as well as sport, and particularly hunting, shooting and fishing, was probably designed with the target audience in mind.'[24] The second

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[19] For example: J. Judd, *Memoirs of the Geological Survey. England and Wales. The Geology of Rutland* (London,1875). This is interesting in that it is evidence of a government body giving recognition to Rutland as a geographical area in its own right, although the volume includes information relating to outlying counties also on Sheet 64 of the 1 inch map of the Geological Survey; T. North, *The Church Bells of Rutland* (Leicester, 1880), R.C. Hope, *An Inventory of the Church Plate in Rutland* (London,1887).

[20] J. & T. Spencer (eds), *Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries and Antiquarian Gleaner, An Illustrated Quarterly Magazine* (Leicester, 1889 – 1895) The death of one of the brothers resulted in its sudden demise.

[21] Spencer, 'Introductory', *LRNQ*, 1 (April 1889), p.2.

[22] W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the Counties of England . A History of Rutland* ,. 3 v (London,1908/1935/1936). The 1936 volume was the index. The 1935, volume, the last to be edited by William Page, contains a significant number of factual errors.

[23] J. Beckett & C. Watkins, 'Natural History and Local History in Late Victorian and Edwardian England: The Contribution of the Victoria County History', *Rural History*, 22 (2011), p.59.

[24] Beckett & Watkins, ' Natural History and Local History', p.64.

volume was produced largely due to the guarantee offered by Mr Owen Hugh Smith, a wealthy merchant banker who moved to Langham for the hunting.

George Phillips' role in the cultural development of the county community

George Phillips extended Rutland's antiquarianism into the twentieth century in a renewed form with different emphases. As the appointed Inspector of Weights and Measures, Manchester born Phillips was an incomer into Rutland but due to his role in the county establishment and his political and community interests, he soon became a prominent individual in the county.[25] He was churchwarden at Oakham and remedied a deficiency in town life, by buying premises for and opening a lending library, to encourage literacy and scholarship in Rutland.

Phillips founded the Rutland Archaeological and Natural History Society in 1902, and edited, and largely wrote, *The Rutland Magazine and County Historical Record: an Illustrated Quarterly journal devoted to the history, antiquities, biography, dialect, folk-lore, genealogy, topography, natural history etc. of the County of Rutland*. [26] This was the first journal solely to feature Rutland. The *Rutland Magazine* was largely produced by the subscription of these individuals to the society. The contents varied but mostly consisted of articles on individual parishes, with emphasis on the churches; records of archaeological discoveries; gentry history; transcriptions of records and elements of natural history and folklore. The magazine ceased publication after five volumes in 1912, probably due to fewer articles, emerging and decline in subscriptions. Perhaps not coincidentally, the project folded the same year when Phillips, as churchwarden, became heavily involved in the restoration of Oakham church.

Cambridge University Press invited Phillips to write a short volume on Rutland for its County Geography series for use in schools, and he wrote and published on his own volition *Rutland and the Great War*.[27] Published in 1920, *Rutland and the Great War: A Lasting Tribute to a Great and Noble Part*, George Phillips' great work of editorial compilation, was

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[25] P. Coyne, 'For the Love of Rutland, the Life and Times of George Phillips and his Family' Rutland *Record* 11, pp.437-55.

[26] G. Phillips (ed.), *Rutland Magazine and County Historical Record: an Illustrated Quarterly journal devoted to the history, antiquities, biography, dialect, folklore, genealogy, topography, natural history etc. of the County of Rutland,* 5 volumes (Oakham, 1903-12).

[27] G. Phillips (ed.), *Cambridge County Geographies: Rutland* (Cambridge, 1912). Perhaps surprisingly this went into two editions. There is no Rutland volume in the Oxford County Histories Series produced around the same time. G. Phillips (ed.). *Rutland and the Great War: a lasting tribute to a great and noble part* (Salford, 1920).

itself was an important part of the development of the culture of a modern county community. Its emphasis on the county as the model level of authority gave credence and public recognition to the community under the county banner. Although dominated by records of military service, a substantial part of the book is given over to organised civilian efforts on the home front within Rutland. Small communities, such as Oakham and Uppingham Schools and the Cottesmore Hunt, were subsumed and given recognition as constituent parts of the county community. However, beyond Phillips' conservative, deferential, outlook, it is possible to discern that although the community came together to support a patriotic *national* war effort, these patriotic efforts also reinforced the concept of a *county* community. Through the breadth of work conducted throughout the parishes, detailed in the book, can be discerned a widening of the concept of a county community to include most if not all of the residents coming together and operating under the banner of the county.

The two books together with the *Rutland Magazine* were seminal in the development of a local appreciation and understanding of Rutland's heritage. An outsider who had become an insider, Philips' published works identify him as a key promoter of Rutland as an individual community producing some of the first books on Rutland as an entity separate from its neighbours.

> Little Rutland has been a good deal neglected by historians and chroniclers. No one has thought it worthwhile to make much of the doings of such a small patch of territory, which has never perhaps felt itself big enough to take part in any leading public affairs.[28]

Although Phillips gave the county confidence to represent itself in print and take pride in its heritage, his crucial role in leading on this front, and in particular his leadership of the Rutland Archaeological and Natural History Society, is reflected in its slow demise after his death. Although the membership had risen from 88 in 1918 to 109 in 1941 the society appears to have chiefly met in Stamford, few records exist and it appears to have merged with a Stamford historical society after that date.[29]

Through the activities of the Rutland Archaeological and Natural History Society, local history and geography had been popularised within the county among the cultured participating middle classes and an awareness of the heritage of the local area was being taught in local schools, with the help of Phillips's books and articles. For example, Rutland's

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[28] Philips, *County Geography: Rutland,* p.67.

[29] *Rutland Archaeological and Natural History Society, 15th Annual Report* (1918), p.7; *Rutland Archaeological and Natural History Society, 39th – 44th Annual Reports* (1942), p.2; C.P. Lewis, 'The great awakening of English local history, 1918 – 1939.' in C. Dyer, *et al.* (eds), *New directions in Local History since Hoskins* (Hatfield, 2011).

village schools were active in the collation of information for L. Dudley Stamp's *Land Utilisation Survey of Britain*.[30]

The exploration of the socio-economic history of the agricultural labouring community within Rutland was regarded as subservient to antiquarian interests in ecclesiastical, architectural and more general political history. Folk history, did however come under the remit of the society and some efforts were made to record it. Alice Bell had written on 'Vanishing Uppingham' for the *Rutland Magazine*, which also included other notes on folklore and oral tradition from across the county.[31] Reverend Christopher Wordsworth and Reverend Nevinson had collected examples of local dialect and idiom and C.J.Billson had collated folklore for a volume published by the Folklore Society.[32]

There was however a tendency to misremember the extraordinary in any written records of oral tradition. Every robbery on a road was therefore by a 'Highwayman' who was inevitably 'Dick Turpin'. Oliver Cromwell, when not personally supervising the destruction of various Rutland buildings, slept in any given number of houses as did his counterpart Charles I. In the eyes of many villagers any obscure mound was a burial mound potentially full of ' hidden treasure', ancient cemeteries became 'mass graves' of the victims of plague or conflict and every manor house had its priest hole and every crossroads its gibbet. In this regard special attention should be given to the legend surrounding the naming of the Ram Jam Inn; Exton Park as the origin of the legend of the mistletoe bough; Oliver Cromwell besieging North Luffenham Hall; Charles I fleeing from Naseby stopping at Belton and Queen Elizabeth donating a horseshoe to Oakham Castle. All of these legends were demonstrably false but became important parts of the county historical mythology, oft repeated orally and in print.

As a consequence of the spurious nature of some of these 'tall tales' much socio-economic history recorded by oral tradition was disregarded and lost with the dwindling numbers of surviving agricultural labourers. It became 'necessary' to reinvent much rural folklore in the later twentieth century as the new village communities sought to assert the rural nature and heritage of the county. Incomers to Rutland villages were active in the re-creation of village feasts, bonfire night, wassailing and other 'traditions'. A county troupe of

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[30] M.E. Broughton, *The Land of Britain The Report of the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain Part 53 Rutland* (London, 1937).

[31] A. Bell, 'Vanishing Uppingham', *Rutland Magazine* 5 (1911), pp.46-9.

[32] Nevinson's work remained unpublished (University of Leicester, David Wilson Library, Special Collections, MS 52) however the English Dialect Society published that of Wordsworth. C. Wordsworth, *Rutland Words* (1891); C.J. Billson, *County Folklore Printed Extracts, No.3. Leicestershire and Rutland* (London,1895).

Morris men, the Rutland Morris, was recreated in the 1970s at the same time as village May Day festivities were dying out due to the closure of village schools.[33]

Figure 3.1 *Jeffrey Hudson in tableau, Rutland Pageant, 1947*

Source: McKeown "Illustrated", 1947-456-51.

The Rutland Pageant

In 1931 Rutland Rural Community Council formed a Local History subcommittee to further popular interest in local heritage. Much of its early work was directed towards the recording and preservation of local buildings and the countryside.[34] This subcommittee drew up

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[33] N. Duckers, *A Place in the Country* (London,1990), p.132.

[34] The committee was renamed to 'Local History and the Preservation of the Countryside' in 1932. It was actively involved in promoting tree planting, footpath recording and in the National Council of Social Services suggested county survey of rural buildings. ROLLR DE 4569/6 RRCC Annual Report 1932 – 1933.

extensive plans for an ambitious Rutland Pageant to be produced in 1933. Working with the Folk Dance, Drama and Music Committee of the RRCC, arrangements were made to involve 50 villages in the construction of seven historical scenes taken from Rutland's past. Subscriptions were sought and found for a guarantee fund but it was felt prudent to abandon the scheme due to the national economic crisis.[35]

The emphasis was on the pageant being used as a vehicle to bring the county community together, producing a visual spectacle and a tangible demonstration of community affiliation. In this respect Rutland was replicating ideals and objectives pursued by both Leicester and Northampton in their successfully produced local pageants of the previous decade.[36] The phenomenon of local pageants was part of the 'great awakening' in English local history during the first half of the twentieth century.[37] The common elements to these local pageants included a political desire to assert the community through the exposition of a perceived heritage giving an individual identity to the community. This assertion of individuality and particularity also had a concomitant motive in demonstrating that local communities played a part in the development of national history. In this respect the introduction of 'settlement by the Romans' or the supposed visit by Queen Elizabeth I to Rutland, being two of the seven tableaux to be presented in the Rutland Pageant, reinforced the history taught in local schools, giving it a local flavour and identification to the Whig tradition of the progression of national history.

The Rutland pageant was revived in 1947 and performed as various tableaux after a procession through Oakham during that year. This revival is as a direct result of the threat to Rutland's independence by the proposed abolition of the County Council. Local businesses and farms were prevailed to donate vehicles for floats and stages for the production. Although some of the 'great and good' were involved, the Rutland pageant was notably more democratic in its casting than, for example, the Leicester Pageant of 1932 had been. Inhabitants from across the county were involved, with parts allocated through village schools.[38]

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[35] ROLLR DE4569/24 RRCC Minute Book, Pageant Committee, 1932-1934.

[36] R. Foulkes, 'The Northampton history pageant of 1925', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, 8 (1993-4), pp.410-15; R. Jenkins, '"A distinct tonic" – The Pageant of Leicester (City and County) on its 75th anniversary', *Leicestershire Historian* (2007), pp. 48 – 51.

[37] Lewis, 'The great awakening'.

[38] 'When I was about 14 or 15 years old there was a campaign, "Hands off Rutland!" And some of us went from Casterton School to Oakham. We had a float and I was dressed in an ancient farm workers smock.' Daniel Harris, quoted in M. Whetstone, *Ryhall Remembers* (Ryhall, 2000), p.47.

The surviving newsreel film of the pageant illustrates some of the spectacle as it was performed.[39] The film depicts a carnival atmosphere. The pageant procession was headed by the police band and concluded with a parade of the Cottesmore Hunt. The procession included elements of various county organisations, on foot or on a float. The emphasis on the 'carnival' is underlined by the attention given by the crowd to the staged reconstruction of the famous boxing match between Cribb and Molineux at Thistleton in 1811 compared to the attention given to the supposed donation of the royal horseshoe to the Lord of the Manor of Oakham by Queen Elizabeth in a previous solemnly acted tableau.

Rutland Local History Society and the popularisation of local history

Post-war promotion of local history by the RRCC resulted in the formation of a Rutland Local History Society (RLHS) in 1955. Although concerned with Rutland's built heritage other organisations such as the Council for the Protection of Rural England (CPRE) and the Rutland Historic Churches Preservation Trust allowed the Rutland Local History Society to develop more overtly historical interests including the recording of rural, social, and folk history. Under the chairmanship of Tony Traylen from 1971, the RLHS published a series of booklets on Rutland villages. Each booklet comprised of old photographs of village scenes in addition to the anecdotal memoirs of long-standing villagers. Traylen is yet another example of an outsider to the county, adopting it and becoming a county champion. Traylen came to Rutland in 1965 from Hampshire. A successful building developer and latterly yarn merchant, he had developed a deep interest in local history.

The booklets were produced with regularity throughout the 1970s and reproduced into combined volumes in the early 1980s. Traylen expanded the production into an 'In Rutland' series of paperback books relating to aspects of the county's history drawn from folk history, reminiscence, pre-existing printed sources and the newspaper archive of the *Stamford Mercury*. The books were a commercial success and increased the popularity of local history within Rutland, reinforcing community identity during a period of change in local government. Under Traylen the appreciation of local history had permeated all levels of the county community. The books had the great merit of recording folk history before it was forgotten. Unfortunately, they were at times poorly edited with numerous factual errors and

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[39] British Pathe unedited footage (without sound) of a film which was presumably unused in the final newsreel. Available to view on youtube.   <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ry8HHB-Sg5k.> [Accessed 17 January 2016].

'hearsay' recorded as fact.[40] Traylen set out produce popular rather than academic history and he made no apologies for this.[41]

> We are open to criticism that our books are not sufficiently scholastic, but to attain this requires immense research and travel, which is totally beyond us. I am aware of the criticism that the standard of the printing and the quality of photographs in our books leaves a lot to be desired, but in defence I should tell you my feelings about historical information. 1. That it should be published somehow and should reach as many people as possible. 2. That to achieve this, the book price must be as low as possible and preferably not much more than £5. [42]

This caused some disquiet which together with an unfortunate personality clash caused a rift with Traylen resigning from the society.

After threats of legal proceedings an agreement was reached and Traylen continued to produce a series of local history books, in his own name, up until his death in 2012. RLHS continued with a programme of visits and talks but no longer published books. It merged with the Rutland Record Society in 1991.[43] Rutland Record Society was formed in 1979 to pursue a more academic and studied approach to local history within the county. This was a direct result of the movement of Traylen's local history society towards what was characterised as hearsay and unverifiable history.

The Rutland Local History and Record Society, as it became, amalgamated with the Rutland Field Research Group, a mainly archaeological and buildings research group of individuals who did much valuable work recording the physical environment and archaeology of the Rutland Water area before inundation. The society sustains a membership of around 200 and produces an annual publication, *Rutland Record* as well as producing a series of occasional scholarly publications.[44] It puts on village visits and a series of lectures each year. Together with Rutland County Council it awards to annual prizes for new and restored buildings enhancing Rutland.

The Friends of the Rutland County Museum was formed in 1958 to pressure RCC for the creation of a museum, In an era when Rutland's future was being questioned it was thought advantageous politically as much as historically to preserve as much of its past as was

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[40] Traylen records instances of 'secret tunnels' in over a third of Rutland villages.

[41] Rutland Local History Society AGM 25 February 1982, Chairman's Statement.

[42] Rutland Local History Society minutes 29 June 1985.

[43] Rutland Local History Society AGM minutes 28 February 1991.

[44] *Rutland Record*, an annual journal (1980 –). The Society's volume on Rutland Water was a notable commercial and popular success. R. Ovens and S. Sleath (eds), *The Heritage of Rutland Water* (Oakham, 2007).

possible. The preservation of artefacts relied heavily on the subjectively curated archaeological collections previously held at Oakham and Casterton Schools together with an extensive collection of rural agricultural exhibits, most of which were obtained or donated by Rutlanders after the museum's eventual opening. The creation and housing of Rutland County Museum by the County Council in 1969 gave a major impetus towards the development of local heritage and its appreciation within Rutland.

Figure 3.2 *Rutland County Museum, 1974*

Source: Friends of the RCM/Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries and Record Service.

The new Museum, using the eighteenth-century riding school of the Noel family, was opposite the County Council offices in Oakham and was a facility within which of the County Council and the county as a whole took pride.[45] It was however, in the beginning at least, an inchoate collection with traditional archaeological exhibits vying for attention with agricultural machinery, reconstructions of Victorian trades and domesticity. Decontextualised re-creations of a Victorian shop or a cottage kitchen sat next to old tractors, threshing machines, and tradesmen's handcarts. With few exhibits predating 1850 as a 'museum of rural life', it was rather stilted and incomplete. There was nothing to reflect the hardship of rural life nor indeed gentry culture. Archaeological exhibits were largely relegated to an upstairs balcony and there was little sense of historical progress or contextual analysis. Creative synthesis was absent in what amounted to a Steptoe's yard of bygones, one of the

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[45] A.V. Driver, *Rutland the County and Museum* (Oakham, 1972).

most popular exhibits being the stuffed husky brought back by Lord Lonsdale from his Arctic expedition in 1888. Under the curatorship of Tim Clough displays became more co-ordinated and were improved. Between 1974 and 1997 Rutland County Museum retained its title and had its facilities enhanced by cooperation with Leicestershire Museums and Art Galleries Service. After independence in 1997 the museum concentrated on becoming a cultural hub and increasing services to children and education as well as being a centre for local resources.

Rutland lies uneasy in the Heritage debate. Ralph Samuel was particular critical of the metropolitan literati, the 'heritage baiters' sneering at popular expositions of perceived local history.[46] Samuel's intervention polarised the debate over Heritage. He lauded the resurrectionary enthusiasm of historical re-enactment and re-creation. He would have supported the activities of 'Rocks by Rail' a Rutland Museum preserving and running rail engines and artefacts connected with the culturally important Rutland iron ore industry. He likewise would have approved of the historical re-enactors who periodically inhabit Lyddington Bede house managed by English Heritage, or the English Civil War Society's periodic forays into Rutland.

Rutland County Museum reflected the ambiguity of approach to its local history at the time. With uneven coverage, half remembered memories and artefacts and a curious sense of the fast disappearing past unrelated to modern concerns. Village washdikes and pumps were lovingly restored as was the old sign on the building in Barrow warning vagrants not to stop in the parish. The remains of Pickworth Limekiln, once frequented by the poet John Clare, were restored, with suitable explanatory posting in time to mark the millennium as a Rutland Heritage Project. Within a decade the signing had been removed and the Limekiln itself overgrown, unnoticed and inaccessible at the back of a private garden. In 1964 Uppingham School employed noted architect Sir Alfred Richardson to construct a gentrified re-creation of an urban Victorian shopfront complete with pilasters when restoring a seventeenth-century building on Uppingham High Street. In doing so it ripped out the original Victorian drapery shop window which was more in keeping with the seventeenth and stone building behind. Richardson's extravagant shopfront was untypical and out of keeping with the High Street of Rutland market town.

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[46] R. Samuel , *Theatre of Memory* (London, 1994)

Figure 3.3 *Restored 'vagrancy' sign at Barrow*

Source: author's collection.

The renewed and significant interest in local history and heritage across the breadth of the Rutland county community, incomers as much as long-standing residents, resulted in a number of publications, reinforcing the cultural and heritage identity of Rutland. Among the first of these was *The Book of Rutland*, written by Bryan Matthews, a teacher at Uppingham School.[47] Matthews was another incomer, if a well-established one. He had been a boy at Uppingham School in the 1930s, returned there to teach and lived in the county of the rest of his life. It was published in 1978 at the height of Rutland's indignation at the assumed loss of county identity. Written in an affectionate and accessible style, bridging the gap between academic and popular history, it was oversubscribed and widely read, 'No other work of recent times presents the reader with so many different aspects of the old county'.[48] It

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[47] B. Matthews, *Book of Rutland* (Buckingham, 1978).

[48] M. Fisher, Changes in Rutland' in *L.R.S.M.* 23 August 1985.

followed in the wake of the republication of Wright, subsidised by RCC to commemorate the loss of independence, and the coincidental republication of VCH two years later.[49]

A joint Leicestershire and Rutland county history under the Darwen County History series was less successful locally partly because it was a less attractive publication, and partly because grouping Leicestershire and Rutland together covered to diverse an area with no real sense of attachment in its intended audience.[50] Similarly Countryside Books and other publishers produced a quantity of books on the two counties, mostly in the popular vein of tales; murders; folklore and above all, walks. These are mostly derivative in content and had limited local appeal, content concerning Rutland being limited by design and circumstance. Trevor Hickman's, Sycamore Press, a small private press based at Wymondham on the Rutland/Leicestershire border, produced successful studies of local folklore, the Melton – Oakham Canal and Leicestershire and Rutland Windmills in visually attractive limited edition print runs.[51]

In 1983 Barrowden 'weekender', London publisher Gillian Dickinson, produced *Rutland Churches before Restoration*.[52] A collection of early Victorian watercolours highlighting many of Rutland's chief architectural assets, it was another notable publishing success due to its focused market and high production values. Interest in Rutland's heritage was aided by the publication of the number of books, the chief focus of which was the reproduction of old postcards and photographs of village life within Rutland during the early part of the century.[53] The initial volumes were successful, arousing feelings of nostalgia for a world lost. It wasn't until the twenty first-century that the market was presented with books of photographs of contemporary Rutland.[54]

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[49] Wright, *History of Rutland* (East Ardsley, 1973); Page (ed.), *V.C.H*. 3 vols. (Folkestone, 1975).

[50] R. Millward, *A History of Leicestershire and Rutland* (Chichester, 1985).

[51] N. Moon, *Windmills of Leicestershire and Rutland* (Wymondham, 1981); D.Tew, *The Melton to Rutland Canal,* (Wymondham, 1984); R. Palmer, *The Folklore of Leicestershire and Rutland* (Wymondham, 1985).

[52] G. Dickinson, *Rutland Churches Before Restoration* (London, 1983).

[53] T. Clough, *Rutland in Old Photographs* (Stroud, 1983); A. Jenkins, *Rutland in A Portrait in Old Postcards* (Seaford, 1993); T. Hickman, Around *Rutland* (Stroud, 1996), amongst others.

[54] D. Brabbs, *A Year in the Life of Rutland* (2013); A. Faulconbridge, *Our Rutland* (Wellington, 2011), amongst others.

Conclusion

It is conjectured that the selectivity of antiquarian historian's subjective analysis of past reinforced Rutland society as they believed it should be recorded as a whiggish evolution within a predicted uncontrolled power culture. Histories under the patronage of and directed towards Rutland's gentry centred on manorial descent and land ownership. Early histories largely validated the old gentry based county community which developed after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The nineteenth century antiquarian impulse broadened the subject of local history and incorporated a wider involvement in production and readership of it. The VCH, whilst complete, left out the much of the material that a modern democratic local history would include. Folk history, oral tradition and the popular memory have been translated into a literary format, both preserving and validating the heritage of ordinary citizens of Rutland, broadening the concept of local history and heritage to include the majority the community excluded or tangential to a more narrow interpretation of local history centred on land ownership and the broad sweep of political events.

In the course of this cultural re-evaluation of local history which occurred at the same time as a broadening of the county community with increased democratic participation in county politics and society, certain individuals took a leading role. It is notable, in the case of Rutland, that many of these individuals such as George Phillips, Tony Traylen, Bryan Waites, and Bryan Matthews were incomers to Rutland who adopted the county as their own.

Local history in Rutland was propagated by locally and nationally produced literature; lectures, and artistic and dramatic presentations. The post-war era saw an increasing awareness of the importance of conservation of both built heritage and artefacts culminating in the planning policies and in the creation of the Rutland County Museum and its modern reconfiguration as a cultural hub for the county.

During the twentieth century, Rutland's county community was validated and supported by the growth in the interest in and study of local heritage and history, both on an academic and popular level. Moving beyond earlier antiquarianism, literature became more accessible and relevant to a wider county community encompassing folk history as much as the traditional elements of gentry heritage and culture. This did however engender a creative tension between the pursuit of academic local history and history as it was popularly remembered, culminating in an acrimonious debate over the value of hearsay and legend in Rutland's history. The establishment of local history societies and the rapid growth of local history publishing gave legitimacy to the heritage of a distinct county community, endorsing

elements of its distinctiveness to the outside world, as well as reinforcing images, depictions and recordings of an imagined community proud of its heritage evolving into the twenty first-century.

Imagined histories were used to reinforce perceived common county heritage and identity. This imagined cultural landscape was seen as having rural, agricultural roots, embroidered and enriched by a culture of gentry and hunting. Rutland saw itself as being an essential part of the English national scene, being part of great national events without being a major focus of them. It was perceived as having a discreet and discrete heritage, rural and restrained but resilient and independent.

CHAPTER 4

'We Band of Brothers…' Rutland: Elective and Associative Social Culture

In this chapter return to the key question of participation, examining evidence of how the county community developed in Rutland in the modern era through inhabitants coming together in association under the county name. Given that inhabitants can live in only one particular place within the county, did Rutland as a community become a reality by the development of county based associations? If this was so how did it come about and what were its effects?

Included here is a section on Rutland's military tradition focusing on voluntary service under the banner of the county regiment and other territorial units. The chapter will also examine various county based societies across the cultural spectrum. Particular emphasis is given to the importance of the Rutland Agricultural Society's production of an annual 'County show'. A concluding section will look at how the county name has been used as a symbol of identity in the marketing of locally-based commerce and in particular that of Ruddle's Brewery.

Rutland: The Military Tradition

An important focus for civic pride in many historic counties is the relationship with the armed services, and the concomitant development of a 'military tradition'. Having a locally based military component to any 'invented tradition' of a civic parade or county function added *élan* to the event. A combination of uniform, discipline and possibly military music stirred pride in the soul of the local community. It was at times a conscious, or indeed subconscious, element that gave potency and a reality to the abstract notion of an imagined county community.

Before the designation of military units to geographical areas it was usual to attach the unit by name to its political and financial sponsor. Thus some have been attached to the ducal name of Rutland and the Manners family.[1] After the 1782 decision to allocate territorial designation and, by implication, affiliation, by ballot to regiments of the British Army the 58th Regiment of Foot was allocated the title 'Rutlandshire'. As Michael Barthorp puts it, 'It

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[1] J. Williams, 'The 85th Regiment of Foot and the 86th (or Rutland) Regiment of Foot of 1779 – 83', *Bulletin of the Military Historical Society,* 151 (February 1988); A. Traylen and Flt. Lt. Robinson, *Services of Rutland* (Oakham, 1978) p. 94.

would seem doubtful whether the officers and men of the 58th had much choice or interest in this matter.'[2] The regiment served with distinction through in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars and throughout the empire during the nineteenth century. However, the relationship between Rutland and the regiment bearing its name was always tenuous.

Barthorp notes that there was no permanent regimental presence by the 58th in Rutland. He notes that the 58th recruited in Scotland, Ireland, Somerset, Kent, Wiltshire, Yorkshire, Westminster, and Lancashire as well as throughout the Midlands and East Anglia during the 1840s.[3] Robinson notes that during the peninsular period the 58th 'was recruiting in almost every centre except Rutland'.[4] But both men also record instances of recruits from Rutland: Robinson notes that it was a Richard Hovenden of Oakham, who after ensuring a brutal flogging gave the sobriquet 'the steel backs' to the Regiment and Barthorp draws extensively from the diaries of Corporal John Mitchell from Stamford, who enlisted at Uppingham in 1841 because he knew a member of the recruiting detachment as being a local man.[5]

> I intended making for Scotland, but reaching a town called Uppingham I met a soldier of the 58th Regiment on the recruiting service whom I knew came from a village near Stamford. I told him I would enlist, with that he gave me the Queen's shilling and took me to a magistrate who swore me in, from thence to a doctor who examined me and passed me, the soldier then took me to his billet. Next day I was marched off to Leicester with seven other recruits.[6]

The evidence we have would suggest that designation of army regiments to the counties of Leicestershire and Rutland had only a limited effect on local recruitment. One possible reason for this dislocated recruitment would be the lack of a home base within the designated home counties and the fact that the regiments were stationed all over the British Isles and overseas. Edward Spiers emphasises the reliance upon urban recruits within the county recruitment system, presumably as towns made easier recruitment centres. This would leave Rutland at an obvious disadvantage.[7] As a small county, Rutland never had a recruiting

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[2] M. Barthorp, *The Northamptonshire Regiment* (London,1974), p. 19.

[3] M. Barthorp, *To Face the Daring Maoris. Soldiers' Impressions of the First Maori War 1845 – 47* (London,1979), p. 73.

[4] Traylen and Robinson, *Services (*Oakham,1978), p. 72.

[5] Ibid., p. 73.

[6] Barthorp, *Maori*, p. 27, quoting the diary of Corporal John Mitchell 'kept in New Zealand'.

[7] E. Spiers, *The Army and Society, 1815 – 1914* (1980), p. 48; D. French, *Military Identities: the regimental system, the British Army, and the British people, c1870–2000* (Oxford, 2005); Philip French provides evidence for this conclusion based on recruitment to the Leicestershire Regiment: P. French, 'The Making of the Local

centre/county barracks, the nearest being at Glen Parva Leicestershire. The 58th Rutlandshire Regiment was amalgamated into the Northamptonshire Regiment, becoming its de facto second battalion under the Cardwell reforms. Northampton was further away from Rutland than Leicester, with no obvious direct transport or cultural links to the county. In 1881 the Childers reforms abolished the regimental numbers and incorporated the local militia volunteers into the regimental structure, as support battalions. The Northamptonshire and Rutland Militia became the third and fourth battalions in the combined regiment.

Under the Territorial and Reserve Forces Act 1907 the, by now nominal, link with Northamptonshire was broken and the newly formed County Association of Rutland did not have charge of any units, but did provide facilities for sub-units of the Leicestershire Yeomanry and the 5th Battalion Leicestershire Regiment.[8] In the years before the First World War local patriotism and civic pride in the contribution made by Rutland's soldiers was reflected in the civic ceremonials surrounding the unveiling of the South African War memorials at Oakham and at Uppingham School.[9]

During the First World War Rutland men joined all three local regiments. It was as a Rutland company that Oakham Company of the Fifth Leicesters' marched to Loughborough for war training in August 1914 (Figure 4.1).[10] Rutlanders served in other battalions of the regiment. As the number of battalions grew with the increase of the army during the war.[11] Oakham and Uppingham School Corps paraded in their respective towns at communal events to celebrate and encourage Rutland's war effort.[12] It is indicative that out of the around 500 Rutlanders killed on active service during the First World War, of those recorded, the largest segment, 152, was serving with the Leicestershire Regiment. In comparison Rutlanders killed serving with the Lincolnshire Regiment totalled 51 and those in the Northamptonshire

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Regiment: a case study of the Leicestershire Regiment and its antecedents c1770 to c1902' (MA dissertation, University of Leicester, 2012).

[8] ROLLR DE819/1The Territorial and Auxiliary Forces Association of Leicestershire and Rutland minute book 1907.

[9] A county memorial was unveiled in Oakham church and in 1905 Lord Roberts opened a War Memorial Hall and Gymnasium at Uppingham School.

[10] J. Hills, *The Fifth Leicestershire. A Record of the1st/5th Battalion the Leicestershire Regiment, TF, During the War, 1914 – 1919* (Loughborough, 1919).

[11] M. Richardson, *The Tigers, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, & Ninth (Service) Battalions of the Leicestershire Regiment* (Barnsley, 2000), p. 44. See also pages 27, 41, &112 for details of Rutland men in the service battalions. I. Read, *Of Those We Loved* (Bishop Auckland, 1994), pp. 129 & 279 gives details of Rutland casualties.

[12] *Grantham Journal,* 25 May 1918.

Regiment 16.[13] During the Second World War the Leicestershire Regiment continued to recruit in Rutland. County men served under Major Kenneth Ruddle, of Langham Brewery, who was in charge of the 2nd/5th battalion at Dunkirk.[14]

Figure 4.1: *Oakham Company 5th Leicestershire Regiment, Oakham 6 August 1914*

Source: author's collection.

Rutland: The Military Tradition, Voluntary and Territorial Forces

For a deeper connection between Rutland and military units bearing its territorial designation consideration needs to be given to its various militia, yeomanry and volunteer regiments.[15] In 1808 the Rutland Militia, 'to a man', offered to serve in Spain, an offer not taken up by the

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[13] Information taken from the <www.rutlandremembers.org> website, [accessed 30 09 2014]. These records are a numerical computer extraction from material published on the website. It is unclear whether numbers relate solely to regimental affiliation at time of enlistment or whether they include the regiment the soldier was posted to at the time of his death. In addition to these figures five Rutlanders are posted as being killed serving in the Leicestershire Yeomanry.

[14] M. Richardson, *Tigers at Dunkirk. The Leicestershire Regiment and the Fall of France* (Barnsley, 2010). As Chairman of the Rutland County Council he was later to be one of the heads of the Rutland Independence campaign. During his war service he was not universally popular, with one former comrade commenting that he was not alone in wishing that Ruddle had been left behind on the beaches of Dunkirk! [Personal comment.]

[15] The various incarnations of Rutland Militia and territorial units have been recorded in R. Jenkins, 'Rutland passes muster: aspects of the Militia', *Rutland Record,* 27 (2008); G. Steppler, *Britons, to Arms! The Story of the British Volunteer Soldier and the Volunteer Tradition in Leicestershire and Rutland* (Stroud, 1992).

War Office but indicative of the camaraderie and patriotism within its ranks.[16] During the time of the Napoleonic wars, it had been given a uniform including buttons depicting 'the golden horseshoe of the royal and ancient borough of Oakham, below a crown', and served across the UK.[17] Additional volunteer corps were raised to supplement the militia for local defence: The Rutland Volunteer Infantry together with a Rutland Rifle Corps and the Oakham Armed Association reconfigured as the Rutland Local Militia in 1808 and eventually disbanded in 1815.

The Rutland Fencible Cavalry, formed in 1794, organised locally and funded through local taxation, served across the kingdom including Scotland. In 1799, just before their disbandment, Rutland's only full-time cavalry unit comprised 507 men including officers.[18] The Rutland Corps of Yeoman and Gentleman Cavalry also formed, in 1794, to supplement the regular army. Organised under the banner of the 'Rutland Constitutional Association', at one time the cavalry, volunteer infantry and others were grouped under the heading of 'The Rutland Legion'. It was eventually subsumed into the Leicestershire Yeomanry in the 1820s.[19]

Rutland men served with distinction in the Leicestershire Yeomanry during the First World War. [20] The equestrian tradition of the county proved both an incentive and an attraction to join the Yeomanry. Despite conditions of service, rain, mud, snow, cold and frost the Leicestershire Yeomanry brought out 2½ couple of hounds from Leicestershire packs, including the Cottesmore, to drag hunt and hunt hares behind the Western Front. However, in common with the majority of Yeomanry regiments, most of their service was as infantry.[21] In the Second World War the Leicestershire Yeomanry were mechanised as the 154 Field Regiment Royal Artillery and served in the Middle East, North Africa and Italian campaigns as part of the Eighth Army.[22]

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[16] C. Markham, *The History of the Northamptonshire and Rutland Militia… Now the Third Battalion of the Northamptonshire Regiment Special Service Reserve from 1756 – 1919* (Northampton, 1924), p. 177.

[17] Ibid, p. 80.

[18] Robinson Traylen, *Services*, p. 87.

[19] Robinson/Traylen, *Services,* pp. 89–93.

[20] G. Codrington, *An Outline of the History of the Leicestershire (Prince Albert's Own) Yeomanry* (Leicester, 1928).

[21] ROLLR DE3765/2 Leicestershire Yeomanry Roll (other ranks) 1901 – 1937.

[22] G. Bouskell-Wade, *"There is an honour Likewise…" The Story of the 154 (Leicestershire Yeomanry) Field Regiment* (Leicester, 1948).

Robin Jenkins notes that the resignation of the Rutland officers when the county militia was merged with that of Northamptonshire in 1860, signalled 'the end of the county's military independence'.[23] However this was not the case. The Rutland Volunteers played a valuable role in home defence during the First World War.[24] Recruited from every parish across Rutland it acted as a model for the Rutland Home Guard during the Second World War.

At Rutland Home Guard's standing down parade in Oakham in December 1944 the *Stamford Mercury* commented,

> The Rutland Battalion is a very scattered unit and each village and hamlet has had its own platoon or section. This, therefore, was a unique occasion, for it was the only opportunity the inhabitants of the County had of seeing its Home Guard parade as a Battalion. [25]

County pride played a significant part in the *esprit de corps* of Rutland's last military embodiment solely based upon the county. As its commander, Ogilvy-Dalglish recorded,

> It seemed to me and to others, therefore, that the battalion should use its own County badge. There is a strong County loyalty and tradition in Rutland in spite of, perhaps because of, its small size and the County had, over the centuries, successfully resisted attempts at absorption by its neighbours. I felt that it was up to me to try and preserve intact Rutland's identity in its Home Guard, as it had been entrusted to me. This matter of a badge may seem trivial, but such things can count for much, especially in a voluntary unpaid force: men take a pride in their County and its emblem and the men of Rutland were no exception to the rule.[26]

Ogilvy-Dalglish's adoption of the former Rutland Volunteer badge of the points down horseshoe bearing the name 'Rutland' was officially approved.

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[23] Jenkins,'Militia', p. 235.

[24] G. Phillips, *Rutland and The Great War: A Lasting Tribute to a Great and Noble Part* (Salford, 1920), pp. 175-84.

[25] *LRSM* 8 December 1944. This comment illustrates how a county embodiment operated on a sub county and parochial level and only rarely came together as one unit. This is true of many county organisations in the twentieth century such as the Women's Institute.

[26] J. Ogilvy-Dalglish, *The Rutland Home Guard of 1940 – 44* (Oakham, 1955), p. 21.

Rutland: the Volunteer Tradition, a conclusion

The significance of these volunteer corps, whether infantry or cavalry, is threefold. Firstly at the time of national crisis and a rising tide of patriotism it establishes a volunteer tradition within the county that was largely county-based. Although directed towards national defence a number of these bodies were specifically for defence of the home county under threat of invasion. As such they became the embodiment of a local defensive spirit. Discounting earlier militias, this was the first time the county was made manifest, institutionalised even if temporarily, in a corps of men representative of the yeoman community.

The second point follows on from this in that this institutionalisation of the yeoman community in cavalry and infantry was led by the local gentry and aristocracy who took a leading part in the formation and maintenance of these military units as long as central government allowed them to continue. Their uniform is particularly important because, as far as finances would allow, the adoption of a uniform and its badges demonstrated how a considerable effort was made in attempting differentiation from that of other units. Pride in the uniform and by extension in county distinction is a reflection of the growing pride in the county as a basis of identity. An example of this civic pride is given in the diary of Daniel Slater where he records the parade of the Rutland Volunteer Infantry at the funeral of Captain Palmer at Uppingham in 1807.[27] The county community may have been headed, directed and maintained by the local gentry, in whose interests, it could be said, these military units were set to defend, but the gentry were able to draw upon willing volunteers to defend *their* local community, represented on a county basis, to which *they* felt attachment and affiliation, being at the core of a more loosely defined patriotism and sense of nationhood.

A late instance of this could be suggested by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Ancaster appointing his brother, Lieutenant Colonel Hon Claude Willoughby as Commandant of the Rutland Home Guard in 1940. However this appointment is interesting as it illustrates the changing nature of county society. Although in appearances a retrograde step socially, it was in reality an appointment on merit, Willoughby being a Rutland resident, the county's former MP and having seen service in the Coldstream Guards. In one sense the appointment brought together the worlds of the old feudal county community with that of the modern with leadership based on professionalism, merit and experience. However Willoughby soon retired in favour of a younger officer, Wing Commander Ogilvy-Dalglish.

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[27] ROLLR DE 2837/19 Diary of Daniel Slater.

The third and final point would be that the response of the county community in a period of national crisis drew together and reinforced that county community, in as much as it defended the nation. This strengthening of community bonds was repeated 100 years later, albeit under different community circumstances during the national crises of the First and Second World Wars.

Rutland: elective and associative social culture

With increased democratic participation in county politics and society, Rutlanders demonstrated their county pride and affiliation by a growth in county based societies using the Rutland name. The early associations and societies nominally connected to Rutland were often those associated with the county establishment. Early associations include The Rutland Society of Industry (1795), Rutland General Friendly Institution (1832) Rutland Agricultural Society (1832), and Rutland Horticultural Society founded in the mid-nineteenth century.

Rutland Agricultural Society is particularly important in that it hosts the annual 'County show' which brings Rutland together in an invented tradition, a celebration of the rural. It became a day of communal entertainment, 'a day out' for the county where agricultural and commercial interests promoted themselves to the population at large. Always well supported by the county establishment, in recent times it consciously set out to attract attendance from across the community.

In 1953 the Society was largely an organisation headed by gentry farmers and the 'county set'. Out of the 121 members of the presiding body, 17 bore titles, 37 were women and the vast majority were members of the hunting and county establishment. The day-to-day running of the society however was conducted by a committee of 18 people, including the Earl of Gainsborough and two women, all of which were farmers or gentry farmers. There were 121 classes in the agricultural component of the show. These comprised of the expected cattle, pigs, sheep, draught horses as well as a sizeable equestrian element including a jumping competition. There were 54 trade stands, the vast majority of which represented agricultural trades with an additional three having a wider commercial base, and seven promoting public services (utilities, police, press, telephone) and a solitary single stand representing a charity. In an attempt to broaden the entertainment value of the day the committee had organised the Diavolos troupe of high wire and aerial circus artistes to perform in the main ring and the Leicestershire and Rutland police band played throughout the day.

Rutland County Council and the Women's Institute sponsored produce classes and competitions.[28]

By 1980 the county show, like the society that ran it, had changed complexion. The presiding body of 70 included nine titled members and 20 women.[29] They largely comprised of the residual element of the gentry farmers. The working committee comprised of 18 members, with five co-opted, all farmers from the locality. There was a reduction in the number of competition classes to 95, 26 of which were agricultural. In addition to which there was a large equestrian element with 27 classes ranging from donkeys, ponies, hacks and hunters through to show jumping. In the absence of any produce classes there was an additional class for cheese-making. The trade stands now numbered over 90 most of which were craft stands with three charity stands, for stands selling equestrian products and only two purely aimed at the agricultural market. There was an antique and craft marquee. The committee had made substantial attempts to make this 150th anniversary show of the society a 'good family day out' with various entertainments including a pageant, band competition and concluding after the traditional parade of the Cottesmore Hunt with the assent of a hot-air balloon.[30]

Rev. Jenkinson, Baptist minister in Oakham in the 1850s, was instrumental in setting up the Rutlandshire Ministerial Association in cooperation with other nonconformists to discuss and debate theological matters.[31] It is an interesting example of an early county society in the years before the democratisation of local government and increased participation within the community culture. This encouraged popular, broader-based associations assuming the county name as a benchmark of their identity. In practical terms it was both reflection of the utility of the county construct and of commercial and cultural links.

In terms of culture and associations the growth in private road transport allowing Rutlanders to travel further from their villages to attend meetings in the towns played a crucial role in the development of an associative culture. Of probable equal importance was the attention on all things Rutland during the independence struggles of the 1960s and 70s coinciding with increased affluence and leisure time in society as a whole.

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[28] *Catalogue of Entries of the 123rd year of the Rutland Agricultural Societies Annual Show to be held at Oakham on Monday, August 3, 1953.*

[29] In addition to which Lady Martin was an active member of the committee.

[30] *Catalogue of Entries of the 150th year of the Rutland Agricultural Society's Annual Show at Burley on the Hill on Sunday, August 3, 1980…*

[31] Greenall R. (ed.), *The Autobiography of The Rev. John Jenkinson Baptist Minister of Kettering and Oakham*, Northamptonshire Record Society (Northampton, 2010).

Rutland named charities, such as Rutland Lions Club (1975), Rutland Community Spirit (2008) For Rutland In Rutland (2014) expressed a civic consciousness and an altruistic desire for personal and communal well-being. Cultural societies such as the Rutland Sinfonia (1977) joined the Rutland Three Arts Society, Rutland Choral Society, Rutland Arts Theatre Society (1974) Rutland Musical Theatre (1980) and many others. Most modern team sports played in Rutland, such as cricket and football, operate in leagues centred on Leicestershire or Peterborough and Stamford. Leicestershire and Rutland operate a joint County Cricket Association. A Rutland District Cricket League, set up in the 1980s comprises of over 50 clubs from five counties.

Whilst Rutland was a component part of many joint county societies, principally with Leicestershire, the society names were both reflection of the inclusive aims of the society and recognition of the independent identity of Rutland, as well as possibly some *aggrandisement* by the organisation itself. In 1870 the annual report of the Leicestershire Congregational Association stated,

> The Churches in Rutland belonging to our Association naturally desire to have their County recognised as included within the sphere of our Society's operations. The Committee therefore resolved at a Special Meeting being, convened for the revision of Rules, that this institution shall in future be called The Leicestershire and Rutland Congregational Union. It is to be hoped that with the larger name we may have a larger spirit and more abundant means for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom throughout the two counties.[32]

Between 1776 -1823, The Freemasonry Province of Rutland had 'four eminent Freemasons', as Provincial Grand Masters. All four men had no connection with Rutland and the province had no Lodges in existence! The few Rutland freemasons attended lodges in Stamford. This was probably the ultimate example of prestige being sought in adherence to the county name![33] In 1891 the designation 'Rutland', was added to the title of what became the Leicestershire and Rutland Sunday School Union. As stated in the minutes of that year's annual general meeting, this was because four Sunday schools in Rutland had affiliated to the union at that point.[34] Leicestershire and Rutland Federation of Women's Institutes (1919) Leicestershire and Rutland Royal British Legion (1919) Leicestershire and Rutland Wildlife Trust (1969), are prominent joint county associations.

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[32] Leicestershire and Rutland Congregational Union, *The Story of Our Churches 1662 – 1962* (Leicester, 1962), p.1.

[33] A. Newman, *A History of the Masonic Province of Leicestershire and Rutland* (Leicester, 2010), p.109. Rutland's first Masonic Lodge was formed in 1869 as the Vale of Catmose Lodge (1265).

[34] H. Ranger, *A Century of Work for the Young. 1835 – 1935. Commemorating the 100 years of service by the Leicestershire and Rutland Sunday School Union* (Leicester, 1935), p.37

In 1965 nine nominative Rutland based businesses were listed in the GPO Classified phonebook.[35] By 1977 the number had risen to 16,[36] and in 2016, 57 businesses and organisations (excluding local authority, schools and hospitals) were listed demonstrating the continuing power and resonance of the Rutland name as a point of affiliation in commerce as much as culture.[37] The foremost business connected and associated with Rutland was Ruddles brewery (1911 – 1997), for many years operated and run by Kenneth Ruddle who became chairman of RCC and leader of the independence campaign in the 1960s.

Rutland and Ruddles Brewery

The Association with Rutland with the Ruddles brewery of Langham: the 'Rutland Brewery', was well-established within the beer drinking public nationally if not the post-war consumer generations generally after the extension of Ruddles products onto supermarket shelves in the 1970s. However it was two smaller breweries operating within the county that first used the Rutland name to market their products. The brewery owned and operated by T.C. Molesworth and his successors in Ketton between 1871 and around 1910 was the first to trade under the 'Rutland Brewery' name, albeit alongside that of the names of the respective owners over the years.[38] It was a small brewery trading over a small local area Confusingly at the same time W.C. and C.K. Morris operated their 'Rutland Brewery' from New Street in Oakham. The business was started in 1875 and in 1905 apart from the beer house attached to the brewery the business owned 18 freehold pubs and 13 tenancies, mostly in the Rutland area. This Oakham Brewery ceased brewing in 1907.[39]

Both these small breweries operated over the local area as initially did the brewery at Langham which later became Ruddles. This brewery was founded by Richard Westbrook Baker in 1858 passing through three ownerships until George Ruddle bought it in 1911. In 1945 when Kenneth Ruddle became chairman the brewery owned 38 pubs in the Rutland area. It was under his chairmanship that the Rutland name, unsurprisingly came to be

[35] GPO, *East Midlands Classified Telephone Directory Trades and Professions* (November 1965).

[36] Post Office Telecom, *Section 222 Yellow Pages Classified Leicester Area Telephone Directory* (April 1977).

[37] BT, *The Phone Book 2016 Leicester 341* (2016). This compares with 50 bearing the 'Melton' name, 15 bearing the 'Welland' name, 12 'Market Harborough' or 'Harborough' and 176 for 'Leicester'. The total for 'Leicestershire', excluding authorities charities etcetera was 27.

[38] M. Brown, *Tiger Tales and Ales. A Directory of Leicestershire Brewers 1402 1999* (New Ash Green, 1999), pp.31-4.

