

Report No. 6

The County Record Office

by Maurice G.Rathbone, A.L.A.,

Wiltshire County and Diocesan Archivist

(being the address given at the 1972 Annual Meeting of the Society)

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen. What I hope to do this afternoon is to give a fairly short introduction to the County Record Office and what it contains, and to illustrate my talk with the examples of some of the classes of archives that I have brought with me. As far as possible these examples are related to Lydiard Tregoz, one of the 279 parishes in this large county. I think that you will be gratified by the examples I have brought, some for their informative value, some for their appearance as things good to look at, which is, after all, the main object in an exhibition. I was greatly pleased to discover on arrival that two rooms complete with tables were put at my disposal. I was even more pleased to find that there was a third room available for the display of the great estate map of 1766, so large that it requires a room to itself. This is the first time I have mounted an exhibition in three whole rooms!

You may well ask, "Why do we have Record Offices and Archivists?" It is because records or archives (we are never quite sure what to call them in this country) are an invaluable and particular source of material for the study of history. At one time I used to think, as you no doubt you did also, that history was written from history books. To be a historian, I thought, was to surround yourself with a lot of books dealing with the history of the area in which you were interested. You read them all, and you decided perhaps that Trevelyan seemed pretty sound on this and Fisher was not too bad on that. Take a little bit of Fisher, add a bit of Trevelyan, put them together in one's own inimitable style, and that would be Rathbone's history of whatever it may be! Historians just do not do this. History cannot be written from what other people have already written. It has to be compiled from sources, and these sources are not normally to be found in the ordinary public library.

Archivists have a lot in common with museum curators. Curators do the same sort of thing as we do but with a different class of material. I am discounting for this comparison the modern subject called industrial archaeology. I am referring to what museums have received from the work of the pure archaeologists, in the old-fashioned antiquarian sense, who collected arrowheads and the like. Museums make available to us the sources of information about the earliest times, sources that have been excavated,

collected together, classified, and reported on. These are the reliable sources for the study of the history of early periods. Record Offices preserve their own types of material. (We call them Record Offices in this country because for over a hundred years we have had the public record Office in Chancery Lane.)

If the aim of the Record Office is the same as that of a museum, what do we mean by the term “archive”? Let me give you some examples. We all do business with lawyers’ offices. The material they keep in their safes and strong rooms is archive material; the law books they use in their front offices are not. To give another example; the Borough Press in Swindon keeps its own business accounts. These are the archives of a printer’s business, thought not the end product of the work itself. Records are the natural accumulations of business done, by government at any level, by an industrial concern, or even by your own society here, as you meet annually to transact business. In your case your minute books are your archives.

Archives are valuable because they are unbiased. Though even the most non-fictional of non-fictional works may purport to be unbiased, they are never necessarily wholly so. Librarians divide the contents of their libraries into the two main categories of fiction and non-fiction. The distinction is more apparent than real. History included in the non-fiction section has been written by historians to present certain views, and this is a very mild form of propoganda.

The great thing about archives is that they are not propoganda. They are recorded purely so that the people who are working at the business concerned may refer back and see what they decided previously. This means that the records of business done – the archives of a Society or Government body – become in ten or twenty years, after they have served their day-to-day administrative purpose, invaluable sources for the historian who wants to know exactly what happened at that time.

Archives originate in proper custody and it is important that they should so remain, otherwise authenticity may be lost. An extreme example I can quote has become a classic. The public records include the account books of the Master of the Revels in the 16th and 17th centuries. This officer of the Crown was responsible for the laying-on of theatrical performances, masques, and other sorts of revelry that the Court officially indulged in. It is known that one volume of his accounts was out of the custody of the proper officials for a number of years. This reduces the value of that book as an archive – i.e. as completely acceptable historical evidence. For a time it was in the hands of Peter Cunningham, who was the Treasurer of the Shakespeare Society. No-one has proved that he altered the record but some suspect this, and the fact that it was out of official custody and in the hands of someone who had a great interest in plays during this period and who was a specialist in the chronology of Shakespeare's productions, renders the volume less reliable as historical evidence than if it had never left the hands of its proper custodians.