[39] Brown, *Tiger Tales*, p.159.

associated with and promoted by the brewery. In 1950 County Ale was introduced as a strong bitter. This was followed in 1963 by a special Rutland Barley Wine, originally called Victory Ale, to celebrate the success of the independence struggle of that year. At this time two thirds of the brewery output was directed to their own tied trade. Although well-known and appreciated locally, "Ruddles Fine Ales" were mainly distributed within 40 miles of the brewery. 'In those days if you travelled more than 30 miles from Langham nobody had even heard of Ruddles Ales.[40]

It was Kenneth Ruddle's son Tony who took over as managing director in 1970 who promoted sales of their products further afield particularly into London and through the lucrative owned label bottled and canned supermarket trade. This was financed through the sale of the tied houses. During the 1970s the business expanded dramatically extending to a range of ale and beer products under the name of Ruddles which was marketed as "the Rutland Brewery." With the growth of popularity of real ales Ruddles products became increasingly popular nationally not least the supermarket own brand's which were still marked "brewed in Rutland" on their labels as a matter of policy. This family run firm took considerable pride in its local Rutland traditions and made considerable efforts between the 1970s and 1990s to promote its rural Rutland heritage. They did this through labelling and the clever use of marketing products such as beer mats promoting rural, traditional English pursuits such as cricket, fishing and traditional pub games.

The brewery produced a booklet in 1958 entitled "Much in Little", celebrating the breweries centenary. This booklet was successively revamped and republished over the succeeding quarter century, under various guises, titles and towards the end of the brewery's history, drastically reduced pagination. It highlighted the brewing technique at Ruddles, listing all the then tied houses on the Ruddle's estate whilst at the same time promoting the county, described as "Ruddle country". The promotion of 'Rutland'was a key part of the promotion of the brand, centring on brewing tradition at the heart of the English countryside.

In December 1978 Ruddles won a contract to supply British Airways with cans of County Ale for transatlantic flights, promoting their products and the Rutland name internationally. Ruddles beers won many awards and in 1979 65% of the output was packaged and took 2% of the take-home trade. In 1984 at the zenith of their business success, when profits totalled £1,021,462 on a turnover of £10 million, two thirds of which came from the take-home trade Ruddles 'blue' was renamed "Rutland Bitter".

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[40] J. Herrick Watchorn, Ruddles representative, 1937. Buxton & Martin, *Rutland People*, p.3.

In 1986 the directors felt they could not expand and market their products further as an independent concern and so sold the business to the Grand Metropolitan Group. After initial expansion and success in extending the market for Ruddles products both nationally and internationally, changes in the market for specialist beers and the business imperatives of the parent group resulted in the sale of Ruddles to the Courage/Foster's brewing empire in 1991 before it was quickly sold on to the Dutch Grolsch brewing concern. Production business and marketing priorities all changed. In 1995 a marketing campaign promoting the beer was constructed poking fun at the size of Rutland.[41] Unsurprisingly at the height of the renewed independence campaign this was not well received locally. The brewery did brew a special "Independence Ale" in 1997 to mirror the special ale their nominal predecessor had produced in 1963. The same year Grolsch sold Ruddles brewery onto the Morlands Group. Although Morlands intended to develop the brand further business problems resulted in the closure of the brewery at Langham after 140 years. 'Ruddles' is now produced and marketed by Greene King from elsewhere in the UK and can no longer be promoted under the Rutland brewery label.[42]

Former head brewer of Ruddles brewery set up a small brewery/pub in Oakham, the Grainstore Brewery. In 2010 he revived the Ruddles Rutland Bitter and it was given Protected Geographical Indication status by the EU, one of only three UK the years to achieve this accolade.[43]

Other local businesses, charities and organisations, whilst not adopting the Rutland name as part of their title, took considerable pride in marketing themselves as based in or serving Rutland (Figure 4.2).

Conclusion

Rutland is unusual as a shire county in not having a local regiment *closely* associated with it. The links between Rutland and the 'Rutlandshire's' (58th Foot) are extremely tenuous. Rutland did not have a garrison town and had an increasing disconnection with the Northamptonshire Regiment after regimental amalgamation. The 1907 Territorial and Reserve Forces Act broke the nominal link with Northamptonshire and replaced it with one with Leicestershire. There was considerable local pride in Rutland's connection with the fifth

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[41] A series of beer mats was produced under the series title "Rutland Tales". The series was abandoned.

[42] Brown, *Tiger Tales*, pp. 36 –43.

[43] <http://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/rutland-bitter-resurrected/story-12027827-detail/story.html>

Battalion Leicestershire Regiment. Beyond that Rutland's contribution to local regiments was peripheral but of some local importance. Rutland's voluntary tradition, in both militia and yeomanry had been well-established since the Napoleonic era. Their later manifestations, the Rutland Volunteer Regiment and the Rutland Home Guard played a significant role in community life and being part of this tradition. Their contribution along with the county war effort in two world wars to the making of the county community should not be underestimated.

Ruddles brewery and products became synonymous with Rutland the county that gave its water to the ales giving them their distinctive taste. Ruddles put Rutland on the map internationally. The county's major export had a cultural significance beyond the county bringing Rutland to the attention of a wider public whilst reinforcing its identity as an rurally based English product. This was as much as a matter of pride and affiliation as much as an astute marketing policy.

Other businesses and groups and societies based within Rutland readily adopted the county name as a point of pride, principal and affiliation. This was particularly true in the growth of leisure-based organisations and charities in the post-war era of threats to Rutland's independence and increased motor transport bringing people together from disparate parts of the county. Associative culture in Rutland validates the county construct as having social significance within the region.

Figure 4.2: *'Pride of Rutland' bus service timetable (1939)*

Source: author's collection.

The Cultural Representation of Rutland as a County Community:
a conclusion

In conclusion. it is considered that the cultural representation of Rutland was highly significant and was an important factor in the development of growth of Rutland as a county community. We found that recorded artistic images and representations of Rutland, whilst not exceptional in comparison with other counties, contributed to a perception of local identity by reproducing familiar scenes and imagery distinctive and unique to Rutland. In particular, the use of the 'Rutland horseshoe' as a county symbol has proven to be pervasive in official, commercial and general usage. This was particularly after the adoption of an official coat of arms by Rutland County Council in 1950, but predates it by at least half a century of unofficial usage, adopting it from the exclusive use of Oakham and refocusing it as a symbol

for the whole of Rutland, as recognition of the county grew nationally before and after the local government reforms of the late nineteenth century.

In the consideration of literature it can be discerned that although trade directories often grouped Rutland with Leicestershire and/or other counties, they were culturally significant in that they listed the county separately with its own 'County information', list of officials and prominent citizens. This legitimised the county construct, quantified elements of it and gave background information as to its heritage. All of this was directed towards a general market, defining the identity of Rutland in print.

In terms of topographical literature Rutland was often subsumed into general studies of the East Midlands. Not all mentions of the County were as dismissive as Murray's Handbook but usually during the years of early rail and road tourism Rutland only merited a few pages in guides more preoccupied with Northamptonshire or Leicestershire. As perception and appreciation of the English countryside increased during the early years of the last century so did the hyperbole of ruralist topography encouraging and appreciation of Rutland as quintessential rural England. These externally produced volumes encouraged Rutlanders to take pride in their landscape and culminated in the publication of *Just Rutland*, 'an impression of Rutland as Rutlanders see it', an evocation of the Rutland landscape by the Rutland Stokes sisters in 1953.

Of the outside authors and agents involved in topographical descriptions of Rutland the most important was W.G. Hoskins, the nationally recognised writer and historian, extolling the virtues of Rutland's landscape, heritage and quality-of-life. He became Rutland's most important evangelist. It was politically and culturally significant that his Shell Guide to Rutland was published in 1963 at the height of Rutland's independence struggle. Although published by Faber as part of a series, Rutland was seen to merit its own volume which legitimised it separate political and cultural identity. In more recent years Bryan Waites, another geographer/historian took on Hoskins's mantle in promoting Rutland's heritage and landscape both in local and more national literature.

Rutland became a commodified and packaged, imagined community for the tourist and visitor. It was marketed as an undiscovered part of the English rural idyll. Although often linked with Leicestershire in literature as 'Leicestershire and Rutland', the 'and' gave some legitimacy to Rutland as a separate distinctive territory by implication legitimising its county community. Tourism became highly significant to the development of the county community economically and politically. When principally focused on Rutland itself the

promotion of tourism, the commodification of the County, increased the acceptance, visibility and importance to Rutland's rural county community.

Although Rutland could not sustain a county Journal, its local press was crucial in legitimising the community and giving it some horizontal identity, covering all sections of society. The success of the *Rutland Times*, first published in 1977 at the height of resentment against the loss of county identity with local government reform and the imposition of what became Rutland Water is particularly significant in this regard. The success of 'Rutland Radio' in more recent years has likewise bolstered identity for the County community. Even affectionate spoofs such as 'Rutland Weekend Television' drew attention to the county identity and negative critiques of the community such as *The Myth of the Rural Idyll*, legitimised Rutland as a territory within its own right.

In the same respect Nigel Ducker's use of Rutland as an example of a community undergoing dramatic social change within the English countryside, in *A Place in the Country,* legitimised the county as a community. Duckers's observational criticism was done with affection and he did not seek to deny the legitimacy of Rutland as a community even if a community less cohesive and more diverse than its proponents would like to think of themselves.

The literature and media representation of Rutland throughout the twentieth century gave focus to Rutland being depicted as part of a widely accepted image of the shires of rural Midland England. This depiction had importance within the national psyche and notions of 'heritage', 'tradition' and 'countryside'. It also had the more local benefit of reinforcing a distinctive local identity based on topography, 'way of life' and rurality. It was this identity together with notions of kinship, intimacy and communality expressed in local political and cultural behaviour which reinforced the notion of a vibrant, active and defensible county community, distinctive from its neighbours. The county community, in terms of media representation at least, may be considered an amalgam of differing points of view, or imagined communities centred on a belief of belonging reinforced by physical occupation and participation in political, social and cultural life within the given geographical area.

Foxhunting was an all pervasive part of the imagery associated with Rutland. It linked Rutland with the natural environment as well as its mediaeval heritage as a royal hunting forest. Although an elitist sport it found some support in the wider county population before the county population increased dramatically within the last 30 years and a more open population became removed from the realities of rural life. Although not distinctive to

Rutland foxhunting's links to equestrianism and the Cottesmore Hunt made it an important element in the perceived county identity by Rutlanders and outside observers alike.

The conception of Rutland as being 'an aristocratic county' dominated by its gentry, was well founded in early county histories and writings on Rutland's heritage. The broadening of interest in the county heritage, the antiquarian impulse, spreading through the gentry, squirearchy, professional and bourgeois mirrored that of the broad name of participation within the county community itself.

Perceptions of heritage were crucial to the development of the County community, and a fundamental part of the county identity. Writings on local history became more a focus of local pride than in other forms of literature produced locally. Interest in local history was enhanced by local schools and the occasional pageant and re-enactment. This community interest in its past culminated in the creation of the Rutland County Museum, which became a focus for the cultural and historical identity of the county. Academically the RLHRS has produced a body of research removed from the fossilised text of the VCH based upon layers of antiquarian preoccupation with manorial dissent and church architecture. The popularisation of local history to include folk and social and economic history was fostered by the RRCC and continued by the RLHS under Tony Traylen, although this did include a fair amount of misremembering and mythmaking. Interest in community archaeology, vernacular architecture and conservation all became more focused during the post-war period which saw a resurgence of interest in the county identity broadly in line with that of concerns for its political future. An interesting part of this development of the cultural identity of the County is that it was led by individuals such as George Phillips, Bryan Waites, Tony Traylen and Bryan Matthews who were incomers to Rutland, non-natives who adopted the county as their own.

Imagined histories were used to reinforce perceived common county heritage and identity. This imagined cultural landscape was seen as having rural, agricultural roots, embroidered and enriched by a culture of gentry and hunting. Rutland saw itself as being an essential part of the English national scene, being part of great national events without being a major focus of them. It was perceived as having a discreet and discrete heritage, rural and restrained but resilient and independent.

The success of the acceptance of a county community can be measured in growth in civic societies and associations. There has been a dramatic growth in county named organisations, societies and associations within the last 50 years. It is difficult to prove or disprove whether this has any correlation with the renewed focus upon county identity during

this time of threat to Rutland's political identity. Certainly going back into the nineteenth century, Rutland took pride in the volunteer tradition of its county-based militia, yeomanry and home defence forces, as well as early civic societies and charitable organisations. In the post-war era, the increased use of private car transport is likely to have played some role in the bringing together of people from across the county to meet socially in pursuit of leisure or professional interests. The breadth of these charitable or leisure based societies was considerable stretching from Rutland beekeepers through to its own orchestra, the Rutland Sinfonia. In terms of associative culture the role of the Rutland Agricultural Society in maintaining a 'County show', one of Rutland's invented traditions, and that of Ruddles Brewery and its association with Rutland are both particular significant. In terms of art, literature, history and broader aspects of social and cultural awareness, Rutland was and is recognised as a distinct cultural community from both inside and outside its borders.

SECTION 2

Socio-economic Factors affecting Rutland's Development as a County Community: an introduction

Having established that Rutland has developed a distinctive cultural dimension as part of its developing county community it is appropriate here to discuss socio-economic factors affecting that development. Competing affiliations to that of the county construct will be analysed to ascertain their relative importance to the community living within Rutland. In particular, it will be considered whether they have contributed any sense of belonging, of identity to those in Rutland in competition with the county model.

A second component of this section will review the response of Rutland County community to social change and modernisation of and within society. Of particular consideration will be the role of Rutland Water as a catalyst to change within Rutland. The underlying question here is whether the creation of Rutland Water diluted (pun not intended) or reinforced Rutland's county identity.

A final chapter in this section looks at broader themes of social change within Rutland as rural countryside community. It explores the importance of a rural identity to Rutland, how it was depicted and how it has changed. It uses as a point of focus an article in *Illustrated* magazine in 1947, and considers how Rutland was represented as deep England, part of the rural idyll important to the national psyche. It moves on to identify social change and concludes with a short section on the possibilities of Rutland developing a virtual online community. The key questions being asked here concern the importance of rural identity to Rutland and Rutland as a rural community to the national identity. A subliminal theme is whether change in rural communities such as Rutland can be seen as an opportunity as much as a threat.

CHAPTER 5

'AND THERE'S ANOTHER COUNTRY…'

COMPETITION FOR COMMUNITY AFFILIATION WITHIN RUTLAND

This chapter considers alternatives to Rutlanders for primary identification and affiliation other than that provided by Rutland as a county. The main intention of the chapter is to demonstrate that alternatives to affiliation were available. It examines their achievement in attracting attachment and suggests reasons why they might or might not have been successful. Rutland as a county is put in a regional context. This chapter aims to reinforce the arguments made elsewhere for the strength of feeling of Rutlanders towards the county and by examination of the cultural importance or insignificance of alternatives to the county construct perhaps give some indication why this might be so.

Consideration is given to religious affiliation as a competing loyalty other than that provided by a local geographical community. Religious adherence was chosen because of its relevance to Rutland. Ostensibly the role of religion created a sense of belonging to a larger community, and on a more practical level parochial administration reinforced village and parish identity whilst at the same time focusing also on the regional diocese or nonconformist circuits wider than the county itself. Other factors such as race, gender and other psychological and human determinants seemed less relevant to the study of Rutland as a county community.

As Rutland is a territorial unit the majority of the discussion within the chapter concerns other territories and places competing for sense of belonging with the county. Patriotism and feelings of nationalism, or indeed internationalism, whilst present in the background to these discussions are not considered as local affiliations and are therefore not part of this study of local community identification. A brief exposition of the decline and rise of the parish within the Rutland context is given based upon personal knowledge and observation. The literature concerning this subject nationally is extensive and the focus here is not to compare and contrast but outline changes within Rutland that have affected the county community.

Rutland is placed in a geographical context (Figure 5.1). Market towns, principally Corby, Peterborough and Stamford are considered as alternative foci for affiliation based upon a utilitarian approach to local business, provision of services and potentially local

government. The chapter concludes looking beyond the limited market horizons of local towns towards a more regional and provincial perspective as advanced in the debate over *pays* and cultural provinces in English local history.

Figure 5.1: *Rutland: neighbouring towns and territories*

FIGURE 1: RUTLAND IN ITS SETTING
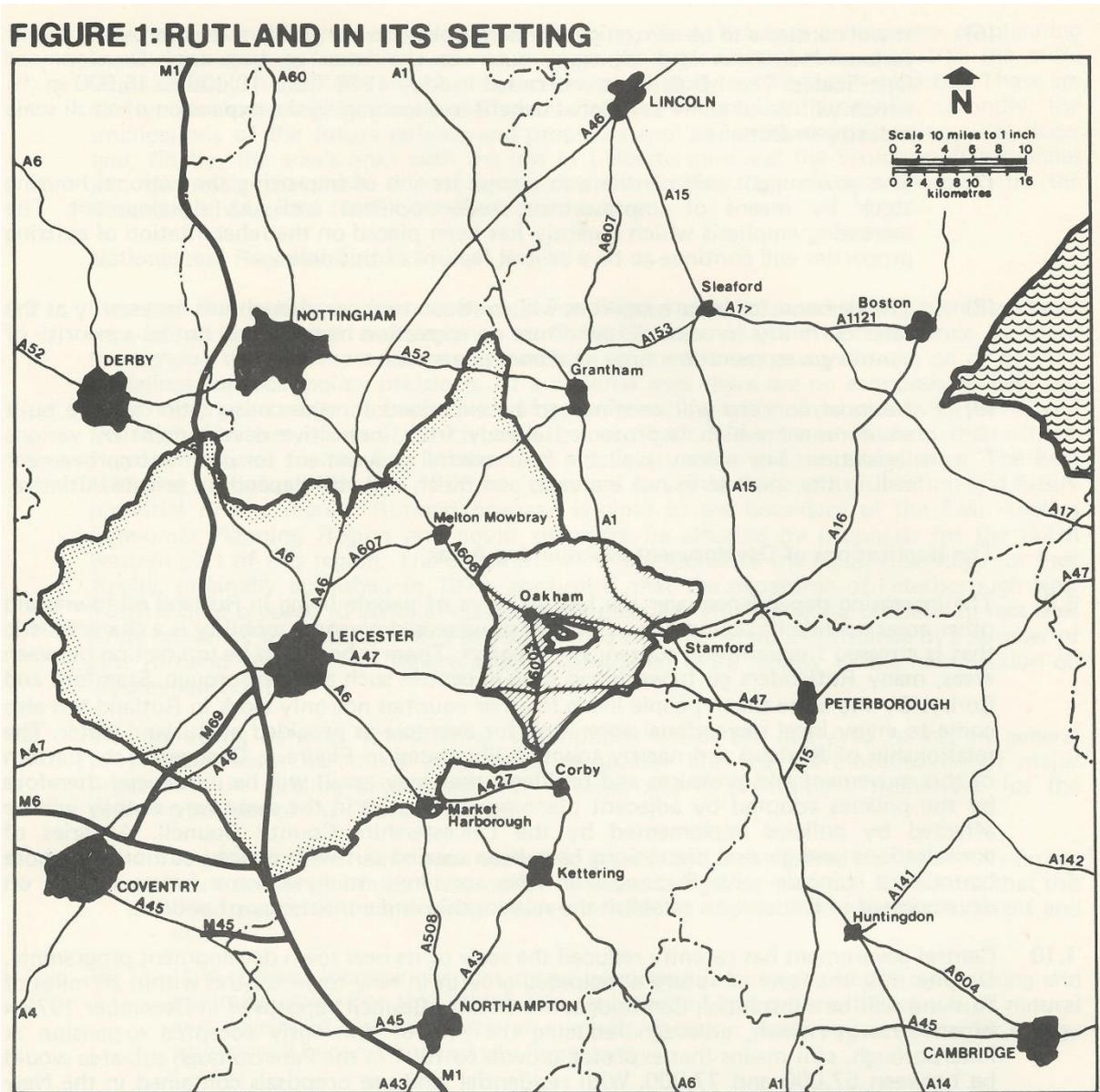
Source: LCC, *Rutland Structure Plan* (1974)

The Anglican Communion

The established church in Rutland was part of the diocese of Peterborough, which was carved out of the extensive mediaeval diocese of Lincoln in 1541. Small and impoverished since its

birth, the bishopric lacked the political strength to exert full control over its geographical diocese which covered Northamptonshire, the Soke, Rutland and, until 1927, Leicestershire.[1]

Seventeenth-century puritanism in Northamptonshire spread into Rutland in part due to the intermarriage between the gentry of the two counties. The gentry controlled the advowson and the low church mentality of the leading gentry families was reflected in the Rutland clergy within the Church of England. However, enclaves of high church Anglo- Catholicism developed at Oakham, Uppingham and Ketton during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. If anything the hierarchical emphasis of Anglo-Catholicism reinforced the administrative and theological bonds with the bishopric at Peterborough, which is not to state that diocesan organisation was weaker in the majority of Rutland parishes.

The Archdeaconry of Oakham, separated from the archdeaconry of Northampton in 1875, comprised the northern part of the diocese and had under its jurisdiction a number of deaneries including the deanery of Rutland. Post-Reformation Rutland was ecclesiastically orientated away from its northern and western neighbours and towards the south east and Peterborough. Existing as a distant, largely low church, enclave away from Peterborough helped reinforce a separate political and cultural identity for Rutland.

Rutland clergy were largely responsible for organising education in the county up to the advent of public education.[2] Rutland Deanery Board of Education, formed in the mid-nineteenth-century, was another adjunct to the promotion of the county as the basis for socio-political organisation. In echoes of future fights over independence and self-rule the Deanery Board decided in 1863 rather than send surplus funds to be spent in neighbouring schools in Leicestershire, to retain them for future use in Rutland where it was considered that the money would be better managed.[3]

The gradual extinction of pluralities and eventual abolition of the tithes resulted in a loss of income and status to Rutland's clergy. There was a shift in the Anglican clergy from being 'status professionals', squarsons, closely connected with the county establishment to that of 'occupation professionals', theologically educated, respected active members of their local

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[1] In 1927 a separate diocese of Leicester was created, recreating the Mercian bishopric which had foundered during the period of Norse occupation around 872. A.D. G. Carnell, *The Bishops of Peterborough 1541 to 1991* (Much Wenlock, 1993).

[2] The church was and is jointly responsible for a number of Church of England voluntary aided primary schools with RCC.

[3] ROLLR DE2575/91, Records of the Rutland Deanery Board of Education, Minutes of 9 April 1863.

communities resident and no longer able to afford the services of a curate.[4] In Rutland, with its high number of close parishes, this change was gradual; the links with the landowning gentry were far too established to be dissipated overnight. In 1908 28 Rutland livings, 66% of the total, were still under the patronage of gentry landowners.[5]

Rutland clergy were less often seen on the county bench and more on burial boards, charity, sanitary and union committees. As such they occupied a middle layer of the county establishment. With the creation of the County and Rural District Councils, the clergy, unless elected in their own right, largely restricted their activities to those within the parish and to various voluntary charitable works. With the decline in diocesan finances and a corresponding decline in the numbers of active clergy within Rutland, came in increase in the size of benefices. In one sense this was a major contributor to the breakdown of the old parish community but in another it strengthened a wider benefice community linking parishes together under the Rutland deanery.[6] One indicator of how the Rutland Deanery reinforced a county identity came in the publication of *The Rutland Churchman*. By November 1912 this magazine, contributed to by 28 parishes of the 50 or so in Rutland was on its 107th issue. It was possibly the first periodical dedicated by title to serve the Rutland community alone.

Roman Catholicism in Rutland

The 1676 'Compton Census' showed 61 Catholics in five Rutland villages, centred upon the 'seigneurial religion' of three families. The most prominent of these families was the Digby family whose influence had been in decline in Rutland for the previous century. The Vicar's Apostolic Returns of 1773 noted one Chapel, one secular priest and a Catholic faithful of 90, although this figure may have been exaggerated. The lack of a sustainable Rutland congregation led to the withdrawal of the secular priest to Northamptonshire in 1803.[7] Roman Catholicism within Rutland was practically extinct until the conversion of the second Earl of

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[4] G. Rimmington, 'Clerical Incumbents in Early Victorian Rutland', *Rutland Record*, 29 (2009), pp. 333-8. Rimmington uses the terms 'status professionals' and 'occupation professionals' from, B. Heeney, *A Different Kind of Gentleman: Parish Clergy as Professional Men in Early and Mid-Victorian England* (Hamden, Conn., 1976), p.334.

[5] G. Rimmington, 'Late Victorian and Edwardian Clerical Incumbents in Rutland', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society (TLAHS)*, 83 (2009), p. 222.

[6] In 2014 there were nine benefices of various sizes within the Rutland deanery. 4 of these included Northamptonshire parishes, and Carlby in Lincolnshire, on the Rutland border.

[7] NRO Fermor Hesketh Baker 708, Compton Census, Rutland,: B. Elliott, 'Catholicism in Rutland', *Rutland Record,* 9 (1989), pp. 320-3.

Gainsborough in 1851, and his construction of a Roman Catholic chapel at Exton Park in 1868-9.

The conversion of Rutland's leading aristocrat to the Roman Catholic faith no doubt caused considerable ructions in the county establishment. As Lady Norah Bentinck, daughter of the third Earl of Gainsborough (1850-1926) put it, 'The Noels have always had a religious bias – an intense desire to worry out the belief of their upbringing and an upsetting propensity to seek the truth for themselves.'[8]

It was the third Countess of Gainsborough, 'fiercely Catholic', who was instrumental in importing tenants from her paternal Irish estates to work as estate servants in and around Exton. Lady Fellowes (nee Noel), states that this was a paternalistic measure to help the poverty stricken Irish, but Gerard Noel suggests that this policy was also to bolster the Catholic population on the estate.[9] This importation was gradual but introduced an alien population into Exton and the surrounding area. The Catholics had their own chapel and school and benefited from an enhanced relationship with the seigneurial family.

Conflict on the estate between the Catholics and the established church became apparent, when upon the death of the Reverend Leland Noel, scion of the family and noted Protestant evangelical vicar of Exton, he was replaced by the Reverend George Knox, again a Protestant evangelical.[10] When H.R.Wilton Hall was appointed village schoolmaster at Exton Mixed National School in 1876, Reverend Knox,

> gave me clearly to understand before it was agreed that I should go to Exton,
> that he expected me to have no dealings with the Romans in anyway – socially
> or otherwise… I never set eyes upon the Earl of Gainsborough… Father
> Munroe, the priest, and I used to wish each other "Good Day" in passing, but
> we never stopped for any conversation. I never went over Exton Hall or its
> grounds, or saw the Roman chapel, except from the path.[11]

It was only after a number of years and into the second and third generations that this Catholic plantation was slowly absorbed into the local community.

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[8] N. Bentinck, *My Wanderings and Memories* (London, 1924), p. 94.

[9] Lady Fellowes quoted in S. Humphries & B. Hopwood, *Green and Pleasant Land: the Untold Story of Country Life in Twentieth Century Britain* (London, 1999), p. 64, G Noel, *Sir Gerard Noel MP and the Noels of Chipping Campden and Exton* (Campden and District Historical and Archaeological Society, 2004), pp. 180, 194.

[10] With reference to fn. 8, The Noels also had a branch of the family attached to Protestant evangelicalism.

[11] H. Wilton Hall, *Exton Remembered The Recollections of a Rutland Schoolmaster* (Stamford, 2002), p. 21

The wider nineteenth century tractarian revival led to a Catholic Church being built at Oakham in 1883.[12] The county establishment, no doubt influenced by the presence of the Noel family, were politely tolerant and respectful of the Catholic minority in the county. George Phillips, churchwarden of the high church Anglican Church at Oakham wrote in the *Rutland Magazine* of the 'incalculable harm inflicted on true religion by these odious Test Acts', 80 years after their abolition in 1828. Phillips obviously felt secure in making this comment without fear of contradiction by his readership or the county establishment.[13]

Nonconformity and Rutland's County establishment

The development of religious dissent within Rutland may, at first consideration, be deemed to counter the established county order based upon conformity to the social hierarchy within the community, a mainstay of which was the established Church of England. Snell states that 'much dissent was a denial of the conventional sense of place, a denial of everything the Anglican Church stood for in local/parochial, political and social terms.'[14] However, there is a long tradition in Rutland of religious dissension. Robert Browne, father of the Jacobean Brownists, an Anglican sect which later evolved into nonconformist Congregationalism, was born in the county and came from a notable Rutland family. Puritan clergy such as Robert Cawdrey and Robert Johnson established themselves in Rutland under the patronage and protection of the local gentry families, the Cecils, Haringtons and others, which dominated the religious and political landscape of Rutland in the early modern era.

Geldart in his study of nonconformity in Restoration Northamptonshire notes as particular centres of dissent, Market Harborough, Kettering and Harringworth all close to the Rutland border.[15] He suggests trade and communication networks were important to an area being susceptible to nonconformity. However, he goes on to propose that, important as social and economic factors were, the presence of powerful personalities and families sympathetic to the cause of dissent was of crucial importance for its growth. One of the gentry families he

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[12] The Earl of Gainsborough was instrumental in setting up a temporary chapel at Oakham in 1879. The chapel and new church shared a priest with the Earl's chapel at Exton. In 1975 the Roman Catholic congregation of Rutland build a new church at Oakham.

[13] G. Phillips, 'The Annals of Rutland', *Rutland Magazine*, 4 (1910), p. 181.

[14] K. Snell, *Church and Chapel in the North Midlands: religious observance in the nineteenth century*, University of Leicester Department of English Local History, Occasional Paper, fourth series, 3, C. Phythian-Adams & H. Fox (eds) (Leicester, 1991), p. 52.

[15] P. Geldart, 'Protestant Nonconformity and Sectarianism in Restoration Northamptonshire' (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester, 2006), p. 91.

mentions, the Pickerings of Titchmarsh, had well-established family and political connections within Rutland.[16] The low church conformity of Rutland developed after this period seems to have engendered a benign acceptance of some mild forms of religious dissent within the county hierarchy and by extension the county community.

The strength of evangelical puritan preaching; the, at times, weakness of the established church in establishing an active preaching purpose; the resentment of imposed high church Anglicanism and the habit of 'God gadding', travelling between parishes to hear preachers, were all traits in the evolution of religious observance which had their origins in post-Reformation Rutland and extended through as *leitmotif* into the modern age. These traits undoubtedly prove to be the foundation of modern religious nonconformity in Rutland.

Conflicting evangelisms had proved contentious within the county ever since the days when the Anglican clergy, tried to impose penal restrictions on meetings held by separatist preachers such as Samuel Oates in the 1640s.[17] However, this was little different from elsewhere in the East Midlands where the parochial-based clergy supported by the Tory squires opposed itinerant evangelists whether Baptist, Quaker or Wesleyan Methodist. It was not just the county establishment that was wary of nonconformist preaching. In 1850 Reverend Moxon's sermon at Lyddington was disrupted by a musical cacophony from outside the chapel. A significant number of the Rutland population had over the years distrusted excessive religious enthusiasm.[18]

Nonconformity as such was guided by the theological and administrative independence of the various chapels and meetings, some of which were organised by their various churches on a circuit basis which was geographically different to that of the established church. These circuits cross county boundaries and there was no nonconformist equivalent of the Rutland deanery.

Methodism, both Wesleyan and Primitive, spread into the county from the north west during the early years of the nineteenth century. In 1825 an Oakham circuit of meetings and chapels was formed from the larger Melton Mowbray Wesleyan circuit. After what Josiah

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[16] Geldart, 'Protestant Nonconformity'. P. 109.

[17] A. Betteridge, 'Early Baptists in Leicestershire and Rutland', *Baptist Quarterly* 25 (1974), pp. 204-11.

[18] Manchester, John Rylands Library, Methodist Collections, MA1687, acc. 1981/005, Manuscript Journal of the Wesleyan minister Timothy Robert Moxon, 4 June 1850. It is interesting to note that this practice of 'tin panning' of religious enthusiasts extended back at least until the 1590s where Reverend Robert Johnson had his sermon disrupted at North Luffenham in a similar manner. The culprits obviously felt secure enough within their own community to treat religious preaching in such a way. (University of Leicester, David Wilson Library, Special Collections, MS.80, Iron's Notes, North Luffenham.).

Gill called, '80 years of vicissitude', during which a number of meetings across the north west of the county had dissolved, this circuit was reabsorbed into that of Melton Mowbray in 1907.[19]

At this date 10 societies and 165 members existed across the western part of the county. The Wesleyan meetings at Lyddington and Caldecott originally existed as part of the Market Harborough circuit before transferring to that of Oakham in 1861. In 1806 a Stamford Wesleyan circuit was separated from its parent Kettering circuit. This new circuit took in many of the parishes on the eastern half of the county.[20] In 1997 the Methodist churches in Rutland became part of a Stamford and Rutland circuit severing the links with Melton.

Most of the Methodist meetings met in private houses or in converted private dwellings before the construction of a number of chapels during the mid to late nineteenth century, after which time Methodism in Rutland gradually declined in line with that across the rural East Midlands.[21] Rimmington suggests ordinary country folk, hitherto used to worship in a simple chapel accompanied by band instruments, were not attracted to sophisticated worship in chapels furnished with organs and using a more sophisticated liturgy than that conducted in their more homely predecessors. In contrast David Bland suggests that in Greetham, at least, the attraction of church music whether organ, choir or accompanied instruments, encouraged villagers to attend services in either the Anglican or Methodist churches or indeed both.[22]

Although Methodism, where soundly established actively contributed to community life the circuits crossed county boundaries and had non-parochially resident clergy officiating at meetings. These factors worked against Rutland as a county operating as administrative area for nonconformity. Nonconformity even in small counties like Rutland was diverse. Dissension between primitive and Wesleyan Methodists continued until the creation of a unifying Methodist Church of Great Britain in 1932. In 1931 Oakham Congregational Church rejected union with the local Baptist and Methodist churches. In 1937, Oakham Baptist church in their turn, rejected union with the Congregationalists. In 1946, the Oakham

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[19] J. Gill, *The History of Wesleyan Methodism in Melton Mowbray and the Vicinity 1769-1909* (Melton Mowbray, 1909), pp. 30-47. Gill was not an unbiased historian. He concentrates on Wesleyan Methodism and makes disparaging comments about the 'Reform Movement'.

[20] P. Collett, *Rutland in Dissent 350 years of Protestant Meeting-Houses and Chapels* (Stamford, 2011), pp. 45-6; LAO 2010/048:00 Empingham Methodist Meeting records 1897 – 2009.

[21] G. Rimmington, 'Methodist membership in rural Leicestershire 1881-1940', *The Local Historian,* 33 (February 2003), pp. 30-47.

[22] D. Bland, *Greetham and the Great War* (Greetham, 2014), p. 12.

and Uppingham Congregational churches agreed to a joint pastorate, but in 1972 voted to remain separate from the United Reformed Church.[23]

What Alan Everitt called 'little religious commonwealths in countless zions and bethels of the countryside', were quantified in the 1851 Religious Census.[24] Rutland was noted as having the second lowest county level of general religious nonconformity in England at the time. The nonconformist sittings totalled 5168 representing 30 per cent of the religious attendance, the other 70 per cent pertaining to the 12,131 Anglican sittings. In comparison Northamptonshire was split 56 per cent Anglican, 44 per cent nonconformist and Leicestershire 53 per cent Anglican, 47 per cent nonconformist.[25] Snell's analysis of the attendance evidence suggests that only Dorset and Suffolk were more Anglican than Rutland. Out of the 47 county areas he lists, Rutland comes 27th in the level of Protestant dissent.[26] In many respects the county is not an appropriate unit on which to base the study of dissent which with its circuit networks is more appropriately studied within the parameters of market towns and their socio-economic and cultural hinterlands. The splitting of Rutland between two registration districts causes some differentiation between the statistical analysis provided by Everitt, Snell and Tomalin.[27]

There was some suspicion locally that nonconformist meetings may have exaggerated attendance on census day. In a lengthy letter to the census authorities, the Rector of Morcott stated

> I would suggest that many of the dissenting statistics should be received with great caution for I can learn their determination to make every effort to swell the numbers, and it should invariably be remembered that comparatively few of those who attend their chapels are *bone fide* dissenters, the numbers of those whom they call church members being very small… Morcott… is an open parish and often a refuge for the outcasts of close parishes in the neighbourhood.[28]

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[23] These decisions are recorded without much explanation in K. Thompson, *Oakham Congregational Church: A brief history, 1662-1984* (Oakham, 1984).

[24] A. Everitt, *The Pattern of Rural Dissent: the Nineteenth Century,* (Department of English Local History, Occasional Papers, Second Series, 4, Leicester, 1972), p. 63.

[25] Everitt, *Rural Dissent,* Appendix Table 2 General Religious Allegiance in 1851, p. 69.

[26] Snell, *Church and Chapel*, pp. 56-7.

[27] P. Tomalin, 'The returns of the Rutland registration districts to the 1851 census of religious worship', *Rutland Record* 22 (2002), pp. 51-86; P. Tomalin, 'The returns to the 1851 religious Census by the Rutland parishes in the Stamford registration district', *Rutland Record* 24 (2006), pp. 169-74.

[28] TNA HO 129/420/49 Letter to the Census Authorities from the Rector of Morcott.

The competing evangelism evidenced in this letter was also apparent in other parishes particularly those with a high church incumbent.

> Perhaps it was the "Oxford Movement" which did more than anything else to estrange entirely many of the old-fashioned Methodists from their mother church. It is affirmed that even in some of the villages of this Circuit, a number of people were compelled by reason of the changed form of worship and spirit in the Established Church to take their stand, and with regrets turned their back upon the church which had for them so many sacred traditions.[29]

Nonconformity was well established in Uppingham by the first half of the nineteenth century. Reverend William Wales with the support of some of the parish hierarchy strove to direct the parish church towards a high church theology. In particular Wales held a particular animus towards the Congregational church. For a period of 50 years or so the social gradation of the town was reflected in respective church memberships. The Bethseda Chapel appealed to a number of the town labourers, whilst the Methodist church on the same street attracted what may be characterised as senior artisans. It was the Congregational Church on Adderley Street that was largely managed and supported by the prominent town tradesmen. This left the Anglican Church rather marooned in terms of social inclusion. This gradation was only seen as a tendency over a period of time and did not have any determinist structure to it. Significant numbers of townsfolk including prominent citizens such as Henry Kirby, the leading town grocer and William Compton, a wealthy wine merchant supported the established church. Reverend Wales was sufficiently wealthy within his incumbency, deriving the proceeds of the Rectory Manor, glebe land and other pensions as well as having a substantial personal wealth, not to worry overly about his loss of personal income through the collection plate. The Anglican parish was able to finance a full and extensive church restoration during his incumbency. This did not stop Wales fighting nonconformist evangelism within the town. When he heard that the Congregationalists had financed textbooks to encourage literacy within the workhouse children, he immediately went and replaced them with Anglican textbooks.[30]

In contrast, Ketton was also an open settlement with three chapels as well as a parish church orientated towards high church Anglicanism. Thomas Casewell Molesworth was a prominent Ketton businessman, Tory, and member of the rising middle class county establishment. He had brewing, farming, brickmaking and stone quarrying interests as well as

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[29] Gill, *Wesleyan Methodism*, p.17.

[30] This analysis is taken from conversation with Margaret Stacey and Peter Lane and is based upon their unpublished work.

being lay rector and benefactor of the parish church.[31] In 1878 he donated land for the building of Wesleyan Methodist Chapel at Ryhall and obviously saw no political, social or religious problem to his benefaction. The ardent Congregationalist Stanyon family of carpenters and undertakers were a widely respected Ketton family. Mr Stanyon refused to pay a parish rate towards the 1902 Education Act, due to its support of teaching based upon the doctrines of the established church. The resultant court case, fine and compulsory seizure and auction of some of his goods were met with disdain and anger in the local community and the auctioneers were jostled by an angry crowd.[32]

Ashwell's late nineteenth century Lord of the Manor, Sir Henry Bromley refused to countenance a nonconformist chapel in the village. He was however largely an exception within Rutland.[33] The established county families took a more benevolent and permissive attitude towards nonconformity. The villages where the Marquess of Exeter was Lord of the Manor, such as Barrowden, Essendine, Great Casterton and Wing, had nonconformist congregations throughout much of the nineteenth century.[34] Villagers in the small hamlet of Pickworth were allowed a chapel built on Cecil land in 1870, to compete with its Anglican Church nearby. The Heathcote (Normanton) estate permitted chapels to be built in villages where it held influence. The Morcott Wesleyan Methodist chapel was built on land purchased from the Normanton estate in 1892.[35] After renting a farm building in Empingham for use as a Wesleyan Chapel since 1830, the Normanton estate gave land for the construction of a new Chapel in 1899 and allowed the stone from the old building to be sold or used by the Methodists.[36] The Finch family were equally as permissive across some of its estate villages, although there was no chapel at Burley or Egleton, mitigated by the fact that each was within walking distance of Oakham.

The Noel family despite, or perhaps because of, its Roman Catholicism, were tolerant of nonconformity on its estates. Although the Primitive Methodists were not allowed to build

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[31] G. Fox, *Ketton Church and Parish* (Ketton, 2006), p. 152.

[32] G. Smith, *A Villager's View of Ketton* (Ketton, 1997), p. 21.

[33] Collett, *Dissent*, p. 61.

[34] Ibid, p.147. Thomas Cook led a successful preaching ministry at Barrowden for a number of years in the mid-nineteenth century.

[35] Ibid, p.115; Gill, *Wesleyan Methodism,* p. 245.

[36] Ibid, p.83.

a chapel in the centre of Cottesmore, paradoxically they were allowed to in Exton.[37] Richard Westbrook Baker, land agent to the Exton estate, church warden at Cottesmore, noted county personality and future High Sheriff (1842-3), allowed a Particular Baptist meeting at 'his' house at Barrow from 1826.[38] The Noel family controlled the Riding School in Oakham, the largest indoor hall available for public meetings and allowed it to be used for open Baptist preaching meetings such as that given by Reverend C.H. Spurgeon in 1860.[39] Langham, another Noel village, had three nonconformist congregations during the nineteenth century. In 1855 the Particular Baptist Chapel there was opened by the Reverend Baptist W Noel who had converted to the Calvinist sect.

The Particular Baptists are an interesting case in point. Many of their Calvinist leaders were educated men of social standing within the community. William Tiptaft (1803-64), came from a long-standing Rutland family of gentlemen farmers some of which had been High Sheriff's, including the preachers brother.[40] When the Oakham physician William Keal was converted to the Baptist cause and started a meeting at his house in the Market Place he was in fear of losing all his best paying Anglican gentry patients.

> But he hung on, and sooner or later they grew tired of spiting their health to nurse their prejudices, and mostly came back, so that by the time I knew him there was scarcely a house in Oakham, or a country seat in the neighbourhood - and Rutland is full of country seats - where his was not a welcome presence. Finches, Noels, Lowthers, Cecils, Heathcotes – I can well remember the bated breath with which such and other historic names were mentioned across the dinner table, for in those days you may be surprised to hear, the fear of the Almighty did not necessarily preclude a deep-seated veneration for their little mightinesses, the county magnates.

The zeal and vigour of some of the Baptist preaching found some favour in the population at general particularly concerning some of the obvious corruption of the episcopal structure within the established church.

Reverend John Jenkinson, the Baptist minister who moved from Kettering to Oakham in 1848, described in his diary how although the Baptist Sunday school was allowed to take part in the town procession celebrating the peace of 1856, neither he nor his contingent was

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[37] Ibid, pp.79, 88.

[38] Ibid, p. 64.

[39] R. Greenall (ed.) *The Autobiography of the Reverend John Jenkinson Baptist Minister of Kettering and Oakham,* Northamptonshire Record Society (Northampton, 2010), p. 115; J. Philpot, *The Seceders The Story of J.C. Philpot and William Tiptaft* (London, nd.), p. 128. This is in contrast to Stamford in the 1830s where the Baptists, after an initial meeting, were prevented from using the Assembly Rooms again. Philpot, *Seceders*, p. 130-1.

[40] G. Carter, *Anglican Evangelicals. Protestant secessions from the Via Media c1800-50* (Oxford, 2001), p. 249.

offered any sustenance from the 'abundance of cake and tea' at the parish feast in the Riding School afterwards.[41] Jenkinson had been active in promoting parliamentary reform and spoke at a number of meetings.[42] He had been a visitor and correspondent of the Chartist Henry Vincent during and after the latter's imprisonment at Oakham. However towards the end of his pastorate at Oakham Baptism in general and Jenkinson in particular were absorbed into the civic establishment. This came about with the growing acceptance of their role in charitable community work as well as increased opportunities to work together within the evolving local government structures. Reverend Jenkinson was a founding member of the Oakham Literary Institute in 1859. In 1858 he had successfully argued the case for the exclusion of Anglican clergy from the newly reconstructed Oakham Cemetery Board. One of the parish churchwardens approached him after a meeting of the ratepayers and, according to Jenkinson, commented, 'you managed your business uncommonly well yesterday. I was opposed to your nomination, but I think we shall work well together.' [43] In many respects this body set the tone for future engagement across the religious communities within Rutland where trust and mutual appreciation of each other's efforts could be established. It is difficult to account for this toleration, which by no means is unique to Rutland, if nonconformity seen as a political threat to the county community.

Rutland: the decline of the parish

Through much of Rutland's existence, the principle unit of kinship and beneficial affiliation to the majority of Rutlanders, would have been that of the parish. The parish was the centre of religious and manorial obligation. It was the centre of community life and charity. Until 1834, and indeed beyond it, it was a focusing element of poor law provision. Many parochial charities were small but offered some amelioration in the lives of the parochial poor. Parish charities remained an important part of the cohesive rural society. After the introduction of district poor law unions during the nineteenth century and chiefly during the twentieth century charity organisation became more focused on county-based charities or national charities run from county branches. Publicly administered social welfare followed the same transition moving from parish, union, county to supra-county regional administration of national policy.

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[41] Greenall, *Jenkinson*, p. 31.

[42] Ibid, pp. 117-8.

[43] Ibid, p. 114.

An agricultural community centred on local farms and farm labour, the parish remained at the centre of rural life. Apart from the church, usually by the twentieth century administered by a resident priest, other village institutions such as the farm, the shop/Post Office, butchers, bakers, smithy, and above all the village school bound the parish community together. When coming to teach at Uppingham School during the 1950s a young schoolmaster asked one of the domestic staff whether they were local. The reply came in the negative stating that they were from Caldecott, a village four miles away. Another was told that 'wogs begin at Lyddington'! Parish identity could be this extreme in a small rural county.[44] However kinship and association was widened by occupational and market culture, but up until the late twentieth century it was still possible to find families centred over the generations within a 10 mile radius of Rutland village.

The decline of parish, or to use its more secular equivalent, village culture is at the heart of the debate concerning modernisation in rural England. Keith Snell has produced a body of work on affiliation to the parish during the nineteenth century.[45] He argues in favour of parish identification being more significant than any emerging class consciousness during this time. His view is in contrast to those of E.P. Thompson and E. Hobsbawn who argued that some kind of cross parochial, rural working class consciousness emerged from parochial identification during the earlier or later nineteenth century.[46] However the evidence from Rutland would suggest otherwise. The lack of any substantive agricultural trade union membership in Rutland during this period and the minority interest in the Labour movement throughout the twentieth century would suggest other substantive factors influenced affiliation in Rutland during this time.

During the last century, the parish declined in significance and Rutland can provide many examples to prove some of the central traits in the decline of the parish argument. The decline of village feasts within Rutland is a sure indicator of community health in the years before the Second World War.[47] Village friendly societies and rent dinners ceased with the coming of the welfare state and the breakup of landed estates. The decline of the number of

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[44] GF and DS, personal comments (2004). Palmer recorded a number of 'patriotic' village rhymes: 'In Rutland, old Rutland, as I can recall, the village of Burley is best place of all…' R. Palmer, *The Folklore of Leicestershire and Rutland* (Wymondham, 1985), pp.22-3.

[45] K. Snell, *Annals of the Neighbouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England 1660 – 1900* (Cambridge, 1985), K. Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community Identity and Welfare in England and Wales 1750 – 1950* (Cambridge, 2006).

[46] E.P .Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963); E.J. Hobsbawn, *World of Labour* (London, 1984), ch.11.

[47] Traylen records few surviving the First World War. A. Traylen, *Villages of Rutland* (Oakham, 1978).

village farm units and employment in agriculture generally played a large part in the village depopulation.[48] The agricultural customs of rogation and gleaning ceased in Langham in the 1920s probably the last Rutland village to carry out these customs. The closure of village schools took the heart out of the community.[49] May Day and 'waits', strongly connected with school life went at the same time. The uniting of parish benefices and the closure of nonconformist chapels also took the focus away from the immediate parish into a wider religious community. The closure of village shops, businesses and post offices lessened self-sufficiency. Village halls continued to struggle on bearing substantial financial burdens for their upkeep and only receiving a small boost from the inheritance of premises from former village schools.

Village sports and cricket teams declined as pubs, once the heart of the community, closed down as they became uneconomic.[50] The once popular and common Rutland recreational pastime of quoits completely disappeared within 30 years. The old village folk were replaced by a new commuter-based generation. Old villagers were marginalised in the community. Incomers moved into the larger houses. Villages still had a distinct hierarchy and it was no coincidence that many of the council houses largely built to house labourers were on the outskirts of Rutland villages. Villages and village life were being tidied and reorganised. When Leighfield Primary School was built at Uppingham in 1968 to accommodate incomers into the town, it was pronounced 'Lyefield', as opposed to the old local dialect pronunciation of 'Leefield'.

Rutland always had been a palimpsest of overlapping neighbourhoods of which the parish was only one. Kinship and friendship extended into the neighbourhoods of market towns and centres of cultural contact. The coming of the railway extended the old carrier routes further into the region and beyond. Multi-parish estates within Rutland facilitated the movement of tenantry in and around the county, as well as proving a point of affiliation in themselves.[51] Nonconformity circuits and Young Farmers Clubs also played their role in broadening the social and marital horizons of Rutland villagers. Snell's work on the

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[48] 'Rutland villages in danger of dying' (report on the findings of the 1971 Census. 32 out of the 56 parishes in Rutland suffered a decline in population.), *Melton and Rutland Journal,* 21 December 1972.

[49] The case of Ridlington School being a good example. 'End of a little school near home', *Leicester Advertiser*, 30 July 1960.

[50] Of the 71 pubs recorded by Scott Cooper in 1985 only 40 were in existence in 2016. S. Cooper, *Rutland and its Pubs* (Stamford, 1986).

[51] Tenantry lists in the Ancaster estate records at LAO as well as those in the Noel archive at ROLLR. provide evidence of tenantry moving around Rutland. Estates took pride in the maintenance of their properties and in their estate cohesion.

nineteenth century parish, emphasising the importance of localism to the rural population should be extended during the twentieth century to the more relevant wider neighbourhood of the county. The post-war growth in private car ownership and the movement of primary education into the market towns and larger villages were of crucial importance in the decline of the parish as a point of affiliation.

The spontaneous sense of community identity with Rutland as opposed to individual villages can be measured in the Institute of Local Government Studies (INLOGOV) report of 1993. It found that 21 per cent of Rutlanders questioned named the county as the community to which they felt they most belonged to, 'by far the highest percentage within any district [of Leicestershire] to nominate an area larger than a town or village.' Only 7 per cent of Leicester City residents nominated the city and just 1per cent of all respondents across Leicestershire, named 'Leicestershire'. This figure was less than 1 per cent within Rutland. [52]

Death horizons and the geography of cremation

In some respects, community hinterland can be measured by the death horizons concerning disposal of the dead. People to the north of Rutland tend to use Grantham crematorium, or occasionally Loughborough; people to the east, Peterborough crematorium; people to the south, Kettering crematorium. Rutlanders in the west of the county seldom use crematoria at Leicester, being more likely to use either Kettering or Grantham depending on whether they use the facilities of an Uppingham or Oakham undertaker. This is of course in addition to burial within a home parish or town cemetery. A modern innovation, which is proving to be quite popular, is for burial within Ketton Park Green Burial Site, regardless of parish origin, and attracting inhumations from across Rutland, Stamford and the surrounding area.

These attitudes towards the disposal of the dead are interesting evidence of the breaking of close affiliation with a person towards their birth parish or parish of residence. This is underlined if the ashes are 'left' at the crematorium and not buried at 'home'. The use of the various crematoria is largely a matter of custom and convenience. The Uppingham undertaker usually uses Kettering, occasionally Peterborough but seldom others because of

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[52] C. Game, *Community Identity in Rutland* (INLOGOV, Birmingham, 1993), Table 7. This report is using material from Table 392 of the Market Opinion Research International (MORI) survey, *Community Identity in Leicestershire* (London, 1993), commissioned by LCC and various district councils, including that of Rutland, and using questions agreed with the Local Government Commission to ascertain community identity and public opinion regarding local government reform.

proximity to the place of the funeral, if there is one additional to the cremation service.[53] Leicester crematoria are distant, not easy to get to, and heavily booked by the citizens of that city.

The relationships with the crematoria of the market towns involved are largely commercial transactions undertaken for the sake of convenience at places peripheral to Rutland. Kettering and Grantham have both crematoria and rail links, but little else to offer the Rutlander in terms of commerce that they cannot find closer to home.[54] Market Harborough, an important market centre with an agricultural hinterland, is awkwardly positioned to the south-west of Rutland. Its attraction to Rutland was diminished after the removal of the rail link along the Welland valley in 1966.

Melton Mowbray is in a similar position to the north-west of Rutland. Linked by road, bus and rail to Oakham and the villages of the north of the county it is again an agricultural market centre with a similar culture to that of Rutland. Rutland and Melton were brought together in a joint Parliamentary constituency in 1983. The suggestion that Rutland should be linked with Melton in a joint district Council was strongly resisted by Rutlanders in 1972.[55] Rutland has always taken pride in its independence, diminutive size and closeness of the relationship between its inhabitants and its governance. However in certain administrative areas and in commerce some neighbouring towns have claimed Rutland as part of their hinterland

Corby: 'a monstrous wasteland'

Hoskins' depiction of Corby as an alien landscape, 'a monstrous wasteland', carved out of the Northamptonshire countryside contrasted unfavourably in landscape and cultural terms with that of pastoral and unindustrialised Rutland.[56] Corby as a new town grew rapidly with the twentieth century development of the steelworks.[57] It was a displaced urban working-class

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[53] Comment made by E.D. Uppingham funeral director, 2015

[54] *The Grantham Journal*, which covered Rutland affairs extensively during the first half of the twentieth century did so by means of established local correspondents and eventually producing a local edition which became *The Melton and Rutland Journal.*

[55] Local Government Boundary Commission for England, Local Enquiry: Leicestershire, held at Leicester, 6 September 1972.

[56] W. Hoskins, *East Midlands and the Peak* (London, 1951), p. 57.

[57] A. Alexander, *The Foundations of a Steel Town: Corby 1880 – 1920* (Corby, nd.)

culture; the workforce largely imported from Scotland, set in the middle of rural Northamptonshire, and had little connection with Rutland.

Iron ore quarrying in and around the town provided some work opportunities for those living in the south of Rutland until the closure of the steelworks and quarries in 1981. For a decade after Corby was regarded as desolate town with little attraction. Rutlanders felt xenophobic alienation from the poverty, crime and urban decay of Corby.[58] It was only after the regeneration of the town centre and the creation of large supermarkets that people from Uppingham district have been attracted to Corby to shop. The regular 'Rutland Flyer' bus route caters for this trade, linking Melton – Oakham – Uppingham on a north-south route.

In 2013, the suggestion, by East Midlands Liberal Democrats, that a new Parliamentary constituency, linking Rutland and Corby be created, 'generated substantial opposition.' The Boundary Commission had little difficulty in finding that Rutland had 'little connection to the town of Corby', and quashed the idea.[59]

Peterborough: 'that impudent soke'

In 1541, Rutland, with Northamptonshire, was included in the new diocese of Peterborough carved from the extensive mediaeval diocese of Lincoln. However, geographically Peterborough was in the south-eastern corner of the diocese and remote from the majority of the parishes under its pastoral care. Its situation on what became known as the East Coast main rail line brought industry and prosperity to the town in the nineteenth century. Apart from the Midland Railways 1848 line through Stamford, in 1878 the LNWR created a further rail branch along the Welland valley connecting Rutland to the growing town. Peterborough was an important agricultural market and transit point for Rutland produce. In 1965 the Soke was joined to the County of Huntingdon and in 1972 into Cambridgeshire. It became a unitary authority in 1998. [60]

In its report to the Trustram-Eve Commission in 1947, Peterborough suggested that it be created as a centre of a new local authority, to include the county of Rutland, reflecting its new-found economic importance. This utilitarian approach to local administration, echoing that in the creation of union districts a century before, was widely resented. 'This impudent

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[58] 'Corby-ites' were blamed for many crimes in the southern part of Rutland. V. Ortenberg, *Corby Past and Present* (Northampton, 2008), pp.149-50.

[59] *Boundary Commission for England: East Midlands Revised Proposals*, (2013), pp. 39-40.

[60] D. Brandon & J. Knight, *Peterborough Past the City and the Soke* (Chichester, 2001).

Soke, took a pair of compasses and drew a 25 to 30 mile ring around Peterborough and asked for the lot! It is a glaring example of [a]scheme… drawn up from the map and the map alone. England, does not lend itself to being divided in this way.'[61]

The activities of the Peterborough Development Corporation during the 1970s further enhanced its appeal as a regional nexus for transport, business and shopping.[62] However situated in fenland, it is in a different agricultural and cultural region to that of Rutland. Peterborough maintains its attraction as a transport hub and shopping centre to those living on the eastern side of Rutland as much as Leicester does to those living in the western side of the county.

Figure 5.2: *Stamford and its hinterland*
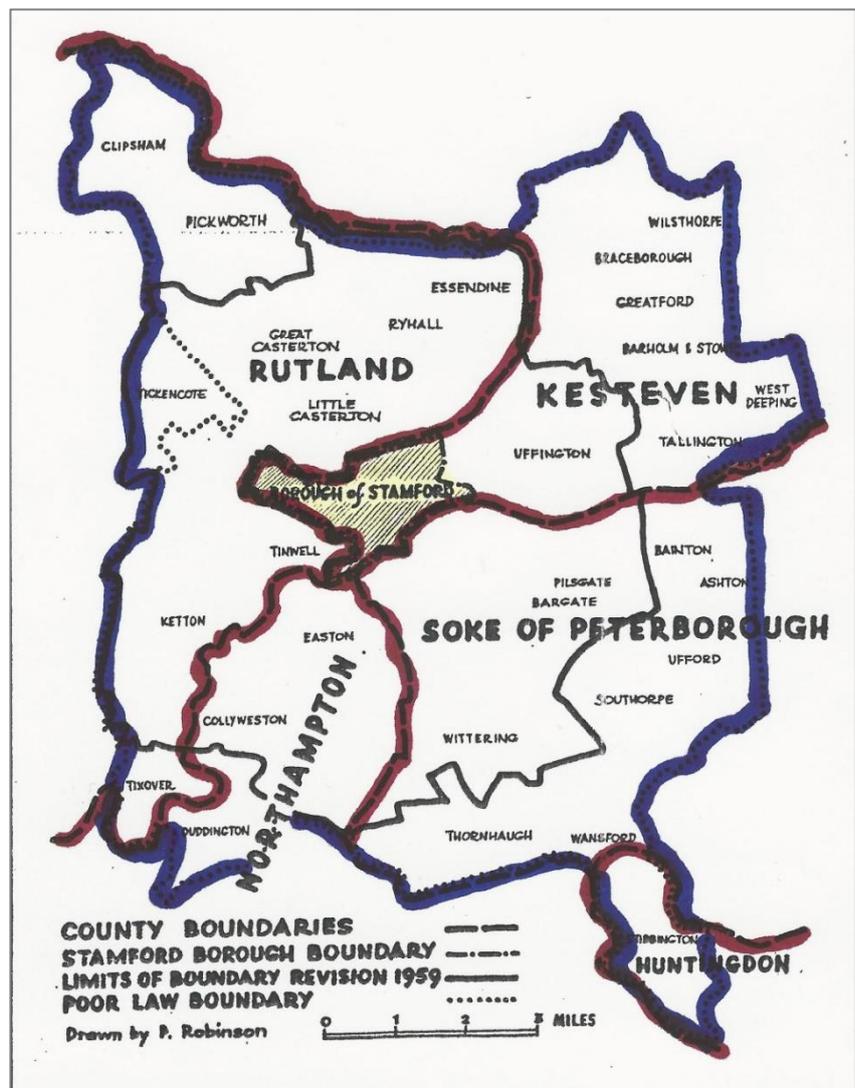
Adapted from a map showing Stamford Poor Law Union
Source A. Rogers, *The Making of Stamford* (Leicester, 1965), p.106.

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[61] Aldermen Royce Turner, quoted in, R. Jackson, 'Hands Of Rutland', *Illustrated*, 1 November 1947, p. 21.

[62] Peterborough Development Corporation, *Greater Peterborough Master Plan* (Peterborough, 1971), Chapter 2 Sub-Region.

Stamford: the elephant not quite in the room

Stamford's geographical position is strange. It sits as an enclave of Lincolnshire at the junction of four counties: Rutland, Peterborough (Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire), Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire, with Rutland on its western and northern boundaries (Figure 5.2). Stamford as a regional commercial centre had extensive carrier links over an economic hinterland which extended over all of Rutland save its western extremities. *White's Directory* (1846), published two years before the railway reached Stamford, illustrates this point, but *Dolby's Almanack* of 1913, almost 60 years later, still shows an extensive carrier network covering the majority of Rutland. Market Overton in the north-west of Rutland even possessing two carriers serving the town from Stamford.[63]

The Midland Railway opened a station in Stamford in 1848 on its Syston – Peterborough route. This linked Stamford to Rutland with stations at Ketton, Luffenham, Manton, Oakham, Ashwell, and Whissendine. Three years later the LNWR negotiated a joint use of part of this line to run its Rugby – Stamford route via Morcott, Seaton, Rockingham which was later, after 1894, connected to Uppingham. A link with the Great Northern Railway at Essendine was established in 1864 after pressure from the town. Apart from Essendine this short line had a small station at Ryhall and a separate Stamford terminus, 'Stamford East', in Stamford Saint Martins. Therefore the railway with its subsidiary carrier network, reinforced the position of Rutland within Stamford's commercial hinterland.[64]

Stamford as a market town was one of the leading provincial centres in mediaeval England although suffering a decline thereafter.[65] Its position on the Great North Road reaffirmed its position as a provincial centre, but as a major town there had never been a 'Stamfordshire'.[66] Stamford had been deliberately separated from Rutland in the negotiations following Alfred's embassy to York in 894. The protection of the Royal Mercian dowry from the Danelaw town then established an administrative separation of Rutland from Stamford

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[63] W. White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Leicestershire, and the small County of Rutland; together with the adjacent Towns of Grantham and Stamford;* (Sheffield, 1846), pp.702-3; *Dolby's Almanack and Directory* (Stamford, 1913), pp. 86-8.

[64] The coming of the railway to Stamford and the routing of the Northern mainline through Peterborough, avoiding Stamford, were highly contentious political issues of the time. The Marquess of Exeter's position related to the pecuniary advantage to his estate. A. & E. Jordan, *Stamford All Change!* (Stamford, 1996).

[65] The economic reasons for Stamford's rise and decline are discussed in A. Rogers (ed.), *The Making of Stamford* (Leicester, 1965).

[66] H.R. Loyn, 'Anglo Saxon Stamford' in A. Rogers (ed.), *The Making of Stamford* (Leicester, 1965), pp. 27-30. Discusses 'Stamfordshire'. G. Chalkin, *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England* (London, 1974), discusses the 'strategic advantage' of Stamford's position on the Great North Road.

which has lasted over 1000 years.[67] However the links between Stamford and Rutland have been both multitudinous and important to both territories without sacrificing their administrative integrity.

Saint Peter's, the westernmost parish within Stamford Borough had been connected to, and considered part of, the Royal Manor of Hambleton under a pre-conquest arrangement.[68] The attraction of Stamford in the mediaeval economy to farmers and tradesmen of Rutland can be demonstrated in surviving documents.[69] Many families who had established wealth and position within Stamford position chose to live in Rutland villages such as, to choose an earlier and later example, the Browne family at Tolethorpe (1527-1811) and the Eaton family at Ketton and Tolethorpe (1864-c.1914).[70]

Established Rutland businesses in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries gained entry to the county from Lincolnshire, through Stamford. The first Matkin printer established himself at Uppingham after arriving from Stamford before moving to Oakham. The original Mr Hassan of Oakham's Furley and Hassan, household furnishings emporium, arrived as an apprentice from Stamford in 1836. Other well-known Oakham businesses run by the Hoy and Glazier families had Stamford and Lincolnshire origins.[71]

Rutland had been long considered part of the hinterland of Stamford in topographical literature. Francis Peck's magnum opus was titled, *Academia Tertia Anglicana; or the Antiquarian Annals of Stanford in Lincoln, Rutland, and Northampton Shires* (1727). The official town guide continued to include Rutland in its title into the late twentieth century.[72] Rutland is included in G.H. Burton, *Rambles round Stamford: a handy guide for visitors* (Stamford, 1872). The full title of White's 1846 directory emphasises the position of Rutland

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[67] This is discussed more fully in C. Phythian-Adams, 'The emergence of Rutland and the making of the realm', *Rutland Record*, 1 (1980), pp. 5-12. And F. and C. Thorn's summation of recent scholarship in <https:/hydra.hull.ac.uk/assets/hull:516/content> (2007) [accessed 10/ 06/ 2016]

[68] D.R. Roffe, C.M. Mahoney, 'Stamford and the Norman Conquest', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology,* 21 (1986), pp. 5-9; C. Mahoney, D.R. Roffe, 'Stamford: the Development of an Anglo-Scandinavian Borough', in R. Brown (ed.), *Anglo Norman Studies*, 5 (Woodbridge, 1983), p. 214.

[69] An interesting example of the interconnectedness of the regional economy is found in the number of skilled artisans employed by Browne's Hospital during its construction and maintenance. These included workmen from Oakham 8 miles from Stamford as well as closer settlements such as Ryhall, Belmesthorpe and Great Casterton. The hospital itself was endowed with lands including some at North Luffenham and Stretton. A. Rogers and Stamford Survey Group, *The Wardens: managing a late mediaeval hospital. Browne's Hospital, Stamford 1495 – 1518.* (Bury Saint Edmunds, 2013), p. 37.

[70] A. Traylen, *Ancestral Houses of Rutland* (Stamford, 2005).

[71] A. Buxton, B. Martin, *Rutland People: The Genuine Article* (Stamford, 2001), pp. 5, 22, 53.

[72] Stamford Town Development Committee, *The Ancient Borough of Stamford in Lincolnshire on the Borders of Rutland and Northamptonshire* (various editions, Stamford, 1920s – 80s).

as being part of the hinterland of Stamford.[73] Later directories excluded Stamford from inclusion as directories became unwieldy in size and therefore restricted themselves to Leicestershire and Rutland and their market towns. In this respect Rutland first came to be considered as a subsidiary part of the Leicester/Leicestershire hinterland, through the regular publication of commercial directories.

Linked into a joint Parliamentary constituency between 1918 and 1983 the political separation of the borough and the county has not always been consistent. That part of the Stamford Poor Law Union and registration district within Rutland which became the Ketton Rural District Council area in 1894, shared offices and facilities with those of two other rural district councils in Stamford throughout its life.

However, there had always been a separation of powers between the two authorities. Stamford's failure to achieve county status during the mediaeval period left it on the periphery of Lincolnshire remote from the county town. Rutland authorities were mindful of the power of the Borough and how amalgamation into a joint county authority would upset the political balance of Rutland as well as taking away Oakham's function as a county town. Having Stamford as its administrative, cultural as well as commercial centre would have imbalanced the county towards the east. For this reason the nascent Rutland County Council 'was strongly and entirely opposed' countenancing a joint authority with Stamford after a request from that Borough in 1889.[74] The 1959 Boundary Commission report unsuccessfully proposed that Stamford should be moved into a new county based on Peterborough, again leaving it on an administrative periphery. In 1974 Stamford lost its borough status and privileges of a chartered corporation when it and South Kesteven County Council were absorbed into a greater Lincolnshire.[75] Even the new district Council was based in Grantham, ending 700 years of self-government. 'Peripherality was and remains Stamford's greatest problem'.[76]

Politically separate, Stamford being under the thrall of the Cecils and Rutland that of the Noels, Finchs and Heathcotes, the political antipathy had historical precedents. However, the commercial and social links between Stamford and Rutland were strong and bound the two territories together into a marriage of convenience. Stamford businesses operated satellite

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[73] See fn. 62.

[74] ROLLR DE1381 Rutland County Council, minute book, 9 September 1889.

[75] J. Varley, *The Parts of Kesteven: Studies in Law and Government* (Bourne, 1974).

[76] A. Rogers, *The Book of Stamford* (Stamford, 2001), p. 125.

concerns in both Oakham and Uppingham. *The Stamford Mercury*, the leading local newspaper, was printed in the town, and the town had both cultural facilities such as the theatre (1768), Assembly Rooms (1727), library (1906) and was the centre of welfare provision being at the head of a Union and containing the Stamford and Rutland Infirmary (1828).[77] Coaches connected Leicester and Stamford through a corridor which extended on a number of routes through Rutland, and Stamford itself was a gateway to the county from the Great North Road.[78] Stamford originated a postal district extending into Rutland and was the centre of banking, credit, professional services. Stamford's Georgian architectural influence can be seen in Oakham and Uppingham. In the twentieth century Rutland children travelled by train to Stamford Endowed Schools, Stamford remained a local shopping centre, with a variety of shops and latterly supermarkets. It acted as a nexus for leisure and social activities connected with popular culture including charities and sports. 'Stamford rather than Oakham was clearly the centre for this region.'[79]

Stamford sits uncomfortably as a border town to four counties. Beyond 'Borderville Farm' to the north-east of the town is the Rutland village of Ryhall. Ryhall serves as an example of the strength of Rutland community spirit in that has always resisted any absorption into Stamford. It possesses its own library and primary school both run from Oakham and senior pupils travelled by train to Oakham Central School before the opening of Casterton Community College. It proudly possesses its two pubs and has an active community centre. Incomers into the village have described that the community identity in Ryhall was stronger than in their previous village, Empingham, on the edge of Rutland Water. They found that this noticeable association with the Rutland identity was part of the village's assertion of a rural identity during the last quarter of the century.[80]

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[77] 'For most of the rural elite, the local market town – not London or Bath – was the regular and most accessible gateway to fashionable social life in Georgian England.' P. Clark, 'Small Towns, 1700 – 1840', in P. Clark (ed), *The Cambridge Open History of Britain:2, 1540 – 1840* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 770.

[78] A. Rogers, *The Making of Uppingham* (Uppingham 2003), p. 2.

[79] Uppingham Local History Study Group, *Uppingham in 1802 a year to remember?* (Uppingham, 2002), p. 92.

[80] Interview with AA and BA , September 2015.

Rutland: market horizons

The example of Stamford underlines the importance of looking beyond political districts to seek social and cultural affiliation in more amorphous areas without firm divisions. In a rural area such as Rutland these largely revolved around the agricultural and commercial networks of weekly and occasional markets.

Both Oakham and Uppingham, within Rutland, and Stamford outside it, were market towns of considerable local importance, forming unofficial districts in themselves. The attraction of the agricultural market led to the development of commercial growth within the towns with permanent shops, banking and credit facilities, and well-established connections on coaching routes, carrier networks and latterly rail connections within the neighbouring area and beyond.

Coincidental to this commercial growth, but running parallel to it, was the growth of the two public schools within both Oakham and in particular Uppingham, after the 1870s. These factors brought additional wealth to the towns and their districts. It also brought metropolitan culture to the towns. Both towns boast theatres developed by the public schools and a series of music concerts. After a period of somnolence, if not decline, the late 1970s saw a revival in town fortunes as they were repopulated with urban commuters seeking an attractive rural lifestyle and community spirit.

Oakham being the county town was the seat of county law and government. It also benefited from being a satellite hunting centre of Melton Mowbray. Culturally, many societies were formed around the towns during the twentieth century. Some of these were transposed into Rutland societies with the growth in motor transport attracting participants from the wider county area. Meanwhile, Uppingham tenaciously maintained its separate identity from Oakham in many respects. It kept a separate Chamber of Trade which was influenced by the growth in its book, crafts and antique shops. The declining number of high street shops in both towns catering for the breadth of the population's needs was a symptom partly caused by the growth in supermarkets in larger neighbouring towns and in later years Oakham itself.

The role of both towns as historic commercial centres resulted in them being made centres of poor law unions and registration districts in the 1830s. In addition, Uppingham had its own County Court. Until independence in 1970 Oakham School was the county grammar school attracting pupils from across the county. After the introduction of comprehensive education in 1972, Rutland High School for Girls in Oakham became the Rutland Six Form

College. The catchment areas for both Uppingham Village College and the Vale of Catmose Village College roughly coincided with the old poor law unions which had been translated into Rural District Council areas in 1894.

The local government reforms of the nineteenth century had created a confusing palimpsest of overlapping administrative areas lacking logical coherence. The codeterminous registration and rural sanitary authority districts were equal to poor law unions which extended over Rutland's county borders. The Rural District Councils, created under the Local Government Act of 1894, comprised of those areas *within* the historic and administrative county of Rutland. Therefore both Oakham and Uppingham Rural District Councils adhered to the poor law union boundaries within Rutland but excluded parishes outside of Rutland still within Uppingham and Oakham Poor Law Unions/registration areas.[81] Likewise Ketton Rural District Council (KRDC) comprised a small council area of those nine parishes within Rutland within the Stamford Poor Law Union. KRDC shared offices with the other small Rural District Councils created out of the Stamford Union within Stamford itself. This was a practical arrangement between villages on the eastern side of Rutland with that of its obvious leading town and market centre: Stamford. Poor Law Union areas in themselves are not likely to attract affection or affiliation from the general population whether as potential workhouse inmates or as a ratepayer.

Therefore the translation of the old informal agricultural districts centred on the market towns into Rural District Council areas reinforced by educational catchment areas divided the county so that there was commercial, agricultural, and educational discourse and connection within these districts on a daily basis. Bonds of kinship and affinity had always existed within villages within the districts; however district affiliation did not exclude personal and commercial relationships outside the district areas which were in themselves extensive. Micro-histories of the modern and abstract, Rutland Water area; the mediaeval and historic Lyddington Manor area; or the naturally defined Eyebrook area did not claim exceptionalism or particularism and likewise neither did the Rural District Council areas.

The cultural boundaries of the farming community are not best represented within administrative boundaries. Auriol Thomson interviewed a Bisbrooke lady who came to Rutland in 1939 upon her marriage and remained here for the rest of her life. Her husband's family (Clarke) have been settled in Rutland for many hundreds of years. Her father's family were tenant farmers which periodically moved around the Northamptonshire area, three times

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[81] Oakham Rural District Council (ORDC) contained two Leicestershire parishes, Uppingham Rural District Council (URDC) contained nine Leicestershire parishes and five Northamptonshire parishes.

in the 25 years before her marriage (she was born in 1914). Her mother's family (Fortescue) although originally from Devon had been settled in Northamptonshire for 500 years. In many respects her farming heritage is typical of that of many tenant farmers moving up and down the Welland Valley and across a swathe of Northamptonshire Rutland and in parts Lincolnshire farmland. She felt that county boundaries were largely irrelevant and the emphasis on the Rutland identity was a post-war development fostered by the Ruddle family![82]

Rutland in the East Midlands: a regional and provincial perspective

The East Midlands, as a region, possesses great landscape and cultural variation.[83] The post-war creation of the East Midlands as a state economic planning region drew its inspiration from the area covering much of the old five boroughs of the Danelaw. However, as a region it composes of too many divergent components to attract a deeply held affinity.[84] In historiographical terms W.G. Hoskins emphasised the cultural characteristics of a landed agricultural society to the south of the region, whilst K. C. Edwards studied the industrial hinterland of Nottingham and the Trent. Culturally, figuratively and literally, they were miles apart.[85]

The towns of Nottingham, Derby, Lincoln and Northampton are distant from rural Rutland and not well connected to it. The East Midlands principal realisation as an imagined community in itself is that it comprises a TV region for the BBC with studios based in Nottingham, and Leicester.[86] Whilst most of Rutland is connected via the Waltham transmitter to receive East Midlands regional television transmissions, some of the eastern more Stamford orientated audiences prefer the Sandy Heath transmissions of BBC 'Look East', which gives coverage to Stamford from studios based in Cambridge and Norwich.

Rutland's county identity has only a marginal concern in the recent interest in landscape and cultural historians to generate a theory of regional community identity. Charles Phythian-Adams' discernment of a patchwork of English cultural provinces, coinciding with

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[82] A. Thomson, Interview with Mrs Joan Clarke, 1998, unpublished p. 7.

[83] D. Stocker, *England's Landscape: The East Midlands* (London, 2007).

[84] M. Jones 'Polymorphic Spatial Politics' in W. Nichols, B. Miller, J. Beaumont (eds), *Spaces of Contention: Spatialities and Social Movements* (London, 2016), outlines the East Midlands as a modern administrative region.

[85] S.J. Daniels, 'Inventing the East Midlands', *East Midlands Geographer*, 17 (1994).

[86] ITV Central Television closed its Nottingham studios in 2004 and now operates from Birmingham.

drainage basins, using watersheds as frontiers zones is in itself arguable.[87] Its emphasis on economic regions centred on 'primate' towns would diminish the county boundary in importance if fully accepted. Alan Fox in his testing of Phythian-Adams's thesis focuses on a supposed cultural frontier along the Leicestershire/Lincolnshire border, close to the boundary with Rutland.[88] Although Fox discerns a frontier zone, it is possible to conclude from his analysis of some the cultural markers that he uses that there was a lack of any substantial cultural dissonance between the borderland communities adjoining the county boundary. This would be equally so in Rutland. Marriage horizons, family networks, commercial migration extended far beyond Rutland's borders, especially with the growth of turnpike and railway traffic. Seasonal cultural agricultural traditions, were celebrated across the East Midlands and beyond. Rural depopulation and the loosening of the ties with the land resulted in a more mobile population. The commercial influence of towns such as Stamford, Leicester and Peterborough had a strategic regional effect on the local economy of Rutland. The large landed estates crossed the county boundary and were directed from estate centres at Burghley, Fineshade/Stamford and Grimsthorpe. Again the commercial, cultural and communication possibilities of Stamford *outside* the county boundary had always been crucial to Rutland's socio-economic development.

Conclusion: Rutland a discrete but open community

Despite the overall low level of nonconformity found within Rutland in the 1851 Religious Census, there remains, in theory at least, a reasonable cause to investigate any counterculture anti-theoretical to the county community as the dominant culture. However the evidence suggests that religion did not impede the development of a modern county community.

 In the era of more democratic local government, increasing inclusivity of the county community, and great social change, in that community, 'the direct influence of both church and chapel was decreasing and becoming more private'.[89] Rimmington found social factors such as the growth of secularism, agricultural depression and the consequent rural depopulation, with the breakdown of the old estates and increase in open villages, lessening

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[87] C. Phythian-Adams (ed.) *Societies, Cultures and Kinship 1580-1850: Cultural Provinces and English Local History* (Leicester, 1996).

[88] A. Fox, *A Lost Frontier Revealed Regional separation in the East Midlands* (Hatfield, 2009).

[89] A. Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England: A Social History 1850 – 1925* (London, 1991), p. 238.

the ties of nonconformist religion in the community.[90] In the established church, the extension of tithe commutation largely removed an issue of resentment between local farmers and the Anglican clergy.[91] The gradual abolition of pew rents helped in drawing back the parish population to the established church. Nonconformity struggled to establish itself in villages where there was not a viable population to sustain both church and chapel.

Cross-border nonconformist circuits appeared not to have any significant detrimental effect on county affiliation. The operation of Anglican parishes within a Rutland deanery enhanced the county construct within a weak diocesan network. Electoral opportunities offered to nonconformists negated any residual opposition by the old county establishment and forced people with different religious affiliations to work together on a parish, district or county basis. Religious affiliation, while respected, was in most cases subsumed in a general desire to work together for the common good. In the absence of any notable political dissension, in which nonconformity proved to be a rallying point against the conservative county establishment, it must be said that cooperation and goodwill absorbed well-established non-Anglican communities within a larger county community.

Catholicism and 'Popery' were no longer considered a national or local political threat. Nonconformity was closely associated with the growth in agricultural trade unionism and the broad political reform movement in counties such as Lincolnshire.[92] In Rutland, while this may have been so, it was less pronounced in the political culture and appeared to be a less divisive issue locally. The reasons for the weakness of agricultural trade unionism and radical politics within Rutland have yet to be explained, but a county tradition of charitable paternalism on the estates and in the parishes, together with ties of close community kinship under a dominant county establishment, no doubt played a role. Religious toleration was a factor at work within this. An estate village such as Empingham where the unpopular vicar Thomas Lowick Cooper, remaining in office for 60 years, could have his vicarage vandalised and be hung in effigy from a village tree could also provide cross community support, from the Ancaster family down, for nonconformist John Healey to be its county representative. [93]

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[90] G. Rimmington, 'Congregationalism in rural Leicestershire and Rutland 1863-1914', *Midland History* 30 (2005), pp. 91-104.

[91] G. Mingay, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales VI 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 843.

[92] R. Russell, *From cockfighting to chapel building; changes in popular culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth century Lincolnshire,* Lincolnshire Archaeological and Heritage Reports Series 6 (Lincoln, 2002), Chapter 6.

[93] See Chapter 8.

The county community proved itself, in terms of religion to be inclusive and religious affiliation was, in the medium-term, not considered a threat to it.

The parish as a focus of identity even in the nineteenth century was in decline with increasing migration; cross parochial estates and the focus towards welfare being conducted by Poor Law Unions. The decline in agriculture; shift in services towards market towns and the growth of multi-parish benefices during the twentieth century, exacerbated this trend. Villages became less self-sufficient, parish customs declined with the closure of village schools and pubs. With the growth of villagers having access to independent transport they became more outward looking and villages became dormitories.

Neighbouring market towns, like Melton Mowbray and Market Harborough, although similar in socio economic outlook to those of Rutland were perceived as peripheral and distant. Cities such as Leicester and Peterborough even more so, being seen as occasional service centres but industrial and having little relation to the rural identity of Rutland. The industrial nature of Corby, with its urban pretensions and immigrant population did not appeal as a focal point to Rutland rural population. Out of an unweighted base of 312 Rutland respondents in the MORI poll of 1993, 45 per cent cited Oakham as their nearest town, 22 per cent Stamford, 21 per cent Uppingham, 2 per cent Melton, and 9 per cent didn't know.[94] Further analysis in the MORI survey strengthens the position of Corby and Melton as shopping centres but places Uppingham higher in the ratings as a work and leisure and sporting activities destination (Table 5.1).

Stamford was an anomaly. Although historically closely connected with the eastern half of the county as a cultural and service centre as well as an actual and potential centre of local government, it remained more distant and disconnected to those in the western half of Rutland. Although larger than Oakham or Uppingham, it is still geographically and politically on the periphery of the county. It also had its own tradition of self-government as a chartered borough separate from that of Rutland as an historic county.

Inside of Rutland the market horizons of both Oakham and Uppingham reflected kinship networks and were given a legal legitimacy in the creation of registration and union areas and ultimately focal points of Rural District Councils and catchment areas for secondary education. Despite the considerable affinity felt within these areas it was the county construct that prevailed as the primary source of local government and service provision, albeit under the auspices of a district council, after the abolition of the Rural District Councils in 1974.

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[94] C. Game, *Community Identity in Rutland* Table 12. This report is using material from Table 410 of the Market Opinion Research International (MORI) survey.

Table 5.1: *Destination towns for Rutland inhabitants 1993*

TABLE 16: WHERE DO RUTLAND RESIDENTS GO? (Tables 377ff.)

Qu.4. "Where do you or other members of your household generally go to for ....?"

	4a Main food shopping %	4b Clothes & household goods %	4d Work %	4e Leisure & sporting activities %
OAKHAM	49	23	29	30
(Stamford)	32	27	12	16
(Corby)	10	9	5	4
UPPINGHAM	6	4	11	10
Melton Mowbray	6	6	4	5
Leicester	3	30	6	2
(Peterborough)	2	45	4	4
(Grantham)	2	4	1	-
(Kettering)	2	4	1	1
(Nottingham)	-	6	1	-
(Northampton)	-	1	-	1
Other	2	6	28	21
N/A	-	-	25	32
Summary				
WITHIN RUTLAND	55+	27+	40+	40+
Elsewhere in Leics.	9+	36+	10+	7+
(Outside Leics.)	48+	96+	24+	27+
Weighted total = 124				

Notes:

(1) Multiple responses are possible; columns therefore add up to more than 100%
(2) Responses to Q.4c (child's school) too few to be significant

This report is using material from Table 377f of the Market Opinion Research International (MORI) survey, *Community Identity in Leicestershire* (London,1993).

Source: C. Game, *Community Identity in Rutland* (INLOGOV, Birmingham, 1993), Table 16.

The East Midlands as an economic region for central government was largely an artificial construct, it's only substantive cultural reinforcement being the development of a regional television service. The East Midlands is an at times uneasy mix of urban industrial areas with rural agricultural areas. Rutland as a county succeeded as a geographical, social and political focus for primary identity and affiliation in an era of participatory democracy because it remained a centre of government and, unlike its possible competitors to that role, it was seen as both known and local.

The truth lies beyond the artificial constructs of historical geography. The county is part of a palimpsest of overlapping affiliations, identities and cultural communities underlying English rural life. Proving the county boundary to be porous to the flow of identifiable occupational culture, familial networks or the commercial hinterlands of market towns does not invalidate the county as a construct that had (and has) a political resonance particularly in the self-identification of its inhabitants.

CHAPTER 6

AMPHIBIANS AND VERGERS:

RUTLAND WATER AS A CATALYST FOR CHANGE IN THE COUNTY COMMUNITY

> There is certainly no circumstance of landscape, more interesting or more beautiful than water and there can be no person so void of taste as not to feel the necessity of improving the valley at Normanton by enlarging the river, yet this is a subject attended with some difficulty and requires more management than may at first be conceived, although it might be possible to make such a dam or head as would convert the whole valley into one vast lake, yet the expense of such a bank, and the waste of so much valuable land, is more than I would dare to advise.[1]

The study of Rutland Water bridges both the cultural and governmental themes in this exploration of a county community. Initial resistance to the creation of the reservoir brought the county community together. In cultural terms the reservoir reshaped the county's image: the imagined community of Rutland to outsiders from outside the county. The increasing importance of Rutland Water in marketing the county as a tourist attraction created tensions between the old and new cultures within the county. This led to the fear that Rutland was being relegated to being a mere 'towpath around a lake'.[2]

This chapter examines the role of Rutland Water in the evolution of the County community during the last quarter of the twentieth century. It examines to what extent the reservoir was a cause for symptom of change within the community. It brings together the two themes of affiliation and participation in the next relation of issues surrounding the planning, creation and exploitation of Rutland Water in the 1970s and beyond.

Rutland Water is one of the largest man-made reservoirs in Europe. It was built between 1971 and 1977 by damming the Gwash Valley to create a 3,100 acre storage lake. Additional water was pumped into the reservoir from both the River Nene and the River Welland. It has a 24 mile perimeter and a capacity of over 27,300,000 gallons. It is 110 feet at its maximum depth and the water is held in by the largest earth dam in Europe. Recreationally it is one of the UK's major sailing venues and provides some of the finest stillwater trout fishing in the country. In addition to which it has a nature reserve of international significance. The results were dramatic, with 3 percent of the county being

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[1] Humphrey Repton being prescient 230 years before the construction of Rutland Water. H. Repton, 'Red Book', Normanton, 1796 (MS held by The Grimsthorpe and Drummond Castle Trust), 326.

[2] K. Lewis MP, Welland and Nene (Mid-Northants) Water Bill Second Reading debate. House of Commons, Parliamentary Debates, 2 April 1969, columns 556–61.

covered by water within a period of four years (Figure 7.1); and, in another sense, equally significant, there were changes to social and economic cultures and structures of the county community. These trends reflected change in the wider English rural environment and society.

Figure 7.1: *Rutland Water superimposed on Walker's map of Rutland (1835)*
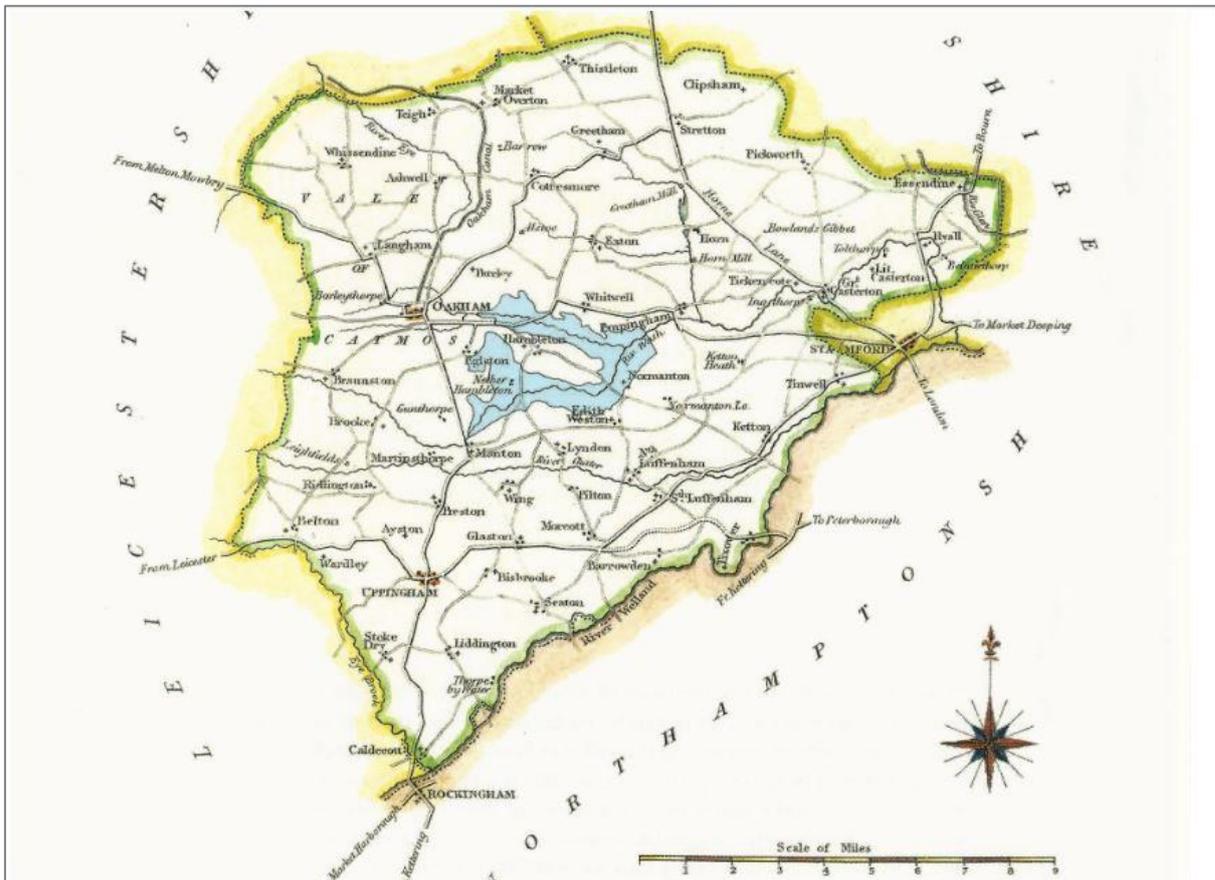
This gives a sense of scale of the reservoir to the county, including the disruption of long-standing routes and settlements

Source: R. Ovens S. Sleath, *The Heritage of Rutland Water* (Oakham, 2007), p.2.

This chapter will discuss the significance of resistance by Rutlanders towards the construction of the reservoir and their later adaptation to its presence, in so far as it relates to the evolution of the county community. Material from this section has been drawn largely from contemporary records, published and unpublished personal reminiscences and published articles on Rutland Water.[3] There are three elements here: the devaluation of the land interest;

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[3] An historical account of the creation of the reservoir is found in H. Crowden, 'Borders not Boundaries' (unpub. MA dissertation, University of Leicester, 2004). An amended version of this was published as H. Crowden, 'Don't Dam Rutland' in R. Ovens and S. Sleath (eds), *The Heritage of Rutland Water*, RLHRS 5 (Oakham, 2007). Excluding tourist literature, there is little published concerning Rutland Water outside of technical articles in various academic journals concerning aspects of water engineering, environmental planning, ecology, biology or ornithology. Some of the earlier of these were drawn together in D. Harper and J. Bullock

the growth in importance of outside corporate interests affecting Rutland and seeking to exploit it; and the adaptation of Rutlanders to the new reality and the exploitation of Rutland Water within the changed political culture of the county.

Issues of planning for tourism as an economic asset compare with the imposition of an alien environment in the countryside similar to that of the expansion of Corby in the 1930s. It examines how the reservoir galvanised the county community into finding a voice, who were the leaders in the campaign to oppose the reservoir, and how representative were they. It looks at how the campaign to stop the reservoir failed and why the campaign to rename the reservoir succeeded. The controversy surrounding the naming of the reservoir will be examined as a symptom of the crisis in community identity in the late 1970s. An exploration of the significance of Normanton Church as a cultural icon for the county, being symptomatic of the change wrought by the reservoir on the iconography of the county, concludes the chapter.

The eclipse of the landed interest in Rutland

The major loser in the construction of Rutland Water was undoubtedly the landed interest. In a turn of events that would have been unthinkable a century previously the arguments, priorities and economic interests of the agricultural land lobby were devalued by Parliament in favour of the interest in maintaining an urban water supply.[4] Whilst this was a reflection upon the changing constitution of Parliament itself it was also a continuation of the economic changes in Rutland during the previous half-century. This was not the first time Rutland farmers were made to give up their land in the previous half-century. A reservoir to supply the needs of the steelworks at Corby was created in the Eyebrook Valley beneath Stoke Dry in the late 1930s. This necessitated the loss of some valuable pastureland, as did the compulsory

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(eds), *Rutland Water – Decade of Change. Proceedings of the Conference held in Leicester, UK, 1–3 April 1981* (London, 1982). AWA produced various promotional leaflets in the first 25 years of the reservoir's existence. Bryan Waites has been a noted evangelist for Rutland Water in various guides, educational and geographical journals, for example *Rutland Water: A Visitor's Practical Guide* (Leicester, 1978), 'Rutland Water: a Tow Path round a Lake', *Geographical Magazine,* 44 (January 1972), p.282. Apart from Waite's writings, those of D. Cosgrove, B. Roscoe, S. Rycroft, 'Landscape and Identity at Ladybower Reservoir and Rutland Water', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* NS. 21 (1996) pp. 534–51; and references in Nigel Ducker's *A Place in the Country* (London, 1991), little else has been written outside of numerous articles of travel literature written potentially for the domestic tourist, cyclist or walker.

[4] This reality was seen elsewhere, for example in the construction of Kielder Water in Northumberland. 'Rural interests are being sacrificed to the appetites of urban civilisation': Water Resources Board, *Water Supplies in the North* (London, 1970), p.19. For a general review of the situation see T. Osman, 'The Drowning of our Valleys', *Illustrated London News,* 30 May 1970.

purchase of farmland by the War Ministry for the creation of airfields at Cottesmore, North Luffenham, and Woolfox during the Second World War.

In 1968 signs went up over Rutland exhorting the reader: 'Don't Dam Rutland' (Figure 6.2).[5] However, the real battle was to be fought and lost against the promoters' private bill in Parliament. A coalition of interests was established to fight the reservoir proposals at Westminster.[6] These petitioners comprised local authorities as well as the local branches of The Council for the Protection of Rural England, the Country Landowners' Association and National Farmers' Union.[7] The petitioners against the Bill were handicapped by a lack of time, money and technical skills. Rutland County Council was able to raise a 3d rate and £15,000 was spent by the local community and petitioners in opposing the bill.[8] This was an additional tax burden on the local community which was already financially involved in defending its County Council against local government reform. With an ongoing evaluation of the viability of a Wash barrage being at that time incomplete, the petitioners were unable to win the technical arguments surrounding alternatives to the proposed reservoir.[9] In the end they fought for the best deal they could obtain for the beleaguered county, in terms of compensation, landscaping and recreational planning.[10]

At Westminster there was sympathy, particularly among MPs from rural constituencies, towards those whose economic interests were deleteriously affected by the reservoir as well as the despoliation of the Rutland countryside as a whole. Recognition was given to 'the passion and fury' over what amounted to a 'hydrological Stansted'. Kenneth Lewis MP, high on

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[5] 'Anti-Reservoir Posters go up', *Grantham Journal*, 6 December 1968.

[6] For a fuller evaluation of the decision-making process in addition to sources already cited refer to V. Collins, 'Water Supply, Reservoir Development and Planning: A Study of the Impact of Rutland Water' (unpub. MPhil thesis, University of Nottingham, 1977).

[7] The Rutland branch of the CPRE had been formed in November 1966 largely as a response to fears over a reservoir proposal. In the 1980s concerns of Rutlanders were also focused in a Society for the Preservation of Rutland, a shorter lived conservation group.

[8] Collins, 'Water Supply', p.76. 'Reservoir Fight Saves Rutland £½ million,' *LRSM*, 31 July1970. (AWA was to pay for infrastructure costs within Rutland as a result of the petitioners' campaign.)

[9] As late as 1972 it was being suggested that construction of the reservoir should be halted pending the results of the Wash feasibility survey. K. Brown, *Construction News*, 6 October 1972. Cosgrove *et al*. state that 'their opposition was deemed to have little technical merit and relied upon the rhetoric of traditional rurality, offering little in the way of technically informed alternatives.' Cosgrove *et al*., 'Landscape and Identity', p. 545.