When archives are brought together in one place it is possible to use them together. I hope you will see from examples I have put out on display that if you have certain evidence about a place – in this case Lydiard – from one map of an early date, a little more from a later map, and even more from a more recent one, the information you have in the end builds up into an historical account, emerging from the contiguity of the documents.

I am to talk about what is in the Record Office at County Hall, but I must warn you that anyone pursuing the history of a particular place cannot confine his attention to one repository, one library, or one record office. Any historian worth his salt must go to every possible source. I cannot, for example, produce the Domesday Book. It stands at the beginning of all parish history, but it is not in Trowbridge. It is in a double-locked exhibition case in the Museum of the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane. The best I can do this afternoon is to show you a facsimile reproduction of the Wiltshire section, and you can see just what the entry for Lydiard looks like. It will not be easy to read, for it is in Latin, but an English translation is beside it on the table. Many of our English documents are in Latin. Court records were certainly in Latin until as late as 1733, and some courts, in a very English manner, went on making their records in Latin simply because they had got into a habit and didn't want to change. So you find Latin very late indeed as a language used for records.

The Record Office at Trowbridge is the repository for the County of Wilts, and there the country records are kept. These fall into two categories – the earlier records of the Justices of the Peace as they administered the affairs of the County in quarter sessions, and from 1888 the records of the new County Council that was created in that year.

The Justices' records in English counties could conceivably date back to 1360. Our Wiltshire records are as early as any and survive from 1563. The minute book that starts in that year is among the items I have brought with me. Almost contemporary with it is the earliest extant great roll of quarter sessions. Sessions were not only recorded in minutes but also in the accumulated evidence that came to the court. Even though it was local government administration that was being pursued, the business was done in a curial manner. There are two of these great rolls among the exhibits on show, one repaired and one unrepaired. There is a startling contrast between them, not only in their appearance but in their accessibility. To read the unrepaired roll one would need about four arms to control it as one looked for any of the 200 or so items recorded on it. The rolls for the first thirty years or so from 1603 have been repaired, not to render them different in any way, but to present them in such a way that people can easily manage to consult them.

Among the quarter session records there are also land-tax assessments for each parish. These assessments were not held by the Justices for any taxation purpose. They were accumulated from 1780 till 1832 so that the Clerk, by knowing precisely who paid

the tax and therefore was entitled to vote in parliamentary elections, could carry out his electoral responsibilities. The assessments are invaluable to us as records for all sorts of indirect purposes - land ownership, genealogy, and so on. I have brought with me all the Lydiard assessments for the fifty-year period.

The quarter session records also include inclosure awards. These were deposited with the Justices in their capacity of archivists. Inclosure was a movement in the country during two main periods - under the Tudors, and, from about 1730 to about 1860, under Parliamentary aegis. From the latter period Wiltshire has some 200 awards - but not one for Lydiard. These awards are most informative on all sorts of matters other than that of land ownership. Although some of these documents are approaching 250 years old they are still administratively value in some circumstances. For example, the County Surveyor refers to them as evidence in determining the width of public roads.

So much for the records from the era of the Justices. Since 1888, when County Councils were created, we have had a democratic body doing the work of the county, and it is perfectly right and natural that the Record Office should receive as many of the records of the Council as can be spared. It is the function of an archivist to receive business records from the administrators as soon as they find that they do not need to refer to them very often.

In the official section of the office there are many other records that have been acquired because some special edict has been made, e.g. by the Master of the Rolls, a judge of the Supreme Court. Wills and probate documents for the diocesan area are an example of such records. They have had several peregrinations. They were seized from the registries of the Church courts in 1858, where the proving of wills had gone on from time immemorial, and transferred into the hands of the newly-created secular registries of probate. From these probate registries all the pre-1858 documents have now come to the country record offices. (Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury are in the Public Record Office.) I have brought with me the will that Thomas Hedges, of Lydiard, made in 1761, and also the inventory of the goods of John Dewell, of Lydiard, son of Rector Dewell, made after his death in 1684. Often the inventory is the most interesting item of the probate documents: it may tell us a great deal not only about a person's possessions but also the furniture of the house itself. From the information given in the inventory it is sometimes possible to reconstruct the style of house in which the deceased lived.