[10] Collins,'Water Supply', pp.74 and 84–9. 'We took it as far as we could but it was just no good': Idris Evans, Fighting Fund Treasurer OUDC, interviewed in Rutland Mercury, *Rutland Water Souvenir Special* (Stamford, 1986).

rhetoric, if weak on argument, spoke of Rutland not wishing to become 'a kind of towpath around a lake'.[11]

Figure 6.2: *'Anti-reservoir posters go up'*

ANTI-RESERVOIR POSTERS GO UP

THICK FOG blanketed Rutland on Monday morning to obscure, from all but a nearby group of photographers, the action being taken by a handful of members of the Rutland and Stamford branch of the National Farmers' Union.

When the mist cleared around lunchtime, however, motorists passing through Empingham were able to see the results of the earlier work — anti - reservoir posters demanding "Don't Dam Rutland."

Later in the day more posters, erected by N.F.U. members, had appeared on roadsides throughout the county.

Among the poster party at Empingham — the site chosen for the dam of the proposed giant reservoir — were Mr. J. E. M. Conant, of Lyndon Hall, the County N.F.U. reservoir committee chairman; Mr. S. R. Salisbury, county secretary, Mr. W. I. Renner, of Normanton Lodge, and Mr. George Hibbitt, of Crossroads Farm, Empingham.

After erecting the posters the farmers, who are fighting against the loss of about 4,000 acres of land, drove along the threatened valley before going to Mr. Conant's home.

"Journal" picture shows Mr. Conant, Mr. Hibbitt and Mr. Renner erecting a sign.

A staged publicity photograph illustrating the alliance between landowning gentry and the smaller farmers united in opposing the construction of reservoir.

Source: *Grantham Journal* 6 December 1968.

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[11] T. Bradley MP and K. Lewis MP, Welland and Nene (Mid-Northants) Water Bill Second Reading debate. House of Commons, Parliamentary Debates, 2 April 1969, columns 556–61.

Although there was some discussion in Parliament over the true quality of the farmland involved, the fact that the valuable agricultural land would be flooded was, as Dame Sylvia Crowe said, 'valid and undeniable'.[12] The House of Lords Select Committee noted that the reservoir would have 'a significant effect upon local agriculture'. Forty-eight farm holdings, 19 owner-occupied and 29 agricultural tenancies would be affected, making 20 holdings uneconomic. Seven farmhouses and 16 cottages (six unoccupied) were to be submerged.[13] The frustration felt by the farming community in seeing its case devalued was reflected in the correspondence files of the National Farmers' Union.[14] However, had it not been for an economic re-evaluation of the construction costs versus the potential yield, the Water Resources Board had also contemplated flooding the adjoining Chater Valley at Manton. This would have removed 2,100 acres of active farmland to store 21,500 gallons of water.[15]

The small farmers were, as one of them put it, being 'flushed out' by the reservoir.[16] Agriculture and the existing rural environment were being sacrificed on the basis of a perceived need felt by an external authority to cater for the needs of populations elsewhere. Both farming and the Rutland community as a whole felt their continued economically sustainable rural existence was under threat from a world also intent on taking away its ability to govern itself.

Some farmers found the whole process of dislocation and loss of livelihood 'wicked and heart-breaking'.[17] The construction of the reservoir accelerated changes in local agriculture which undermined the economic basis of rural life. At a time when farm units were becoming larger to remain economically viable, small farmers were giving up the land and mechanisation further decreased the agricultural work force. In 1970 the Select Committee of the House of Lords was reassured that generous compensation was to be paid to

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[12] S. Crowe, 'The Landscape of Rutland Water', in Harper and Bullock (eds), *Rutland Water*, p. 43.

[13] House of Lords, *Special Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Welland and Nene (Empingham Reservoir) and Mid-Northants Water Bill* (London, 18 March 1970), pp. 2–3.

[14] ROLLR DE6137 NFU 1968 –70. Correspondence File.

[15] Water Resources Board, *Water Supplies in South East England* (London,1966). Collins, 'Water Supply', p.73.

[16] Walter Barwell, 'Flushed Out', *R.M* 23 Feb.1996.

[17] Mrs Locke, Beech Farm Hambleton, 'Reservoir Victim no.6.' *LRSM* 5 November 1971.

the Gwash valley farmers.[18] However, when it came to be paid in 1977, inflation had largely eroded the sums involved. 'A lot of farmers had a rough deal.'[19]

While a few farmers received some unused land back from the water authority, others sold up completely and then found planning regulations prevented them exploiting their land and redundant farm structures in the way they had envisioned.[20] A renewed corporatism in local government imposed restrictions on the farming community.[21] It was no longer 'their' land, 'their' property to do with as they pleased. Having fought the corporate interests of the water authorities the displaced farmers were some of the first to be restricted by the corporate interests of planning authorities and a reinvigorated rural planning process in the new structure of local government.

Cosgrove distorts the truth when he states 'the campaign against the reservoir project was certainly articulated along class, even "feudal", lines'. He talks of 'the sizeable rural working-class' being 'unsurprisingly mute'. The landed interest was to the fore of the campaign against the construction of the reservoir, but to deny the support given by the tenant farmers and Rutland villagers is a negation of history. The campaign to change the name of the reservoir extended across the whole community as demonstrated by attendance at public meetings. Cosgrove claimed that Rutland's working class would 'benefit' from the construction of the reservoir. This was true, to a limited extent, in the medium term but in the short-term, opposition to aspects of the reservoir and its exploitation extended beyond the articulate middle class.

More than any English rural community, Rutland has a tradition and legacy of an engaged participatory culture, witnessed by its struggles for independence and against Rutland Water. An analysis of the words and deeds of leaders should not imply that there were not any, albeit less articulate in the official record, followers. Public opinion at large within the Rutland community was to a great extent reflected in the voiced opinions of their elected councillors at parish district and county level. Beyond the official record and letters pages in the local press, concern over issues raised by the construction of Rutland Water within the local community can be gauged by the attendance at public meetings. A CPRE

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[18] House of Lords, *Special Report*, p.3.

[19] Frank Knight, quoted in *Rutland Water Souvenir Special* (Stamford,1986).

[20] 'Four Owners get Land back from Hambleton Peninsula', *LRSM* 28 February 1975. Displaced farmer Noel Sharp described his experience with the reservoir as 'Five years of hell': 'Barns Test Case', *Melton and Rutland Journal,* 7 August 1987.

[21] 'Barns Test Case', *Melton and Rutland Journal,* 7 August 1987.

Reservoir Meeting was reported as being 'crowded'.[22] A parish meeting at Empingham to discuss a proposed caravan and camping site was attended by 35 villagers.[23] Seventy people turned up to express their opinion on the 'Rutland Water Plan' in Empingham alone. Two other meetings in local villages were organised to allow the public their say.[24] The agricultural interest no longer ran the county. The land interest within the county community was still significant if no longer dominant as other economic interests came into play.

Anglian Water Authority and the growth of corporate influence

In the creation of Anglian Water Authority in 1975 it seemed to Rutland that Whitehall was intent upon advancing the reality as much as the concept of regional government as being more efficient and responsive to national needs. The authority replaced the Welland and Nene River Authority, upon which Rutland had some representation (and which had undertaken the planning and construction of the reservoir), with a much larger authority upon which Rutland had none. This fact did not go unnoticed by either the old Rutland County Council or the new Rutland District Council. Both bodies campaigned for Rutland to have a representative on the authority given the developing importance of the reservoir to the Rutland community. In 1981 the Department for the Environment appointed Col. Jim Weir, Leicestershire County Councillor for Oakham, to sit on the board of AWA.[25] The irony of the situation was further exacerbated by the fact that over half the county did not derive its water supply from the Anglian Water Authority but from the adjoining Severn Trent Water Authority to the west.[26]

Rutland had fought against corporate interests before. The compromises effected by landowners and railway companies during the construction of railways across Rutland during the nineteenth century would have served as an example of a negotiated settlement a century later had these companies not been subsumed into a nationalised industry and given an economic imperative to economise by closing lines during the 1960s. The economic argument for closure could not be argued against by small localised communities, like

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[22] *LRSM* 23 October 1970.

[23] *LRSM* 18 September 1985.

[24] *LRSM* 22 September 1978.

[25] Rutland County Council Minutes 26 July 1973; Rutland District Council Minutes 23 July 1973; *C.P.R.E. (Rutland branch) Annual Report* April 1975; *Grantham Journal*, 27 July 1973.

[26] 'Rutland Water will soon be for Local Consumption.' *The Journal,* 15 July 1977.

Rutland, which were adversely affected socially and economically by the withdrawal of rail services.[27] Rutland County Council and other various local lobbying groups could only hope to lobby for a mitigation of the effects occasioned by the withdrawal of rail services. They had neither the resources nor the economic arguments against the corporate interest of British Railways, government policy and the national economic interest. Less than half a decade later the institutionalised elements of the county community faced a similar dilemma arguing the case against the plans for a large reservoir in Rutland.

There appeared in hindsight to be different phases in the community reaction to the imposition of the reservoir upon Rutland. The first phase, that of garnering a coalition of interests opposed to the project from both within and without the county, gave way, once it had become apparent that the measure was going to receive Parliamentary approval, to a reluctant acquiescence and a considered effort made by the planning authority to work with the water authority to manage the environmental impact of the reservoir on the local community.

This second phase of adjustment and compromise coexisted with a 'latent indignation' felt by many Rutlanders living in village communities close to the reservoir and the politically active living elsewhere in the county.[28] This indignation peaked during certain episodes resulting from proposals by the water authority to exploit the reservoir. It was largely the new Rutland District Council who had the responsibility to represent the county's views and to work for a negotiated solution over particular issues. This negotiated acceptance of the reality of the reservoir appeared almost to have a *cui bono* basis.

The AWA employed Frank Knight, as reservoir manager, in his own words, 'to form an effective buffer between the contractors and the farming community'.[29] Rutlanders at large distrusted the water authority's competence on environmental issues and were suspicious of its recreational initiatives. Despite the promises made by the authority, and seemingly ordained by Parliamentary approval, during the negotiated settlement concerning the construction of the reservoir, the local community felt that the AWA would seek profit from the reservoir to offset its costs in maintenance, and these would be to the disadvantage of the quality of life of the rural community surrounding Rutland Water.

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[27] For local opposition to the rail closures see the correspondence files/reports in TNA, MT 124/707 Rugby Midland.

[28] B. Matthews, *Book of Rutland* (Buckingham, 1987), p. 122.

[29] F. Knights, 'Rutland Water – from Conception to Operation', in Harper and Bullock, *Rutland Water*, p.12.

In the early years after the construction of the reservoir these issues were exacerbated by the inability of the water authority to ameliorate an epidemic of flies in 1977 and the emergence of toxic green algae in 1980s.[30] The leaking of millions of gallons of water from the reservoir into the neighbouring Chater Valley, the reason for which, even after a thorough investigation, was never fully explained, subjected the authority to ridicule.[31] In 1981 it was admitted in Parliament that the Northamptonshire new towns were not expanding at such a rate as expected during the 1960s.[32] This appeared to vindicate the objections of the petitioners to the construction of such a large reservoir. Furthermore an article in *New Scientist*, the details of which were denied by the authority, claimed that in a period of financial austerity the authority was unable to afford the claimed £300,000 worth of pumping costs to maintain the reservoir at full capacity.[33] The authority was forced to act over the widespread fears of mudflats resulting from the drawing down of the reservoir. In the end a compromise was reached, but distrust of the AWA amongst the local community was at its height during this period.[34]

Beyond the issues of competence and adherence to environmental promises made during the construction of the reservoir, the county community felt threatened by proposals from the AWA to enhance the recreational facilities for visitors to the reservoir. Some recreational activity proposed and managed by the authority, such as fishing and sailing, remained relatively uncontroversial.[35] Other proposals relating to developing the tourist

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[30] 'Fly Swarms', AWA/RDC public letter. DME/DT/16,9,77. House of Commons, Parliamentary Debates, 5 April 1990, col. 1369–76.

[31] 'Frogmen Comb Rutland Water for Leakage', *LRSM*, 2 September 1977. In addition a failure in planning sewage removal at Empingham resulted in open-air sludge lagoons. 'The Villagers in a Stink', *Rutland Journal*, 27 June 1986.

[32] Minister for the Environment, response to a question from Kenneth Lewis MP, house of Commons, Parliamentary debates, 4 February 1981, column 294. The issue of the competence of the AWA was also raised by constituency chairman Squadron Leader Pratt at the Conservative Party Conference that October.

[33] 'Size of Rutland Water could be Cut by Half', *LRSM* 11 April 1980; F. Pearce, 'Water, Water Everywhere…' *New Scientist*, 8 October 1981, pp. 90-3.

[34] 'It was felt we had to take notice of public opinion': David Rollett, AWA Regional Manager for Rivers. Quoted in *LRSM* 11 July 1980.

[35] 'Empingham will only cater for the Saturday and Sunday afternoon run in the car type of person': D. S. Ackroyd, Clerk to the Welland and Nene River Authority, unpublished paper on Empingham Reservoir given to the Conference on Outdoor Recreation, 19 – 21 September 1972, Trent Polytechnic, Nottingham. p. 5. Ackroyd talked about the problem of 'inflicting something on the surrounding community which many of them would probably rather not have', and of 'creating demand rather than satisfying it'. He stated the authority's aims were to stick the four basics of providing car parks, toilets, refreshments, and places to picnic together with the addition of facilities for trout fishing and sailing.

economy for commercial corporate advantage were actively resisted by both Rutland District Council and, in particular, communities bordering the reservoir.[36]

Issues over car parking were not helped by a uniform charge affecting local residents as much as visitor traffic.[37] The introduction of refreshment facilities and a cruiser, known as the 'Rutland Belle', were held up for a number of years by local objections.[38] Other matters such as the construction of cycling paths became contentious issues on a parish level.[39] AWA dropped its proposal to create log cabins for short-term occupancy after vociferous local objection.[40] Concern over environmental issues was neatly summed up in the controversy surrounding the gifting and placing of a 12 metre high bronze modernist sculpture on the north shore in 1981.[41] Whatever its artistic merits, letter writers to the local press and local councillors did not appreciate what they saw as an extraneous object on the waterside (Figure 6.3).[42]

The impact of the reservoir upon the Rutland landscape, one of the chief concerns of the county community during the creation of Rutland Water, became one of the major successes of the water authority working in conjunction with the local community. The aspirations and planning vision of the water authority landscape architect Dame Sylvia Crowe

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[36] 'Eye of Suspicion at Rutland Water Step – Fishing Lodge Plans', *LRSM,* 1 March 1984; Rutland District Council, *The local planning issues affecting Rutland Water, the surrounding villages and countryside (Empingham District Plan)* (Oakham,1978), pp. 35–52. Brian Montgomery, local district councillor for Empingham, talked of fears of 'a kind of Blackpool pleasure beach' being developed at Whitwell. 'Lakeside Pub Plans', *Melton and Rutland Journal,* 26 July 1987.

[37] In 1970 at Oakham when the question of where to site suitable car parks around the reservoir was raised at a meeting of the Council For the Protection of Rural England , someone shouted from the audience '50 miles away!' to 'loud applause': *LRSM* 23 October 1970. Traffic flow and parking were substantive issues in the early years after the reservoir opened. Some 1,500 trout fishermen arrived on the first day of the fishing season in 1978 and one local magistrate took two hours to gain access to their own drive! Knights, 'Rutland Water', in Harper and Bullock, *Rutland Water*, p.16. Those seeking to evade car park charges by parking on (and spoiling) verges on Rutland's rural roads became known as 'vergers', and were castigated by locals and officials alike: *LRSM*, 15 April 1975; 'Concern about Rutland Water Traffic Flow at Empingham': *LRSM*, 22 September 1978; 'Rutland Water Parking Row': *LRSM* 1 August 1986.

[38] 'Cruiser: no objection to 1 boat, but fleet would be different.' *Melton and Rutland Journal,* November 1985.

[39] For example, the cycle path reconstruction at Manton in the late 1990s.

[40] 'Planners "No" to Mini Village': *LRSM*, 14 January1983; 'Log Cabin Plan Causes Storm': *Rutland Journal,* 10 January 1986.

[41] 'Row Looming over Bronze': *LRSM*, 21 December 1979; 'Row over Sculpture by Rutland Water': *LRSM*, 18 January1980.

[42] The sculpture was unveiled at a ceremony boycotted by Empingham Parish Council and only attended by 12 members of the local community apart from dignitaries and press. The High Sheriff gave a nuanced and ambiguous speech. 'His speech lacked somewhat in enthusiasm, he certainly pulled no punches': *Melton and Rutland Journal,* 19 October 1980.

were widely accepted as being vindicated.[43] It was largely her passion for protecting the local landscape, as far as it was possible, that placated some of the local community during the planning and construction stages of the reservoir. In particular AWA, with local volunteers, chiefly represented by the Leicestershire and Rutland Trust for Nature Conservation, worked together to create the Rutland Water nature reserve.[44] This has proved to be both to the environmental and economic enhancement of Rutland, contributing greatly to a reinvigorated image of the county as being a landscape resource 'rich' environment, internationally famous for its wildlife, and in particular its birdlife.[45]

Figure 6.3: *Dame Sylvia Crowe and 'The Great Tower'*

Dame Sylvia Crowe, consultant landscape architect to Anglian Water Authority on the Empingham Reservoir Project, alongside 'The Great Tower', at its unveiling in October 1980.

Source: RCM, uncatalogued photographic deposit.

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[43] 'I feel this project is going to bring new life and prospects to some of the villages and if it is also going to bring added beauty it will be a wonderful thing': Dame Sylvia Crowe speaking to an Oakham meeting of the Council for the Protection of Rural England, *LRSM*, 23 October 1970. S. Crowe, 'Empingham Reservoir – a Brand-New Lake with built in Recreational Facilities': *Water Space* (Autumn 1974), pp.10–13. In Cosgrove's analysis 'Crowe was restating her commitment to harmonising new environments into an existing landscape order. These local landscape values had clear indications for social order.' He claims the reservoir became seen as 'a mediation between modernity and tradition through the rhetoric of landscape': Cosgrove *et al.*, 'Landscape and Identity', p.548.

[44] T. Appleton, 'Rutland Water Nature Reserve: Concept, Design and Management' in Harper and Bullock (eds), *Rutland Water* (1982), p. 211; D. Moore and A. Driver, 'The Conservation Value of Water Supply Reservoirs', *Regulated Rivers: Research and Management* 4 (1989), pp. 203-12.

[45] Rutland Water was designated as a Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI) in 1983. It was additionally designated a Special Protection Area and international RAMSAR Site for habitat and waterfowl eight years later, and in 1995 was awarded a European prize for Tourism and the Environment: V. Middleton and R. Hawkins, *Sustainable Tourism: A Marketing Perspective* (Oxford, 1998), p. 219.

During the early years of the reservoir's existence Rutland's county community felt that its unspoilt, tranquil environment and quality of life was being threatened by the onset of mass tourism instigated in particular by the AWA to further its commercial advantage.[46] However, in the succeeding decades the, by now privatised, water authority and the county community grew to accept and work with one another.[47] It was established that the AWA, despite the fears of the late 1970s, had been constrained by local planning regulation and as a result had been become, by necessity, integrated into the economic substructure of the county community. To reinforce this communal responsibility the water authority, together with the local authority, sponsored 'Rutland Day', as an annual celebration of the county community at a reservoir location.

The exploitation of Rutland Water and the growth of an amphibian culture

It is easier now to lead a full life in Rutland whether your main joy is fishing, sailing, walking or just watching the sun set over the water.[48]

Rutland Water became a catalyst to change within the county community by creating an incentive to market the county as a visitor destination. Hitherto part of 'undiscovered England', in the 1980s Rutland was ripe for exploitation. Its gentle rolling countryside and attractive stone villages had a rural charm and attraction that began to be recognised on a wider scale at the same time as its name was in the news over its fight against local government reform and the creation of the reservoir.

As the reservoir matured into its geographical and political landscape it became increasingly viewed as a recreational destination across the East Midlands region.[49] Rutlanders who had hitherto been opposed to development on the reservoir succumbed to both its natural and recreational charms and started to participate in various reservoir-based activities. An amphibian culture developed along the shores of the Water and beyond. Local families took up fishing and sailing and the cycle track around the reservoir became

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[46] 'Anglian Water has a policy that its recreation services should be self-financing and this is largely achieved through running active elements such as sailing, angling, catering, and car parking, in order to support information services and nature reserves': Middleton and Hawkins, *Sustainable Tourism*, p. 222.

[47] Anglian Water Authority was privatised in 1989.

[48] B. Waites, 'Rutland Water Vision of the Future', *The Great Outdoors*, June 1980, p. 19.

[49] 'Empingham to be £700,000 Playground for the East Midlands': *LRSM,* 29 September 1972. 'Rutland could be Playground of the Midlands': *Leicester Advertiser,* 23 May 1975. Not all fears about the development of the reservoir came from inside the county. William Maxwell of Portsmouth Polytechnic was quoted as being afraid that Rutland was liable to be seen as prey to 'commercial hawks': *LRSM,* 31 August 1973.

increasingly popular.[50] The nature reserves attracted volunteers and the Rutland Natural History Society saw a boost in membership. Rutland's charities and voluntary organisations made use of the facilities provided on or near Rutland Water as venues for fundraising events.[51]

The creation of Rutland Water as a visitor attraction gave an opportunity for both the Anglian Water Authority and the local councils to develop a tourism strategy to enhance and improve the growing tourism sector of the area's economy. Public disapproval of some aspects of the exploitation of the reservoir galvanised county community into setting a tourist agenda that was felt to be within the parameters of local public opinion.[52] Caravan parks and campsites were felt to be visually intrusive and were restricted.[53] On the other hand the Noel estate was allowed to develop Barnsdale Lodge as a hotel and restaurant by converting old farm buildings and Derek Penman, a Leicester entrepreneur, was able to buy and develop Barnsdale Hall as a timeshare investment and recreational centre.[54] The stables of the old Normanton Park were developed as a hotel and many local pubs surrounding the Water were reinvigorated into gastropubs catering for visitor trade. Bed and breakfast accommodation within the area saw a boost as much as exclusive establishments like Hambleton Hall, one of the premier country house hotels in the country.[55]

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[50] Farmer Richard Griffin of Egleton became an enthusiastic angler. 'A New Way of Life': *Leicester Mercury,* 17 May1978. Rutland Sailing Club had been formed before the reservoir Bill had passed through Parliament! 'Reservoir: Aim to Form Sailing Club for County': *LRSM,* 5 September 1969. An Emergency General Meeting of the club authorised its reconstruction as a limited company with the Duke of Rutland as its patron; Lord-Lieutenant Colonel Haywood as its president; Harry Hemsley, district councillor, as its Commodore and Mr Sellick, County Surveyor, as its vice commodore (Minutes of the Rutland Sailing Club, 28 September 1973). Richard Lustig, a leading member of the local Liberal Party, became an early Press Officer for the club, which attracted many of the 'great and good' of county society. Social memberships were available for those who did not feel the urge to sail themselves.

[51] Local interest in archaeology and community history was stimulated by the reservoir and the rescue archaeology undertaken during its construction. The Rutland Field Research Group was actively involved in recording the historic environment and the Rutland Natural History Society recorded the natural environment of the Gwash Valley, which was published as *Before Rutland Water* (Oakham, 1978).

[52] 'Locals Worried at Way Water is being over Commercialised': *Melton and Rutland Journal,* 6 April 1984.

[53] 'Thin End of the Wedge': *LRSM,* 12 December 1980 (proposed caravan site at Edith Weston). 'Caravan Rally Doubts': *LRSM,* 13 April 1984. In 1987 Rutland District Council was faced with five applications for caravan sites at Rutland Water, four of which were refused.

[54] 'Jobs for 150 at Barnsdale': *Melton and Rutland Journal,* 18 July 1986; 'Barnsdale Country Club': *Leicester Topic*, September 1988.

[55] Tim Hart, epicure and banker, together with his wife Stef, a designer, purchased Hambleton Hall from the Hoare family. They had originally seen it whilst out hunting and assessed a business opportunity. The Harts represented probably the most successful of the business innovators attracted from outside the county by the desirability of its rural location and the potential for developing leisure and recreational breaks for wealthy sojourners within Rutland.

Figures 6.4 & 6.5: *Changing recreational uses of the Gwash valley*

Two photographs illustrating the changing face of acceptable recreation in Rutland. The Cottesmore Hunt canters up parkland in the Gwash Valley to meet at Edith Weston Hall in December 1928. The second photograph, taken at the same spot in March 2015, shows visitors to Rutland Water on the perimeter footpath. Viewed together the photographs illustrate the dramatic change in the landscape, its uses, ownership and accepted recreational use within an eighty-year timespan.

Source: *The Times archive*, A1385 December 27, 1928 NEA & author's collection.

Recreational activity was encouraged by the creation of footpaths and cycle paths around the reservoir as well as the rescue from obsolescence of footpaths across the county. (Figures 6.4 and 6.5) [56] Rutland was actively marketed as a destination for walking and cycling. AWA built a fishing lodge at Whitwell to cater for boat and shore fishermen, which with the introduction of a half a million brown and rainbow trout into the reservoir made Rutland Water one of the leading inland angling centres within the country.[57] The operation of 1,000 craft from the day sailing centre at Whitwell together with the privately-run Rutland Sailing Club at Edith Weston made Rutland a noted centre for water sports in the Midlands.

Not all exploitation and recreational development was welcomed. There was considerable controversy over the number of golf courses proposed to be built in and around the water.[58] Proximity to Rutland Water helped development of such other visitor attractions as Barnsdale Gardens and the Rutland Falconry Centre near Exton. Rutland Farm Park was created out of old farm buildings at Oakham in 1978. Some local farmers and landowners were able to exploit and benefit from their property with the growth of tourism around Rutland Water. Other Rutlanders, less endowed with property or property with development potential permissible under structure plans, benefited from employment in the service sector catering for visitor traffic as well as local needs.

Eau Reservoir Rutland?

The campaign for 'Rutland Water': the county community reinvigorated

Throughout the period of its planning and construction, Rutland Water was known by its original designation of 'Empingham Reservoir'. There was no real discussion of any less clinical or technical nomenclature for a project that, although a great feat of civil engineering,

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[56] Rutland County Council insisted footpaths around the reservoir should remain public footpaths: *LRSM,* 28 July 1972. During the 1990s long-distance footpaths the Macmillan Way and the Viking Way were routed through Rutland past Rutland Water. A 'Rutland Round' was created around the county perimeter, utilising public footpaths and marketed through the CPRE: J. Williams, *The Rutland Round* (Oakham, 2000).

[57] 'Rutland Rumbled! Undercover at England's Flagship Reservoir': *Today's Flyfisher*, July 2004. This magazine, published in Daventry, and others such as *Trout Fishermen* and the *Angling Times,* published in Peterborough, helped to give national recognition to an important facility within the immediate region and within easy access of their place of publication.

[58] Water-skiing was proposed in a letter by Cottesmore resident Mary Tomlinson to the *Stamford Mercury* in 1970. However, neither this recreational pursuit nor coarse fishing was considered suitable by the water authority: *LRSM*, 24 December 1970. In the end in addition to the pre-existing Burghley Park (just over the Northamptonshire border), Luffenham Heath and North Luffenham golf courses, another three were eventually created: Rutland County; Rutland Water; and Greetham. 'Golfers Besiege Rutland Water': *Rutland Journal,* 18 September 1987.

had a significant human and social impact on a defined local community. It was on this last point, the definition of the parameters of the community affected, that bureaucracy met with local resistance.

In 1975, the popular mood in Rutland was indignant. In addition to the loss of the Gwash valley to the reservoir and the social and landscape changes that that entailed, Rutlanders had just endured an imposed re-organisation of its local government structure. This resulted in a feeling of futility, of being ignored, that their local self-government had been sacrificed to be replaced by an impersonal distant bureaucratic administration. In April 1974 Rutland had only just succeeded in retaining its integrity as a political unit by the creation of Rutland District Council. It appeared that bureaucracy was reluctant to understand the strength of feeling locally for the preservation and continuance of the title 'Rutland'. It is against this background that the popular agitation for the renaming of the reservoir must be considered.

Local patriotism manifested itself in many different ways. There was a noticeable increase in the use of the term 'Rutland' in as many guises as its protagonists could envision. During the summer of 1974 it began to be mooted locally that the new Empingham Reservoir should be renamed in honour of the *ci-devant* county.[59] On 22 August 1975 the *Stamford Mercury* joined the campaign and suggested that Empingham Reservoir should be renamed possibly to reflect the wider community outside of the parish of Empingham that it also affected.[60] In one sense this is a result of topographical reality in that the Empingham Reservoir Project was never just going to be a small, local reservoir but a vast inland lake, landscaped and incorporated into the local environment which extended along through the communities of the Gwash Valley and into the Vale of Catmose.

In response to an enquiry by the *Stamford Mercury*, a spokeswoman for AWA confirmed the receipt of many letters suggesting that the reservoir should be renamed Rutland Water. She did, however, state that the reservoir had always been called Empingham Reservoir and that it had not been proposed by the Authority that the name would ever be

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[59] The idea had been noted previously. Bryan Waites had suggested the name change at a meeting of the Geographical Association at the University of Leicester in January 1972. He became a leading agitator for changing the reservoir's name. In an article entitled 'Rutland Water, Leisure Centre of the Future', published in the January 1975 edition of *Northamptonshire Life*, he speaks of the reservoir as 'Empingham as it's now modestly called': B. Waites, 'Rutland Water, Leisure Centre of the Future', *Northamptonshire Life* (January 1975), p. 42.

[60] *LRSM,* 22 August 1975. Squadron Leader Cox of Empingham Parish Council was reported as being in favour of changing the name to Rutland Water.

changed.[61] The implication was clear. The community letter writing campaign had pre-empted any 'official' re-designation of the name of the reservoir. Popular opinion was answering a question that had not been asked. There was considerable resistance to change within the authority.

An alternative suggestion, made perhaps tongue in cheek, was that the reservoir should be renamed 'Ruddle's Puddle', to commemorate either the famous beer or Sir Kenneth Ruddle himself (Figure 6.6).[62] While the suggestion appealed to the humour of the local population it also perhaps consciously ridiculed this invasion of the local landscape and vast expanse of water by belittling it. This suggestion, among others, was not likely to appeal to the new Anglian Water Authority attempting to establish its authority and presence within eastern England by developing what it saw as a flagship project of national significance.

Figure 6.6: *'Ruddles Puddle'*

Bill Tidy's cartoon commissioned by Ruddles Brewery for an advertisement in the late 1970s, satirising the suggestion that Empingham Reservoir be renamed 'Ruddles Puddle'.

Source: author's collection.
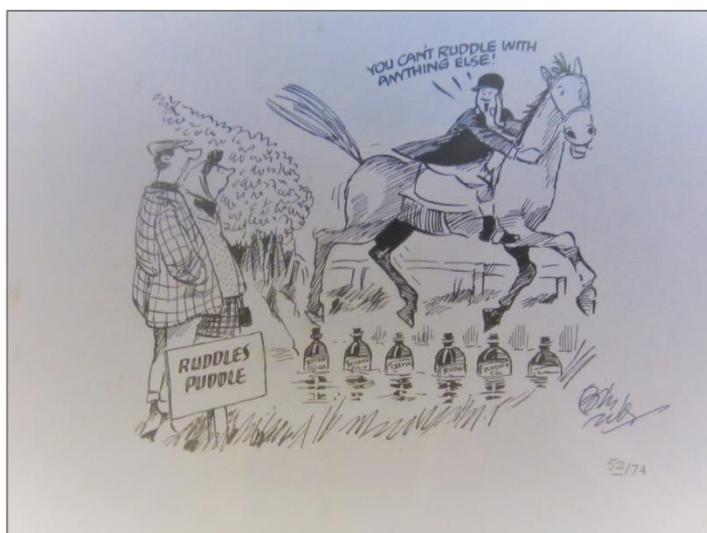
When questioned by the press, AWA confirmed that no official name had been put forward and that changing the name of the reservoir was not on the authority's agenda.[63] From the outset, *if* the reservoir was to be renamed, the name 'Rutland Water' became the favoured local option. Major Hoare, who had the benefit of being both *seigneur* of Hambleton Hall and MFH of the Cottesmore Hunt, thus a leading member of the county establishment, summed up the preponderance of local opinion by stating,

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[61] *LRSM,* 22 August 1975.

[62] Letter from Sally Crabb, *LRSM,* 29 August 1975. This assonantal suggestion was subsequently used by Ruddles in one of their marketing campaigns.

[63] *LRSM,* 30 April 1976.

> Surely it would be the wish of a vast majority of the inhabitants of what was our county, that this bit of water and this church which are going to be very beautiful should be called 'Rutland Water' to remind posterity of what used to be a happy and prosperous county before the planners stepped in.[64]

Having lost the battle to retain the County Council and facing an ongoing battle with the Post Office to maintain 'Rutland' in postal addresses, the Rutland county community was rife with indignation at any attempt to eradicate the Rutland name from official or popular discourse. The fight for the name change galvanised the local community into action. The county political establishment, led by the Rutland District Council and Kenneth Lewis MP, urged AWA to respect local feeling and rename the reservoir 'Rutland Water'. In this they were supported by Leicestershire County Council.[65] Letters of support were sent from local Women's Institutes; the Rutland Council for the Preservation of Rural England; local Conservative Party associations; the Ketton Village Trust; local parish councils, as well as outside bodies such as the Forestry Commission and the National Trust. This was in addition to the many letters sent by individuals both from within and without Rutland.

In what was a caricature of a remote bureaucratic body none of the members of the Anglian Water Authority were elected and none came from Rutland itself. Their remit area included most of eastern England. Some members of the authority felt considerable disquiet about renaming a flagship project for the whole region at the behest of an orchestrated campaign from a small area within it. Others felt that the change would come too late and cause confusion after a decade of both government and public using the term 'Empingham Reservoir'. A few ventured further to suggest that it was not Rutland's water but that most of the water actually originated from Northamptonshire!

By a 6 to 4 majority, at their meeting on 21 June 1976, the Authority voted to retain the name Empingham Reservoir.[66] Popular feeling in Rutland was incensed. The Water Committee met again on 21 July where further representations were read out, before, by a 14 to 10 majority, deciding to change the name to Empingham Water. Mr R. King, honorary secretary of the Oakham and District branch of the Rutland and Stamford Conservative

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[64] Letter from Major R. Hoare, *LRSM,* 10 September 1976.

[65] *The Draft Structure Plan for Rutland Written Statement*, published in September 1976, pre-empts any decision by the Water Authority by referring to 'the reservoir known as Rutland Water'. Allegedly in this the Planning Authority was feigning a sleight of hand in that if the Department of the Environment approved the structure plan for Rutland it would *inter alia* approve of the popular use of the name 'Rutland Water' in official documentation. An alternative explanation to this was that the Planning Officers at Glenfield had foreseen the eventual outcome of the issue and acted accordingly. D. L. Sabey, *Draft Structure Plan for Rutland Written Statement* (Leicester, September 1976), p. 9 *et seq.*

[66] *LRSM,* 9 July 1976.

Association, wrote (not unreasonably given the circumstances) 'We have Grafham Water why not Rutland Water? Anglian Water Authority is saying it is our reservoir, we built it, we use it, so we will name it!'[67] Prominent Rutland Liberal Richard Lustig of Whissendine wrote a letter to the *Stamford Mercury* offering to form an action group against the decision of what he termed the 'meddlesome upstarts' of the authority. 'The authority are [sic] deliberately flouting the expressed wishes of the local people and their elected representatives … purely to establish their independence from any democratic pressures.' [68] MP Kenneth Lewis threatened to boycott any opening ceremony proposed by the authority.[69]

The Hon. Peter Brassey, ex-chairman of the old Welland and Nene River Authority, unhelpfully pointed out that neither Rutland County Council nor Lord Gainsborough, its representative on that authority, had supported calling the reservoir Rutland Water, although it *had* been suggested, during their time in office/administration. They had both supported the nomenclature of 'Empingham Reservoir'.[70] With the benefit of hindsight, it was a decision, made in the days when Rutland's identity seemed less grievously under threat, which the Earl and Council would come to regret. On the other hand the 700 members of the Rutland and Stamford branch of the National Farmers' Union came down strongly in favour of the change in name and Commander Jack, of the newly formed Rutland District Society of Ratepayers and Residents, threatened to throw any member of the Authority who strayed into Rutland into the reservoir they created but refused to name after the county they imposed it upon![71]

Jane Merritt, a student at the Rutland Sixth Form College, who was also prominent in the East Midlands Young Liberals and whose mother sat on Oakham Town Council,

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[67] Letter from R. King, *LRSM,* 30 July 1976. Grafham Water was constructed as a water supply reservoir in the valley between the villages of Grafham and Perry, Huntingdonshire in 1965.

[68] *LRSM,* 6 August 1976.

[69] This was to be a headline event for the Authority, the culmination of a decade's work, which would receive national publicity. The ongoing dispute over the naming of the reservoir would have detracted from the event, and this factor no doubt bore heavily upon the collective mind of the Authority. For whatever reason there was in the end no official opening.

[70] Letter from Hon. P. E. Brassey, *LRSM,* 6 August 1976.

[71] Letter, Commander Jack, *LRSM,* 24 September1976. The organisation had been set up in response to the rate increase imposed by local government reorganisation and the lack of democratic accountability in Glenfield to the Rutland electorate.

organised a petition in favour of changing the name to 'Rutland Water'.[72] The petition was distributed across the county, raising 4,774 signatures, over 10% of the Rutland population.[73]

By late summer 1976 AWA realised they had a public relations disaster on their hands. Attempting to govern even-handedly across a wide geographical area, they had over-asserted their nascent authority over a county community, unified and propelled into action in defence of its county name. Upon reflection, some members of the authority, including its chairman, realised that they were resisting a politically powerful campaign with broad popular support across a county community attempting to retain its identity. It was this local community whose forbearance and cooperation they depended upon to make the opening and management of its pre-eminent engineering achievement, reservoir and recreational resource, a success.

Water Committee chairman Stanley Johnson made a full report to the Committee of the AWA at their meeting at Huntingdon on 6 October 1976. He pointed out in his report the strong, virtually unanimous, feeling within Rutland and elsewhere in favour of renaming the reservoir 'Rutland Water'. The Water Committee members discussed the issue at length and although the public pressure from Rutland, and in particular the ongoing petition, was dismissed by some, the broad consensus of the meeting agreed with Tom Hall of Lincolnshire when he stated: 'I do feel that public opinion shows we cannot steamroll all the little people and it would be a good exercise in public relations if we went along with them.'[74] The Water Committee backed down and recommended to the Water Authority Board that the name Rutland Water be used in place of their previous recommendation of Empingham Water. The Board accepted the recommendation without debate at their formal meeting on 10 November 1976. The Chief Executive, P. H. Bray, drew the attention of the board to the petition presented to the Authority, the previous month. It may not have escaped their attention that Jane Merritt, the petition organiser, had been interviewed for BBC regional television, on the news programme *Midlands Today*, giving wider publicity to the Rutland cause.[75]

In conclusion, the renaming of Empingham Reservoir as Rutland Water may appear, within the context of the engineering achievement and the geographical and social impact of the reservoir itself, insignificant. However, it is of greater significance when considering the

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[72] *LRSM,* 20 August 1976.

[73] *LRSM,* 8 October 1976.
[74] Reported in the *LRSM,* 8 October 1976. Not everyone was in agreement. Bob Symons of Norwich is reported as saying of the petition that 'You can get anybody to sign anything whatever the cause.'

[75] *Midlands* Today, evening edition 5 October 1976.

political evolution of the county community. In the immediate aftermath of the loss of the County Council and in the wake of the alleged attempts by Glenfield to literally uproot 'Rutland' signs on the county borders, it was an attempt to assert a communal identity in a world and society in flux.

The grassroots campaign, conducted in the local media, by letter and petition, was able to support the political campaign conducted by the representative bodies of Rutland, as well as those representing sectional interests. With very little opposition inside Rutland, the campaign galvanised disparate elements of the county community to assert Rutland's identity. The success in renaming the reservoir 'Rutland Water' literally and figuratively put Rutland back upon the map. Rutland Water helped the Rutland county community reassert its identity and prove it was not just 'a towpath around a lake'.

Figure 6.7: *Normanton Park 1881*

An idealised, but architecturally correct, view looking south across the Gwash valley towards the house and church.

Source: *The Illustrated London News,* 22 January 1881.

Normanton Church: icon for a beleaguered county community, image of an imagined community

Much of the literature of identity concerning Rutland revolved round the perceived image of the county as representing an idealistic, pastoral rural idyll, typifying the English countryside.

Although the Gwash Valley, before the inundation, has been represented as being typical English pastoral countryside, it is more precise to view it, particularly within the context of Rutland Water, according to Macfarlane's definition, as a landscape.[76] Originally natural, the Gwash Valley has been over the years fabricated, changed, and reconstructed according to the changing needs of people.

Figure 6.8: *Saint Matthews Church Normanton by John Piper*

Source: The Pilgrim Trust, *Recording Britain* (Oxford, 1947), p.139.

The eastern part of the Gwash Valley had been remodelled by Repton in the late eighteenth century to meet the requirements of Sir Gilbert Heathcote, third baronet, for a 400-acre park beneath his house at Normanton. Sir Gilbert Heathcote, first baronet, purchased the estate in 1729 as a country seat. Immensely rich, he was one of the founders of the Bank of England. He rebuilt the house and created the Park. Between 1764 and 1795 the village of Normanton was erased from the landscape and its inhabitants moved to Empingham (Figure 6.7).[77] The grand pastoral vista thus created remained for 135 years until the landscape was changed again when the Normanton estate was sold in 1924 and the great house demolished.[78] Apart

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[76] Macfarlane contends that 'landscape' covers the human and non-human, the natural and the fabricated, whereas the imprecise word 'countryside' does not: R. Macfarlane, interviewed by Bryan Appleyard in a review article of Macfarlane's book *Landscapes* (London, 2015), *Sunday Times Magazine*, 8 March 2015.

[77] S. Sleath & R. Ovens, 'Normanton', *The Heritage of Rutland Water* (Oakham, 2007), gives a fuller history of the development of the estate.

[78] In 1888 the marriage of Lord Aveland (Gilbert Heathcote, fifth baronet,) into the Drummond–Willoughby family produced a combined estate of 160,000 acres in Rutland and Lincolnshire alone. There were additional estates in Scotland. The surfeit of estates and the cost of their upkeep resulted in the family eventually moving to Grimsthorpe and selling the Normanton estate in. The estate was sold to 93 different purchasers, a revolution in the county community itself. The Hall remained unsold and was demolished for the value of its stone.

from a stable block hidden in the trees, the sole remnant of the grand country house was its small chapel, now isolated on its own in the former parkland (Figure 6.8).[79]

The small church of Saint Matthew's Normanton, rebuilt in 1796, still served the estate community as well as acting as chapel and mausoleum to the Heathcote family, thus it escaped demolition in 1924. In 1826 Thomas Cundy designed and rebuilt a western vestibule, tower and porch in local stone. Cundy was surveyor to the Grosvenor Estate in London, and modelled Normanton on St John's Smith Square, Westminster. In 1911, the nave and chancel were also rebuilt, in similar style, in Stamford stone as a memorial to the first Earl of Ancaster.[80]

Normanton church introduces an unexpected element of urbane if not neo-classical urban architecture into a bucolic landscape. The incongruities of this situation were even more apparent after the demolition of the great house. While beautiful and architecturally notable in itself, the church could not have been more untypical of local ecclesiastical architecture, even allowing for the use of mellow local limestone. The church remained for 50 years, lost and seemingly out of place in the green fields of the Gwash Valley. Its small churchyard was railed off against the depredations of sheep. However, the metal railings could not keep the needs of the water authority at bay, when in 1970 it became apparent that the church remained just beneath the water line of the planned reservoir.

There was a consensus that Normanton church, if at all possible, should be saved from inundation. The Normanton Tower Trust was set up under the leadership of the Lord-Lieutenant, and was able to raise £30,000. It was decided that to 'jack up' and rebuild the building above the waterline was too expensive, as was the cost of taking it down and rebuilding it higher up the valley side. It was therefore decided to build a protective bank and causeway around the fabric of the church and half fill it with concrete and limestone to the level of 10 feet, so at least half the building would be preserved and visible on the reservoir shoreline.[81]

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[79] The stable block is now converted into Normanton Park Hotel. Normanton church was felt to be sufficiently notable to be included in the list of buildings depicted at the request of the Pilgrim Trust to make a record of the changing face of Britain during the Second World War. It was painted for this project by John Piper.

[80] Lord Aveland was created Earl of Ancaster in 1892.

[81] Although the Normanton Tower Trust comprised 'the great and good', including the Lord-Lieutenant Colonel Haywood, the Earl of Ancaster, the Honourable Peter Brassey, Major R. Hoare and Dr Eric Till, and was able to draw upon support across the county, it may be conjectured that if the appeal had gone out a decade later, after the influx of wealth into the community drawn by the attraction of Rutland Water and Rutland as a whole, then the financial and physical options available to the Trust would have been considerably different, the

'Operation Landmark', as the preservation of Normanton church was called, had cultural repercussions beyond the survival of the building. It was a messy compromise.[82] The church was deconsecrated and denuded of its memorials and graves, the bodies were exhumed, cremated and reburied at Edith Weston or in the case of the Heathcote family at Grimsthorpe.[83] Stripped of its history the building remained largely unused, subject to the scratched graffiti of bored adolescents or the huddled presence of Sunday afternoon grannies sheltering from the wind watching the sailing boats go by.[84]

Normanton church had become a modern folly; however, it remained a beacon for visitors to the reservoir, many of whom if visiting the north shore would make their way across the causeway to the marooned building. The truncated building became highly photographed and much postcarded in the early days of Rutland Water. The visual image of Normanton church in its causeway began to be widely recognised as being of Rutland Water, and by extension of Rutland itself. AWA made it a central image in their marketing of Rutland Water. It featured on the cover of virtually all their leaflets from the late 1970s and was incorporated more heavily into the graphic design of leaflets and promotional material into the 1980s and beyond (Figure 6.9. Other bodies used the image of the church as a leading visual component in the marketing element in their promotion of Rutland as a county and tourist destination (Figure 6.10).[85] It even represented the county as a fleeting image, among representations of other counties, in the introductory titles of the regional television news programme *East Midlands Today*.[86]

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outcome of which might have been that the church was saved in its totality. The issue was raised again 30 years later: '£1 Million Scheme to Raise Rutland Water Church', *Rutland Mercury*, 16 January 2003.

[82] There is an obvious contrast between the treatment of Normanton church and that of its counterpart at Derwent in Ladybower reservoir, which was dynamited as 'unsafe' in 1947. Cosgrove *et al*., 'Landscape and Identity', p. 542.

[83] The Heathcote memorials were re-sited either in Edith Weston church or at Grimsthorpe: *Normanton Tower Saved from Drowning*, Normanton Tower Trust (appeal leaflet, Oakham, 1974).

[84] It briefly opened as a Museum of the Water Industry in the late 1980s.

[85] *Rutland Water, Heart of the English Shires* (AWA 1980) and subsequent editions amongst other material. The photographic image of Normanton church was used widely by the English Tourist Board in the early 1980s to promote the East Midlands. English Tourist Board, *Mini-Guide: Oakham and Rutland* (1985) is but one example where a photograph of Normanton church provides the cover illustration representing the county. The same imagery, or variants of it, was also used by the economic development tourism promotion unit of Leicestershire County Council. Rutland District Council also used images of Normanton church extensively during the 1980s and 90s in literature promoting tourism in the county. In 1985 it was the only photograph on the *Rutland 85* leaflet promoting local visitor attractions. All these tourism publications were distributed and promoted nationally as well as locally within the East Midlands. Ordnance Survey used a photograph of Normanton on the cover of its 1996 Explorer map covering Rutland Water and Stamford.

[86] *East Midlands Today* titles c. 2000–2010.

In one sense empty and denuded, Normanton became a distorted mirror image for the new Rutland represented by Hambleton, on the other side of the valley. Likewise partly flooded, Hambleton had maintained some of its population and much of its, albeit greatly transformed, community half preserved in the middle of the water, connected, like Normanton church, by a causeway to the rest of the county. Hambleton Old Hall, which sits uncomfortably on a slight rise in the land on the water's edge, would have been a more suitable iconic building to represent the county. It is a Jacobean manor house built of local stone out of the profits of pastoral farming. This negates Cosgrove's statement that Normanton church was 'the only building of historic, or at least aristocratic, importance to be threatened'[87] Hambleton village itself is now divorced spiritually as well as physically from its yeoman farming heritage and exists as an enclave of wealthy commuter homes and cottages tolerant of, but much trammelled by, visitor traffic (mercifully mostly by bicycle or on foot). Gated millionaires' mansions sit cheek by jowl with restored cottages open to the village street. Hambleton (new) Hall is one of the country's leading country house hotels. The Finch's Arms, the much restored country pub enlarged into a former farmyard, caters to a refined tourist trade where the season's swipings of credit cards represents proportionately more profit than a season's sheep shearings ever did in the old days. In another sense Normanton became a metaphor and icon for the traditional county itself.