Though I could not bring you an inclosure award, I have brought the tithe award for Lydiard. Normally I do not take tithe awards to meetings such as this because they are so very large. Tithe awards were made from 1836 to about 1850. They are concerned with the commutation of rectorial and vicarial tithes from payments in kind to a money rent payment. This change-over, as so often with the law, was made long after the earlier practice had generally ceased. I am sure that in 1836 very few incumbents were actually paid in eggs, corn, fish, cheese, etc. The value of the awards is for us indirect.

They are marvellous mines of topographical and genealogical information.

And now I must turn to parish records. Owing to the public-spiritedness of the authorities, both church and secular, in the two Lydiards, we have at Trowbridge, as we have for nearly 200 other parishes, very good deposits of parish records. These deposits include not only parish registers but also other equally interesting and varied records of parochial business such as the accounts of the Overseers of the Highways. We have four books from Lydiard on show to-day: an early register dating from 1666 (although at one time you must have had registers dating from 1538), the first marriage form-book from 1754, the early nineteenth-century account book of the Overseers of the Poor, and the churchwardens' account book from 1668. To have such records at Trowbridge may possibly save them from being lost altogether: they will certainly be preserved in proper conditions. (It is said that the best conditions for a document are exactly the ones that any person would choose to live in – not too warm and not too cold, not too damp and not too dry.)

To have these parochial records collected together means that one can assemble the evidence required for special studies. If anyone is interested in church fabric, for instance, the churchwardens' accounts for very many parishes can be consulted together, with a considerable saving in time in going round the county parish by parish.

I have now discussed the principal groups of official records in the office. The unofficial records include the private deposits from great houses, estates, and so on. We are now trying to attract, by loan or gift, the records of business firms, for historically this is an industrial county, one of the great cloth-trade areas of the country. On display you will see the eighteenth-century pattern book belonging to a Trowbridge clothier, in which can be seen samples of the stuffs he produced. They are very different from our modern materials, colourful but very rough.

In an attempt to show how private records can contribute to Lydiard history, I have brought a document dating from 1269 relating to that Quidhampton which is situated on a peninsula of Lydiard Tregoz parish where it intermingles with Wroughton. In the deed Richard de Hyweye grants to the Abbot of Stanley certain properties. This is an example of a very early private deed, of some value for the history not only of the monks of Stanley Abbey but also of Lydiard itself. With this one are four others, all St. John documents. There is a patent granting Sir John St. John, 1st Baronet, various properties in 1616; another is a grant from the same man for the maintenance of the monuments in the church; there is a later grant of 1733 arranging with the parochial officers for certain cottages to be built for the use of the parish; and finally, there is the great plan of 1766, the marvellously delineated map of the various local estates belonging to the St. John family. The map is a unique item, the finest of its kind in the office, but so large that it is not always easy to put it on display.

I have also brought one or two printed plans, for they are of the essence of topographical work: - a section of the first edition of the 6" Ordnance Survey map from the early 1880's showing Lydiard; and also a copy of the famous Andrews and Dury's map of the whole county, made in 1773. Neither of these plans is an archive: both are printed maps, but none the worse for that, for the Andrews and Dury map is the earliest really professional survey of this county.

To this account of holdings at Trowbridge I must add that we provide search rooms in which people can study records in appropriately quiet conditions; there is a reference library of books useful for the interpretation of documents; and we naturally have also large strong rooms to accommodate our ever-increasing stock of archives. Documents proliferate, so we have continually to weed out unnecessary material or material that duplicates what we already have or what appears elsewhere, perhaps in the Public Record Office. Then there is the repair section, as the condition of documents often warrants their repair. This is a very specialised, very technical job. Repair work of documents in this country emanates from the Public Record Office where techniques have been evolved which have stood the test of time. The work is slow and painstaking, but very effective.