The Normanton Tower Trust had placed a plaque on the church, stating 'This church has been preserved entirely by voluntary efforts to give pleasure to the public and as a memorial to the County of Rutland.' So it sits, uncomfortably, forlorn, bereft, half submerged in its causeway, beleaguered by tides of visitors and beached like a neo-classical hulk on the southern shore of Rutland Water, redundant, incongruous and out of place in its modern setting. Stranded on the shore between two worlds, lapped by the tides, unmoving and immovable, it is a barren decaying husk of a seigneurial estate, in a flattened and flooded landscape. At the same time it is viewed as an iconic historic monument, perhaps the most apparent and readily brought to mind image of the county, an echo of the past in a modern environment symbolising the imagined community of Rutland itself.[88]

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[87] Cosgrove *et al.*, 'Landscape and Identity', p. 546.

[88] An example of the use of Normanton to symbolise the imagined wider Rutland community, in a venture unrelated geographically and functionally to Rutland Water, is seen in Figure 6.11.

Figure 6.9: *Examples of Anglian Water Authority publicity material for Rutland Water depicting Normanton Church, produced in the 1980s*

Source: author's collection.

Figure 6.10: *Leicestershire County Council, Rutland District Council and the English Tourist Board, all depicting Normanton church as an iconic image to represent Rutland*

Source: author's collection.

Figure 6.11: *Rutland Yoga classes*
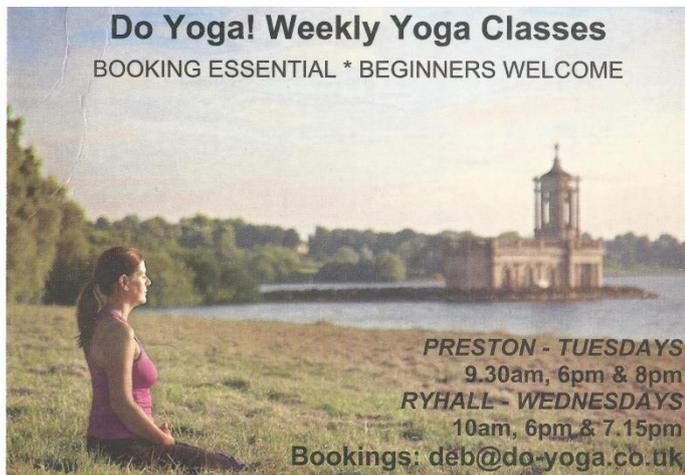
An interesting use of Normanton church on the card advertising yoga classes in Rutland (but not at Rutland Water), the church being is being used to symbolise the imagined tranquillity of the rural community, or alternatively a communal identity considering the yoga classes were taking place in different parts of the county.

Source: author's collection.

Conclusion: Rutland Water and change in the county community

> The local community, which originally opposed the development, now accepts Rutland Water as its greatest asset providing significant employment and enhancing the local environment.[89]

Middleton and Hawkins, who drew heavily from a paper prepared by David Moore, Recreation Development Manager for Anglian Water Services Ltd, overstated the enthusiasm felt by Rutland's county community for the reservoir. Not every Rutlander saw, or sees, Rutland Water as the county's 'greatest asset'. Cosgrove would argue that Rutland Water was an example of modernity integrated into the perceived existing landscape order, with all its socio-political implications, and there may be some truth in this.[90] Rutland Water increased the visual and landscape attraction of the area and was a catalyst to change on a local scale by helping engender tourist and visitor-based businesses providing both employment and a capital injection into the local economy. It was a witness to the growth and changing perceptions of leisure and recreation in English society.

Rutland Water, however significant in itself, was not the most important social change within the county community at this time. The inexorable increase in Rutland's population as the commuter belt extended further into the Midlands from the south-east was arguably more significant than the creation of Rutland Water. The marketing of the unspoilt rural nature of Rutland with the attractions of Rutland Water no doubt played their part in this. However, Rutland Water was incidental to settlers attracted by improved road and rail communications to the south and to the Midlands.

The coming of Rutland Water was a stimulus to change in the community and Rutland's reaction to this was indicative of the small rural community's coming to terms with its position in an increasingly integrated nation at the end of the century. [91] For example, the coming of the reservoir stimulated local planning and in particular conservation of the built environment.[92] The incomers had the financial ability to inject capital into restoring old buildings as well as building new ones. They were also prone to buy into the community ideal of a participatory culture, as was witnessed by their enthusiasm in campaigning to

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[89] Middleton and Hawkins, *Sustainable Tourism,* p. 219.

[90] Cosgrove *et al.*, *Landscape and Identity,* p. 537.

[91] 'Rutland Reservoir may Radically Change the Social Structure of County': *Melton and Rutland Journal,* 22 January 1971. (Report on the East Midlands Economic Planning Council meeting.)

[92] 'The Rutland Reservoir', *Town and Country Planning* (April 1973), pp. 216–219. The article proposed that a society be formed to 'conserve all that is best and keep a watch on the Rutland environment'.

defend the individuality of their local community and preserve the name of Rutland in 'Rutland Water'.

The attraction of Rutland Water to the new settlers resulted in a significant increase of house prices over and above the regional trend. There was fear of local villages being taken over by 'townies' buying up 'second homes'.[93] In Edith Weston incomers were noted as being 'bottom enders', living in restored cottages at the bottom end of the village overlooking the reservoir.[94] Idris Evans, clerk to Oakham Urban District Council (OUDC), and treasurer to the campaign group, opposed the reservoir and looking back ten years later stated 'It put us on the map, there's no doubt about that – but did we really want to be on the map?'[95] However, some Rutlanders were more circumspect. Sir John Conant, landowner and one of the leaders of the campaign against the construction of the reservoir, conceded: 'I agree that it is very attractive and provides a lot of pleasure for people in sailing and fishing and picnicking.'[96] Rutland Water had changed the face of Rutland and in itself was a catalyst for change in the county community.

Rutland Water was not a catalyst for all social change in Rutland during the last quarter of the twentieth century. It was however a symptom, if not a product, of that change. That change came from elsewhere, from outside the county. Whether that change started with the creation of air bases in Rutland's fields in the 1940s and culminated in the flooding of the Gwash Valley in the 1970s is debatable. Certainly Rutland had lost much of its social and cultural independence during this period when it was seen to be more fully integrated into the national scene, whether by utility pipeline, road, telecommunication or more particularly in the migration of settlers from across the UK into the county.[97] The county community had visibly changed for reasons beyond that instigated by the construction of Rutland Water.

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[93] 'Reservoir Weekenders Move in': *Melton and Rutland Journal,* 13 October 1972. The article described how some dilapidated cottages on the Exton estate had been sold to developers and 'weekenders' from Leicester, for conversion into larger units. In the space of half an hour eight cottages and three pieces of land had been sold at auction to five buyers for £50,000. One cottage, designated unfit for human habitation, sold for £7,300. In Whitwell a farmyard without planning permission was sold to a Stamford construction firm for £9,200. As late as 1975 Colonel Martin of the Leicestershire and Rutland Community Council suggested that young couples in Rutland were being priced out of house purchases by those outsiders buying second homes in the county. His opinion was described as 'a load of rubbish' by Tony Noton, partner in Royces', Rutland's leading estate agent at the time. *LRSM,* 17 October 1975.

[94] Observation by Mrs C, a resident of Edith Weston for 60 years. (Interview, 2004.)

[95] I. Evans, in *Rutland Water Souvenir Special* (1986), np.

[96] Sir John Conant, Bart: 'The Day they Drowned Rutland'. Anglia TV, directed by Michael Edwards, documentary broadcast 13 November1978.

[97] Cosgrove *et al.* consider Rutland to have 'aligned itself to the idea of a modern nation'. Cosgrove *et al.*, 'Landscape and Identity', p. 545.

Rutland as a county community had adapted to Rutland Water. It had adapted to the devaluation of the landed interest and the change in corporate interests from landowning estates to bodies, trusts and organisations with significant economic clout in the new Rutland. It is a Rutland that had a renewed identity with new cultural icons, blending the old and the new in a modern rural society. Rutland Water reinvigorated the county community giving its political focus in monitoring and campaigning on planning issues. It made the county to consider aesthetic issues over image and conservation and forced the issue of county identity to the forefront of community thought and agitation. Rutland Water reshaped the county community as much as it physically altered the landscape of Rutland itself.

CHAPTER 7

RUTLAND AS DEEP ENGLAND: RUTLAND AND THE RURAL

> An idyllic rural destination, offering a perfect escape from the hustle and bustle of daily life. England's smallest County is a relatively hidden gem in the East Midlands. It quietly nestles in the quiet English countryside. It has much to share with you, an array of unspoiled villages and two attractive market towns packed with charm. Rutland offers a taste of traditional England.[1]

At the end of the Second World War, and at the beginning of Rutland's struggles to maintain its independence, Rutland saw itself, and was largely seen by others as an attractive but largely unexceptional English countryside community. Civic and community pride in its unique features: its diminutive size, familiarity and particular breed of localism was emphasised by the County Council's independence campaign against a backdrop of its quiet unspoiled countryside, the community wedded to the land in a relationship going back centuries and yielding as its offspring, quality-of-life and the closeness to the natural order.

As far back as 1694 James Wright extolled 'the free and uncittyed air' of Rutland and how townsmen 'must resolve to wean themselves for some time, from the Fountain of News and exchange the Diversions of the Coffee-House and the Theatre, for a cool shade and Rural Sports', Rutland being 'but a winter's day journey from London.'[2] Ronald Blythe 275 years later stated 'the townsmen envies the villager his certainties and… has always regarded urban life is just a temporary necessity. One day he will find a cottage on the green and 'real values.'[3] Raymond Williams went further evoking a notion of Englishness, and its connection with the rural in the colonial mindset, of twentieth century Englishmen,

> There was… a marked development of the idea of England as "home", in that special sense which home is a memory and an ideal. Some of the images of this "home" are of central London… But many are of an ideal of rural England: its green peace contrasted with the tropical or arid places of actual work; it's sense of belonging, of community, idealised by contrast with the tensions of colonial rule and the isolated alien settlement. The birds and trees and rivers of England; natives speaking, more or less, one's own language: these were the

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[1] RCC. Marketing material, Minutes of Proceedings for the East Midlands Region of the Boundary Commission for England, Northampton, 1 November 2011, p.9.

[2] J. Wright, *Country Conversations* (London 1694).

[3] R. Blythe, *Akenfield* (London, 1969).

terms of many imagined and actual settlements. The country, now, was the place to retire to.'[4]

The English countryside and its rural nature are deeply embedded in and fashioned the narratives of Englishness. It came 'to represent the dreams, aspirations, hopes and utopian yearnings of a large part of the population, including millions of people living in the cities.'[5] From the vast literature exploring English ruralism, the foregoing being just two examples one local and the other of national if not international and seminal importance, the consensus emerges of a yearning for rural roots stemming from the middle years of industrialisation which coincided with urbanisation and a detachment from the pastoral traditions of the countryside. It is a spiritual desire for preservation of and return to the homely communities of village England born out of the land and reflecting the natural changes of the seasons.

Rutland's identity in post-war England: Rutland in *Illustrated*

In the post-war era, not least because of the focus drawn to it by the independence struggles, in many eyes Rutland became the epitome of rural England. This was the era of the Ealing comedies. Across the country audiences were watching *Passport to Pimlico* (1950) or *The Titfield Thunderbolt* (1952). Whether it was Pimlico declaring itself independent or small rural Titfield struggling to protect its railway the audience appreciating their political subtext would perhaps be reminded of gallant little Rutland fighting for its existence. 'The country was tired of regulations and regimentation and there was a mild anarchy in the air. In a sense are comedies were a reflection of this mood'.[6]

> The status of cinema as a mass medium (more so than now: cinema admissions reached their peak in the immediate post-war years) means that films, if they gain any success, will do so by reflecting back to a wide audience something of itself, whether conscious or not: a mood, conflict, need, aspiration of some kind put in a dramatic form.[7]

In 1958, as the Redcliffe-Maude Commission was reporting, cinema audiences delighted in the antics of the Ruritanian Duchy of Grand Fenwick, diminished in size and finance taking on the superpowers in the Peter Sellers comedy *The Mouse that Roared*. It would have played at the County Cinema in Oakham.

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[4] R. Williams, *The Country and the City* (London, 1973), pp. 281-2.

[5] J. Burchardt, *Paradise Lost: Rural Idyll and Social Change since 1800* (London, 2002).

[6] M. Balcon. < http://www.glyndwr.ac.uk/rdover/medcult/Ealing.htm> [accessed 20 June 2016].

[7] C. Barr, *Ealing Studios* (London, 1977), p.8.

The propagandists for the preservation of the county both in its political, community and landscape forms were not slow to capitalise on this sentiment, which, if it can be measured by the success in sales of literature, such as Hoskins' *Rutland*, was widespread, international, and politically significant. In 1947, at the height of the first phase of the independence struggle, *Illustrated*, the weekly magazine of national and international photojournalism sent Robert Jackson and Joseph McKeown to Rutland to produce an article. In this they received considerable assistance from RCC, and its publication drew to national attention to Rutland and its county community.[8]

Slotted between an article on hair perming and one on the domestic life of the Gaitskill family, the article begins,

> From sleepy Oakham, county town of Rutland, a battle-cry is ringing out across the gentle rolling hills and quiet coppices to the villages that stud and beautify England's tiniest county. The "tups" – the folk of Rutland – are fighting for their lives and they are singing: "Rutland is our county: shall our our county die? 20,000 Rutland men will know the reason why."

The article continues in similar vein. The leading photograph is of a shepherd herding his sheep past the 'this is Rutland' sign at Caldecott on the county border (Figure 7.1). Apart from portraits of Rutland personalities leading the independence struggle, the article also depicts such bucolic imagery as children playing on Market Overton green (Figure 7.2), the eight pupils outside their village school at Ridlington, vistas of Rutland's unspoiled countryside and residents signing the independence petition on the doorstep of their thatched cottage (Figure 7.3). The imagery and message of the content is clear: Rutland is quintessential English countryside, real England, deep England, England of the popular imagination and as such as the landscape and community it deserves to be preserved in perpetuity with all its idiosyncrasies, even if it may seem out of tune to the modern world.

A considerable number of photographs were left out of the finished article. These, together with those included, emphasised the masculine, unhurried and principally agricultural way of life within Rutland. There is no mention of the RAF and, apart from photographs of Ruddles brewery and Clipsham stone quarry, the only photographic reference to industry and modernisation is a picture of Ketton cement works with its sign depicted behind a roadside hedge, a natural context (Figure 7.4). There is an unhurried sense of order in the roadman sweeping Catmose yard (Figure 7.5), or the farmworker (trousers in Socks) at the entrance to the Noel Arms at Ridlington (Figure 7.6). The photographs are never overpopulated: a postman on his round in Uppingham, a farmer on his tractor at Wing (Figure

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[8] R. Jackson, J. Mckeown, '"Hands Off", says Rutland', *Illustrated*, 1 November 1947.

7.7). The Rutlanders signing the petition at Oakham have their backs to the camera (Figure 9.2), a solitary man crosses Oakham's market place (Figure 7.8), one photograph harvesting potatoes depicts the farmer, farmworkers both boys and men and prisoners of war pulling together in a community effort (Figure 7.9). County improvement is suggested by a picture of road men at work at Uppingham (Figure 7.10), and at Manton station porter leans on his trolley as the stationmaster looks into the distance for a train to connect Rutland with the outside world (Figure 7.11).

This was a black and white (literally and figuratively) depiction of Rutland untainted by modernisation, metropolitan influences and the expectation of substantive change. The contrast to the colourful representation of changing Rutland struggling with inward migration and modernity in Duckers/Davies' *A Place in the Country*, could not be more marked. Forty years separated the publication of *Illustrated* and *A Place in the Country*. Those 40 years were marked not only by dramatic changes in the landscape and culture of Rutland brought about by mass communication, migration and modernisation but also changes in attitude to the county community both within and without.

Figure 7.1: *Herding sheep at Caldecott*

Note the temporary Rutland boundary sign erected in 1947.

Source: *Illustrated*, 1 November 1947.

Figure 7.2: *Children play on Market Overton green*

Tradition and change: children play on the old village stocks whilst mothers with luggage wait for a bus. A car is parked in the background near the village garage, formerly the village smithy.

Source: McKeown "Illustrated" 1947 – 494-88.

Figure 7.3: *Mrs Clapperton collects signatures for the Rutland petition 1947*

Note the rural imagery: thatched cottage; whitewashed walls; cottage garden; elderly ladies and black cat complete the scene. Mrs Clapperton was an Urban District councillor for Oakham.

Source: McKeown "Illustrated" 1947 – 456 – 9.

Figure 7.4: *Ketton Cement Works*

Ketton Cement Works, one of the few industrial sites within Rutland (note the horseshoe logo), is obscured by a modern advertising sign which incongruously sits along the rural roadside above a hedge with arable crops behind.

Source: McKeown "Illustrated" 1947 – 498-45.

Figure 7.5: *A groundsman sweeps the yard at Rutland County Council HQ Catmose*

Oakham

The County Council employee continues about his work, reminiscent of an old retainer to the former gentry house in the background. Everything appears unhurried, neat and in its place.

Source: McKeown "Illustrated" 1947 – 494-9.

Figure 7.6: *Noel Arms Ridlington*

A villager opens *the door to his local hostelry named after the local landowners, in a timeless evocation of village life.*

Source: McKeown "Illustrated" 1947 – 494-79.

Figure 7.7: *A tractor ambles down Wing Main Street*

The tractor, once considered mechanical and modern, but now seemingly in place as it journeys down the village street in the midday sunshine.

Source: McKeown "Illustrated" 1947 – 456-21.

Figure 7.8: *Mr Wilson crosses Oakham Market Place*

A solitary man, named on the reverse of the photo as being a Mr Wilson of Station Road, leisurely crosses Oakham Market Place towards the High Street, in the summer morning. The mediaeval Butter Cross and church are in the background of this image similarly reproduced many times as being a quintessential Rutland scene.

Source: McKeown "Illustrated" 1947 – 494-4.

Figure 7.9: *Harvesting potatoes*

Farmer, old farmhand, farmworker still in military uniform, farmer's son on tractor, together with a former prisoner of war (a number stayed on in Rutland after the war) gather in the harvested potatoes, in a scene uniting the generations in farming activity.

Source: McKeown "Illustrated" 1947 – 456-47.

Figure 7.10: *Roadworks on Ayston Road Uppingham*

Foreman and road workers industriously inhabit a scene dominated by a steamroller and the vast expanse of road being prepared for surfacing. Until the Second World War most Rutland roads were unsurfaced by tarmac or hard chip surfacing. The scene is an evocation of improvement in the community directed by the County Council.

Source: McKeown "Illustrated" 1947 – 456-13.

Figure 7.11: *Staff at Manton station*

Manton station on the Leicester – Stamford – Peterborough line was an important station that also formed a junction with a line heading south towards Kettering and London. The stationmaster is anticipating an arrival, a link with the world outside of Rutland. The porter leans on his trolley in a nonchalant, leisurely manner as if to emphasise that rural life in Rutland whilst efficient and routine has its own pace and quality-of-life. The station is tidy but not depicted as being busy. Trains come and go and life continues in its accustomed way.

Source: McKeown "Illustrated" 1947 – 494-49.

Whose county? Post-war migration into Rutland: Rutland reimagined

In 1955 Michael Fisher found migrating to Rutland, 'one was constantly impressed by the fact that this small area of the East Midlands really did belong to the indigenous population.'[9] 20 years later migration into the county resulted in one Braunston resident commenting in 1976,

> the whole character of some villages has been completely ruined by the size and speed of development… Communities have not had time to adjust and integrate with the original settlements, hence divisions have occurred in populations and the attitude of 'them and us' has developed[10]

Another commented, 'too many city slugs and not enough country bumpkins!'[11] The majority of the indigenous population still found an attraction to the new Rutland. 'We've been happy here and the people friendly and loyal. Many Rutlanders choose to come back and I'm not surprised. It is the least developed place in Britain.'[12] The marketing of Rutland as part of the quintessential English idyll was deliberate by estate agents and tourism promoters. However the migration of population from the south-east was a phenomenon being felt across the East Midlands as a whole. Settlers were attracted by improved road and rail communication to the south and to the Midlands. Rutland has been at the forefront in gaining access to rural broadband.[13]

Non-established workers with less disposable income were unable to afford Rutland's reinvigorated house prices. The 'right to buy' scheme for council house tenants in the 1980s, gave many who chose to take it up a substantial boost in capital but denuded the stock of local authority housing. This has been high in Rutland with agricultural workers needing accommodation in the villages, after old estate cottages had fallen into disrepair. The remaining stock of local authority housing was privatised in the 1990s, severing another link with the Rutland authority and the county community at large.

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[9] M. Fisher, 'The days before Rutland was 'commuter land'', *LRSM*. 30 August 1985.

[10] Rutland Environment Education Group, *Rutland 2000, unit seven, Rutland Heritage* (Melton, 1978).

[11] Doug Clements, National Sound Archive Millennium Memory Bank, 1998 1020.

[12] 'David Tew', A. Buxton. B. Martin, *Rutland People The Genuine Article* (Stamford, 2001), p.128.

[13] 'Rutland Telecom offers villagers fast broadband' BBC News website (accessed 4 April 2010) 'Wiring Arcadia', *The Economist* (30 September 2010). 'Rutland leading the way with fibre broadband', *Rutland Mercury* (14 October 2015).

Wealthy commuters and professional retired incomers into Rutland were able to afford the escalating house prices and injected money and social capital into the local communities reinvigorating some aspects of community life. With the conservation of the built environment seen as a local authority priority, some of this new money helped restore buildings, and find new uses for redundant farm buildings. Many of the incomers bought into the Rutland ideal of active involvement and participation in community culture. This was reflected in support for the campaign for independence in the 1990s. However participation was and is not universal. Some were reluctant villagers, desiring the pleasures of rural life without participating and taking on community responsibilities. In Edith Weston, now twice its former size with infill and conversion to housing of old buildings incomers were noted as being 'bottom enders', living in restored cottages at the bottom end of the village near Rutland Water. In 2004 less than 10 percent of the population had been there before 1955. There are many unfamiliar faces turning up to harvest suppers and carol services but there was 'no village heart' when an old cowshed could be sold for £400,000.[14]

Incomers bought a metropolitan outlook and expectation to life and this is reflected in the changes in the shops along the High Street of Oakham, Uppingham and Stamford. Many of the town traders had gone the way of the ripped up hedgerows to be replaced by an expanse of tourist orientated gift shops and estate agents. In 1960 Uppingham did not possess an estate agent. By 2004 there were four along the High Street. The traditional farming community became eclipsed in a peaceful, if uneasy, coexistence between the old villagers and incomers. The decline of church and chapel as well as agriculture in village life can be documented in the decline in the importance of harvest festivals within the seasonal calendar. Village feasts have been revived or transmogrified into an annual village fete. At the same time incomers helped revive more secular harvest suppers and other communal activities such as carol singing and village sports days. Playing fields were created as safe spaces for village children, village hall use revived and village features and church bells lovingly restored. Community shops and farm shops re-established themselves in some villages with particular active communities and in Clipsham some of the wealthy villagers even bought the local pub to keep it running.[15] Some village pubs were blandly renamed and recreated as gastro pubs, others clung on as 'locals'. Parish magazines and more recently websites, particularly in larger villages such as Barrowden Langham and Ketton have brought the new village communities together. Village history groups and social associations have been formalised.

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[14] Interview with D.C. 2004 also referred to in chapter 6.

[15] For example, Barrowden Community Shop and similar enterprises at Edith Weston, Market Overton, and Wing.

Music and culture have experienced a renaissance in Rutland towns and villages through organisations such as Music in Lyddington. As many villages organised Jubilee celebrations in 2002 as had done coronation celebrations in 1953. The Rutland village been reimagined, as well as repopulated, by new ruralists, coveting the exclusivity of the Rutland county name.

Rutland online:
a virtual imagined community or imagined virtual community?

The Internet created a virtual imagined community providing connection far beyond the county boundary for informal social groups to enhance their sense of belonging with Rutland.[16] It allowed official and formal structured groups, together with commercial concerns using the Rutland name, to keep in contact with their membership and customer base.[17] The internet has the potentiality to transform affiliation to the county community by providing avenues of participation and discourse unimagined in previous centuries.

Digital technology records events and transmits them live across the world to anyone with a suitable device. In one sense you don't have to be there to be there. Participation and ultimately affiliation is a matter of choice and the possibilities are endless. If the twentieth century commuter can sojourn in the county for a few years and therefore claim to be a Rutlander and part of the county community, is online affiliation equally as valid claim in this century? Is residence a prerequisite to membership of the community when those geographically outside its boundaries but connected online can participate more in community life than some physically living within its environs? Should a claim to be a Rutlander be reliant on an extended bloodline within the county? Can it extend to those physically elsewhere affiliating and participating online? Are there limits to community affiliation? Physical limits? Virtual limits? Philosophical limits?

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[16] < https://www.facebook.com/photosmemoriesuppinghamoakham/?fref=nf > [Accessed 14 June 2016] being but one example.

[17] < www.rutland.gov.uk> ; < http://www.discover-rutland.co.uk/ > ; <www.rutlandhistory.org>. AWA promotes Rutland Water through < www.rutlandwater.org > The Rutland name is promoted by various organisations ranging from sporting clubs such as <www.rutlandpoloclub.co.uk>; welfare organisations such as < www.rutlandcommunityagents.org.uk.>; Businesses such as < www.rutlandgardencentre.co.uk> ; to <www.forrutlandinrutland.org.uk> the county's principal community charity. [all accessed 24 January 2016].

Socio-economic Factors affecting Rutland's Development as a County Community: a conclusion

Rutland has remained resolutely rural, separated by geography and political choice from cities and towns it felt no real association with. Even Rutland's connection with market towns at a shorter distance diminished with the decline of agriculture and their transmogrification into 'shopping centres' for 'big shops' and occasional services. Again this reality is changing with the growth of online commerce and communication.

Stamford has always been a special case. The market town and service centre on the county boundary and half enclosed by Rutland, it has always been 'the elephant [not quite] in the room', attracting villagers from the east of the county to the town for its shopping, service provision and rail link, as much as Oakham does for the west of Rutland and Uppingham does for the south of the county.[18]

There is little evidence for a sustained regional identity to the East Midlands, which, economically and geographically disparate, is largely an artificial government created region. Rutland as a construct for a sense of belonging is at least as pervasive as any non-territorial conflicting loyalties including that of religion. Territorially, where it has been measured Rutlanders identification with the county has proven to be strong compared with other areas within the region.[19]

The study of Rutland Water in chapter 6, bridges both the cultural and governmental themes in this exploration of a county community. Initial resistance to the creation of the reservoir brought the county community together. In cultural terms the reservoir reshaped the county's image: the imagined community of Rutland to outsiders from outside the county. The increasing importance of Rutland Water in marketing the county as a tourist attraction created tensions between the old and new cultures within the county. This led to the fear that Rutland was being relegated to being a mere 'towpath around a lake'.[20]

Rutland Water was not a catalyst for all social change in Rutland during the last quarter of the twentieth century, it was however a symptom of that change. Rutland Water was a territory of compromise between the needs of modernisation and the outside world and the natural rights and traditions of the indigenous Rutland population. Visually beautiful it

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[18] Uppingham lost its rail link in 1960.

[19] INLOGOV/MORI Report see Chapter 9.

[20] K. Lewis MP, Welland and Nene (Mid-Northants) Water Bill Second Reading debate. House of Commons, Parliamentary Debates, 2 April 1969, columns 556–61.

heralded great change in the Rutland community. The county community was transformed by a wave of migration into Rutland as it became seen as an attractive commuter base for London and the East Midlands towns and cities as well as a weekend retreat from the urban mentality. Rutland Water brought economic advantage to the county by the injection of wealth into the village communities as well as prestige and recognition to its host community in particular with its international reputation wildlife.

The irony of the situation being that Rutland's bird population echoed that of its human population in being essentially migratory. Driven by necessity to work in neighbouring towns and cities but attracted to rural living, the new generations of Rutland residents sometimes settled, retired and died here, at other times they moved on elsewhere where circumstances and careers took them. The winter birds flocked at Rutland Water, before migrating in the spring as much as the hunting fraternity did during the winters of the golden age of hunting in Rutland. Each used the local landscape as a hunting ground and provided local 'colour' and gave economic advantage to the community by their presence. Both migrating birds and humans, whether as sojourners or settlers, have contributed greatly to the image and reality of a changing county community.

Rutland Water was both a catalyst for and was indicative of social change in Rutland during the last quarter of the twentieth century. It marked a turning point in the development of the county community and a crucial epiphany in Rutlanders' self-realisation of their imagined community. Rutland Water, to some extent changed the county identity.

Rutland, was and is still seen as being part of 'deep England', although considerably changed from that depicted in the *Illustrated* article in 1947.[21] The importance of deep England to the national character and belief in itself has been critically outlined by Angus Calder.[22] The England of Massingham and Priestley and the Rutland of Hoskins are very much rooted in the same culturally conservative tradition in which the countryside was seen as spectacle having echoes of a 'Merrie England' lost during the Industrial Revolution.

Rutland physically and emotionally was part of the deep England south of the Severn-Lincolnshire limestone divide which bisected the country. Deep England and Rutland were not just important elements in a nostalgic wartime propaganda imagining of rural England, but also in a post-war imagining of the countryside which was resistant to centrally directed modernisation, having its own pace of life directed by nature and the seasons and the quality-

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[21] The concept of 'Deep England', has echoes in M Dion, *La France Profonde* (Paris, 1988) a conception of provincial France, localist and diverging from metropolitan ideologies.

[22] A. Calder, The Myth of the Blitz (London, 1991), Chapter 9.

of-life based upon intimacy with the land, kinship and association in a traditional yet functional community.

Rutland has experienced dramatic changes to its landscape, economy and society during the post-war era. Yet the county community of Rutland remains. It is proved adaptable if not resilient to change driven by external forces and accepting of change where it has been demonstrated as being for the public good. Trains no longer stop for the porter and the stationmaster at Manton station, which has long since closed; the farmer's tractor is no longer the only motor transport on Wing's Main Street, in fact there are no longer any farms in Wing; Mr Wilson would still be able to walk past Oakham Butter Cross, because the area has been pedestrianised after years of being a car park. However, by contrast, the formerly well-tended grounds of Catmose however have been converted into a car park for the County Council. The Noel's Arms at Ridlington, lacking sufficient local trade closed, along with many village pubs although some have seen a renaissance with the increase in visitor traffic attracted to the Rutland countryside. Ketton cement works have been expanded but the stocks still remain on Market Overton green and the Rutland signs on what is now a busy road through Caldecott had been replaced by more durable vandal and thief proof 'metal' ones.

Rutland has become more affluent with the inward migration of wealthy incomers literally buying in to the villages and market towns. They have helped sustain an imagined community of Rutland. It is a county community proud of its heritage and its independent tradition, which likes to be seen as intimate and caring and confident of its future.

Therefore we conclude that changes in Rutland's society and economy, such as the creation of Rutland Water and increasing inward migration, despite being considered a threat to the maintenance of a discrete county community, provided an opportunity for that community to develop and increase in both population, and recognition by both its inhabitants, old and new, and the wider world.

SECTION 3

The Political and Administrative Identity of Rutland: an Introduction

The first sections of this thesis established that Rutland developed a cultural tradition, which was at times distinctive, as well as a body of literature which could possibly be considered substantial enough to be considered a 'literature of identity'. Notwithstanding powerful centri-petal forces the second section of this thesis focusing on socio-economic factors has provided evidence that Rutland maintained the affiliation of its inhabitants, who identified themselves with the county over and above possible competing territorial and societal affiliations. It also found that in the wake of considerable social change, the inhabitants of the county whether native or incomer, valued the quality of life and sense of belonging that was generally perceived as being part of a Rutland county community. A community centred on long-standing rural-values of togetherness and what has been characterised in contemporary political rhetoric as 'localism'.[1]

The final section will explore the historical and political roots of localism as pertaining to Rutland. It is proposed here that the nature of Rutland's governance has been a crucial factor in the development of the county community within the modern age. The 'struggle for independence' by Rutland County Council was, at the centre of the debate concerning Rutland's identity. The struggle gave Rutland its fame in the post-war period up until and beyond 1997 when Rutland regained its County Council.

The first part of the chapter will look at the old structures of government within Rutland which date back to and beyond the era of Everitt's original county communities of the seventeenth century. County-based, centred on office holding and the administration of justice consideration of Rutland's governance will be extended to analyse the poltical role of the great gentry families and the county's parliamentary representation.

The second part will consider how the advent of a democratically elected Rutland County Council with a wider franchise, broadened participation in the community. It is proposed that increased participation is one of the key elements in the development of the county community. One of the major themes in this cultural analysis is the role of the county council, with its reluctance to advance public expenditure, compared to the role of the rural community council in furthering community development.

A second chapter will examine the pivotal role the post war independence struggles surrounding Rutland County Council had on bringing the county opinion together in

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[1] M. Moore, 'Achbani', *Localism, A Philosophy of Government* (ebook).

opposition to local government reform. Throughout both chapters examples of local community leadership will be sought. An attempt will be made to answer the question of how adaptable Rutland's institutions proved to be in the face of change and modernisation and whether that change was entirely instigated by external forces. The chapter concludes at the reconstitution of Rutland County Council, the re-gaining of independence, in 1997. The thesis then moves on to the general conclusion drawing together all three sections and elements: cultural, socio-economic and governmental into an analysis of how the concept of county community can be used to understand modern issues of belonging and identity in reference to Rutland, proudly and resolutely England's smallest County.

CHAPTER 8

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUTLAND'S COUNTY ADMINISTRATION FROM A CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE.

Rutland county government, like that of rural England as a whole, remained an unreformed anomaly during much of the reforming nineteenth century. The Webbs described county leadership after the 1830s as,

> 'The rulers of the County, unchanged in their representative character, unchecked in their irresponsibility, unfettered in their powers of expenditure, and unreformed either in the method of their appointment or in the secrecy of their procedure'.[1]

This chapter reviews local government within Rutland from this unreformed period through the institution of Rutland County Council, up until 1945. It is not an administrative history. It is an overview of the county administration, drawing upon salient elements of it to illustrate from a cultural perspective the development and broadening of what may be conceived as a county community. It examines the Council as an institution representative of the attitudes, expectations and interests of the wider community.

The Local Government Act 1972 stimulated the production of administrative histories of the antediluvian county councils. Largely sponsored and published by the county councils themselves, they were not overcritical of these institutions, and were chiefly designed to be a valedictory dispatch for the councils before they were abolished or transformed in the new structure of local government.[2] Rutland County Council commissioned Professor Jack Simmons to write a very brief administrative history for private circulation.[3]

It is the contention of this chapter that the unreformed county community based upon gentry and squirearchical power and culture, broadened to be more inclusive of wider demographic and economic interests within Rutland during this long period. It is proposed that the extension of the local government franchise and increasing participation by democratic reform within the structures of local government lay at the heart of this change. It

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[1] S. and B. Webb, *English Local Government Volume 1 The Parish and the County* (London, 1963), p.605.

[2] For example: G. Ambrose, *Monmouthshire County Council 1888 – 1974* (Newport,1974); J. Bradbury, *Government and Country: A History of Northamptonshire County Council 1889 – 1989* (Bristol,1989); D. Mitchell, *A History of Warwickshire County Council 1889 – 1989 A Century of Local Government* (Warwick, 1988).

[3] It was inserted into the limited presentation copies, of the reprint of Wright's *History of Rutland* (1973).

is also proposed that in terms of county development parallel organisations and structures, such as the development of Rutland Rural Community Council (RRCC) in the interwar period, played a significant if not greater role in making the county a focus of affiliation and attachment.

This period also saw the development of unintentional but functional conflict inherent in English local government: that of its dual role as both an agency of central government and as a representation of the local community. This conflict was a crucial element in the post-war history of the County Council and of Rutland itself.

The essential questions to be asked are: what was the basis of the political construct of the county community before and after the 1888 Local Government Act? How and when Rutland's governance changed after the introduction of a County Council in 1888? If change can be perceived, is this a change of attitude or merely a change of personnel? Does any change reflect the mood of the county community at large and the national community beyond that?

Landownership in the culture of power in Rutland during the nineteenth-century

In Rutland a small number of families tended to dominate wealth, landownership and office holding in the settled eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Oligarchy was exacerbated in Rutland which, retained the standard institutions of county government within a small geographical area.

Francis Thompson, quotes Sanford and Townsend (1865) in showing Rutland having one aristocratic seat for every 31,000 acres.[4] With this density of aristocratic settlement, Thompson concludes that Rutland was "beyond question the most aristocratic county [in England]".[5] Bateman, in his statistical analysis of landownership based upon the national 1873 Parliamentary Return of Owners of Land, notes the apparent absence of squirearchical smaller estates of between one and 3,000 acres (only 8 per cent of Rutland's measured acreage). He found that 53 per cent of Rutland's acreage was owned by great estates of

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[4] J. Sanford & M. Townshend, *The Great Governing Families of England* (London, 1865) endplate map, quoted in F. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1963), p.30.

[5] Thompson, *Landed Society,* p.33.

10,000 acres or more, four great landowners owning 48,602 acres.[6] However disentangling landownership from residency, Bateman found that 16 "foreigners" owned 37,000 acres, 2/5 of the county. This imbalance of control of land reflected itself in the political control and culture of the county.

Rutland's politics and governance was largely controlled by five great landowning families, three resident, two non-resident. The Cecil family (the Marquess of Exeter) was based at Burghley House just over the border, on the Northamptonshire side of Stamford, a town whose politics it dominated. They also held considerable property on the eastern and southern sides of Rutland.[7] The Sherard family (the Earl of Harborough) lived at Stapleford Park, just over the Leicestershire border and a few miles from their Rutland properties based in and around Whissendine.[8]

Within Rutland the political influence of the Mackworth family of Normanton had been eclipsed after it had bankrupted itself trying to maintain its county ascendancy, not least in the 1722 Rutland election.[9] The Normanton estate was eventually purchased by Sir Gilbert Heathcote, one of the founders of the Bank of England and Lord Mayor of London. The descendants of Sir Gilbert married into the Drummond – Willoughby family of Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire. The fifth baronet was granted the title of Lord Aveland (1856) and Earl of Ancaster (1892). Grimsthorpe became the main family residence and the Normanton estate was sold in 1924. Before that the Heathcote family held land across Rutland vying for territorial dominance with the Finchs and Noels.[10]

The Finch family were descendants of the Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham, Secretary of State to William III, who purchased a large estate in Rutland and built the

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[6] Bateman's analysis of the statistics has been reinterpreted by Clough in 2010. There is some discrepancy between their statistical analysis. J. Bateman, *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (Leicester, 1971 reprint of 1883 edition) p.520; T. H. McK Clough, *Who Owned Rutland in 1873? Rutland Entries in Return of Owners of Land 1873*, RLHRS, 9 (Oakham, 2010), pp. 12-3.

[7] The Cecil archives have been largely inaccessible to scholars. A 1957 Ph.D. thesis and a 1990 publication both focused on Stamford alone. J.M. Lee, 'Stamford and the Cecil's: A Study in Political Control, 1700 – 1885' (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Christ Church Oxford, 1957); E.C. Till, *A Family Affair Stamford and the Cecils 1650 – 1900* (Yelvertoft, 1990).

[8] The surviving Sherard archive is deposited at ROLLR. chiefly under reference DG 40.

[9] < http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/mackworth-sir-thomas-1745 >. [Accessed 21 May 2016].

[10] The Ancaster/Heathcote archives, are an extensive series of deposits at Lincoln Archives Office.

mansion at Burley on the Hill.[11] The Noel family (Earls of Gainsborough) arrived in Rutland during the sixteenth century and gradually amassed great estates across the county, their chief residence being at Exton Park.[12]

Beyond the paternalistic management of their estates the great families at times worked together in welfare initiatives covering the whole county. In 1785 together with the Earl of Gainsborough; George Finch ninth Earl of Winchelsea; Mr Gerard Noel Edwards; (and after 1792 Lord Sherard), founded the Rutland Society of Industry. Each committee member subscribed five shillings towards the maintenance of a system to teach children a trade, knitting or spinning.[13] This attempt to bring landowners and parishes together to form a *County* association was one of the first examples of a gentry led initiative, uniting the county and increasing the consciousness of a county identity. This Rutland initiative, lauded by Arthur Young, attracted national attention and became known as the "Rutland Plan".[14]

With the active support and subscription of the aristocracy and gentry, the clergy, estate stewards and parish officials that did most of the work of this society and other county charities in the parishes. In common with other areas they acted as administrators on behalf of the county community represented by the landowning elite sat in the Quarter Sessions. For example, in 1775 it was noted that 41per cent of the Land Tax Commissioner's in Rutland were members of the clergy.[15] 'Rather awkward and shabby professionals', they acted as poor law guardians, census enumerators, and facilitated education and welfare.[16] For example 'Rutland Board of Education', supported by the gentry and managed by local clergy, propagated scriptural knowledge under the cloak of philanthropic intervention across Rutland.[17]

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[11] The titles passed out of the Rutland branch of the family in 1826. The Finch archive at ROLLR. is substantial (DG7, with additional deposits), but mostly lacking modern material.

[12] The cataloguing, at public expense, of the vast Noel archive, was finally completed in 2013. It was deposited at ROLLR by the family with severe restrictions on usage preventing substantive academic study of a nationally important archive. R. Marsay (ed.) *Rutland's Phoenix: the Archives of the Noel Family of Exton Park Rutland. An Introduction and Essays* (Leicester, 2013).

[13] ROLLR DE2267 Rutland Society of Industry records 1785 – 1980.; J Crutchley, *General View of the Agriculture in the County of Rutland* (London, 1794) pp.23-30.

[14] M. Bethen -Edwards (ed.), *The autobiography of Arthur Young* (London, 1967), p.388.

[15] P. Langford, *Public Life and Propertied Englishman 1689-1798* (Oxford, 2001), p.428.

[16] B. Heeney, *A Different Kind of Gentleman: Parish Clergy as Professional Men in early and Mid-Victorian England* (Conn. USA,1976), pp.6-7.

[17] ROLLR DE2575/91 Rutland Deanery Board of Education. minute book, 1895 – 97.

The culture of power in Rutland: the importance of Parliamentary representation, conciliation and conflict in the consensual political culture of a county community

Until the Redistribution Act of 1885, Rutland was represented in Parliament by two members. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the four great landed families, acting with supporting surrogate gentry families, attempted to reach a consensus over Rutland's parliamentary representation, dividing it between them.[18] Family members or surrogates provided the county representation at Westminster throughout this period almost without exception. The Noel family produced an MP for 181 of those 200 years. In the 246 years between 1660 and 1906 there were only nine parliamentary electoral contests in Rutland. Until the mid-nineteenth-century a Noel-Cecil alliance colluded to exclude the Finches from representing Rutland in Parliament. Sir Gilbert Heathcote, with Cecil support, and Sir Gerard Noel were Parliamentary colleagues for 23 years. The Finch interest re-emerged after 1867, when George Henry Finch was elected and retained his seat for 40 years, unopposed save for the first election for the single-member constituency in 1885 and the 1906 General Election. He died the following year precipitating an aggressively fought by-election when John Gretton increased the Conservative majority.[19]

Despite the seeming dominance of the Rutland electorate by the leading landowners, Andrew Mitchell found, by analysis of the poll books, reporting and correspondence of the day a substantial floating vote present in the Rutland electorate during the first half of the eighteenth century.[20] This independent spirit, also noted by Speck, was untypical of many English constituencies and not expected in a county so dominated by its landowning gentry.[21]

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[18] Estate archives provide evidence: ROLLR DE 3214/12063, Exton Papers, 1846, correspondence, Gainsborough -Baker re. interview with the Marquess of Exeter; ROLLR DE 3214/12066/1- Exton Papers, 1846 correspondence, Baker-George Finch-Marquess of Exeter; LAO ANC9/1/13 – 14 Ancaster (Heathcote) correspondence, 1760 12. Lord Exeter has proposed that Mr Cecil should stand the election and then vacate his seat for G. Heathcote, whom the Noels agreed to support at a second election. For examples of the rivalry and agreement over Rutland's Parliamentary representation between the great landowning families see the Rutland sections and the biographical entries in R. Sedgwick (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1715 – 53*, 2 vols. (London, 1970); L. Namier J. Brooke (eds), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1754 – 1790*, 2 vols.(London, 1964); R. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1790 – 1820*, 2 vols.(London, 1986); < http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/constituencies/rutland > [Accessed 25 March 2014].

[19] Scrapbook of national and local press cuttings concerning the election of G.H. Finch in 1906, his death in 1907 and subsequent by-election (retained by the Finch Family).

[20] A. Mitchell, 'Rutland elections in the early 18th century', *Rutland Record*, 15 (1995), pp. 207-12.

[21] W.A. Speck, *Tory and Whig: the struggle in the constituencies, 1701 – 15* (London, 1970), pp. 25-6.

Mitchell also found evidence of a high-level of a high turnout in electoral contests which he puts down to the intensity of political debate within a limited geographical area, the incidence of which was repeated 150 years later in the election of 1885 Parliamentary election which achieved a turnout of 83.4 per cent.[22]

The political corruption noted by Mitchell within Rutland was inherent within provincial politics at the time. The issue of 'faggot voting', particularly in the 1841 election, aroused considerable local opposition and was widely opposed. In a bitterly contested election the Hon. C.J. Noel was beaten by fellow liberal G.J. Heathcote, and conservative W.H. Dawnay. This was despite, and in some respects perhaps because of the Noel attempts to manipulate the election with the creation of faggot votes from Noel land at Langham and in other parishes where they had an influence. At the election a number of Noel votes were disallowed occasioning the only defeat of the Noel candidate at a Rutland election on record.[23] In Rutland's developing political culture, blatant corruption amongst the governing elite was contested. Modern examples tend to be benign and ruefully accepted as being part and parcel of a political culture which relies on intimacy and familiarity to work efficiently for the common interest.[24]

A common identity of interest between the governing gentry and the farmer ratepayer/electors increased in the first quarter of the twentieth century with a widened franchise and more owner/occupier/elector farmers after the estate sales of that era. Election results after the 1872 Secret Ballot Act, in Rutland did not reflect any dramatic move away from the support of Conservative landlords.[25] In the 1885 general election, the first to be held to elect a single member (and the first contested parliamentary election in Rutland since 1841) G.H. Finch, the Conservative member, was returned with 68.1 per cent of the vote with his Liberal opponent gaining 31.9 per cent.[26]

After 1918 both the Noel and the Finch families retired from taking an active part in parliamentary politics in the new joint constituency of Rutland and Stamford, including

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[22] A.R.Traylen, *Notable Citizens of Rutland* (Stamford, 2000), p.84.

[23] *The Lincolnshire Chronicle* , 29 October 1841; ROLLR DE 3214/12020, Exton Papers, 20 October 1840, an opinion on the creation of more faggot strips at Langham and Whissendine; ROLLR DE 3214/12052/1- Exton Papers, 1841, a bill for "treating tickets", at the Britannia Inn Oakham.

[24] N. Duckers, *A Place in the Country* (London, 1990), p.74.

[25] Compare with the situation in North Northamptonshire, in P. Salmon, *Electoral Reform at Work: Local Politics and National Parties, 1832 – 41* (London, 2002), and Lincolnshire in R. Olney, *Lincolnshire Politics 1832 – 1885* (Oxford,1973).

[26] Traylen, *Notable Citizens,* p.84.

Stamford town and its less deferential Kesteven environs. However, throughout the constituency's existence it remained resolutely Conservative. For 40 of those years the MP was a member of the local gentry and for 22 of them a member of the Willoughby (Earls of Ancaster) family. In 1983 Rutland was moved again to form a new constituency of Rutland and Melton, 'inheriting' Melton's MP, Michael Latham in the process. He in turn was succeeded by Alan Duncan in what is regarded as a safe Conservative seat.[27]

Before the Secret Ballot Act of 1872 and polling stations spread across the county, a Parliamentary election was one of the few occasions when the county became a physical entity. Represented by its freeholder electorate Rutland's county community became embodied at election time, coming together for the election meeting at Oakham. Parliamentary representation reinforced the importance of the county to the ruling families acting as a power base for a political career and giving them status on a national level. The county election gave the imagined county community a tangible reality in exercising its measured political voice within the Shire Hall of Oakham Castle. The selection and election of candidates gives evidence that the tradition of consensual politics, coalition building and conciliation of interests performed on an intimate level by the county powerbrokers *outside* the formal structures of government was inherent in Rutland before the advent of participatory democracy within the twentieth century.

The culture of power in Rutland: the nominal Conservative influence

Within Rutland support for national political parties, and their perceived sectional interests, ebbed and flowed during the course of the twentieth century. The Liberal Party declined in Rutland as the Labour Party supplanted it in electoral significance in Parliamentary elections. However it saw a revival during the 1970s fighting a number of local environmental causes concerned with planning development and Rutland Water. The Labour Party opposed the Conservative candidate during most Parliamentary elections and succeeded from a narrow constituency base in gaining representation on both OUDC and RDC. It is however notable that the successful candidates had a large personal following and were elected chiefly on that basis. Foremost among these was Tommy Suthern, a Wearside trade unionist, former miner and railway worker who was elected to OUDC, becoming its chairman in 1961. He was Mayor of Oakham in 1982 and made an honorary alderman of RDC in 1995. Malcolm

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[27] J. Arnold, *A History of Britain's Parliamentary Constituencies: Leicestershire* (West Malling, 2009).

Withers, unsuccessful Labour parliamentary candidate in 1974 and 1979, was elected to RDC in 1974.

Throughout the twentieth century Rutland had a tradition of local government candidates standing as independents on the basis of personal recognition within their respective wards. Despite this during the early years of the century there was a concerted effort by Conservatives to establish a party presence within Rutland. In 1906 the Rutland Conservative Association raised £208 through 68 subscriptions. Eight of these were from titled aristocrats and another 31 from gentry landowners. The growing business and professional classes were represented with 19 subscriptions including those from Benjamin Adams, Clerk of the Peace and George Phillips, Inspector of Weights and Measures. There were nine other subscriptions including one from a member of the clergy.[28] By the end of 1946, 18 months into the Attlee government, Rutland had 22 branches, including two Young Conservative branches, out of the 43 in the Rutland and Stamford constituency. Individual membership is not known but the Caldecott branch won the Ruddle Efficiency Shield, having 81 members out of a parish electorate of 155.[29] It is possible to conclude from these figures that support of the national Conservative Party had a strong organisational base within Rutland at the time and influenced political opinion and culture within the county community.

The culture of power in Rutland: the traditional structure, the Quarter Sessions, the Shrievality and County Officials

It has been argued that English county authorities had 'complete and unshackled autonomy' in the two centuries preceding the Local Government Act of 1888.[30] What David Eastwood called "a republican participatory and communitarian" system of autonomous local government arose within the context of weakened central institutions during the eighteenth century. This was in effect a functional separation of powers but a separation that Parliament could quite easily rescind or redirect. Eastwood's "flexible and capacious system of local government" based upon a "voluntaristic culture of power in the localities" was driven by the local gentry and their allies in the County Quarter Sessions.[31]

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[28] *1906. Rutland Conservative Association. List of Subscriptions.*

[29] *Rutland and Stamford Conservative Association Yearbook 1947* (Stamford, 1947).

[30] Webb, *Parish and County*, p.555.

[31] D. Eastwood, *Government and Community in the English Provinces 1700 – 1870* (London, 1997).

Magisterial self-government of the counties became established with an active core of members of the Commission being at the nexus of the institutional structure of the county community and also setting its policy agenda.[32] An onerous position on the county magistracy also carried with it considerable prestige and recognition of being part of the established order of the county community.[33] However, at times the bench still struggled to retain a quorum.[34] The magistracy in Rutland helped maintain social order by fostering such initiatives as the Rutland Society of Industry. Whilst ever vigilant on behalf of the ratepayer interest, in 1808-11, it did find £9,352 for a new County Gaol, a project which fostered civic prestige.[35] This ambivalent attitude towards expenditure: reluctant to spend money on routine matters but less reticent on a prestige project such as the County Gaol, which along with Oakham Castle was the county made manifest, found echoes in the attitudinal dissonance of the County Council 150 years later.

Although the property qualification for JP's was dropped in a Liberal reform of 1906, the Rutland magistracy, restricted to its legal function, continued to be dominated by the gentry landowners. In 1925 there were 30 JPs in Rutland, 24 of which were patrician landowners, including one woman, Miss Brocklebank. The six remaining members were W.L. Sargent, the retired headmaster of Oakham School; J.M. Northen, long-standing county councillor and farmer; The Rev. Hutchings; Doctor Dunn; John Healey, farmer, and A. Crook, Rutland's Labour JP.[36] By 1941 the County bench had been reduced to 21 members, 16 of which were patrician squirearchy.[37]

As in much of the United Kingdom, Rutland's High Sheriffs were appointed from the local gentry. However, within the twentieth century, Rutland showed an increased capacity to integrate more recent incomers into the established county community based not so much on landholding as social and economic influence within a county increasingly orientated towards the outside world. H.S. Gee, a Leicester footwear manufacturer who had purchased the

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[32] Eastwood, *Government,* p.99.

[33] ROLLR DE3214/12268/1 – 4, Noel family correspondence regarding the inclusion of C.J. Noel on the Commission of the Peace for Rutland.

[34] In 1735-6, two sessions of the Rutland Quarter Sessions were abandoned due to the lack of a quorum: Langford, *Public Life,* p.393.

[35] Rutland magistracy spent only £488, 4% of its total expenditure on the maintenance of bridges between 1821 – 1830. This was one of the lowest percentage expenditures in the country. C. Chalkin, *English Counties and Public Building* (Hambledon, 1998), pp.130,187.

[36] *Kelly's Directory of the Counties of Leicester and Rutland,* 1925 (London, 1925).

[37] *Kelly's Directory of the Counties of Leicester and Rutland,* 1941 (London, 1941).

Manor of Teigh, was appointed High Sheriff 1921; T. C. Molesworth, a successful Rutland businessman with agricultural and brewing interests, in 1922 and P. R. Royce, Oakham auctioneer and businessman, in 1923. These conservative gentlemen had already been absorbed into the evolving more open county society.[38] After 1888 the role of High Sheriff was largely honorific and, being an annual appointment, the incumbent had little time to make any dramatic impact on the culture of the county. Most of the administrative work was undertaken by the Under-Sheriff.

Rutland's paid officials were few in number. Until the creation of Rutland Education Authority, the county maintained two Coroners; a County Treasurer; a County Surveyor and an Inspector of Weights and Measures as the sole county officials, apart from that of its small police force. These positions allowed existing professional men a role in public service. Officeholders were already known within the community. When Oakham solicitor Benjamin Addington Adams retired as Rutland's Clerk of the Peace in 1932, he relinquished a position that had been held within his family for over 80 years.[39] He combined this office with that of the Clerk to the Lieutenancy, and both Clerk to the County Council and Joint Advisory Committee. He was succeeded by his successor in his solicitors business in Oakham, R.C. Dalton. When Dalton retired in 1951, he in turn was succeeded by Alan Bond, who had been Chief Constable to Rutland County Police before its amalgamation that year with the Leicestershire Constabulary.[40]

The succession of the office of Clerk of the Peace/County Council, the apex of Rutland's proto-civil service, illustrates succinctly how official business in the county was conducted. It was done familiarly and intimately among a small circle of individuals, who trusted one another and were on a wider scale known and trusted within Rutland. Nepotistic and oligarchic, it was nevertheless relatively uncontroversial, trusted and functioning within the remit, imposed by orders from Whitehall, and suggested by county authorities reluctant, philosophically and fiscally, to extend the role of public governance in Rutland.

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[38] It was not until 1998 that Rutland's first female High Sheriff was 'pricked'. There then followed seven in the succeeding 16 years.

[39] The position of an hereditary clerkship was not that unusual across the English counties, see: B. Keith-Lucas, *The Unreformed Local Government System* (London, 1980), p.61.

[40] E. Stephen, *Clerks of the Counties, 1360 – 1960* (Warwick, 1961), p. 150.

Rutland County Constabulary

Rutland's magistracy was slow to adopt the institution of a County Constabulary to replace High and Petty Constables acting under their jurisdiction. In June 1848 they introduced only one constable to assist in policing the county.[41] Even after the County and Borough Police Act of 1856, imposed a professional police force, there was a fundamental reluctance on behalf of the Rutland justices to increase the Constabulary in numbers and 'efficiency' to those perceived as the required levels by the Home Office.[42] In 1862 Rutland had a ratio of one constable to 2733 members of the county population.

> This Force, though small, has been increased on trial of efficiency and although the area and population are very large to one constable, I consider the Force to have worked well this year and as the County is entirely rural and without any populous towns, I feel it's my duty now to report it to be efficient.[43]

Although slowly, Rutland County Constabulary, evolved in numbers and efficiency over the following century until it became firmly established within the network of county authority. The magistracy supported successive Chief Constables, whose professional ethos, adherence to regulation and strict discipline ensured that Rutland's Constabulary upheld the law without taint of corruption.[44] Rutland police were appointed for their professional ability and experience. Of the 122 members of the Constabulary listed by Traylen in his incomplete list taken from official records, only 21 originated from Rutland and Stamford, with a further 20 within 15 miles of the county border.[45] Traylen's list indicates that a fair number of policemen served in the Rutland Constabulary both before and after serving in other police forces or having other careers. An analysis of the retirement lists in *Tally Ho* (the Journal of the Leicestershire and Rutland Constabulary) in the 1960s indicates that most recruits to the

[41] C. Stanley, 'A different badge', *Leicester Topic*, July 1974, p. 41. This was at the height of Chartist unrest nationally.

[42] TNA. HO 45/6437 (1857): Memorandum on Rutland''s compliance with the Act, by only appointing one constable who was also chief Constable. TNA. HO 45/7206, (1861): Certificates of efficiency refused to Rutland Police which, comprising one chief Constable and four constables, was considered too small. Rutland failed to qualify for a government grant to help establish its Constabulary unless it was deemed to be 'efficient'.

[43] Home Office Annual Inspection Report by Major General W. Cartwright, cited in C. Stanley, 'Tribute to the Rutland Constabulary, 1841 – 1951', *Tally Ho* (1968, Summer), p. 11.

[44] ROLLR DE742/1 'Orders and Instructions for the Government of the Rutland County Constabulary, approved by the justices in the Quarter Sessions on the ninth day of April 1863'. These detailed regulations give some indication, along with the disciplinary notices in the General Order Book (ROLLR DE628), how strictly Rutland police force was run, particularly during its first half-century. Rutland was not unique in having an excessively regulated Constabulary. P. Rawlings, *Policing: a Short History* (Cullompton, 2002), p. 180, draws attention to the turnover rate of nineteenth-century constables, generally connected to issues of discipline and conditions of work with the negative impact this had on constables' private lives.

[45] A.R.Traylen, *Services of Rutland* (Oakham, 1978) pp. 12–14.

Rutland Constabulary had previous careers. In 1938 alone the Rutland Constabulary recruited four members who had previously been members of the Coldstream Guards: Messrs. Blower, Bullman, Winn, and Wright, all of whom had no previous local connection. Police Constable William Macdonald, who was born on the Isle of Islay, served 15 years with the Rutland Constabulary after previously being a policeman in Inverness and on the Manchester Ship Canal. Despite this apparent alien intrusion into an inward looking rural county, it is possible to discern from Traylen's lists that a significant number of constables spent a considerable period of their working life, working within the Rutland community, sometimes marrying and establishing family connections.

Rutland Constabulary, together with the County Council, not least in its role in employing teachers, brought 'outsiders' to live within Rutland to pursue professional careers. The significance of this trend, which was by no means unique to Rutland, lies in the importance of these individuals, whether police constables, village school teachers or civil servants, as community leaders within the wider ever evolving county community. The active involvement in community affairs of these individuals seems quite often to have instilled an enhanced degree of affiliation to the community and county. Although they were not native to Rutland, extended periods of time both living and working within the county in an official capacity resulted in them becoming community champions and indeed champions of Rutland's struggle to maintain its independence.

Alan Bond was one of these county champions and his contribution to community life is significant enough to merit especial mention. Born in Doncaster, his previous career had included a period with Halifax Borough Police as well as a time both as an accountant and a schoolteacher in Yorkshire before becoming an inspector of the Grantham Borough Police. He taught himself law and passed his LLB in 1932. He was called to the bar at the Middle Temple in 1935. He was appointed the eighth Chief Constable of Rutland, from among 84 applicants, in 1940.

In line with the tradition of Rutland reducing bureaucracy to a minimum, Bond was also head of the county's Air Raid Precautions. With his legal training Bond himself undertook the role of Crown Prosecutor within Rutland. He received an OBE in 1948 for his police work, not least in the immediate post-war years as Commandant of the Police Training Centre at Ryton, a post he combined with continued duties in Rutland. After the amalgamation of the Rutland and Leicestershire Constabularies in 1951, he became Clerk of

Rutland County Council, a position he held for 23 years, Clerk of the Peace, and County Coroner.[46]

Bond was described as 'the finest type of public servant' and the breadth, calibre and quality of his public duties in Rutland did much to reinforce the county's case that it was a well-managed, efficient local authority.[47] Very conscious of Rutland's proud civic traditions, Bond, with cross-community support, found time to create a Police Band, to perform on civic and county occasions. The band had 26 players, comprising two regular officers and 24 'specials'. Its performances were of such quality that it merited an audition for the BBC in the immediate post-war years, gaining further positive publicity for the county in the national media.[48]

Bond's personal contribution to community cohesion should not be underestimated. With the intensity of the work undertaken by the police during the war years, not least in the recruitment and management of 400 special constables extending a police presence into the farthest regions of the county, Bond helped place the police at the heart of the renewed county community.

The placing of the police as intercessors between the legal and county establishment and the community at large worked both for and against community cohesion within the county. In the early years of the County Constabulary, with few constables at his disposal, the Chief Constable was hard pressed to maintain a positive if benign community police presence in the county at large. A substantial amount of Constabulary time was spent in the suppression of vagrancy, poaching, petty larceny and other 'social crime' directed against property. In this the nascent police force was seen to be the, albeit constitutional and legal, agent of the property-owning county establishment.[49] There was a significant caveat to this perception in that much crime in Rutland at the time was attributed to itinerant criminals, vagrants and 'outsiders' who were living within the county seeking casual work or by their reduced circumstances driven to criminality, notwithstanding any criminal mendacity on their part. An important part of police duties at the time involved the supervision of common

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[46] As Clerk he attended every meeting of the Rutland County Council only missing, due to illness, the last meeting of that council before its abolition, a week before he died.

[47] The comment was made by the Lord Lieutenant at his funeral. He was not unique in extending his public service beyond that of the police. When Frederick Golder retired as Chief Constable in 1937 he became an active member of both the Oakham Urban District and Rutland County Councils.

[48] C. Stanley 'Diversity of Achievement – an appreciation of Alan Bond, O.B.E., D.L., L.L.B.' ROLLR. M783.

[49] A generation earlier in 1843 offences against the Game Laws made up more than 2/5 of the male summary convictions. A situation not likely to endear the rural population to the County justice establishment. P. Horn, *The Rural World 1780-1850* (London, 1980), p.179.

lodging houses and the control of vagrancy. It is estimated that during 1860 no fewer than 20,132 vagrants were reported to have slept in lodging houses at Oakham and Uppingham alone.[50] This perceived criminal class was often viewed askance by the local community at large, who felt little confraternity with it and indeed at times felt threatened by it. The construction of railway lines through the county attracted hundreds of casual labourers to Rutland seeking work. For a short period in 1876 when the construction of the Glendon – Manton extension of the Midland Railway was in progress 90 'out of county' inmates boosted the local gaol population to 106 males and 12 females.[51] The police were also involved in the suppression of drunkenness and brawling as well as the enforcement of the law across a wide range of activities affecting the lives of everyday people.

It was change in rural society as well as in the scope and manner of policing that helped embed the police within the local community as a policy-neutral if not positive embodiment of the county establishment, which increasingly became seen as working for the common good, increasing cohesion of the county community. The Constabulary was recruited from what Steedman calls the 'unofficial community of the rural poor', to enforce the law particularly pertaining to property. It was the extension of property rights and marginal affluence to the rural poor during the latter half of the nineteenth century that enabled a rural constabulary such as that of Rutland to uphold the law, seen to benefit a wider community than the narrow property owning county community of previous generations.

> Generally speaking, the middle class was more favourable and sympathetic to the police than the working class, and generally they were treated more civilly. In class and productive relations the police were probably felt principally as a pressure by the nineteenth-century working class; but as citizens and possessors, which they were increasingly becoming, the working class gradually also perceived the police as protectors.[52]

Public order offences were still seen as controversial. One of the first moves that William Keep made as Chief Constable in 1871 was to cease the visible policing of parish feasts, overregulating the common enjoyments of the rural population. This did not however prevent him from appointing 70 special constables in and from Uppingham to police the time around 5 November 1873, when incendiarism amongst the town's youth was identified as an important law and order issue. The reputation of Uppingham's youth for rowdiness,

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[50] Stanley, 'Different Badge', p. 42. Itinerants figure largely in the surviving Assize rolls and Quarter Sessions records.

[51] Phillips,'The Annals of Rutland ', *The Rutland Magazine and County Historical Record* 4/7 (July 1910), p. 218.

[52] C. Emsley, *English Police. A Political and Social History* (London, 1996), p.160; Steedman, *Policing*, p. 60.

especially at this time of year, had been long established and indeed continued through to the twentieth century. Keep's intelligent use of special constables, appointed by compulsion, to police the town, resulted in the town effectively policing itself, containing any problems of disorder. [53] However, rural crime in Rutland was still minimal when measured officially. In 1864 Rutland County Constabulary consisted of eight men with an annual cost of £800. This small force found nine houses of 'bad character' and sought a solution to only 18 recorded crimes that year.[54] In many respects the role of the new Rutland Constabulary was preventative as much as detective in relation to perceived crime.

As the years passed and the responsibilities of the police grew, more police were recruited. At the height of its embodiment just before its amalgamation in 1951 the Rutland Constabulary comprised 30 individuals including one policewoman. This gave the force the manpower to establish a presence right across the county, maintaining village beat policemen embedded within their individual communities, providing a personal public service in the prevention of and detection of crime. The increase in manpower had helped change the role of the police to be protectors of the community living within it, whereas the previous generations of constables did not have the domiciliary advantage that their successors could benefit from in pursuit of their job. All Rutland policemen were of course uniformed constables proudly wearing the county badge of the horseshoe with 'Rutland Constabulary' super-inscribed above it; as such they were the most obvious and visible embodiment of county authority.

The raising and deployment of 400 special constables in both World Wars across Rutland only helped increase the attachment and involvement of the wider county community to its own County Constabulary. Regular and Special Constables became a familiar and reassuring presence combating the anticipated and perhaps inevitable increase in crime as well as protecting the local airfields. The increasing role played by the Constabulary in policing road traffic was seen as a public safety issue rather than policing against the local community. It helped that a large percentage of offenders, particularly on the Great North Road, were out of county individuals.

By local reckoning Rutland County Constabulary was seen to be efficient. Having a detective officer since the 1920s, the percentage of crime solution within Rutland was never less than 50 percent and in 1949, was as high as 57 percent. Some 857 crimes were recorded between

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[53] *Grantham Journal* 8 November 1873. For the reputation of Uppingham youth for tar barrelling, see E. Marlow, *Memoirs* (publication forthcoming).

[54] J. M. Wilson (comp.), *The Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales* (Edinburgh, c1872).

1940-44 ranging from one case of manslaughter to 155 cases of stealing bicycles.[55] The
police purchased and operated motor transport as a crucial part of their everyday equipment,
and in 1937 Rutland was one of the first county forces to have all its constables connected by
telephone.

With high success rates in crime detection and with a personal presence within villages across
the county, Rutland's County Constabulary had evolved into being an integral part of the
county community within the hundred years of its existence. David Eastwood had
commented that nationally the old system of High and parish constables had 'placed a
premium on familiarity with the village community and the pattern of local government'.[56]
After 100 years of existence the County Constabulary that replaced it in Rutland could be said
to have achieved the same.

The culture of power in Rutland: the representative power of the Lieutenancy

In a deferential community such as Rutland, as elsewhere, the Lord Lieutenant and *Custos
Rotulorum*, as representative of the sovereign, was at the head of the county. Until 1977 it
was a life appointment of great dignity given to an individual who had had previous military
service. He had considerable powers of patronage including appointing the Clerk to the
Peace, Deputy Lieutenants and he could nominate to the Commission of the Peace. The
appointee was a loyalist to the appointing government and traditionally a substantial
landowner with strong economic interests in the county.[57] Until the late nineteenth century the
Lieutenancy had been occupied by members of the Sherard, Cecil, Finch and Noel families.
In twentieth century Rutland, the Lieutenancy became even more closely associated with the
county identity being a focal point for the county community. This was largely achieved by
the character and leadership of two distinguished holders of the office.

In 1906 Sir John Brocklehurst was appointed to be Lord Lieutenant of Rutland by
Liberal Prime-Minister Campbell-Bannerman. His predecessor, the near blind Lord Dysart,
had played only a nominal role within Rutland. Dysart had little substantial connection with

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[55] Stanley, 'Tribute'p. 22.

[56] D. Eastwood , *Governing Rural England: Tradition and Transformation in Local Government 1780-1840*
(Oxford,1994*),* p. 228.

[57] M. Jebb, *Lord Lieutenants and their Deputies* (Chichester, 1997).

the county. In 1883 although he owned 27,190 acres only 22 of those were in Rutland.[58] He had been a political appointment by Gladstone, although he had abandoned Liberalism for the Unionist cause in 1895. [59]

Campbell-Bannerman wrote to the King's Private Secretary Francis Knollys, of Brocklehurst, 'He is I believe not a supporter of the government, but we all know him to be a broadminded man.' [60] Born into a family of wealthy Macclesfield silk traders, Brocklehurst had had a career of 25 years in the Royal Horse Guards at home and abroad, culminating in becoming a Royal Equerry and a Lord in Waiting in 1915. His association with Rutland was as a foxhunting *emigre*, having no connection with the county, apart from a small estate at Langham. He was raised to the peerage as Lord Ranksborough in 1914, allegedly the only peer to gain his title from a fox covert.[61] In that sense he was an individual removed from the traditional aristocracy but symbolic of Rutland's identity as a hunting shire.

Ranksborough as Lord-Lieutenant took an active part in county and country life. As a farmer himself, he was a keen supporter of the Rutland Agricultural Society as well as breeding shorthorn cattle and hunters and, in 1906, becoming MFH. of the Cottesmore Hunt. As President of the Rutland Territorial Association, he spearheaded Rutland's war effort during the First World War.

He financed and encouraged village rifle clubs and was instrumental in the building of miniature rifle ranges at Oakham and Uppingham. After war broke out in 1914 he travelled the county actively recruiting and led the county war effort. He organised the Rutland Volunteers and secured their funding. Aware, from his military experience, of the importance of welfare to military families on the home front, he chaired the Rutland Soldiers and Sailors Families Association and the county branch of the King George's Fund for Sailors as well as presiding over the Rutland County Committee for War Savings. He enthusiastically supported the activities of the Red Cross and V.A.D. hospitals in the county.[62]

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[58] G.E.Cockayne, *The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct or dormant* (London, 1959), p.562.

[59] *The Times* 22 June 1895; *The Times* 23 November 1935. Obituary.

[60] J. Bray, *The Mysterious Captain Brocklehurst. General Gordon's unknown aide. The Life of Major General John Fielden Brocklehurst, Lord Ranksborough 1852 – 1921* (Cheltenham, 2006) p.165, unattributed source, presumably in the Royal archive. He sat on the Liberal-Coalition Government benches when a member of the House of Lords.

[61] *The Times* 1 March 1921 Obituary.

[62] G. Phillips, *Rutland and the Great War* (Salford, 1920), p.1.

Ranksborough was a model Lord Lieutenant for Rutland. A popular figure at all levels of society, he was noted for his acts of public and private philanthropy across Rutland, and in particular in his home village of Langham when he died in 1921, he was widely mourned.[63] Whilst not an extensive landowner or aristocrat like his predecessors, with his equestrian and agricultural interests and his active involvement and patronage in wider aspects of the local community, he gave symbol to the reality of the county community by personifying it and furthermore representing the Crown in the community, acting as both figurehead and defender.

When Colonel Thomas Haywood, took over the county Lieutenancy, in 1963, Rutland's existence was not so much under threat from a foreign aggressor as from a domestic reorganisation of local government. He helped coordinate the campaign to resist the imposed changes in this area. Like Ranksborough, Haywood was a landowning farmer. His wife's family had been attracted to Rutland by the foxhunting, and he settled part of their estate.

Invalided out of the Army during the Second World War, Haywood's active involvement in community, voluntary organisations and charitable causes extended past the declining military role of the Lord Lieutenancy, out into the wider community. He was an active trustee helping re-found Oakham School and led the county resistance to what became Rutland Water. After that reservoir became inevitable, a considerable amount of his time was spent in participating in its 'management'. He was chairman of the Normanton Church Tower Trust and was a powerful voice in the Rutland branch of the CPRE and local Wildlife Trust. He also sat on ORDC. Mrs Haywood headed the Rutland Horticultural Society and between them they chaired or sat on the committees of many county organisations. These varied from the Friends of Rutland County Museum and the Rutland Historic Churches Preservation Trust to Rutland Agricultural Society; the NFU; Voluntary Action Rutland and the Rutland Musical Theatre. When he retired in 1984 he set up the Rutland Trust to further the activity of charitable causes within Rutland.

> Every Rutlander knew the Haywoods, who would always stop in the streets of Oakham and Uppingham to have a word with a farmer or shopkeeper, postmistress or traffic warden.[64]

'Rutland has taken plenty of knocks in the last 20 years', Haywood observed in his retirement speech, 'but its spirit remains unimpaired. I wonder where you can find an area where there is

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[63] Bray, *Brocklehurst*, pp.183-7; A. Shelton, *Another Look back at Langham* (Langham, 2000), p.12.

[64] *Daily Telegraph*, 8 April 2003. Obituary.

greater concern for the less fortunate than that demonstrated here by voluntary effort.'[65] He retained a role after 1974, by becoming, at the Queen's wish, a Deputy Lieutenant of Leicestershire 'with special responsibility for Rutland'.

Both Ranksborough and Haywood, adapted the role of Lord Lieutenant to suit the changing needs of the county whilst retaining its traditional elements. In both these individuals Rutland was fortunate enough to have two men prepared not only to be seen as the apex of the county community but to enhance and encourage the county's tradition of participation by familiarising themselves and taking an active part in various organisations and activities across the wider community outside and beyond that of the previous ruling elite.

Rutland after the Local Government Act 1888.

Enacted by the Salisbury administration, The Local Government Act of 1888 saw the creation of County Councils across England and Wales which supplanted many of the administrative functions of the Quarter Sessions. It has been debated as a conservative, measure of political reform.[66] Where its conservatism is most evident and undoubted is in the retention of the historic county units as the basis for a reformed structure of local government. Pragmatism was written into the reform process with the introduction of aldermen and joint advisory committees between the new County Councils and the old Quarter Sessions. The Act did not undertake a radical restructuring in the English counties incorporating the roles and functions of local school boards and the Poor Law guardians.

However conservative the Act was, there was general agreement from all sides of Parliament that the promotion of the democratic principle to local government was necessary. As H.W. Maitland suggested, local government had been 'sacrificed to a theory on the altar of the spirit of the age.'[67] Parliament was then dominated by members representing constituencies based on traditional counties. Furthermore, to a greater or lesser extent, greater in Rutland's case, these MPs and peers were scions of a local ruling class, whose basis of power was the county structure. No serious attempt at the wholescale abolition and denigration of a power structure represented by the county was suggested at the time.

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[65] Ibid.

[66] D. Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (Yale CT., 1990), p.157.

[67] Cannadine, *Decline*, p.158.

There was however the theoretical possibility that this may have been so. David Eastwood suggests that had the Poor Law Unions not been so unpopular they would have been the basis of a framework for a restructured local government.[68] The Poor Law Union districts, which in 1837 also became registration districts, were formulated on the basis of administrative convenience and to not fit within the idiosyncratic and irregular boundaries of historic counties.[69] Resistance from the historic county communities to the special legislation required to alter county boundaries was avoided by superimposing the Poor Law Union districts over the county structure and forming a separate level of administration. The county gentry still had some influence in the creation and maintenance of the Rutland Unions. Lord Kesteven commented to the Select Committee on Parish Union and County boundaries in 1873 that the Oakham and Uppingham Unions came too close to Stamford (which had its own Union incorporating the eastern part of Rutland), because the county gentry preferred Oakham and Uppingham to Stamford, although Stamford would have been closer to their estates and more convenient for the ordinary people. The implication here was that the gentry preferred to run their own affairs in Rutland, and assert the independence of their county community, rather than attend union business based on Stamford Borough.[70] The failure of the Poor Law Unions to attract popular support helped the Conservative administration propose a reform measure centred on the historic counties and not alienating the gentry class that managed them.

Estate and land sales in the first three decades of the twentieth century had weakened the social and political hold of the landowning gentry over Rutland. The most apparent of these was the sale of the Normanton estate in 1924. However, the Noel family had been retrenching their estate interest in Rutland since the 1880s due to financial pressures. These culminated in 1925/6, Exton Park was rented out and not reoccupied by the family until the 1950s.The Finch family sold most of their estates (1948) and struggled to maintain Burley on the Hill. It eventually passed by marriage into the Hanbury family before it was sold in 1990.

A coalition of landowners, squirearchy, freeholders and a few tenant farmers: the 'land interest' replaced the former dominance of the landed gentry. In 1921 there were 64 farmers, 33 gardeners, 12 shepherds and 195 agricultural labourers in Rutland.[71] Working in

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[68] D. Eastwood, *Governing Rural England,* p.264.

[69] V. Lipman*, Local Government Areas 1834 – 1945* (Oxford, 1949), p.53.

[70] Lord Kesteven, Select Committee on Parish Union and County Boundaries, (Parliamentary Papers, 1873 VIII) quoted by Lipman , p.53.

[71] *Census of England and Wales 1921: Counties of Lincoln and Rutland* (London, 1923) Table 17.

association with the rising commercial and business class in the county and united with them in struggling to repay mortgage payments, they had a personal as well as philosophical interest in reducing the burden of local rates.[72]

The rapid growth and transformation of Rutland's two grammar schools into public schools, particularly in Uppingham, and the settlement by outsiders attracted to Rutland by its equestrian reputation stimulated the development of a rising middle-class within the locality. Rutland was not alone in rural England in having a rateocracy urging restraint in local government expenditure.[73] In most cases the ongoing agricultural depression was a stimulating factor in this opposition to 'unnecessary' public expenditure, as much as a philosophical, libertarian standpoint on the role and functions of government. Economy was the byword in this controlling rateocracy. Until the 1920s efforts towards welfarism and community improvement were largely conducted on a parish level underneath the county construct.

The Local Government Act 1894, had introduced a subsidiary level of local government between the county and parish. Rural District Councils were set up in Oakham, Uppingham and Ketton, with the addition of an Urban District Council for Oakham in 1911. These replaced the unelected sanitary boards centred on the old poor law unions with elected councils to manage housing; water and sewerage; public health watercourses; street lighting and the numbering of houses. They had a delegated planning role. Parish Councils and Parish Meetings were also set up under this act, replacing the old parish vestries.

Compositionally at least change was slow to take any effect on Rutland's governance. Of the 21 councillors elected to Rutland's first County Council in 1889, five were existing JP's, 13 were unopposed, seven were landowning gentry, including two members of the aristocracy; 10 were farmers; two were schoolmasters and the local clergy and the Oakham business community were each represented by one member. Of the seven Aldermen three came from the landed families three were farmers and John Hawthorn was a stalwart of the Uppingham social and business community with close connection to Uppingham School.[74] Some 15 of those councillors were still in office 10 years later.[75]

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[72] TNA. IR58 Finance Act 1909-10 South Leics & Rutland Field books; ROLLR. DE2072 Duties on Land Values (Domesday) Books, created under Finance (1909-10) Act, 1910.

[73] For example: Bradbury, *Northamptonshire*, pp. 61-3; Mitchell, *Warwickshire*, p.142.

[74] Deacons, *Leicestershire, Rutland and Northamptonshire Court Guide and County Blue Guide* (Deacons, 1890) These figures, based on local knowledge, are different from those interpolated from the evidence by Dunbabin in

By 1925 the old landed families had retreated from the Council leaving 11 farmers; four councillors classed as being devoid of profession but in reality three of which were the successors to the local squires and one each classified as being a doctor, tailor, auctioneer, schoolmaster, wheelwright and agent.[76] These classifications, a weakness of relying upon directory descriptions, obscure more than they enlighten. The "tailor" and the "doctor" were leading citizens of Uppingham as was the "auctioneer" and "schoolmaster" in an equivalent place within the Oakham community. The "agent", Mr Bunbury, was chief agent on the Exton estate and represented a considerable interest on the council. The "wheelwright" was Mr Healey from Empingham.

John Healey is an interesting example of how a mere one word fails to represent the true reality behind a description. The son of the village butcher in Empingham on the Normanton Estate, he served an apprenticeship as a wheelwright and carpenter, eventually buying the business. He later became a tenant on one of the estate farms relinquishing the wheelwright business to his son James. He had both the confidence of the Earl of Ancaster as well as the local community. A noted Methodist, he became president of the Rutland Free Church Council was elected county councillor for the Empingham Ward and made a JP. When the Normanton Estate was sold in 1925 he lent money to help his fellow villagers to buy their own homes. His son, James, operated a village bus service and became a builder when the wheelwright business folded. He followed his father as county councillor and alderman. The Healey's are but one example in Rutland at the time of how individuals could bridge the gap between being representatives of the land interest whilst representing their own community.[77] Others would include the Northens of Thorpe by Water and the Wortleys of Ridlington. These leading citizens in their parishes extended their influence across the rural districts, and county by local government reform.

This broadening of the social basis of Rutland's governance may have reflected, after the franchise reforms of 1918 and 1928, the choice of the Rutland electorate, but did not reflect the true nature of the enfranchised and empowered county community within a modern democratic age. Political activity conducted in Rutland, as seen in the composition and deliberation of the County Council was still largely deferential towards the land interest and

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J. Dunbabin 'IV. Expectations of the New County Councils, and their Realisation', *The Historical Journal*, VIII, 3 (1965).

[75] Kelly's *Directory of Leicestershire and Rutland 1899* (London, 1899).

[76] Kelly's *Directory of Leicestershire and Rutland 1925* (London 1925).

[77] 'A well-respected family', (article) in *LRSM* 6 July 2001.

middle-class wealth. It was also largely consensual with little political division evidenced from Council minutes and press reporting.[78] James Healey sat on Rutland County Council in 1941 along with eight farmers, three businessman and eight councillors of private means. The gentry maintained their hold in Rutland's government by having three members of the seven aldermen and nine JP's on the bench of 21.[79]

Local farmer, land owner and wealthy heiress to a business fortune, Sylvia Brocklebank was Rutland's first elected female councillor in 1926.[80] But the role of women in Rutland's county community was never well represented in the council chamber. Their strength lay in the Rural Community Council and other voluntary organisations, where they held considerable influence and had a significant impact upon the local community.

Rutland County Council and community development before 1945

In 1906 Lord Lonsdale offered himself as a candidate at a by-election for an Oakham seat on the County Council stating

> I want it to be clearly understood that I offer myself as a candidate absolutely irrespective of political or religious views. My ambition will be to try to curtail expenditure is far as possible, and to do everything in my power to encourage economy where it is compatible with the interests of the Public.[81]

Rutland was certainly not unique in creating 'new county society created by the fusion of land and business interests' to which one might add the 'private' interest of the retired gentlefolk, living in townhouses and halls, all promoting the ratepayers interest in economy at any strategic opportunity.[82]

Fears of extravagance, inefficiency in local government with the consequent increase of the rate burden influenced Conservative opinion in Parliament in 1887 and across the

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[78] In 1889 Rutland was one of the 14 counties, where political parties were absent from electioneering. A tradition largely continued until the 1970s. Dunbabin, 'Expectations', pp. 355,361.

[79] Kelly's *Directory of Leicestershire and Rutland 1941* (London, 1941).

[80] By 1970 there had been five female members of Rutland County Council.

[81] RCC. By-election, 1906 Oakham, Deanshold Division, (Printed Lonsdale manifesto leaflet). He lost the election to local businessman John Royce.

[82] J. Lee, *Social Leaders and Public Persons, A Study of County Government in Cheshire since 1888*, (Oxford, 1963), p.5. Lee suggests that this fusion of interest, the first phase of the transformation of local political leadership, gives way to a second phase, when the new 'social leaders' surrender leadership to technocrats, professionals and 'public persons'. Unlike Cheshire, in Rutland, this largely did not take place because Rutland County Council failed to embrace the responsibilities, nor find the resources for increasing local government activity within the county.

Conservative spectrum in the following half-century.[83] The evidence we have from the records of Rutland County Council bear out the conclusion that during much of its existence, the Council was directly or indirectly influenced by a philosophy centred on a minimalist or reductionist model of the desirability of government intervention in the lives of everyday people particularly in matters which could be improved by voluntary and charitable works not pursued at the expense of the general ratepayer.

The minutes of Rutland County Council obscure an inner conflict within the Council between the minimalist rateocrats and those advocating a proactive outreach into the community fostering social, economic and in particular educational progress. Throughout much of its existence, Rutland County Council opposed or curtailed some of the initiatives of its own Education sub-committee. In 1889 the county rate was 2d in the £. Resistance to the government initiative of requiring county councils to introduce vocational training under the Technical Instruction Act of that year is reflected in the split in the Council vote, 13 for, nine against, for the introduction of cookery and butter making classes across the county.[84] When, due to the inflationary impact of the war, costs spiralled and the county rate passed the 1/- in the £ barrier in 1921–22, the Council implored its Education sub-committee to curtail its expenditure.[85] Although the County Rate had fallen in the intervening period, in 1925 the Council voted against the proposal of the same subcommittee to adopt the 1919 Public Libraries Act, by a vote of 11 to 8.[86]

The 1902 Education Act had required the County Council to appoint an official to manage the education business of the Council. There was considerable discussion on the main Council over his salary and expenses, it eventually being reduced to a salary of £200 with £30 expenses a year.[87] In 1910 the County Council only appointed a Medical Officer of Health on the basis that by employing their Schools Medical Officer to do the work, at a modest increase in remuneration, they were saving themselves a salary.[88]

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[83] J. Dunbabin, 'V. The Politics of the Establishment of County Councils', *The Historical Journal* 6 (June 1963), p.228.

[84] ROLLR DE1381/1 Rutland County Council Minute book, 23 March 1891.

[85] The Council 'instructs' its committee to 'consider the possibility for reducing the serious expenditure, without sacrificing its efficiency'. ROLLR. DE 1381/3 Rutland County Council Minute book, 26, January 1921.

[86] This would have involved paying £50 annually to Leicestershire County Council to enable them to extend their service to Rutland. ROLLR. DE 1381/3 Rutland County Council Minute book.

[87] ROLLR DE1381/2 Rutland County Council Minute book, 12 March 1903.

[88] ROLLR DE1381/2 Rutland County Council Minute book, 19 May 1910.

The Education Act of 1918 forced the council to consider secondary education for the whole of the county youth, not just those funded by the council to attend local grammar schools. Three Central Schools were built, but furnished with inadequate facilities and equipment until matters were slowly improved after pressure on the council in the interwar years.[89] In 1939 some councillors still fought against a school opening programme, due to the international situation, whilst at the same time arguing over necessity and salary of an ARP Officer.[90] Rutland County Council restricted its bureaucracy. In 1925 it employed seven local people in eight posts, the County Clerk doubling up as, clerk to the County Agricultural Committee.[91] In 1941 the number had only increased to 11 people in 12 posts.[92]

Change came slow to Rutland.[93] In 1936 the council voted, 18 – 6 on division, to vacate Oakham Castle, the centre of Rutland's governance since the Norman Conquest, and purchase Catmose House to establish a bureaucratic centre for the conduct of county business.[94] Catmose became the architectural embodiment of Rutland's self-identity, a former gentry home of a scion of the Noel family, converted into a base for a reinvigorated county community facing the modern age.

Rutland: welfare provision and county institutions

Voluntarism and charity was at the heart of social work and health service provision within the county before the advent of the National Health Service in 1949. Both statutory and charitable services were sometimes operated in conjunction with neighbouring authorities. After the 1845 Asylums Act forced the Quarter Sessions to make provision for its pauper lunatics, arrangements were made with the Leicestershire County Asylum.[95] The Stamford and Rutland Infirmary was founded in 1825, in Stamford and managed, in its early years at least, by a committee comprising of the Lord Lieutenant; High Sheriff and other leading

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[89] Rutland County Council, *Report of the Rutland Education Committee… 27 October 1921* (Oakham, 1921), p.11.

[90] ROLLR DE3349/2 Rutland County Council Minute book, 4 May 1939.

[91] *Kelly's, Directory of Leicestershire and Rutland 1925* (London, 1925). This excluded Barclays Bank acting as County Treasurer and a shared County Analyst based in London.

[92] *Kelly's, Directory of Leicestershire and Rutland 1941* (London, 1941).

[93] The purchase of a typewriter by the County Council in 1931, was according to Jack Simmons 'quite minor though telling in its own way.' J. Simmons, *Rutland County Council* (Oakham, 1973).

[94] ROLLR DE3349/2 Rutland County Council Minute book, 29 October 1936.

[95] ROLLR DE3533/13-14 Leicestershire and Rutland Lunatic Asylum annual reports, 1849 – 80.

officials of Rutland together with councillors from the Borough of Stamford.[96] Medical welfare was an essential part of poor law provision within the parishes and unions and charitable intervention within the parishes was part of everyday life into the Second World War. Friendly societies and sick and dividing clubs provided insurance and welfare, chiefly operating on a parochial level. [97]

However, some welfare provision had evolved to being administered on a county level from an early date. Rutland General Friendly Institution, founded in 1832, was promoted for its welfare benefits by benevolent gentry but organised as a self-help institution by farmers, freeholders and clergy. It is this parish establishment extending and operating in a county network that brings an additional facet to the county community.[98] Building upon early success, the society thrived, providing much-needed support in times of illness and a contribution to funeral expenses for the labouring poor in return for small weekly subscription. Although affected by the National Insurance Act of 1911 records indicate that the Society continued to exist in some form up until the beginning of the Second World War.[99]

The Rutland Insurance Committee was active in the county often going beyond organising welfare provision by promoting general good health.[100] Charitably, and on a semi-official basis, Rutland Public Medical Service offered medical assistance, to those not covered by the National Insurance Act. It was organised on a county basis with representatives in every village.[101] In addition to this the Rutland Benefit Nursing Association, founded in 1891 was a philanthropic effort on behalf of the local gentry and parochial leaders, working in conjunction with doctors within Rutland, to ensure basic nursing provision was available in villages across the county. In 1934, the association employed three nurses and used

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[96] A. Rogers and J. Quinlan, *A Short History of The Stamford and Rutland Hospital* (Stamford, 1975), p.8.

[97] For example, Morcott Friendly Society ROLLR DE1702/4-11.

[98] ROLLR DE3214/8818/1 Papers and Correspondence of Arthur Frisby (Clerk to the Rutland General Friendly Institution); V. Doe 'Richard Westbrook Baker (1797 – 1861), *RLHRS Newsletter* 1/11 (April 2011) pp.11-15.

[99] ROLLR DE3214 Exton (Noel) deposit: Rutland General Friendly Institution.

[100] *Grantham Journal*, 8 October 1932.

[101] Operating as a Rutland service in 1940, apparently its overall administration was later amalgamated with that of Leicestershire in the years immediately preceding 1948. See ROLLR DE7180/2/1-4. Leicestershire and Rutland Public Medical Service payment cards.

'borrowed nurses' to fill any perceived gap in provision and was run by a committee and network of village fundraisers, largely comprising gentlewomen with ecclesiastical support.[102]

It is perhaps significant that when a new hospital to replace the old privately funded Oakham cottage hospital was built and subscribed in 1924 it was known as 'Rutland Memorial Hospital'. This was not because of the increased geographical range in its catchment area but was perhaps more a reflection of the growing awareness of the county name as the appropriate label for community facilities. It may also be a reflection of the growth of motor transport, ambulance or otherwise, in the years after 1919 which decreased distances across the hinterlands of Oakham and Uppingham, making the county a more accessible and meaningful construct.[103] When a new Leicestershire and Rutland Ambulance Service was created under the new National Health Service in 1949, Rutland, taking pride in its own services, tried to retain its Red Cross managed ambulance service by merging emergency provision with the fire service. This suggestion, 70 years before its time, was firmly quashed by Whitehall [104]

Rutland Rural Community Council: the foundation

During the first 50 years of the governmental development of Rutland County Council, and its subsidiary district councils, there also emerged an institutionalisation of the existing culture of voluntarism, charity and self-help under the evolution of the Rutland Rural Community Council (RRCC). This Council grew out of the success of the Rutland Fine Art, Industrial and General Exhibition, a triennial event which had started in the first decade of the twentieth century.

By 1929 sufficient enthusiasm had been generated by the Fine Arts Committee's work with the county statutory and voluntary bodies for a public meeting to resolve to legitimise the formation of a Rutland Rural Community Council to follow the pattern of those which had been formed firstly in Oxfordshire and then in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Lindsay, and Leicestershire in the 1920s.[105]

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[102] *Rutland Benefit Nursing Association Annual Report 1934*.

[103] *Rutland Memorial Hospital* (Oakham, c1938, fundraising booklet) RCM.

[104] TNA, HO 187/1585 Merging of Fire and Ambulance Services: Counties: Leicestershire and Rutland: 1949.

[105] J. Burchardt, 'State and Society in the English Countryside: The Rural Community Movement 1918–39' *Rural History*, 23 (2012), pp.81-106.

The aims of the Rutland Rural Community Council were stated as being,

> to promote the general good of the rural community in the county of Rutland by assisting the work of statutory authorities and voluntary organisations engaged in advancing education, developing physical improvement, furthering health, improving the skill of country craftsmen, and other charitable objects.[106]

The important word here was 'assist'. In 'assisting' the statutory councils, the Rural Community Council would not be seen as a threat to the primacy of the former whilst at the same time it would be engaging in areas within Rutland in which the Rutland County Council had hitherto been reluctant to fully involve ratepayers in extensive administrative commitment. The role of the Rural Community Council as a bridge between the County Council and voluntary organisations working in the parishes and county at large was further emphasised by the inclusion of a clause authorising the Rural Community Council 'to promote and organise cooperation in the achievement of those purposes and to that end bring together in council representatives of the authorities and organisations engaged in the furtherance of such objects within the County of Rutland'.[107]

The inclusive nature of the Rutland Rural Community Council was reflected in the membership of the Council by representatives from across the county voluntary sector. These included representatives of the National Farmers Union; Rutland Archaeological and Natural History Society; the British Legion and representatives from the county organisations of the British Red Cross Society; Teachers' Association; Women's Institutes; and the Scouts and Guides, amongst others. Links with the statutory and more formal bodies within the County were maintained with the additional membership of the County Medical Officer of Health; the Secretaries of both the Rutland Finance and Rutland Education Committees; and representatives of the Rutland Deanery and the Free Church Council.[108] The Executive Committee of the Council consisted of a blend of gentry, trade and land: the new county establishment. It operated from premises on Oakham High Street.

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[106] ROLLR DE4569/3 Constitution RRCC.

[107] ROLLR DE4569/3 Constitution RRCC.

[108] ROLLR DE4569/3 Constitution RRCC.

Rutland Rural Community Council in the development of a county community

Rutland remains a culturally rich county, the foundations of which were laid by the RRCC in the 1930s. From its outset in 1930, the Council was active in obtaining grants and loans to assist in the building of village halls across Rutland and went on to develop a Village Hall Advisory Service, giving advice throughout the county.[109] Together with the Rutland Music Festival Committee the council promoted the cause of music within the parishes, organising bursaries, workshops and their funding. From 1932, with the help of the RRCC, the Rutland Festival of Dancing became a profitable annual summer event. The RRCC was instrumental in helping record plough plays and folklore traditions within the county for the English Folk Dance Society. It went on to promote drama with an annual Rutland County Drama Festival.[110]

Unlike neighbouring authorities the provision of a County library service was one of the non-statutory options that the Rutland County Council chose not to adopt.[111] RRCC therefore started the 'Rutland Village Library' with a small number of books serving six villages.[112] Mr Stanley Johnson, Rutland's Education Officer, engaged the school network to assist in the expansion of this library provision. Thirteen village school teachers coordinated the service. The County Council gave a small subsidy to the service, which was largely funded from the parishes and by charitable donations.[113] The increased demand during the war years influenced the County Council's decision to finance a joint County Library Service in conjunction with that of Leicestershire from 1946.[114]

RRCC's Local History and Preservation of the Countryside subcommittee was active in the interwar years, organising surveys of buildings and environmental features and lobbying for their protection.[115] Ultimately, it was instrumental in promoting the proposed

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[109] Exton Village Hall being the first to be helped. ROLLR DE4569/21 RRCC.Minute Book 15 April 1930.

[110] Details of all these activities are outlined in RRCC Annual Reports. ROLLR DE4569/5 – 20 (1931 – 1959).

[111] It did not adopt the Library Act. 1919. The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust would have helped finance the service had it done so. E. J. Carnell, *County Libraries: retrospective and forecast* (London, 1938), pp. 53–4.

[112] ROLLR DE4569/21 RRCC Minute Book 17 June 1937.

[113] ROLLR DE4569/27 RRCC Library Committee Minutes 1938.

[114] ROLLR DE1381 RCC.Minute Book 3 May 1945.