The end-product of all this amassing of archives for scholars to work on is, for instance, the *Victoria History of Wiltshire*, a fine example of history well-written and well-produced. To achieve this aim there has to be much listing and indexing so that whatever approach the historian may decide to use, whether he is a genealogist, a topographer working on Angl-Saxon charter lands, or whatever, we may be able to hand him the source material he needs with the minimum delay.

The Society is grateful to Mr. Rathbone not only for this address but also the unfailing courtesy and help accorded to researchers at his office in Trowbridge. It must have been a great source of personal satisfaction to him to have the Master of the Rolls, the Rt. Hon. The Lord Denning, R.C., open the Exhibition of Archives at Trowbridge to mark the 25th anniversary of the Country Record Office. Those twenty-five years of work are of immense value to us as a Society. As the 1972 report of the Office stated, "It can, indeed, be fairly claimed that much of the history of our county, general and local, would never be known, much less written, if the record offices did not exist."

APPENDIX: List of Lydiard Tregoz documents at the Wiltshire Record Office

Deposit by the Rector and P.C.C. of Lydiard Tregoz.

Serial No.	Date	Description
INCUMBENT		
920/ 1	1666-1718	Register: christenings, marriages and burials
2	1718-1783	Register: christenings 1718-81, marriages 1718-54, burials 1718-83.
3	1754-1812	Register: marriages.
4	1781-1812	Register: christenings 1781-1812, burials 1783-1812. Contains also a subscription list and Treasury receipt for a voluntary contribution of £55.14s. for the defence of the country, 1798.
5	1813-1836	Register: marriages.
CHURCHWARDENS		
6	1824-1879	Churchwardens' account book.
CHARITIES		
St. John Chancel Trust		
7	1645-1901	Conveyance by Sir John St. John to trustees of an annual rent of £10, payable after his death from his property in Lydiard Tregoz; and five conveyances to new trustees. By Sir John's will, the money was to be applied to maintenance of the "new aisle", "old aisle", and vault and the St. John monuments there. Parties: St. John, Pleydell, Dewel, Kiblewhite, Yorke, Church, Bath, Prater, Kem, Hardyman, Spencer, Cox, Smith, Pannell, Charman, Vilett, Franklyn, Wickens, Daubeny, Bradford, Horsell, Storey, Plummer, King, Eddols, Busson, Shipman, Slade, Ody, Kinchin, Johnes, Large, Rebbeck, Wiseman, Titcombe, Price.
8	1880-1930	Bank book of the trust fund in account with The County of Gloucester Bank, Swindon.
9	1902	Solicitors' account in connection with the appointment of new trustees.
10	1885-1948	About thirty vouchers for repairs, etc.

Serial No.	Date	Description
920/ 11	1885-1892	Twenty-five letters, etc., relating to the trust, with a detailed note of repairs required, a draft statement of account, and a specification of repairs.
12	1890-1892	Six letters between the incumbent and the Charity Commissioners, mainly about the accounts; and three annual statements of account.
13	1935-1938	About thirty reports, estimates and letters about the restoration of the stained glass.
14	1901	A schedule of documents relating to the charity.
SCHOOLS		
15	1866-1890	Admissions register.
16	1891-1928	Admissions register.
CHURCHWARDENS		
674/ 1	1668-1831	Churchwardens' account book.
2	1733	Lease of land on the edge of Hook Common, on which a cottage or cottages for the benefit of the parish of Lydiard Tregoz is intended to be built. Parties: Henry 1st viscount St. John; Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor of Lydiard Tregoz.

Deposit by the Lydiard Tregoz Parish Council of Civil Parish documents.		
VESTRY		
675/ 1	1845-1861	Vestry minute book.
2	1873-1903	Vestry minute book.
SURVEYORS		
3	1754-1832	Surveyors' account book.
4	1841-1845	Surveyors' account book.
5	1853-1855	Surveyors' account book, for Hook.
6	1856-1857	Surveyors' account book, for Hook.
7	1848-1853	Highway rate book.
8	1853-1860	Highway rate book.

Serial No.	Date	Description
OVERSEERS		
675/ 9 to 675/ 28	(1805-1896)	Rate books: 1805-1813, 1813-1820, 1821-1832, 1836-1837, 1838-1843, 1844-1847, 1848-1850, 1851-1853, 1858, 1862-1863, 1864-1866, 1868-1869, 1869, 1887-1888, 1889-1890, 1891-1892, 1892-1893, 1893-1894, 1894-1895, 1895-1896 (20 volumes).
29	1809	Certificate to the parish officers of Lydiard Tregoz that a bastard child is a parishioner of St. Paul's, Malmesbury, and that weekly payment is being made towards its upkeep.
30	1806-1809	Overseers' disbursement book.
31	1818-1881	Overseers' receipts and disbursements for rent, 1818-1835. With vestry minutes relating to poor relief, 1821-1825, and a list of overseers, 1827-1881.
32	1823-1830	Overseers' disbursement book.
33	1834-1836	Overseers' disbursement book.
34	1836-1848	Overseers' account book.
35	1868-1888	Overseers' account book.
36	1881-1898	Collector's monthly statement book.
37	1894-1898	Poor rate collecting and deposit book.
BURIAL BOARD		
38	1889-1894	Burial Board minute book.
39	1891-1893	Burial Board certificate book (for sums of money obtained from the poor rates).
40	1891-1897	Burial Board and Parish Council account book.
41	1890-1895	Three auditors' certificates, 1892-4; four yearly returns to the Local Government Board, 1890-4; four annual statements of account 1891-4; and four bundles of receipts (about 55 in all), 1891-4, all connected with Lydiard Tregoz Burial Board; also fourteen cemetery receipts, 1895.
42	1891-1897	About sixty notices of interment and related certificates, etc.

Serial No.	Date	Description
675/ 43	1895-1904	About fifty letters, memoranda, etc., relating to a dispute between the Rector and the Parish Council over responsibility for the new burial ground and the payment of the sexton, and to the method of drainage of the ground.
44	1898-1904	Ten miscellaneous letters, certificates, etc., relating to the burial ground.
PARISH COUNCIL		
45	1895-1903	Parish Council letter book.
46	1894-1936	Parish Council minute book.
47	1936-1950	Parish Council minute book.

In his talk, Mr.Rathbone encouraged the idea of owners or trustees of archives depositing them in the Record Office, especially as ownership is not transferred with the records. Depositors can remove any or all of their records, suitable notice having been given to the Archivist, either for temporary study or for permanent deposit elsewhere.

The Lydiard records were formerly kept in the church vestries, in Hook School, in the old Reading Room, and, in the case of the St.John Chancel Trust, at Kinneir's in Swindon. There is no continuous heating of the Lydiard churches – hence the danger to records from condensation.

The list of deposits that appears above is impressive, but it is as nothing to what has been lost or dispersed over the years. For example, parish registers were ordered to be kept from 1538 – ours start at 1666, although there are certain of the missing years preserved among the bishop's transcripts at Salisbury. There is no schedule for the Tithes Map. (The copy of the map belonging to the parish is still kept at Hook School.) The St.John family sustained loss in two fires which must have destroyed important records. Then there is the vast documentation associated with parochial administration, e.g., of the Poor Law – nearly all of which is missing.

Nothing at all can be done about records that have been destroyed. Occasionally there are happy moments when records that have been dispersed 'come home'. Such an occasion took place when Mr.Liffen, of Enfield, knocked on the Rectory door one day and offered as a gift to the parish the volume of churchwardens' accounts (674/1 above) that he had bought years before together with other items at an auction sale. Recently Swindon Corporation 'brought home' a collection of nineteenth-century deeds by purchase from a book seller in Bath. Records are dispersed so very easily. The Rev.E.H.Jones came as rector to Lydiard Tregoz in 1900. Previous to this he had been rector of Johnston with Steynton, near Milford Haven. Not long ago one of Steynton's nineteenth-century rate-books was found in the Tregoz safe! It has been returned. There is in our baptismal registers a detached half-sheet of baptisms conducted somewhere in 1692-95. There is no heading to the page. Perhaps they belong to Steynton, also. Certainly, there is a lot to be said in favour of depositing archives in a County Record Office.