[115] An intervention to save Barrow Cross being the first of many. ROLLR. DE4569 RRCC.Minute Book, 20 May 1931.

creation of a Rutland branch of the Council for the Protection of Rural England in 1939.[116] RRCC also played an active role throughout its existence in the promotion of the awareness and study of local history and rural heritage across Rutland.

The Rural Community Council in Rutland was one of the leading Rural Community Councils in the country promoting apprenticeship in the field of rural crafts. In 1931 it founded a Rutland Guild of Craftsmen with 32 members, and organised the sale of their products as well as apprenticeships in traditional rural trades.[117] In 1932 RRCC formed an Employment Committee to alleviate unemployment, particularly among agricultural workers who were not entitled to insurance benefits.[118] A Rutland scheme was formulated with a central fund and organiser/fundraisers in each village approaching the employed to ask for charitable assistance for their less fortunate neighbours, as well as maintaining lists of the village unemployed.[119] The funds helped employ men in public works or private contracts that did not take over the work of employed men. In 1933–4, 85 men were given work for a total of 439 weeks and £863 was received in subscriptions with £695 of that distributed across the county.[120] There was a good cooperation with the statutory authorities, in particular the County Roads and Bridges Committee. Thus the Rural Community Council played an integral role in helping alleviate the local unemployment situation and restoring community cohesion.

Rutland Rural Community Council led in bringing together statutory and voluntary bodies in the field of social services. It was instrumental in establishing a nursing service in the north of the county which later grew into a Rutland Nursing Association and agreed to part fund and manage, with the Rutland British Red Cross Society and local Women's Institutes, some infant welfare clinics across Rutland.[121] RRCC led in the setting up of a Citizens' Advice Bureau in Oakham in 1939 which remains an integral part of the framework

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[116] ROLLR DE4569/23 RRCC AGM Minute Book 11 May 1939. RCC left RRCC to organise it, but the decision was deferred due to lack of funds and the international situation. A branch was finally formed in 1966.

[117] ROLLR DE4569/21 Minute book 17 July 1931. DE4569/40-51 RRCC Craftsmen Schemes Lists and Ledgers 1932-41.

[118] ROLLR DE4569/52 RRRC Employment Scheme

[119] In the correspondence these were known as 'village fathers', giving a nominal recognition of RRCC's philosophical concept of communities being families, related by kinship.

[120] ROLLR DE4569/52 RRRC Employment Scheme.

[121] ROLLR DE4569/21 RRCC Minute Book, 28, November 1932, 9 January 1933.

of social support across the county today. [122] Whether it was the Rural Community Council organising a list of all the charities and charitable benefits in Rutland to help facilitate public access to scarce resources, a move which predated the requirements of the Charity Act of 1960 by over 25 years, or the support of the Council gave to the Rutland branch of the British Red Cross in contacting Rutlanders who were prisoners of war during the Second World War, Rutland Rural Community Council played a crucial role in community cohesion and bringing together local services under a county framework reinforcing the county identity.[123]

The work of the RRCC was wide-ranging, during the Second World War it organised a Rutland County Garden Produce Committee and organised the collection of medicinal herbs.[124] It provided an educational service for forces stationed in Rutland and surveyed the need for youth clubs within the county.[125] In 1950 it helped form a Rutland County Association of Parish Councils.[126] After a slow start, by 1974 every parish council in Rutland was represented on the Association. On the one hand it helped coordinate voluntary work and welfare provision of the elderly, while being also in the forefront of the county opposition to both the Beeching plan for the local branch railways and the closure of local hospitals. It submitted written evidence and gave the campaign for Rutland's independence considerable aid and publicity.[127] However in 1974 at the time of the amalgamation of Rutland and Leicestershire it was decided to merge the respective Rural Community Councils of the two counties.

Rutland Rural Community Council: its significance and achievement

The history of the Rutland Rural Community Council runs parallel to the development of the modern county community. From origins strongly resonant with the tradition and acceptance of charitable voluntarism of the 'great and the good' it extended to more socially inclusive groups of individuals active in voluntary and community service throughout both the geographic and social community of Rutland. The strong sense and tradition of voluntarism

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[122] ROLLR DE4569/13 RRCC Annual Report 1939 – 1940 *et seq.*

[123] ROLLR DE4569/21 RRCC Minute Book, 15 March 1933, DE 4569/64 Prisoners of War lists.

[124] ROLLR DE4569/28 RRCC Herb Collection Committee, DE4569/79 Letter outlining work undertaken in wartime.

[125] Work it had started in the 1930s. ROLLR DE4569/89 Scrapbook of newspaper cuttings 1931 – 1948.

[126] ROLLR DE4569/22 Minute Book 10 May 1950.

[127] ROLLR DE4569/79 Correspondence, RCC. July 1947.

and community service exemplified by the Rutland Rural Community Council is a notable part of the civic tradition which formed an integral part of the county community during the twentieth century.

Rutland Rural Community Council was innovative and progressive, straining the leash of officialdom, pulling it towards increased service provision. It had the ability to bring the county together and to direct as well as reflect county opinion. A point worth emphasising is that a substantial part of the work of the Rural Community Council was undertaken by women both within the county committee structure and within the parishes themselves. This is at variance with the numbers of women who sat on Rutland County Council, but does indicate a broadening of the county community to be inclusive of both sexes.

An example of the ethos of voluntarism, participation and 'involvement' to be found in Rutland in the post-war era can be seen in the service of Miss Gladys Meade. She was honorary secretary of the Rutland Rural Community Council for 17 years as well as part-time secretary of the Rutland branch of the British Red Cross Society, voluntary district organiser of the Blood Transfusion Service and founder of the League of Friends of Catmose Vale Hospital. She was awarded the MBE in 1957 and died in her various offices in 1972.

What David Eastwood, referring to an earlier era, called 'the shibboleths of liberty and economy' pervaded the thinking of Rutland County Council.[128] 'Liberty' in the sense that the elected councillors and political ethos of the County Council were largely driven by and directed towards non-intervention in the community unless in response to a proven need or instruction from central government and 'economy' in the sense of reducing the county rate as far as possible. Rutland County Council was content to allow Rutland Rural Community Council to establish networks of service, however rudimentary, within the county community which it was hitherto unwilling to provide itself. In this sense the Rural Community Council acted as part of a responsive semiformal governmental structure as well as a community driven, voluntary if not charitable initiative. With the increasing expectations of direct service provision from local government structures both nationally and locally this situation was no longer sustainable within the post-war era.

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[128] Eastwood, *Governing Rural England,* p. 228.

Rutland County Council: conclusion, a county community reimagined but flawed

Rutland County Council was constrained by its size, resources, its perception of social need and ratepayer reluctance to take the initiative, or to respond to government initiatives in forwarding community development in the years before the Second World War. Essentially it was reactive rather than proactive in community development.

Collectively Rutland County Council had a different concept of the needs of their 'imagined community' than that of the Rutland Rural Community Council. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the County Council had a more limited conception of its role within the wider community than that of many other authorities in England. However in some respects Rutland had been ahead of its time. It had always been proactive in matters of transport passing a resolution in favour of vehicle registration and driving licences in October 1901, and taking an active interest in the proposals for a Stamford bypass in January 1938.[129] Rutland County Council's involvement in its rural community would always have been substantially less than those of other well populated more metropolitan orientated councils. Direct comparisons with larger councils, with greater resources are sometimes unfair. [130]

The consensual politics of Rutland's governance was an inheritance from a previous age. The conservatism of this small rural English community proved to be relatively unchallenged by the electoral process and to some extent was endorsed by it. Rutland County Council was at the apex of the county community. It was a county community not revolutionised by political change, transforming a gentry community of the old order into a plebeian democracy, but one that had evolved through democratic institutions to be more inclusive. It upheld the interests of land and agriculture and protected its ratepayers whilst advancing, under government direction, albeit sometimes reluctantly, direct service provision and governmental outreach into its rural parishes, but only when so directed.

Rutland's governance was more representative and provided a voice for the county identity, firmly founded in agricultural, rural consciousness which incorporated ideas of a minimal state and welfare provision through community benevolence and charitable

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[129] Vehicle licensing came about by legislation in 1903. Driving tests were not enforced until 1934. Rutland's proposal was ahead of its time. Stamford bypass did not materialise until 1961 and adopted the form proposed by Rutland County Council of avoiding roundabouts and incorporating bridges into the plan. Rutland's interest was in protecting agricultural land.

[130] Rutland's position was not dissimilar to other English rural counties such as Suffolk. G.E. Evans, *The Strength of the Hills an Autobiography* (London, 1983), pp.159-60.

voluntarism. This attitude was beginning to be increasingly challenged from within by new bodies such as the Rutland Rural Community Council, and also without, by the metropolitan authority, seeking to further the interests of moving towards equalising the provision of 'benefit' from governance and equality of opportunity across the nation. Social change brought about by the effects of the Second World War on the home front and, the *mentalitie*, the expectation of the population, at large from institutions of government would threaten the continued existence of Rutland County Council in the post-war years.

The inner contradiction inherent in the identity of English local government, that of the representation of the wishes of the local community as represented by its council and the legal position of that council as an agency of an all-powerful central government with its directives would come into direct conflict during the post-war period. The metropolitan bureaucracy was ever increasing its demands, determined to extend the reach of service provision and government control across the provinces and in doing so ensuring administrative efficiency and structural uniformity to achieve its goals. In order to effect this, the self-imagined political and financial independence of local authorities was being eroded.

CHAPTER 9

SOCIAL CHANGE IN RUTLAND AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM, 1945-1997

Rutland in 1945: A RAF County

The community war effort involved in the Second World War was able to draw upon the collective memory and experiences of the previous war generation. There were, however, some significant differences in the renewal of county defence efforts. National conscription directed recruitment across the breadth of the armed services, and not principally towards local regiments. Civil defence was more extensively organised. In a portent of centralising control, and agriculture was shaken down and regulated from Whitehall, albeit under the local direction of a County War Agricultural Committee to ensure increased production. Rutland was less insular and self-contained. The war saw the creation of two new RAF stations, part of a network of local airfields. This had a profound effect on the county culture and the development of the county community.

Work on RAF Cottesmore commenced in 1935. A bomber base during the war, it also hosted the US 9th Troop Carrier Group during the D Day and Market Garden operations. During the Cold War the base held both Canberra bomber squadrons and those of the British airborne nuclear defence. Between 1980 and 1999 it became the Tri-national Tornado Training Establishment for the British, German and Italian air forces. This brought an additional influx of airmen and their families to the area and gave great prestige to the base, which was reflected in the county with regular parades and civic ceremonies. RAF Cottesmore was chosen to host the Royal International Air Show in both 2000 and 2001. After becoming a joint services Harrier base, RAF Cottesmore closed and in 2012, was renamed Kendrew Barracks, acting as a home base for the Royal Anglian Regiment.

RAF North Luffenham was constructed during the Second World War as a bomber base. During the early 1950s it housed the Royal Canadian Air Force, before returning to British control and housing a number of squadrons and ground based detachments over the years. Between 1958 and 1964 RAF North Luffenham became a Thor strategic missile base, protected by two bloodhound squadrons, some of which were based at RAF Woolfox, a satellite airfield to North Luffenham constructed during the war by the side of the Great North Road. RAF North Luffenham officially closed in October 1997 and the base was transferred to the Army, being renamed St George's Barracks and retaining a military connection to the area. RAF Wittering, established in 1918 and just outside the county, remains an airbase.

Rutland's link with the RAF is maintained by the 2248 (Rutland) Squadron of the Air Training Corps was formed in 1961 which incorporates a horseshoe as whose newsletter part of its badge.

The significance of the RAF to Rutland's political culture should not be underestimated. In addition to the economic impact on local businesses and the local economy the plantation and regular transference both in and out of service personnel and their families (and distinguished visitors), helped 'place Rutland on the map'. More lastingly, and more significantly, a large number of former and retired RAF personnel chose to move to or remain in Rutland during and after their service careers. Ex-services Royal Air Force Association has Rutland branch newsletter is called *The Flying Horseshoe.* In a feature particularly noticeable within the last two decades of the century a number of former officers and NCOs became active in county life and local politics in their retirement. To give three notable examples: Air Chief Marshal Jock Kennedy was Lord-Lieutenant, 1997 – 2003; Wing Commander Rob Toy served on Rutland County Council 1995 – 2009. He also chaired Cottesmore Parish Council and was active in local charities; Hector Wolley served 29 years in the RAF as a radar technician before settling in Rutland and taking an active part in community life, serving three periods as Oakham's Mayor.

Rutland County Constabulary: the amalgamation

The amalgamation of Rutland's Constabulary was presaged by the loss of Rutland's Fire Service. This service born out of the amalgamation of the pre-war district council's fire services and the Auxiliary Fire Service had already been amalgamated with that of Leicestershire under the Fire Services Act of 1947. In many ways the pre-war fire service had been demonstrably inadequate.[1] Compared with Stamford the development of a firefighting service in Rutland was hampered by the lack of a sustained political interest in promoting adequate service provision in smaller authorities with less concentrated areas of affluent ratepayer concern than those found in a town bolstered by successful business interests.[2] The Home Office, supported by Parliament, was reluctant to sacrifice any efficiencies and professionalism made in the war years in the cause of localism. Charles Matkin, leading rateocrat on RCC was still the voluntary fire chief and the Home Office would not accept voluntary fire chiefs under the new county-based fire brigade structure. RCC was faced with

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[1] A. Traylen, *The Services of Rutland* (Oakham, 1978), p. 65.

[2] D. Glossop, *Stamford Firefighters 1888 – 1988. A Centenary History* (Stamford, 1988).

a cost of £3000 p.a. for a fire chief. LCC had offered Rutland the chance of sharing a fire chief at the cost to Rutland of £700 p.a. It was Matkin himself who proposed that Leicestershire's offer should be accepted to help reduce the local rate burden.[3]

It was Lord Palmerston who, in 1854, first proposed that Rutland be amalgamated for police purposes with that of Leicestershire because of the paucity of its population.[4] Parliamentary opposition to aspects of his Police Bill resulted in its only passing Parliament in its third incarnation with the amalgamation clauses being omitted.[5] During the early twentieth century the combining of police forces in the interests of economy was abandoned after opposition from Local Government authorities. However, wartime expediency, which caused the amalgamation of some police forces, kept the issue on the political agenda for further consideration after the war. The Police Act 1946 was constructed around the intention of compulsory amalgamations of smaller Constabularies. Despite opposition to the fears of a nationalised police coming about through regionalisation by a socialist government, 45 non-County Borough constabularies were abolished on 1 April 1947. In addition to this there were initially three voluntary schemes of amalgamation, a figure which later rose to seven, and four compulsory schemes: Chester with Cheshire (1949), Radnor, Brecon and Montgomery (1948); Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire (1958) and Leicestershire and Rutland (1951).[6]

In many respects the Inquiry into the proposed compulsory amalgamation of the county police forces of Leicestershire and Rutland held at Oakham Castle on 13/14 April 1950 before His Honour Judge Tudor Rees was a precursor of the Inquiry held in the same place a decade later into Rutland's independence. It would also not be cynical to suggest that both enquiries were foregone conclusions in that the remit of the presiding officer was constrained by Whitehall to such an extent that the bias towards the Home Office's definition of 'efficiency' and the favoured route plan towards amalgamation were already clearly set out. The Inquiry came about because Rutland's Joint Standing Committee declined to voluntarily amalgamate its County Constabulary with that of Leicestershire or assent to

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[3] '*Grantham Journal* September 1947'. Quoted *in extenso* by Traylen, *Services,* p.53, but untraced.

[4] S. Palmer, *Police and Protest in England and Ireland 1780 – 1850* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 505.

[5] Phillips and Storch state that Palmerston's 1854 bill was 'poorly conceived, badly handled and failed to get through': D. Phillips & R Storch, *Policing Provincial England, 1829 – 1856: The Politics of Reform* (London,1999), p. 228. They provide additional commentary on the eventual formulation of the successful Parliamentary Bill; D. Wall, *The Chief Constables of England and Wales: The Sociological History of a Criminal Justice Elite* (Aldershot, 1998).

[6] T. Critchley, *A History of Police in England and Wales* (London 1978), pp. 240–5; Rawlings, *Policing*, pp. 185–7.

compulsory amalgamation. At the Inquiry the Home Office had the crucial support of HM Inspectors of Constabulary. Leicestershire saw no benefit to them in amalgamating the constabularies and thought that the matter should be postponed pending the proposed reforms in local government. However it was ultimately 'prepared to play its part' in any future amalgamation.[7]

Mr R. Elwes and Mr J. Hobson, on behalf of the Rutland Standing Joint Committee, put up a robust defence of Rutland County Constabulary at the Inquiry. Tudor Rees also allowed the Inquiry to be interrupted by the presentation of a petition from citizens of Oakham and also representation from the Rutland branch of the National Farmers Union, both of the interventions firmly in favour of the status quo. Despite all the foregoing and the considerable body of opinion in favour of the continuance of the County Constabulary, which was deemed to be efficient locally, Tudor Rees unsurprisingly decided on a narrow definition of efficiency as defined by Sir Frank Brook, senior H.M. Inspector of Constabulary, at a question and answer session during the Inquiry.

> Q "The principal factor which weighs with you is that the small force cannot be efficient in the sense in which you understand efficiency?"
>
> A "I think that it can be efficient within the limits of its personnel and the extent of its jurisdiction, but I think that the limitation brings it – I will not say inefficiency, but a lesser standard of efficiency than would otherwise be the case."
>
> Q" So that, according to your definition of efficiency… a force that is below a certain strength cannot be efficient?"
>
> A "I think that it can be efficient, but I think that it can be more efficient if it had the facilities that are available when it is part of a bigger unit."
>
> Q "A force must be amalgamated because it is too small to be efficient, and that is why you want to amalgamate Rutland with Leicestershire?"
>
> A "I accept that." [8]

In his report to the Home Office, later published, Tudor Rees states:

> In my judgement, a small unit of public service, based upon and inspired and invigorated by a long and honourable tradition, should not, if efficient, be forcefully divested of its separate identity unless it be plainly shown that such a course is eminently desirable in the public interest. In that category stands the Rutland police force. For a full century it has existed as an individual entity. It is efficient; its officers are contented, are now suitably housed, and held in very

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[7] Letter from J. A. Chatterton, Clerk to the Leicestershire Standing Joint Committee, to the Under Secretary of State at the Home Office 26 November 1949. T. Rees, *Home Office Inquiry into the Proposed Compulsory Amalgamation of the County Police Forces of Leicestershire and Rutland: held at the Castle, Oakham, on the 13th and 14th April, 1950. Report of His Honour Judge Tudor Rees* (London, 1950), pp. 8-9.

[8] Tudor Rees, *Home Office Enquiry,* p.14.

high esteem by the people of the area which they serve. It is controlled by a Chief Constable of outstanding ability. To his professional qualities is added a warm yet forceful personality. No complaint has been made – nor is there any now – about its sense of duty, its discipline, its competence. But it is small – very small – and by reason of its size it has not readily available those scientific and other resources, equipment and facilities necessary for the discharge of its main function – the prevention and detection of crime – which modern conditions have made essential. In addition opportunities for advancement and promotion which are absent in a very small force but which are present in a much larger force (such as that now under consideration) would, in my opinion, make the service considerably more attractive to the alert, ambitious young man whom the forces of the country generally are eager to recruit. Upon a careful consideration of the evidence and all other relevant matters, I have come to the conclusion that, lamentable as the necessity may be from the standpoint of sentiment, County dignity and civic pride, in the changed and ever-changing conditions of today, with the adoption and practice of different methods by the modern criminal, the advancement of science in the role of crime detection, the mobility of offenders, and for other reasons, the existence of such a small force as that of Rutland County – a subdivision or, at most, a division in a system of "planned efficiency" – does not meet or conform with the requirements of the present time, and much less, so far as they can be foreseen, the developments of the future.[9]

Rutland County Constabulary was amalgamated with that of Leicestershire on 1 April 1951. Despite the merits of Rutland's case as an individual community outlined at the inquiry, Rutland was caught up in a national trend towards forging larger authorities with greater geographical remit and tighter control from the centre. The Inquiry demonstrated that Rutland was prepared, able and willing to defend its county institutions and organisations. This struggle strengthened the county community within Rutland, enhanced its identity and brought it together, as the struggle to retain the local institutions of county government in an era of modernisation, reform and a re-forging of nationhood proved. However, the post-war zeitgeist appeared to be undermining Rutland's identity as an administrative area.

Rutland and Local Government Reform

From the end of the Second World War the identity of Rutland and its county community became inextricably linked with the reform of local government. Rutland as an administrative county had survived because the Local Government Act of 1889 made 'no attempt to

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[9] Tudor Rees, *Home Office Enquiry,* p. 18. He goes on to recommend that Rutland should have an increased representation ,than that proposed originally, on the future combined police authority and to suggest that members of the Rutland County Constabulary not be forced to move elsewhere in Leicestershire. He noted that there had been only six requests from Rutland constables for a transfer to a different Constabulary since 1934. He concurred with a witness in that the Rutland Constabulary appeared to be 'a happy lot': Tudor Rees, *Home Office Enquiry,* p. 19.

rationalise boundaries or eliminate weak authorities".[10] The Onslow Commission created after the 1929 Act, excused Rutland reviewing its district council boundaries.[11] The County Council's Association recommended the abolition of seven of its members including Rutland in response to the Jowitt review of local government in 1943. The response from Rutland County Council was indignant, 'efficiency should be the criterion in any alteration of local government and county councils, and as we are fighting a war to protect the rights of small countries, small County Councils should equally have their rights respected.'[12] Rutland knew that county independence was under threat from the certainty of local government reform after the end of the war.

Rutland County Council made some attempts to move with the times. It formed a joint library service and also shared a children's officer and responsibilities for the creation of an agricultural college with Leicestershire. However collaboration was a double-edged sword: increasing the services available to the Rutland community whilst at the same time opening it up to the accusation of service reliance upon its larger neighbour. Some of the younger members of the Council were impatient with the reluctance of the old rateocrats to increase service provision, and there appears to have been some underlying tension in some of the Council work.[13]

New faces appeared on the Council including A.E. Naylor, address: 'the Council Houses, Ryhall', as RCC became more representative of the whole community. The Conservative Party selected working-class Jarrow Tory, Kenneth Lewis to be their candidate for Parliament in 1959. Tenacious and independently minded he championed Rutland's cause at Westminster. There were still too few female members and social welfare was still seen as 'women's work' and 'we don't want women on our committees.'[14] 'Home help' was delegated to the Women's Voluntary Service and when the school dentist asked for some sterilising equipment, he was told to 'get a bloody saucepan.'[15] It was well known that much of the

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[10] C. Pearce, *The Machinery of Change in Local Government 1888-1974* (London, 1980), p.19.

[11] Pearce, *Machinery,* p.55; V. Lipman, *Local Government Areas 1834-1945* (Oxford, 1949), p.200.

[12] J. Simmons, *Rutland County Council* (privately published essay, 1973).

[13] N. Duckers, *A Place in the Country* (London, 1990), p.65.

[14] Ibid. p.66.

[15] Ibid., p.69.

business of the Council was conducted at the bar of the Crown Hotel in Oakham, 'you could go to the right person if you are the right person yourself'.[16]

Rutland gave a combative response to the 1945 White Paper, 'Local Government in the Period of Reconstruction', and the consequent Trustram-Eve Commission, which recommended 200,000 as a minimum population for a county authority area.[17] Neighbouring local authorities had recommended their areas should be expanded to include Rutland, Rutland in turn recommended an expansion of the county to incorporate elements of Leicestershire, Kesteven and Northamptonshire. It also gave a robust defence of its low rates, and existing service provision, outlining its achievements and proposals and questioning the necessity for expansive provision in areas of marginal or unrelated interest to a small rural authority such as Rutland.[18] Rutland stressed the differences between itself and Leicestershire which would undermine any coerced joint service provision. Leicester was not a convenient centre of administration. Rutland was substantially different in culture from industrial western Leicestershire and did not want to be in a minority on a joint County Council. It also stressed the satisfaction of its population with service provision and the popular resistance to any enforced change of authority. These same arguments were used in 1958, 1970 and 1991.

However, the commission had overreached itself and aroused considerable opposition from local authorities across the country. The proposed change was too radical and the commission was dissolved.

> It must always be the hope of this house that whenever we tried to reform local government, we should try to carry local government opinion with this. After all we have to live with these people, who are an important part of our constitution and we must try to get the highest common measure of agreement[19]

The Hancock Commission set up by the Local Government Act 1958 recommended the division of Rutland between Kesteven and Leicestershire. This proposal aroused widespread opposition. After a Public Inquiry had sat at Oakham in July 1962, Sir Edward Ritson recommended that Rutland be incorporated complete as a district into Leicestershire.[20] Again

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[16] Scott Murray quoted in Duckers, p.74.

[17] Rutland's population in 1951 was 20,537. General Register Office, *Census 1951 England and Wales County Report Lincolnshire and Rutland* (London, 1955).

[18] RCC, *Local Government (Boundary Commission) Act 1945, Statement submitted by the Rutland County Council* (Oakham, 1946).

[19] Nye Bevan, Minister of Health and Local Government, debate on the Local Government Commission (Dissolution) Bill. House of Commons, Parliamentary Debates, 2 November 1949, col.515-6.

[20] Ministry of Housing and Local Government, *East Midlands General Review Area Report* (London, 1962).

it was external and national pressures which, against the odds, saved Rutland County Council. The proposals were opposed by Conservative party Chairman Ian McLeod. After a series of bad by-election results in the Midlands and unanimous opposition from party activists he was wary of any political backlash. Prime Minister Macmillan was also lobbied by personal friend and Lord Lieutenant of Rutland William Codrington. Macmillan raised the issue in Cabinet and the Rutland element of any East Midlands organisation was dropped.[21] According to the *Economist*, 'there was no outward logic to this decision which was commonly agreed to have been motivated by the need to pacify the local Tories.'[22] B. Dockerill, in a study of Nottingham and Derby also found that local government reform proposals would only be enacted where they did not conflict with party political interest. 'The local feelings aroused by boundary extension proposals demonstrate that local government is more than merely an agent of central government. It is a living organism: changes to it affect not only services, but also the identity of that place.'[23]

Rutland: the independence campaign, galvanising the community

In 1947 Rutland County Council organised a 'Hands Off Rutland!' campaign across Rutland to organise support for the retention of the county (Figure 9.1). Not that much organisation was required volunteers came in from every community to organise a petition which was signed by 11,000 people which RCC estimated as being over 73% of the population (Figure 9.2).[24] In the farthest flung village of Great Casterton, adjoining Stamford, only one person refused to sign the petition such was the strength of community feeling in Rutland at the time.[25] Schools, organisations and individuals took part in the campaign which culminated in the Oakham pageant. Loudspeaker vans toured the county and a local government subcommittee of RCC organised publicity locally and nationally including supplying material for the BBC. Boundary signs were erected on major routes in and out of the county to remind passing motorists of Rutland's identity and cause (Figure 9.3 & 9.4).

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[21] Rumours of behind-the-scenes lobbying were confirmed by Codrington's daughter, Mrs Micklethwait in 2016. J. Ramsden, *A History of the Conservative Party: The Winds of Change, Macmillan to Heath 1957 -75* (London, 1996) quoting National Union Papers NUA5/2/1; GP Committee Papers Central Office Chairman's Department file CC020/8/6; TNA, CAB 195/23/2 Burke Trend Cabinet notes.

[22] 'Not so local now', *The Economist,* 3 September 1966.

[23] B. Dockerill, 'Local Government Reform Urban Expansion and Identity: Nottingham and Derby, 1945-68' (unpub. PhD. thesis, University of Leicester, 2014).

[24] ROLLR DE1381/61 RCC Boundary Committee Minute Book 17 November 1947.

[25] Comment by MB, petition organiser (13 December 2004).

Figure 9.1: *'Hands of Rutland'*

Girl at Oakham pageant 1947.

Source: McKeown "Illustrated" 1947 – 456 – 53.

Figure 9.2: *Signing the Petition, Oakham, 1947*

Source: McKeown "Illustrated" 1947 – 456 – 25.

Figure 9.3: *Rutland boundary sign on border with Northamptonshire 1947*

*Source:* McKeown "Illustrated" 1947 – 456 – 11.

Figure 9.4: *Rutland boundary marker on Leicestershire border 1950*

Boundary stones replaced the temporary signs before Rutland was granted its coat of arms.

Source: author's collection.

Figure 9.5: *Cartoon from 'The Case for Rutland', 1962*
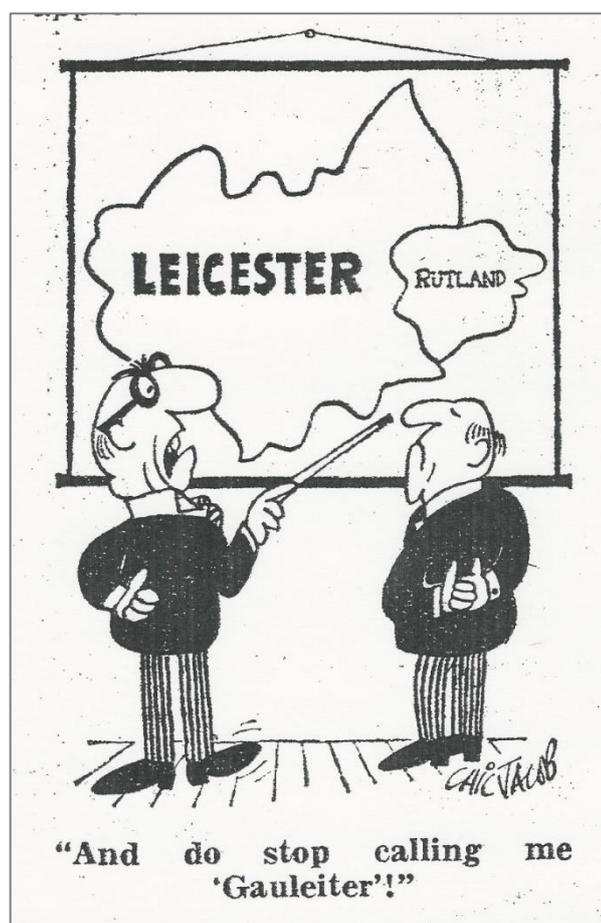
Source: The Case for Rutland (Stamford, 1962).

The public relations campaign against the Hancock Commission built upon the success of the 1947 campaign in galvanising the local community and in producing propaganda to influence public opinion outside of Rutland to aid, support and lobby for the county's cause. A special 'Case for Rutland' propaganda newspaper was issued with the *Stamford Mercury* in July 1962, in time for the Public Inquiry. It encouraged people to attend. It stressed the community of interest within Rutland, the convenience of local service provision, the fears of additional rate burdens and it explained how RCC governed by the democratic will. It also exhibited pride in the defence of its service provision highlighting local schools, highways, the school dentist, library services amongst others. Its cover carried a quotation from Aristotle stating 'There can only be true democracy in cities small enough of every citizen to hear the voice of the Herald' (Figure 9.5).[26]

Some 10,000 car stickers were produced carrying slogans 'Rutland fights for minority rights' and 'keep local government local'. As in 1947 the county boundary signs were used as

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[26] RCC, *The Case for Rutland* (Oakham, 1962).

billboards to promote Rutland's cause, the maximum publicity being received when one featured on the cover of Hoskins' *Shell Guide to Rutland.*[27] RCC Boundary Committee under Sir Kenneth Ruddle employed Sid Barton public relations consultancy to advise and organise its campaign only to dispense with their services and replace them with the Conservative Aims for Industry organisation, allegedly after finding out that Barton had provided services to the Nasser regime in Egypt. When the Hancock Commission refused a second meeting in Rutland, choosing to meet at the County Rooms in Leicester, Rutland organised a mass lobby the highlight of which was 'HMS Rutland' a 'battleship' constructed on the back of an articulated lorry which moved up the street to point two barrels at the County Room windows. It fired two very loud blank shots causing consternation inside and great publicity for Rutland's cause (Figure 9.6).

Figure 9.6: *HMS Rutland,County Rooms Leicester,the Local Government Commission public hearing into the proposed amalgamation of Rutland with Leicestershire, 1960*

The Rutland propaganda machine in full force. The placard bearers represented civic groups and societies from within Rutland.

Source: Rutland and Stamford Mercury, *The Case for Rutland* (Stamford, 1992).

Pressure was put on members of the Conservative government with intense lobbying behind the scenes. At the Conservative Party Conference in 1960 a majority of 2,000 supported Rutland's case. RCC facilitated national media coverage hosting and guiding journalists around Rutland. The success of the propaganda campaign can be gauged by the

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[27] See Figure 1.11.

correspondence scrapbook kept by Ruddle. It contains letters, telegrams articles from supporters all over the world.[28] Another petition yielded 27,621 signatures including 10,388 from Rutland's electoral roll of 13,000 (77.9 percent).[29] The county community of Rutland was behind the struggle of its council and it was fought as a community struggle for independence. Even the Parish Council of Ryhall on the borders of Stamford, gave it its full support.[30] When the abandonment of the proposals to abolish RCC were announced in Parliament Rutland County establishment and large numbers of the population met in Oakham and Uppingham to celebrate 'VR day'.[31] 'The smallest, most independent, and probably the most Conservative county in Britain… Whose victory was an outstanding lesson in public relations.'[32]

Anschluss, occupation and resistance 1974-97

Emboldened and reinvigorated, Rutland County Council continued to improve its service provision across the county throughout the 1960s. Old people's homes were created at Barleythorpe and Ketton and continuous improvements were made to the county highways. Rutland Education Committee under the progressive leadership of Education Officer J.P. Simmonds acted at arm's length from the main council investing resources in new primary schools, three village colleges and a Sixth Form College.[33] When Oakham School opted to cease to take direct grant pupils from Rutland and become independent, the decision was made for Rutland to adopt the comprehensive system, against the wishes of Ruddle and others on the main council.[34] In its last week of existence Rutland Education Committee managed to achieve the best pupil-teacher ratio in the country for secondary education.[35] Rutland took

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[28] RCM OAKRM:1980.6.2 scrapbook.

[29] *The Times,* 18 July 1962.

[30] Ryhall Parish Council Minutes, 5 October 1961.

[31] *Leicester Mercury,* 2 August 1963.

[32] *The Observer,* 4 August 1963.

[33] Commenting on the threat of local government reorganisation, Mr H. Cartwright, member of the Rutland Education Committee since 1928 commented, 'that made us look up and then things really began to make progress under Mr Simmonds'. *Melton and Rutland Journal,* 2 April 1974.

[34] *LRSM* 17 July 1970; *Melton and Rutland Journal*, 7 August 1970.

[35] *LRSM* 2 April 1974.

considerable pride in its educational provision securing ministerial approval during an official visit in 1973.[36]

The threat to Rutland of local government reform from the Redcliffe-Maud Commission (1964) continued through the 1960s culminated in the Heath administration's White Paper which became the Local Government Act 1972. 'This time there was no fight: Rutland was not now a test case, but one sector in a vast new reorganisation.'[37]

> On the whole, opinion in Rutland is that some reform is inevitable, and if there has to be a wind of change it could not have blown much more kindly for the County which had remained independent for centuries. "I have saved Rutland", claimed Mr Walker. "The last government's proposals would have cut Rutland in half. I have kept it in its entirety." It is however ironic that the latest proposal to link Rutland with its big neighbour Leicestershire is just what the people of the small County fought against successfully a few years ago.[38]

Worn down by decades of resistance to local government reform, and latterly the reservoir, for Rutlanders, 'somehow the emotion had gone out of the issue.'[39] There was however considerable passive resistance. A public opinion survey conducted by Leicester College of Education in Uppingham and six villages found 82% of those questioned in favour of retention of RCC.[40] The reform was iconoclastic and far from conservative. Resistance to it rumbled on for the next 25 years. The initial proposal of a combined Melton and Rutland district forced a local Inquiry. After lobbying by Rutland's MP Kenneth Lewis, Secretary of State Walker kept Rutland as a district with its own Rutland District Council (RDC).[41]

Indignation and resistance to the new regime, which left Rutland represented by only three councillors on Leicestershire County Council in distant Glenfield, was widespread in the local press and across Rutland. County symbols took on a renewed importance. Colonel Haywood although demoted from Lord-Lieutenant of Rutland was made 'Lieutenant of Leicestershire, with special responsibility for Rutland.' Rutland's cherished 'FP' county prefix on vehicle registration plates, a visible symbol of community identity, was taken away by the Vehicle Licensing Authority and, adding insult to injury, allocated to the city of Leicester. A

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[36] 'Rutland is proud of its Primary School Achievements', *The Journal*, 12 October 1973.

[37] B. Matthews, *Book of Rutland* (Buckingham, 1978), p.122.

[38] *Melton and Rutland Journal*, 19 February 1971.

[39] R. Waterhouse, 'Out for the County', *Guardian Extra*, 4 December 1973.

[40] *LRSM,* 9 June 1972. The approval rating ranging from 95% in Edith Weston to 80% in Uppingham.

[41] P. Walker, *Staying Power* (London, 1991), p.79.

dramatic increase in the local rates was blamed on Glenfield bureaucracy, and a Rutland Ratepayers Association was formed.[42]

The Post Office insisted that Rutland could no longer be part of a postal address. Protests and resentment of this bureaucratic attitude lingered for years, compounded by the fact that half of Rutland was in the PE9 Peterborough postal district. Braunston and Belton were legally successful in having 'in Rutland' added to their names to distinguish them from their namesakes in neighbouring counties.[43] Belton held a special renaming day with community celebrations on 27 March 1982. Many of the original county boundary signs were stolen in 1974, allegedly 'Glenfield' removed others and replaced them with 'Leicestershire' signs. These were in turn defaced or removed in the middle of the night! Lord Gainsborough set up a community fund, without ratepayer contribution, towards replacing many of the original Rutland signs (Figure 9.7). *The Rutland Times* helped organise this fund which in itself became a symbol of opposition to the perceived occupation by Glenfield. Former Chairman of LCC, Ernie White, writing in 2014 stated,

> With the benefit of hindsight the new 1973 County Council should have paid more attention and given more respect to "little" Rutland. Losing its County status was a blow to Rutland and a campaign to regain it started from day one. It tried to assimilate Rutland in with Leicestershire, which only caused more unhappiness in the old County and stiffen the resolve of campaigners to regain county status.[44]

When the Banham Commission on Local Government was formed in 1991 one of its guiding principles was that local authorities were to be 'enablers' of service provision, no longer necessarily having to provide that service themselves but obtaining it and managing it from outside bodies. County size was irrelevant in comparison with the ability to monitor local needs and concentrate on service specifics to give a better service. This gave Rutland District Council the opportunity to make a case for Rutland as a defined small community operating its own unitary enabling authority and bringing county government 'back home' to Rutland.

> Rutland, and what it has come to represent, is deeply ingrained in the English consciousness of a symbol of the independently minded rural community, steadfastly defending its unique way of life… Society's expectations of local

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[42] *LRSM* letters page, 4 November 1974.

[43] 197 out of 250 Belton residents signed the original petition for the name change. B. Waites, 'Whatever happened to the smallest County?', *This England*, Winter 1981, p.66.

[44] E. White, *The Leicestershire Story People, Power and Politics in an English County* (Leicester, 2014), p. 187.

government – and indeed local government itself – have changed immeasurably since 1974.[45]

Figure 9.7: *Rutland boundary signs 1977*

> # There'll always be a 'Rutland'
>
> NO, it's not the Boundary Commission gone mad; these two county signs have been left there for a reason.
> A new Leicestershire sign stands just 20 yards beyond the old Rutland sign on the Tinwell road leaving Stamford.
> But a Leicestershire County Council spokes- man said Rutland was now a district of Leicestershire and the old sign will stay where it is to signify entry into Rutland.
> "When money becomes available, we'll amend the sign and remove the crest," he added.
> *Mercury photo: H1447*

Source: LRSM 29 July 1977.

A propaganda war of words, petitions and reports ensued with Leicestershire County Council which also faced being dismembered with the loss of Leicester City under the same local government reform process.

RDC reinvigorated the county independence movement winning considerable support from the local press, parish councils and business community. The local Chambers of Trade organised a 'Value Rutland' campaign which issued a Rutland 'passport' and raised the public

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[45] RDC, *Submission document to the Local Government Commission for England* (Oakham, July 1993).

profile of Rutland across the community. Local County Councillor, Audrey Buxton led the opposition to the independence campaign which became increasingly bitter. A National Opinion Poll survey found 63 per cent of Rutlanders questioned were in favour of unitary status with an additional 22 per cent in favour of the return of the historic county without any shift in administration (an option not open to the Commission).[46] The Institute of Local Government Studies quoting the MORI survey of 1993 found Rutland is to be more knowledgeable about local government issues than their counterparts in Leicestershire.[47] Some 81 per cent of the Rutlanders questioned felt strong or fairly strong attachment to Rutland while only 4 per cent felt strong attachment to Leicestershire. Crucially two thirds of the incomers to the county, who had been there for five years or less, felt strong attachment to Rutland.[48]

> The 19 years which have elapsed since 1974 have seen no diminution in the feelings of Rutlanders in the MORI poll, Rutland scored higher on community identity than anywhere else. Its people identify with Rutland as an identity rather than with their own town or village. When they do look outside their borders, it is to a wide range of surrounding areas and not Leicester. Local newspapers, businesses, clubs and societies are keenly aware of the 'Rutland factor' and make frequent use of it… In an age when so many traditional values have been lost, and blanket uniformity appears to have triumphed, the people of Rutland have demonstrated their determination not only to retain their identity, but to protect their own community in the face of all threats. Their achievements and their uniqueness deserve to be recognised.[49]

The Major Government announced that the creation of a unitary authority in Rutland 'would best reflect the identities and interests of the local community and secure effective and convenient local government.'[50] Rutland's 'Independence Day' 1 April 1997 attracted the national media with fanfares, fireworks celebrations and community exhibitions. Ruddles specially brewed Independence Ale sold out.

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[46] National Opinion Poll survey Local Government Reform: Rutland (1993).

[47] Institute of Local Government Studies, *Community Identity in Rutland: Consultancy Report* (Birmingham, 1993) citing MORI survey *Community Identity in Leicestershire*, Tables 4 and 5.

[48] Ibid. Table 2 (MORI Tables 368 and 371); Tables 9,10 and 11. (MORI Tables 395ff.)

[49] RDC, *Submission document to the Local Government Commission for England* (Oakham, July 1993), Background Papers, p.14.

[50] House of Commons Parliamentary debates, 22 June 1995, 3:30pm. Written answer to Parliamentary question, Environment Secretary, J.S. Gummer.

Conclusion: Rutland Revived

The county community of Rutland underwent substantial change during the post-war era. With dramatic changes in parish life and the abolition of the rural districts in 1974 local community focus was very much directed towards Rutland as a county. After the criticisms about the level of public service provision made to the County Council by Whitehall, Rutland County Council became proactive in promoting and developing local services and took a civic pride in doing so. The campaigns to retain and revive Rutland County Council reinforced the county identity in this small part of the English rural East Midlands.

The loss of public services such as the Rutland Constabulary and later in 1974 the tranche of county level administration to Glenfield, only seemed to enhance and reinforce the struggle of the local community to assert its identity and desire for self-governance. The remarkable thing about this affiliation to Rutland, fuelled by latent indignation at proposed and enacted changes to local government, was that it was genuinely felt across the breadth of the county community. This by the mid-1970s is becoming increasingly populated by incomers. The new population of Rutland appeared happy and willing to adapt the county's identity and cause as their own as a part of entering a close-knit community.

> The most significant point to note about Rutland's residential profile is that an exceptionally high proportion (almost two-thirds) of those who have lived in the area for five years or less have come from outside the county [Rutland]. This is an interesting finding, bearing in mind the very high levels of identification with the district that we shall encounter in later tables: an indication that, in several instances, has evidently been sown and taken root relatively quickly.[51]

Whether for personal or pragmatic reasons this belief and support of Rutland as a community fostered a culture of engagement in civic affairs which became notable as being more apparent than in many other rural communities across England. The important point here was that, with the flurry of activity regarding local government reform, this sense of belonging became quantifiable in the petitioning and polling conducted during this period. The success of the vociferous public relations campaigns conducted by Rutland County Council, and their agents, can be measured in the petitioning, together with other independent polling, which quantified affiliation to the county community.

In 1947 Rutland County Council's petition raised 11,111 signatures, 9,298 of which were from residents over the age of 18. This comprised 73.17 per cent of the 12,708

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[51] Institute of Local Government Studies, *Community Identity in Rutland: Consultancy Report* (Birmingham, 1993) Notes on Table 2, citing MORI survey *Community Identity in Leicestershire*, Tables 368 and 371.

estimated population of the time.[52] 15 years later 10,388, some 77.9 per cent of the county

population on the electoral roll in 1962 signed the petition to retain Rutland as a county

council.[53] If taken as an indication of affiliation and belief in the community these figures and

the strength of opinion they represent are remarkable. After 1962 the population of Rutland

rose dramatically until the end of the century. During this time Rutland District Council

could act as a people's champion against the remote authority of Leicestershire County

Council. The success of their well organised campaign to regain 'home rule' and

'independence' could not have been achieved without considerable popular support within the

county.

During this later period the restoration of county authority was a more contentious

issue locally. Although a substantial minority either did not feel particularly strongly either

way, or did not wish to enter into another period of costly local government reorganisation,

they were under-represented in some media coverage of the campaign. That being said, it is

notable that belief in the county community, a sense of belonging to Rutland was evident even

in the dissenting minority. Some 63 per cent of the National Opinion Poll (NOP) replies from

Rutland supported unitary status; 22 per cent expressed support for restoration of the historic

county status; only 10 per cent were for no change.[54] Opinion polling of 1994 was done by

sample, unlike the actual petitioning and polling during previous campaigns. Allowing for

the validity of sampling, which seems to be largely accepted both locally and nationally as an

appropriation of accurate measurement of public feeling, the results are again illustrative of

the strength of Rutland's county community.

The nature of Rutland's familial, consensual and cooperative administration was

crucial to the development of its county community although at times not central to it.

Increased participation in community affairs was sometimes directed by other bodies such as

the Rural Community Council. However in the wake of criticism over its public service

provision, Rutland County Council responded by extending its service remit and taking

considerable pride in its service provision on a limited budget particularly in matters

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[52] ROLLR DE1381/61 Rutland County Council Boundary Committee Minute Walk 1947 – 51. Boundary
Committee Sub Committee, Minutes of meeting 17 November 1947.

[53] E. Ritson, *Ministry of Housing and Local Government, East Midlands General Review Area, Report of the
Inspector appointed by the Minister of Housing and Local Government to hear objections to the proposal to
amalgamate Leicestershire and Rutland, and the recommendation that the area of the present County of Rutland
(subject to minor boundary adjustment) should form a single rural district* (London, 1962), p.4. Some 27,621
individuals signed the petition.

[54] NOP Survey for the Local Government Commission for England, Leicestershire, (1994), cited in Local
Government Commission for England, *Final Recommendations on the Future Local Government of
Leicestershire, a Report to the Secretary of State for the Environment* (London, December 1994), p.30.

concerning education and highways. The struggles for independence in the post-war era brought both fame to Rutland nationally as well as galvanising opinion locally, drawing the county community together, in support of its County Council and perceived independence. Rutland, and eventually its county council, adapted to external change and also were supportive of local initiatives to improve the lives of everyday Rutlanders, maintaining and developing a viable county community, which attained strong affiliation and participation, into the twenty-first-century.

It is difficult to conceive of Rutland having a county community without that community being based around a solid structure of local government. Rutland County Council and its struggle for independence, was at the symbolic core of the community. The community united around the cause of its preservation, and at times Rutland County Council exercised its potential as the representative body articulating the feelings and aspirations of its community. Although at times a parsimonious and reluctant guardian, the Council with its administrative network, which included substantial input from voluntary organisations such as Rutland Rural Community Council, together with a growing civic society provided the skeleton around which Rutland's county community developed. Rutland County Council and its cooperative agencies were at the core of the development of Rutland as a county community.

CONCLUSION

RUTLAND: A COMMUNITY LOST IN TRANSLATION?

This conclusion comprises two parts: firstly a summary of the evidence and conclusions reached in the previous chapters and secondly, using these conclusions an attempt is made to answer the questions asked in the introduction to this thesis. This thesis remains a work of creative synthesis drawing upon many sources, and taking in a vision of the Rutland community from an overview of the development of the county community through changing institutions and enduring cultural, political and societal change. It is concentrated on the years since local government reform during the nineteenth century, but refers backwards towards a more oligarchic and restricted county community. In one sense it is an imagining the Rutland county community through the prism of historicity. There have been many representations of the imagined community of Rutland both politically, emotionally and historically.

The first section of this thesis centred on cultural representations of Rutland as a community. The first chapter found that Rutland's emerging literature of identity throughout the last century was largely reinforced the image of Rutland as part of unspoiled Midland countryside, part of the English rural idyll. A mixed farming landscape of pasture and cropped fields towered over by beautiful churches and country houses built of local stone, which was crossed by country lanes linking small villages and ridden over by the local hunt. Rutland's small market towns with their two public schools completed the scene of hidden rural England. The Rutland horseshoe, as an enduring county symbol, had links to its heritage and its equestrian traditions. It was widely adopted officially and by those adhering to the county.

In literary terms Rutland was often associated with neighbouring counties, principally Leicestershire. However the 'and' in 'Leicestershire and Rutland' gave the diminutive county an independent legitimacy. This was as true in trade directories, quantifying the developing county community of gentry, squirearchy, trade and business, as it was in topographical depictions.

The influence and legacy of W.G. Hoskins' topographical writing on Rutland should not be disregarded. His type of lyrical, descriptive topography brought together historical geography with enthusiasm for the aesthetic attributes of the rural county. It gave Rutland a

distinct identity in literary terms in the post-war years when Rutland was fighting for its independence. Bryan Waites, another historical geographer, became a leading evangelist in the literary promotion of Rutland during the renewed struggle for independence in the years towards the end of the twentieth century. In this latter era Rutland was actively promoted as a commodified imagined community for the purposes of advancing tourism. This promotion became important to the county's self-perception of itself as well as the perception of Rutland and its community by outsiders as unspoiled countryside, part of the rural idyll.

Rutland's local press bolstered community spirit, in particular the birth of its own newspaper, the Rutland Times in 1977, was significant in drawing the county community together, when it felt under occupation by Leicestershire. Community identity was supplemented by modern media representations of Rutland both locally and nationally in response to, and enhanced by the county council's independence struggles and the creation of Rutland Water. Rutland was represented and depicted as part of the English shires but a distinct, proud and independent county with strong community cohesion within that generalised Midland characterisation.

Even negative portrayals of the county community, such as those by Nigel Duckers in *A Place in the Country*, recognised Rutland as a distinct community. In fact that is why it was chosen as being a well-defined typical rural community in Duckers' exploration of social change in rural England. During the modern period Rutland had an emerging literature of identity, greatly helped by an increase in literacy and the demand for literature on the county. The growth in affordability of printed literature, together with the development of mass communication, also played their role in the spread of the depiction of Rutland as a distinct rural county community.

In short, artistic, literary and media representation reinforced the identity of the county community in two ways. Firstly, whether esoteric or popular, it gave the county notable recognisable identification to those living *outside* its bounds. Secondly, bolstered by the first point, it reinforced the identity and heritage of people *within* the county by giving Rutland recognition on the wider stage, recognising its particular traits, symbols and imagery as being distinctive that the locality and giving it a personal and individual identity distinct from elsewhere.

In the second chapter we considered how foxhunting became an important part of the perceived imagined community of Rutland. Foxhunting, the successor to the deer hunting in the mediaeval Royal Forest of Rutland, became an important part of the county culture. Represented in hunting imagery and literature Rutland became readily associated with this

gentry pursuit which was important in itself to the Rutland economy. This ready identification with hunting was acquiesced to, if not accepted, by most levels of society within Rutland. Foxhunting was the legatee of a brutalist tradition of animal sports locally and although particularly related to gentry culture it found some acceptance and popularity on all levels of Rutland society. As metropolitan tastes and influences became more important the acceptability of foxhunting became less common, particularly during the post-war era, and attachment to it was more to do with the maintenance of local tradition and 'colour' rather than active involvement in the sport. The equestrian tradition does however still remain important within county culture. Hunting brought wealth into the community and had certain benefits in terms of landscaping the attractive Rutland countryside. It formed an important part of the imagery of the rural idyll and they identification of Rutland as countryside.

The third chapter focused on the representation of county heritage and its importance to the development of the county identity and the county community. Early historical and topographical writing reinforced the image of Rutland as a community dominated by gentry in big houses with a strong attachment to the church and to the land. The antiquarian impulse of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, culminated in the creation of the Rutland Archaeological and Natural History Society, its membership comprising of gentry, squirearchy, clergy and the rising middle class of a broadening county community. The publication of the Victoria County History, completed in three volumes, fossilised local history for a few decades. Its emphasis on manorial descents and ecclesiology consigned socio-economic history of the sub-gentry populations of Rutlanders into the first volume where it sat with other generalised topics thought relevant of record at the time.

As political and civic democratisation broadened the county community which became more inclusive, interest grew in local history across all strata of Rutland society. Rutland Rural Community Council was instrumental in promoting folk history and the history of the occupational culture of antecedent Rutlanders. The formation of the Rutland Local History Society (RLHS) in the 1950s, with membership spread across the county and the creation of a Rutland County Museum in the 1960s, were two important factors in the democratisation and popularisation of local history within Rutland. The successful publication of local history pamphlets and books initially by the RLHS under the editorship of Tony Traylen, and later by Tony Traylen himself, was highly significant in this trend is seeking a more accessible, inclusive consideration of local heritage.

The conserving and recording of patterns of Rutland rural heritage were augmented by the formation and publications of the more academically orientated Rutland Record Society.

This society which later merged with the RLHS to form the Rutland Local History and Record Society (RLHRS) has produced a significant schedule of publications on aspects on Rutland's past and reinforcing the county identity. The success of the RLHRS is in itself a manifestation of pride in the community and its heritage and has led to initiatives in community archaeology and the restoration of the architectural and built heritage of the county.

The cultural section of the thesis concluded with a fourth chapter examining the elective and associative culture within Rutland reflected in 'Rutland' societies, associations and businesses using the Rutland name or focusing their activities within the county. The success of Rutland as a county community can be measured in the number of societies and associations bearing the county name or associated with it. These have seen a dramatic growth during the post-war era of increased leisure and cultural opportunity. They are wide-ranging in scope, ranging from the esoteric to the mundane but all seeking legitimacy by bearing the county name or serving the county inhabitants. In doing so they validate Rutland as a county construct and give evidence supporting Rutland as a county community.

The volunteer tradition both in military units and local charities emphasised the participatory culture which this thesis contends is an essential part of the successful county community. Particular importance was found in the sponsoring by the Rutland Agricultural Society of a 'County show', an invented tradition maintaining a link with Rutland's agricultural past. Particular emphasis was given to the use of Rutland and Rutland imagery by Ruddles Brewery in its marketing campaigns which helped to give both the brewery and Rutland a defined and distinctive identity. Rutland's name has been used with pride and affection by those who chose to associate with it, whether business, charity or other civic organisation. Associative culture in Rutland validates the county construct giving it social significance within the region.

The second section of the thesis opens in chapter 5 with a discussion on competing affiliations other than that of Rutland itself to inhabitants of the county, which could have been counter-productive in the formation and development of a viable county community. The subject of religion was discussed at some length as an example of a more relevant non-territorial focal point for the affiliation of Rutlanders. Despite evidence being found to suggest that aspects of organised religion could be counter-productive to the development of a county community within Rutland, little documentary evidence was found suggesting that church and chapel organisation or practice resulted in this becoming particularly noticeable. On the contrary, it was found that some aspects of church administration, such as the creation

of a deanery of Rutland reinforced Rutland as an identifiable territory on which to base organisational capabilities. It was also found that the generally tolerant nature of the Rutland community and its gentry gradually absorbed nonconformity into the associative and consultative structures supporting county leadership over a period of time.

Territorially it was found that Rutland, as a county area, was just one of a palimpsest of neighbourhoods competing for affiliation and affection. However it was discerned Rutland was a small rural county which remained outside of, and distant from large towns or cities. It was found that this distance and detachment was as much psychological as geographical. However the special case of Stamford was noted, but did not seem to detract from Rutland's county identity. This sense of detachment and of discrete identity forms part of the heritage of the area as much as it continues the basis of current identity and sense of belonging, which was seen in the INLOGOV report based upon the MORI survey examined in chapter 9. Kinship networks, economic and market horizons together with occupational culture did not seem to detract significantly from a perceived connection with the imagined community of Rutland, a connection as persuasive as any other loyalties. Transport links although vital to the local economy did not inhibit a discrete identity building around the county as a focus for affiliation and civil society. This identity was given particular legitimacy by the maintenance of the county as an administrative unit both in historic and contemporary terms. Provincial and regional identity to a notional East Midlands was found to be slight, given the disparate landscapes, economies and societies across what amounted to be an amorphous post-war economic construct whose quotidian reality is based upon that of a TV region. Early conceptions of administrative communities based upon the catchment areas of market towns which became registration districts and poor law unions were later subsumed by the pooling of local authority under the county banner and organisation. In an era of globalisation, interdependence and internationalism, what some observed to be the myth of Rutland's independence became real through repetition and construction on the local level reinforced by acceptance and support from outside the county.

The creation of Rutland Water, considered in chapter 6, is illustrative of this point. Rutland Water was not a catalyst for all social change in Rutland during the last quarter of the twentieth century. It was however a symptom of that change. That change came from elsewhere, from outside the county, in a society increasingly interdependent and connected. Whether that change started with the creation of airbases in Rutland's fields in the 1940s and culminated in the flooding of the Gwash Valley in the 1970s is debatable. Externally forced economic change could equally have been said to have been significant since the coming of

the railways to Rutland in the mid-nineteenth-century, earlier enclosures and other influences before the modern age. The reservoir, along with other changes such as the reconstruction of the A1 and iron ore quarrying physically divided Rutland communities from each other as much as link them in economic activity. Whatever is the case Rutland had lost a lot of its social and cultural independence during this period when it was seen to be more fully integrated into a wider society, whether this was by pipeline, road or telecommunication. The county community had visibly changed by reasons other than that instigated by the construction of Rutland Water.

Rutland Water was crucial to the economic regeneration of the county after a noted decline in the economic significance of agriculture. It brought with it a capital injection into tourism and related employment and the marketing of the county that stimulated both planning and conservation policies. The reservoir was initially seen as a threat. Its creation questioned the viability of the social and cultural independence of the small discrete area such as Rutland, unable to resist the unwelcome imposition of the reservoir by outside forces acting against local interests. However Rutland adapted to it.

Rutland Water was a territory of compromise. Dramatically changing the face of the county, its construction, imposed by outside authority, was undertaken as far as was possible, in conjunction with involvement from the local community in landscaping, planning and management. The compromise was between two conceptions of the rural: what David Matless called the nostalgic conservative 'organicist' and modernist 'planner preservationist'.[1] Whilst the reservoir itself reintroduced corporate influence into Rutland by businesses and concerns such as AWA and various tourist bodies, it was the local community, repopulated by incomers that managed its exploitation through the regulation of planning and maintaining a steady eye on the ambitions of those who wish to exploit the reservoir for their own commercial gain.

In that sense Rutland Water, although at the time of great environmental concern actually brought the community together, not least in the campaign to name the reservoir against corporate indifference and intransigence. This may be considered ironic given that the reservoir itself physically divided much of the county and literally drowned a considerable proportion of its rural identity and heritage underwater. Rutland Water reinvigorated the county identity giving it a new image based upon the geographical location of a recreational and leisure amenity surrounded by 'natural' beauty. It proved to be an opportunity as much as a threat to the developing county community.

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[1] See Introduction, p.11.

Rutland as a county community was threatened by rural change particularly during the latter half of the twentieth century. Rutland as a traditional independent administrative area was undermined by the dynamics of national and international politics as much as the wider economy. As Hoskins and others were writing lyrical evocations of the Rutland countryside it lay under immediate threat of nuclear annihilation during the Cold War when it housed part of Britain's airborne nuclear defence and ground defence radar.

Rutland was beset by great social and economic change where Barbours and '4x4's replaced smocks and horse carts. Hitherto unregarded former council houses proved to be desirable homes in villages denuded of farmers, and repopulated by incomers seeking life in the rural idyll. The concept of the rural idyll and Rutland's place in it was considered in chapter 7 which concluded the socio-economic section of the thesis.

It is difficult to account for any affiliation to Rutland by incomers without reference to the perceived desirability to live in and preserve the values of 'traditional' rural England: what has been called the myth of the rural idyll. The desirability of living in Rutland fulfils Burchardt's prescription of the rural idyll as being 'the dreams, aspirations, hopes and utopian yearnings of a large part of the population'.[2] There was considerable attraction of a discrete rural community such as Rutland to the national psyche. Incomers were literally buying in to the community and helping to sustain a perception of the closeness of the rural community, of neighbourhood, heritage and belonging. Villages were reinvented as incomers invested into the built heritage in particular, and community life in general. Local charities and fundraising for such causes as village halls were reinvigorated as incomers literally bought into the community. A formalised example of this rediscovery of Rutland would be the purchasing by outsiders of various Rutland manorships when they were sold by the Exton estate in the 1990s. The purchasers were eager to buy a piece of English history and literally invest in the established tradition of the English rural community. The ability of individuals to travel around the county, with the growth in private vehicle ownership is another important factor in making Rutland a meaningful construct. Ease of travel made social networks through county associations and cultural associations with the market towns, their hinterlands and catchment areas possible.

The successful propaganda campaigns launched by RCC during the post-war era and the willingness of the national press and media together with topographical writers such as WG Hoskins, to propagate this imagined community left Rutland firmly embedded in the national consciousness as an attractive rural idyll with a determined sense of community

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[2] Introduction, p.10. J. Burchardt, *Paradise Lost: Rural Idyll and Social Change since 1800* (London, 2002).

values and individual identity of its own. Whether or not you agree with Bunce's characterisation of rural middle-class aping the aspirations of the rural gentry of previous generations, Rutland almost became a one word shorthand definition for the rural idyll.[3] Determination to live the idyll by incomers into the community raised levels of participation and cultural activity.

The modern use of the perpetuation of Rutland as the rural idyll in the promotion and marketing by economic interests invested in tourism and property sales re-created an imagined community centred upon Rutland as a county. This myth became a partial reflection of reality. It has some tangible elements in the Rutland landscape and the landscape values upheld by the community. The county identity like the landscape around it was, and is being, constantly adapted to suit the needs of the time. Rutland remains borderland between eastern England and the central Midlands. It no longer is identified as being a forest area principally concerned with hunting and pastoral farming. It now is envisaged as an area of attractive countryside with mixed farming, stone buildings surrounding an important leisure facility in Rutland Water.

In the final section on governance it was found that the struggle against all the odds to maintain 'independence': the maintenance of County Council administration, ran through the modern period as a *leitmotif*, a galvanising factor that united and brought together the Rutland community together in a fight against the wishes of a bureaucratic, centralising, Whitehall administration intent upon creating coherent uniform local government across the realm. The structural crisis inherent in English local government is brought out clearly in Rutland's case.

RCC, like any other county level unit of local administration was acting as an agency for the wishes of central government, a fact inherent in England's administration since the Norman Conquest. Whilst maintaining crown control the democratisation of local government, with the extension of the franchise, also gave RCC the ability to claim, with justification, that it was the representative voice of the local community. In a national constitution directed towards representative democracy the role of RCC as the manifestation of local community was even more significant than the old structures of local administration had been in the pre-1888 era of unreformed local government.

In resisting local government reform, Rutland was reacting against what it saw as the creation of a subtopia. 'Subtopia' is the annihilation of the site, the steamrolling of all

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[3] Introduction, p.12. M. Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal: Anglo American Images of Landscape* (London, 1994).

individuality of place to one uniform and mediocre pattern[4] proponents of reform cited the greater national interest. The opponents were accused of being reactionary romantic nostalgics. The overall subtext was that those who defended their place and their sense of belonging to it were both outdated and destructive to the greater good coming out of beneficial progress. Rutland's leadership community and its many supporters across the country reacted badly to this implied accusation of being backward and working against the national interest.

The county community of Rutland, largely united behind its county council, won three of the four bouts in the post-war independence fights. Rutland was subsumed into a greater Leicestershire for 23 years from 1974 until again winning independence as a unitary district council in 1997.

Having summarised the findings in this thesis we now move on to attempt to answer questions set out in the introduction. The questions as set out there have proved to be too interconnected to be answered individually. The answers to each use the same evidence and individual responses would be overly repetitive. The first three questions have been grouped and answered together. The last two questions, although drawing and based on the responses to the first three, have been treated separately, because they raise issues substantive and relevant to the consideration of the modern county community in general.

How did the county community develop? What factors were involved? And what was its significance of this development?

Everitt's concept of a county community has been much criticised but has never been completely intellectually eradicated from debate concerning affiliation in the English provinces. The evidence would indicate that Rutland in the seventeenth century had an established county community centred upon its local gentry run administration. It developed slowly over succeeding generations However political changes wrought by Parliamentary rule, the Restoration and the Glorious Revolution (which was neither glorious nor a revolution), were felt in Rutland as elsewhere.

Rutland has been recognised to have had a county community during an earlier age. Julian Cornwall recognised the quantification of a county community in Rutland in his

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[4] I. Nairn, *Outrage* (London, 1955) quoted in 'The British Landscape', *The Ecologist*, November 2006, p.25.

editorship of the Rutland Muster Rolls of 1522 and Lay Subsidy of 1523.[5] It could likewise be interpreted that any listing of taxpayer, juror, freeholder elector or other person within the county could be said to constitute an attempt at quantifying and enumerating a county community. As such it would obviously, depending on the time period exclude many of the less affluent citizens of the county, as well as all its females. Affiliation is less easily quantified. In 1648 the royalist gentry of Rutland petitioned Charles I to create a Lord Lieutenant solely for Rutland the petition stated,

> Although Rutland had been time out of mind an entire County of itself, with a Sheriff, Assizes, Justices of the Peace, Knights of the Shire and other incidents thereto as an entire County, yet in military affairs it had been in hereto before subject to the Lord-Lieutenant of another County[6]

Thus the Rutland gentry were fully aware of the customs, privileges and status that a county bestowed on its inhabitants, and took pride in their county identity.

Rutland's gentry were drawn together by kinship and affiliation to the county which gave them wealth through landownership. It was largely cooperative, but sometimes competitive county community, with a few great families sharing and vying for political interest in the county Parliamentary representation and other great offices. More mundane local administration was largely relegated to the sub gentry and squirearchy. Political and personal differences between Rutland's ruling gentry were sometimes expressed at election time, when the county community manifested itself by the coming together of its small electorate at Oakham.

The county existed beyond a mere abstraction on a map when it occasionally it brought together elements of the community across the given area at these times of county election and also at county assizes and quarter sessions. The administration of justice, protecting property interests, as well as the onerous burden of taxation and militia service raised by the county would not have endeared the county construct to the ordinary citizen. The disenfranchised and disengaged Rutlander would have found closer attachment within their own neighbourhood and kinship networks centred on the market towns. The growth in responsibility of county government gave reality to the construct of the county which had hitherto been absent from everyday life. Until that time, to the ordinary Rutlander, the county may have been a mute identity, an abstract sense of belonging. David Eastwood brought

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[5] J. Cornwall (ed.), *The County Community under Henry VIII* , Rutland Record Society, 1 (Oakham, 1980).

[6] Quoted in G. Phillips, 'The Annals of Rutland' in *The Rutland Magazine* 4 no.2 (April 1909), p.48. Phillips was quoting from Quarter Sessions and other records since destroyed. Their request was acceded to by Charles II in 1660. The desire to create and fill another local office would increase the authority and power of the local incumbent.

together the two concepts of imagined community and county community when again referring to the eighteenth century, he stated,

> if we acknowledge that all political communities are in some fundamental sense imagined communities, we might still conclude that envisaging the county was a more abstract process than most.[7]

Affiliation is less easy to gauge on a sub gentry level. Eastwood's comment that during the long eighteenth century,

> The English counties by contrast commanded no real presence, everyone lived in the County, but this was sensed, if at all, through processes of incomplete revelation,[8]

Eastwood does not indicate how a sense of belonging to the county can be discerned.

As Rutland's gentry county community evolved it became a more open elite. The purchase of the Normanton estate by wealthy London merchant, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, provided an important early link in the triangular network of power – land – commerce, and other individuals and families whose status in Rutland society was based upon wealth obtained through metropolitan and commercial interests, not merely landholding itself, were accepted into Rutland county community up to and beyond local government reform at the end of the nineteenth century.[9]

The significance in the development of Rutland as a county community before the twentieth century was that in many respects, it was slow and insignificant. Local administration was largely done through management of parishes and estates as much as administration by the Quarter Sessions. The county itself was near eclipsed when the early nineteenth century reforms introduced registration; sanitary authority districts and poor law unions based upon economic catchment areas of market towns which crossed county boundaries. In Rutland's case this saw the county divided into three unions, based upon districts which had more quotidian meaning to the average Rutland ratepayer or welfare recipient than the more abstract notion of the county based upon distant administration by Justices of the Peace. The local government reforms of the late nineteenth century put the county back at the centre of local administration and led to the eventual diminution of poor

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[7] D. Eastwood, *Government and Community in the English Provinces 1700 – 1870* (London, 1997), p.91.

[8] Eastwood, *Governance and Community,* p.93.

[9] For example Leicester shoe manufacturer H.S. Gee; Birmingham arms manufacturer, Westley Richards; Miss Brocklebank, heiress to a fortune founded on Atlantic shipping and The Codringtons whose wealth derived from Caribbean estates as did that of Sir Henry Tate of the sugar producing dynasty

law unions into rural district councils operating as sub-authorities under the new Rutland County Council.

Affiliation, which along with participation was one of the deciding factors which this thesis contends created a broader county community more representative of the totality of its inhabitants, is an elusive measurement. It is associated with 'a sense of belonging', an emotional attachment to an area which is difficult to quantify or find recorded in historical record. However it is implied in some surviving documentation. Association with the parish and a sense of attachment to it is more easily measured from documentary sources. It was translation of political and welfare functions away from the parish and the estate, through the important Unions based on rural districts, to the level of the county and beyond which focused attention upon Rutland as a county unit.

This study, incorporating an analysis of Rutland County Council, would confirm Eugene Biagini's forefronting of a politically organic sense of community, community being as important if not more so than individual rights within the British polity.[10] Although Biagnini was considering urban-based liberal radicalism at the end of the Victorian era and into the twentieth century it is possible to transpose his definition of the political construction of community to be of value in conservative rural areas:

> liberty with self-government, high esteem for a life of public service and the related civic virtues, the idealisation of "independence," and an emphasis on self-help and education as moral imperatives[11]

The oligarchic culture of power in the provinces when it changed after 1888, changed gradually. It conforms to an evolutionary progress towards democracy such as that discerned by John Garrard.[12] He emphasises the staged admission of societal groups to the franchise after developing democratic capacity through participation in civic organisations. It is possible to conceive that within Rutland, although part of the larger British process outlined by Garrard, the same process happened on a micro level. The land interest of the Rutland establishment accepted new blood from a wider section of Rutland society, such as that defined by nonconformity and commerce, after first disinfecting it through the sheep-dip of organisations such as parish and town councils, rural district councils, voluntary organisations and charities.

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[10] E. Biagnini (ed.), *Citizenship and Community: Liberals, Radicals and Collective Identities in the British Isles 1865-1931* (Cambridge, 1996).

[11] Biagnini, *Citizenship*, pp.22-3.

[12] J Garrard, *Democratisation in Britain: Elites, Civil Society and Reform Since 1800* (Basingstoke, 2002).

Change was not more dramatic as coalitions of interest, in Rutland's case the creation of a land interest and rateocracy grew from the old coalition of landowning elite, squirearchy and Anglican clergy to encompass the newly franchised freeholding farmers and local businessmen and others involved in the community polity. Rate-paying has been characterised as being either beneficial, in providing services in exchange for the rate or onerous, that is payment, without obvious personal benefit, derived from the ability to pay. Rates were charged on land and property not profits. The county became a unit of obligation. In the early part of the last century when farmers and businessmen were struggling with mortgage commitments, it is hardly surprising that a rateocracy emerged on Rutland County Council. In 1920, the County Council wrote to the County Councils' Association, urging that Association to lobby central government to remind it of,

> The serious financial position caused by largely increased rates levied by local authorities on the already overburdened taxpayers in order to meet the large additional requirements of such authorities rendered necessary by recent Acts of Parliament and to urge that any schemes imposing burdens on the ratepayers should be postponed until the financial state of the country justifies the expenditure required.[13]

Rutland was a developing community, in an era of a growing market economy, where economic position as much as personal qualities influenced acceptance into the open county elite. This can be seen in the appointment of High Sheriffs. During the twentieth century Rutland society was becoming slowly less deferential, although it was a very slow process. Lord Gainsborough when chairing the County Council was *primus inter pares* and not there by feudal right.

Different factors were involved in the development of Rutland as a county community. Some of these were externally driven and some of the initiating factors came from within the county. The growth in county administration, often resisted by the rateocrats on the county council, was largely directed by central government legislation and directive. As the county council took on new responsibilities such as highways and education, some traditional elements of county authority such as the quarter sessions diminished in importance. The County Assizes continued albeit nominally with hardly any serious crime brought before them. The Parliamentary constituency was broadened to include Stamford and parts of Kesteven. However the Lord lieutenancy maintained a strong local leadership role as the county's figurehead and under Lord Ranksborough, provided important leadership and

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[13] Letter, Rutland County Council to the County Councils Association, urging that Association to lobby Central Government. dated 28 October 1920, recorded in the RCC Minute Book. ROLLR. DE1381

benefaction during the First World War, bringing the county community together in patriotic efforts.

The development of a nascent county welfare network was a factor generated internally. There was a considerable philanthropic and paternalistic bias in the old county administration, where justices served unpaid and philanthropic intervention by landlords across the breadth of the community was manifested in institutions like the Rutland Society for Industry and other charitable work conducted at county level. After 1918 local internal initiatives in county development and countywide welfare were usually directed by institutions such as the Rutland Rural Community Council which proved itself crucial in giving meaning to the county. It followed in the traditions of earlier philanthropic welfare interventions on a county level, but in itself was crucial in aiding and formulating county committees and administration across Rutland, deepening the county's meaning and importance, to the average Rutlander. The examination of Rutland Rural Community Council confirms Burchardt's revisionist view that agricultural depression did not stifle all regenerative activity in the English countryside during the 1930s.[14]

Running parallel to the development of local administration, its democratisation and the broadening of a political participatory county community, lay the development of civil society which also furthered the processes of democratisation and the development of a more inclusive county community. The beginnings of a county based civil society emerged with early associations such as the Rutland Agricultural Society and charitable organisations, such as the Rutland Society for Industry. The growth in county organisations, associations and participation in them, is one way in which a sense of belonging to the county can be measured. This being so, evidence can be produced of a sentiment of affiliation to the county from at least the early days of the nineteenth century with Rutland's militia, yeomanry and the birth of early county organisations and societies. Despite its slow birth the growing acceptance and pride in the Rutland Constabulary was also significant. It was in these years that we can begin to discern a county community which took pride in its diminutive size and political independence.

The county community of Rutland developed exponentially with the growth of civil society and county-based local administration. It was participation in the democratic process and the growing civic culture of county associations and organisations that grew parallel to it during the Victorian era and into the first half of the twentieth century, that propelled the

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[14] P. Brassley, J. Burchardt, L.Thompson, *The English Countryside Between the Wars; Regeneration or Decline?* (Woodbridge, 2006)

county into a more meaningful construct in the minds of the average newly enfranchised, property owning Rutlander.

In terms of affiliation, there remains the question of how conservative and inclusive a community Rutland really was. Robert Waterhouse questioned the nature of the Rutland community in an article in the Guardian in 1973.[15] He noted that a meeting of the CPRE drew a 'large tweedy turnout', and speaking of Rutland generally, that there was 'nothing undemocratic about the atmosphere just a feeling that Rutland democracy needs money to be best enjoyed'. He goes on to state, 'there is a working-class too, who seem to adopt the low-profile traditional to rural – dare we say feudal? communities.' Rutland's rural working-class are often diminished if not distant and silent in literature and art concerning the county. In recent years, autobiographies have emerged outlining ordinary village life in Rutland.[16] Outside of official record, before this there is little to depict everyday life of Rutland's citizenry other than fictionalised depictions of eccentric's and 'characters' in the memoirs of Uppingham School boys or the incidental inclusion of 'locals' on picture postcards.

Waterhouse notes that a large percentage of community activists were incomers, new to the county, but anxious to take part in community life and to participate in the defence of its environment, perceived values and independence. The most important aspect of social change within Rutland during the post war period was the large numbers of people migrating to the county, settling or sojourning. Before the Census ceased to record accurate place of birth data after 1971, the statistics showed little change. In 1901 (19,709) 59.9 per cent of the population were born in Rutland.[17] By 1971 that had fallen to 53 per cent of the population. 36 percent worked outside the Rutland (as opposed to 15 per cent in 1961).[18] It was mostly after 1971 that large-scale immigration into Rutland took full effect on the political culture of the county community. Rutland became less insular and became more integrated into a network of Midland counties experiencing high levels of migration driven by career progression. The influence of the numbers of RAF personnel, both active and retired, has been noted. The market towns of Oakham and Uppingham and some of the larger villages have dramatically increased in population broadening and loosening the rural culture of those

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[15] R. Waterhouse, 'Out for the County', *Guardian Extra* 4 December 1973.

[16] For example E. Mills, *Empingham Remembered* (Empingham, 1984); J. Buchan, *Thatched Village* (London, 1983).

[17] HMSO., *Census of England and Wales 1901 County of Rutland* (London,1903), Table 36.

[18] Rutland 2000 Strategy Education Committee, *Rutland 2000 Unit Four, People Homes and Jobs* (Melton, c.1979).

places. In 1999 the small Rutland village of Seaton's electoral list comprised of 155 persons only 35 of which were native to Rutland.

It is worth stating again the evidence of the 1993 MORI poll referred to in the consultancy report on community identity in Rutland conducted by the Institute of Local Government Studies at the University of Birmingham. It found that more than one in every five Rutland respondents (21 per cent) spontaneously named 'Rutland' as the area or community to which they feel they most belonged. This was the highest proportion within any district within Leicestershire. In addition to which more than half of all Rutland respondents (52 per cent) said they had a very strong feeling of belonging to Rutland and a further 29 per cent said they had a fairly strong sense of belonging. This was more than three times the proportion of respondents across Leicestershire as a whole who reported a very strong sense of belonging to their district. 42 per cent of Rutland residents questioned reported feeling no sense at all of belonging to the County of Leicestershire, with not one Rutland respondent perceiving Leicester as their nearest town. 48 per cent of Rutlanders questioned felt that Rutland had a very strong sense of community, 40 per cent more than the proportion of respondents across Leicestershire who felt the same about their respective districts.[19] This recent evidence along with other examples in this thesis would lead to the conclusion that the county community of Rutland exhibits a strong sense of identity, affiliation and cohesion.

The democratisation, albeit gradual and evolutionary, of local government following on from the 1888 Local Government Act, refocused attention on the county as a centre of local government and community sentiment. Local governmental structures stimulated civic society and it was when that governmental structure was threatened by local government reorganisation that Rutland's civic society, its county community, came together to defend its existence. That was how Rutlanders as saw the threats to self-government of the post-war era. To the county these were not merely administrative reforms but threats to the continuing heritage of Rutland as an identifiable unit under the Crown. It was seen as an attack on their personal sense of belonging, their right to come together, adhere to themselves and democratically govern themselves. The conflict inherent in the dual nature of the reformed local government system was never so apparent as in the case of Rutland County Council. In one sense it was an agency of the Crown operating under central governments control, organisation and direction and on the other it was the democratic forum for the wishes of the local community.

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[19] C. Game, *Community Identity in Rutland* (Birmingham, 1993) Tables 7, 9, 10, 11, 12b, 13 and 14.

The strength of Rutland as a county community can be measured in the success in bringing that community together to support the campaign for the maintenance of independence. It could also be witnessed in the mobilisation of the local community to oppose and then manage the construction and development of Rutland Water.

One of the unforeseen findings of this work relates to the background of community leaders in Rutland during the twentieth century. A significant number of them were incomers into the community, applying their talents and leadership in participation in community initiatives for a county in which they obviously felt affiliation and had great affection. Traylen, Waites and Matthews with others applied their investigative and literary talents in propagating and recording local history. They became county champions in as much as incomers Wright and Blore were in previous generations. The importance of the RAF and Rutland's two public schools in attracting incomers to the county who become facilitators for cultural activity and representatives of their local communities is important in this regard.

Important examples of outsiders who integrated into the county and became community leaders have been mentioned in the text. Kenneth Ruddle was a second-generation Rutlander Lord-Lieutenant Tom Haywood was not Rutland born and bred and Alan Bond, formerly Rutland's Chief Constable and latterly Clerk to the Council only came to Rutland in 1940. It was these three together with Jarrow born MP Kenneth Lewis who led the Rutland independence campaign in the 1960s. In the early part of the century George Phillips who came to Rutland as the appointed Inspector of Weights and Measures, became actively involved in the Oakham and wider Rutland community as churchwarden, leading citizen, benefactor fundraiser, historian and publisher. Lord Ranksborough, Lord-Lieutenant of the county whose personality endeared himself to the Rutland community was another migrant. In his case attracted to Rutland its reputation as a hunting county, he stayed and invested his talents and abilities into sustaining the county community during the crisis years of the First World War. Rutland's reputation as a hunting shire attracted a number of individuals who settled here and took an active part in community life.

Participation in community life and civic society within Rutland remains strong both from natives and incomers. In part it appears that the strength of community within the county of Rutland is part of its attraction to outsiders. Affiliation to the county is evident as a parallel strand to participation in it. The sense of belonging by native Rutlanders and county pride felt by both natives and incomers towards Rutland as a community remains strong and has a historical lineage back beyond the modern period, when the maintenance of independence was less of a political issue.

Therefore, so far we have concluded that Rutland's county community evolved and developed into the modern era, initially slowly but significantly the change was greater after the democratisation of local government, with the extension of the franchise and the development of an open elite. The growth in civil society, which ran parallel to the refocusing of local administration upon the county, is equally as important to the development of the county community involving both the key factors of affiliation and participation which we have identified as being key to the process. We have identified some of the factors involved as being driven by external forces (democratisation, local government reform) and other factors being motivated by concerns within the county itself (welfare development, charity).

Rutland was a geographical territory within defined boundaries, comprising of scattered nuclear settlements and small market towns. However, Rutland did not have a distinctive recreational culture. Its culture was closely connected with activities relating to the agricultural seasons in common with the rest of the Midlands farming region. In addition to its agricultural heritage, hunting became seen as a distinctive part of the county identity to outsiders particularly during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This identification was particularly related to the maintenance of Rutland's landscape of coverts and pastures interspersed with tracts of arable land. Although an elitist sport, enthusiasm for hunting was shared to some extent by the native Rutland bystanders. It was an excepted part of country life and legacy from Rutland's role as a royal hunting forest area.

This study has attempted to broaden the understanding of the concept of the county community by incorporating factors that were muted in Everitt's consideration of the county community in the seventeenth century. The structure of this thesis reflects the consideration of cultural, as well as the socio-economic and governmental factors already outlined.

It was not in having a distinctive culture unique to itself that Rutland established a cultural identity. For example it was in the repetition of imagery in art and literature that Rutland became firmly identified with hunting. In seeking out a cultural identity topographers and others cited landscape, hunting and other factors, not unique to Rutland, to describe the county identity. The search for a distinct county identity resulted in the creation of one transmitted in art and on paper.

It was in taking certain unique features of Rutland's heritage, such as the horseshoe custom and the use of the horseshoe as a county symbol and embedding it in a general appreciation of landscape features, churches and vernacular buildings and farming traditions that gave Rutland an identity within a generalised conception of the English countryside and

the rural idyll. Emphasis on Rutland's size, 'quaintness', pace of life away from the urban 'rat race', affinity to the land and a common preindustrial agricultural heritage gave Rutland a distinct identity in print, a literature of identity, and other media which became a fixed imagined community within the population at large.

This imagined community of Rutland was greatly enhanced by the reporting of its tenacious and obstinate defence of what it saw as its political freedoms: it's 'independence'. Cultural imagery and representation of Rutland reinforced the conception of a county community both to Rutlanders themselves as much as outsiders. Rutlanders took pride in depictions of their county by writers such as Hoskins and Waites. Increasing interest in folk history and county heritage again reinforced what became a distinct cultural identity for Rutland. Although it was often connected in publications as being 'Leicestershire and Rutland', the 'and' was culturally significant in giving recognition to Rutland's separate identity as a diminutive but not entirely insignificant historic shire county of Midland England.

Economically with the growth of transport links; migration, both inward and outward; and the construction of RAF stations and ultimately Rutland Water, Rutland had become very much part of a wider regional and national community. Although not as self-contained as it once was, the importance of market towns such as Uppingham, the anomalous Stamford on the county boundary, and in particular the county town of Oakham, as service centres should not be underestimated. In particular the cultural phenomenon of mass migration into the county, already mentioned, has resulted in incomers entering to live within Rutland. They valued the strength of its community and actively contributed to it.

Did the county community increase or diminish in importance and why?

Everitt's conception of a gentry based county community in seventeenth century holds some validity. But as a concept it was never static. His conception of the county community did not extend much into the nature of civic society, local business and trading interests, it perhaps overstated political elements in representation of the county. It is necessary to consider Everitt's conception as a starting point from which to understand a developing county community evolving with the times, as he always intended it to be. It evolved both with changes in the nature, composition and direction of local government and administration as well as the development of a broader more inclusive civil society operating within the geographic bounds of a county. The introduction mentioned Tonnie's distinguishing the concept of *gesellschaft*: self-interested elective participation in society, and the *gemeinschaft*:

a community based upon abode and kinship.[20] This study has chosen to bring these concepts together to construct a holistic, meaningful interpretation of the county community. It has also adapted the Liepin's model, to take an holistic approach to the nature of community incorporating cultural, material and political aspects of its development.[21] This study also adopts Cohen's idea of community as being imagined and symbolic and not solely related to structure.[22] In adapting these broad approaches to the study of Rutland's county community it is difficult to conceive how with such an approach the county community could have diminished in importance particularly in relation to its growing population and the expansion of local government and civic society. In terms of representation Rutland's county community assumed what Cloke calls a 'virtual reality', based upon perception of the community rather than solely its physical, social and cultural realities.[23]

It hopefully has demonstrated that in relation to Rutland at least, and probably other similar communities elsewhere in England, the county community increased in importance during the modern age. This conclusion is reached by reconfiguring Everitt's original notion of a county community based upon gentry, and translating it into the modern age by broadening the determinant factor defining a county community to that of those individuals within the community involved in governance, administration, culture and social organisation. As has been argued this could be interpreted to include those who *participate* as much as *affiliate* to the county in a ready attachment to a territorial identity and a sense of belonging.

At the core of the evidence for the county community increasing in importance is the maintenance of civil administration at county level enhanced by the Local Government Act of 1888. Although at times under threat of reorganisation, and for brief period of 23 years actually denuded of its authority as a county council, Rutland has largely maintained its county structures of governance.

The recognition of Rutland as an historic county with its associated heritage and traditions has been largely been recognised and upheld throughout the modern period even by those who questioned its viability as an administrative county. In the acceptance of Rutland as an historic county lay the basis of its inclusion as an administrative county by Lord

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[20] F. Tonnies, *Community and Society Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft* (Brunswick N.J., [1887],1988).

[21] Introduction, p.6. R. Liepins, 'New Energies for an Old Idea: Reworking Approaches to "Community" in Contemporary Rural Studies', *Journal of Rural Studies,* 16 (2000), p. 29.

[22] Introduction, p.5. A. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (Tavistock, 1985), p. 98.

[23] Introduction, p.6. P. Cloke, 'Conceptualising Rurality', in P. Cloke, T. Marsden, P. Mooney (eds.), *Handbook of Rural Studies* (London, 2006), p.22.

Salisbury's government. It was no doubt felt prudent and wise not to question small Rutland's inclusion in the act given the preponderance of powerful landowning interests within and supporting the county. Lord Salisbury was a member of the Cecil family himself, and represented Stamford in Parliament from 1853-66, so would have been fully aware of Rutland's county identity.

The democratisation of local government, the focus of local administration upon the county and the growth of and participation in civic society within Rutland and based upon the county, ensured a reinvigorated and more inclusive county community increased in importance during the modern age. With the possible exception of Stamford, the links to external market and service centres were largely pragmatic and did not correlate to any great sense of belonging or feeling of affiliation. The INLOGOV/MORI evidence presented in chapter 9 confirms this to be a contemporary as much as an historic phenomenon. Rutland's sense of belonging based on association, society, kinship and heritage manifests itself in episodes of local patriotism such as those demonstrated during the first and second world wars. The strength of opinion reflected in the petitioning and surveys of 1947, 1963 and 1993 suggest that Rutland retained an important focus for sense of belonging for its inhabitants.

Rutland drew its political strength from its diminutive size and the fact that this allowed it to develop more familial personal relationships within the community between governors and governed. Everyday political business could be conducted on a fairly intimate level. Participation, involvement within community affairs, was given high social value. Community values in mutual support as much as self-help and charity underlayed the moral foundation of the county community and gave it value to both natives and incomers. The ability of Rutland, conceptually an imagined community, to draw in the affiliation of outsiders and incomers makes the study of it, in a globalised age, both pertinent and interesting.

The study of Rutland as a county community compliments the modern focus on connected communities. Rutland is seen to be a recognised community within an historic and cultural context which sustains and enhances quality of life. The community is very much concerned about environment and heritage and is seen to be a creative community utilising digital technology within civil society. Rutland's civil society allows for diversity, and dissent is not uncommon particularly on a political level. Rutland as a county is a resilient community. Community led actions such as the construction of neighbourhood plans and charities such as 'For Rutland In Rutland', exist outside of the formalised structures of local government, but work with it for community improvement. Appreciation and value is placed

upon networks, social connection and the promotion of well-being within the county community. This study of Rutland proves that studying the county community can enhance an understanding of sense of belonging in both historical and contemporary contexts as a connected community.

Can the county community be used to understand modern structures of belonging and identity?

Much of the controversy surrounding the eventual reinstatement of Rutland County Council in 1997 revolved around the economic threats and possibilities of local government reorganisation. On the practicalities and costs of service delivery, opinion was divided. What was undeniable and proved crucial in winning the case for Rutland was the sense of belonging felt by Rutlanders towards their county.

The county community of Rutland was not a mere conceptual model, a sociological abstraction; it was very much real and made itself felt during the 1990s. Opinion survey data cited in Chapter 9 illustrates this point. There was an ultimate paradox in why this should be. The old Rutland and its indigenous population had been diluted by mass immigration in the post-war years. A traditional and long-standing economy once based on agriculture had been transformed to one where farming, although still dominant in the landscape, played a much smaller role economically. Farming communities in villages and hamlets dissipated, the old county community had diminished.

However, the influx of people moving into Rutland reinvigorated the county community. The county community was alive, with a sense of belonging and confidence in itself during the independence struggles of the post-war era. Rutland had found the ability to draw into itself the allegiance and affiliation of outsiders, incomers who became adopted Rutlanders.

Rutland proved to have the cachet to incomers. It was not merely a name on an envelope, much as the Post Office tried to prevent even this last vestige of county identification after 1974, and today Rutland is more than just the name of the authority that empties the bins. The independence struggles, and to some extent the publicity surrounding Rutland Water, helped bring Rutland the forefront of the public imagination, its recent history becoming part of its proud independent heritage.

Again this returns to the two key elements I hopefully have shown to be crucial to development of a county community: affiliation and participation. As demonstrated in

Chapter 4, Rutland has never been so vibrant culturally as it was during the post-war era with the injection of new wealth into the community. Rutland has seen the rapid growth of county named and/or based societies, groups and organisations. Participation in communal activity is high in the area which prides itself on neighbourliness.

By both incomers and long-standing residents alike, Rutland was considered to be part of the rural idyll, re-modified and reimagined from the days of Hoskins, but still an important part of the national psyche by those who still conceived of escaping to the country. Middle-class marauders descend upon Rutland like truffle hounds sniffing out an elusive quality-of-life in rural living. Rutland represented real England, deep England. The cottages may not all be thatched but real community exists as a quality-of-life to be experienced in an attractive landscape not found elsewhere.

Much of this thesis has focused on the importance of the rural idyll to the English political tradition and also the national identity. There was a generalised realisation that in rural farming area such as Rutland, England has its preindustrial roots. The search for the rural idyll is searching for heritage and connection with England's historic past as well as a closer connection with nature and the land, intimate with rural practices and occupations. Rutland is an identifiable county community both in the literal heart of the English Midlands countryside and the metaphorical heart of English identity with idyllic countryside.

People also live in Rutland for pragmatic reasons: birth; family; job as much as choice and not all actively participate in community affairs. Fabes and Duckers brought to wider attention rural poverty in Rutland and how the rural idyll is not the same to all Rutland inhabitants. Car ownership increases the ability to participate in cultural affairs. However Rutland as a county is not just a social and political entity but also a cultural one. Rutland's sense of belonging and kinship to the imagined community was sometimes mocked as being the county equivalent of being a little Englander and not always fully appreciated (Figure 10.1).

David Goodhart has characterised British society as divided between three 'value tribes': The 'Anywheres', the 'Somewheres', and 'the Inbetweeners': a group in the middle fluctuating between both positions.[24] He characterises 'Anywheres', as being educated, liberal and often urban, not particularly attached to an area, who see themselves as global citizens. 'Somewheres", on the other hand feel strong attachment to a specific geographical area or community and are characterised as being socially conservative, more rural and, to some

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[24] D. Goodhart, *The Road to Somewhere* (London, 2016).

extent, less educated. Goodhart estimates that 'Somewheres' make up roughly half the population. He sees them as being uneasy with aspects of change in the modern world and nostalgic for a sense of community. The 'Anywheres', largely free from sentimental constraint towards 'home' are more egalitarian and meritocratic, less defined by tradition and driven to larger group identities.

Rutlanders, notionally at least, clearly belong in Goodhart's 'Somewheres' group: a group of people who value, above more pragmatic economic considerations, neighbourliness, shared destiny, a sense of belonging, and identity to a place, immutable in the buffeting vicissitudes of the modern era. Rutland was seen as a place redolent with the heritage of rural forebears, with close connection with nature and the real natural world, where familiarity and kinship in communal values, gave a quality-of-life to be prized and treasured in the turbulent modern age. The Rutland independence campaigns/debates of the post-war era, fighting against elitist, antidemocratic, attempts to impose a 'top-down' administration, may yet prove to have been a precursor to the national 'somewhere'/'anywhere' debate of the early twenty-first century.

'Somewheres', such as Rutlanders, are sometimes overlooked and derided by the liberal more globally minded urban elites. On occasions such as the Brexit or the Rutland independence campaign in the 1990s – they are heeded, and the sense of balance is given to a rather uneven national political structure.[25] They may yet prove to be a political majority within England.

Rutland exists as a community, in this context a county community, with an independent tradition reinforced by resistance to both cultural change to its rural area and imposed reforms in local government during the twentieth century. Other areas with discernible similar communities could likewise be studied whether as counties or cultural areas. Cultural identity is not always the same as political county identity. The Forest of Dean is but one distinctive part of Gloucestershire. Fenland and Downland and the Black Country are not coexistent with administrative areas yet as cultural areas they contribute greatly to their respective county identities. Larger counties such as Cornwall are geographically and culturally well-defined. Yorkshire appears to be a palimpsest of cultural identities, rural and urban across the Ridings, all contributing to a generalised county identity which is provincial in scope. In Rutland the cultural and political identities are combined in one county community.

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[25] In the national vote on June 23, 2016, Rutland voted to leave the EU, 11,613 votes to 11,353, a 260 vote margin on a 78.1% turnout. The closeness of the vote reflects well the incursions made by middle-class colonisation of Rutland since the 1970s.

The county community model retains its relevance and importance to understand modern structures of belonging and identity both in the past, present and will remain so in the future as long as people still value a sense of belonging to an area, in Rutland's case a county, which values the intimacy of the discrete. The county community model when adapted to individual circumstance, both geographically and historically has proved to be a resilient concept in the evolution of communal identity in English rural life.

The question arises whether that the traditional rural County of Rutland has been lost in translation into the modern era. Although much has been lost by modernisation and some sacrificed in the name of 'progress', much of the community spirit has been retained and cherished. Community affiliation and participation is strong. Bryan Waites said that Rutland is 'the model example of harmonious environment'.

> But it is important that the concept of Rutland remains, because it means that historic tradition, sentiment, local patriotism, and personal values are of equal and perhaps greater importance than economic viability and administrative convenience.[26]

Rutland as an imagined county community was summarised by Waterhouse when he stated

'Put simply Rutland is different and determined to remain so' [27]

> Of the history of the little kingdom few fragments have survived; but by chance an account of its origin has been preserved: a legend, perhaps, rather than account; for it is evidently a late compilation, full of marvels, derived not from sober annals, but from the popular lays to which its author frequently refers. For him the events that he records lay already in a distant past; but he seems, nonetheless to have lived himself in the lands of the little kingdom. Such geographical knowledge as he shows (it is not his strong point) is of that country, while of regions outside it, north or west, he is plainly ignorant.
>
> J.R.R.Tolkien, *Farmer Giles of Ham* (London,1949,1972 edition), p.7.

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[26] B. Waites, 'Rutland Human Conservancy', *Leicester and Rutland Topic*, June 1972

[27] R. Waterhouse, 'Out for the County', *Guardian Extra* 4 December 1973.

Figure 10.1: *Round and About Rutland*

Affectionate parody?

Source: E. Idle, *The Rutland Dirty Weekend Book* (London, 1976).

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