PORTRAIT No. 40

notes by Miss Kate Woodgate-Jones, of the Bristol Art Gallery.

[The Corporation of Swindon has undertaken the task of restoring the St. John portraits they acquired from Lord Bolingbroke. A couple of pictures are sent each year to Bristol Art Gallery for restoration. This work of cleaning can be an adventure of discovery – as indeed happened with portrait No.40.

Miss Kate Woodgate-Jones discovered under the layers of discoloured varnish that the portrait was signed and dated. She has kindly agreed that the notes that she made should be reproduced here:]

Report on the condition and treatment carried out on a panel.

Title: Sir John St. John, 1st Bart. of Lydiard Tregoz.

Artists: Cornelius Jansen.

Support: A hand sawn oak panel 25" x 31" glued in three sections.

Medium: Oil

Condition: This panel has already been restored several times. During a former restoration the three sections were crudely joined with a Scotch glue using as an extra support eight wooden blocks, 2" square and roughly 4" x 5" apart, four on each join.

The grain of these blocks is running in the opposite direction to the grain of the panel i.e. horizontally and as the glue is now very brittle it is partly flaking off.

The back of the panel is inscribed: "Sir John St. John Bart of Lydiard Tresjoy, son to the first Sir John Bart. Painted by Cornelius Jansen, 1631." [Editor: The wording is incorrect. It should read "son to Sir John".] The remains of a seal can be found in the bottom left-hand corner, and a few remaining fragments of a gesso ground which had originally covered the back of the panel.

The painted surface of the panel showed various signs of stress and damage caused by :

- a) The wooden blocks glued to the back of the panel which had produced two kinds of stress marks on the right and left sections of the painting. (The fact that the grain of these blocks was running in an opposite direction to that of the panel was in effect precipitating the damage.) The stress marks showed as lines running from the block and around the block.

- b) As the panel had been nailed firmly into its frame (allowing for no movement) there were many damages caused by the wood splitting around the nails. All these deficiencies were surrounded by an area of blistering and flaking paint and all had been refilled several times with both gesso and oil-based putty stoppings. The nailing of the panel had also caused three splits in the left-hand corner. There was a further long split between the panels to a length of 25" with consequent paint loss.

There were two areas of worn paint:

In the centre background of the left hand section of the panel, and in the centre of the sitter's jacket.

Thin areas of the hair had been overpainted and the front lock of hair painted out in a flesh colour.

The panel is signed C.J. fecit 1631 in the bottom right hand corner.

Treatment: The flaking paint around the damages and splits was secured with wax using a hot spatula, and the panel was then cleaned. During this process an oxidised and fragmented varnish layer was removed with a solution of acetone and white spirit. The overpaint on the original damages was softened with isopropyl alcohol and on removal revealed extensive paint loss in the surrounding areas. The retouchings around the outer edges of the panel proved to be more stubborn than the rest and in some cases it was thought unnecessary to remove them

After cleaning, the panel was faced with eltoline tissue using a wax paste and the blocks of wood and Scotch glue were carefully chiselled from the back. The left-hand section of the panel was then detached to allow for its correct resetting, and all the joints were cleaned in preparation for re-gluing. The eltoline tissue was removed. A P.V.A. adhesive was used to re-glue the splits and to rejoin the left-hand section to the rest of the panel.

The paint deficiencies were then filled with a coloured wax and gesso stopping, and the panel was given a dammar varnish prior to retouching; MS2A resin was used as a retouching medium, and the panel was given a final varnish of dammar plus MS2A. A wax polish was applied four weeks later. (This polish is removable in Shellsoll T.)

Lady Johnanna St. John as a medical practitioner

by Frank T.Smallwood, M.A., F.S.A.

The apothecary is perpetually employed in countermining the cook and the vintner. - The Spectator, 13 October 1711.

“My Lady Bountiful is one of the best of Women: Her last Husband, Sir Charles Bountiful, left her worth a Thousand Pound a Year; and I believe she lays out one half on’t in charitable Uses for the Good of her Neighbours; she cares Rheumatisms, Ruptures, and broken Shins in Men, Green-Sickness, Obstructions, and Fits of the Mother in Women; - the King’s Evil, Chincough [whooping cough], and Chilblains in Children: in short, she has cured more People in and about Litchfield within Ten Years than the Doctors have killed in Twenty; and that’s a bold Word.”

Lady Bountiful: Well, Daughter Sullen, tho’ you laugh, I have done Miracles about the Country here with my receipts.

Mistress Sullen: Miracles indeed, if they have cur’d any body; but I believe, Madam, the Patient’s Faith goes farther towards the Miracle than your Prescription.

Lady Bountiful: Fancy helps in some cases, but there’s your Husband, who has as little Fancy as any body; I brought him from Death’s Door.

There is no evidence or reason for supposing that in writing *The Beaux Strategem* (1707) George Farquhar (1678-1709) modelled his Lady Bountiful with her “Diet-drinks”, “Rosemary-Water”, “Cephalic Plaister to put to the Soals of your Feet”, “Hartshorn-Drops”, and “Powder-sugar to stop the Blood” on Lady St.John. On the contrary, he was making fun of the fact that the lady up at the big house (and perhaps the parson’s wife) often practised medicine according to her lights, which were often pretty dim. Only three miles away from Lydiard Park, Lady St.John’s contemporary at Basset Down, Sibilla, 2nd wife of Neville Maskelyne (1611-79), “certainly administered them [her medicines] to her household and neighbours as county ladies have been accustomed to do at all times, especially when medicines were difficult to procure, and where the only available advice was either that of the lady at the manor house or that of the herb-woman or ‘wise woman’ with a reputation for knowledge of ‘yarbs’ in some neighbouring village.” (See Mary Arnold-Forster, *Basset Down – An Old Country House*, p.70.)

The reference to Dame Johanna's pharmaceutical activities are not numerous, but they may be assembled for what they may be worth. The earliest occurs in a letter dated 21 December, 1660, from Sir Walter at Battersea to his steward Tom Hardyman at Lydiard. The eldest child Anne, aged ten, has small-pox at Battersea. The eldest boy, Harry (later 1st Viscount St. John) aged eight, and a daughter – "the maide", presumably Johanna aged two and a half – are at Lydiard in the care of Mrs. Dewell, the Rector's wife. But Harry has been unwell, and Mrs. Dewell has herself developed the small-pox. Therefore Sir Walter instructs Hardyman to remove Harry to Lydiard House, adding "My wife hath sent him a purge. Do not lett him take cold after the takeing of itt." (See *Our Lady of Batersey*, p.313) The significance of this fact must not be exaggerated. After all, at the beginning of the present century every mother knew the value of licorice power, senna tea, camphorated oil, arrowroot, and smelling salts, and kept supplies in the family medicine cupboard.

The next reference is rather more significant: it dates from June/July 1665, when the plague was devastating London., Aunt Isham, wife of one of the Verneys, "has also a cure for the falling sickness (presumably epilepsy) given her by Lady Shinjane as a think as never failed. Take the misseltoe wh^{ch} grows sometimes upon the top, & sometimes among the branches of an old oake tree, dry it & beat it to powder & Give as much of it as will lye upon a sixpence, 3 mornings together." (See *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, Vol.IV, p.118.)

The next evidence is slight, but its setting is well known, Everybody has heard some version of the lines :

Here lies a great and mighty king
[alternatively, Here lies our sovereign lord the King]
Whose promise none relies on;
Who never said a foolish thing,
Nor ever did a wise one.

(See *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, p.407, and also p.136.) and most people remember tht they were written by John Wilmot, 2nd Earl of Rochester (1647-80), the notorious rake at the court of King Charles II. Rochester was a son of Sir Walter St. John's eldest sister Anne (1614-96), whose effigy appears at the foot of the First Baronet's monument in the Church at Lydiard Tregoz. (See *Report No.5.*) During an illness in London in the summer of 1679, while the excitement about the Popish Plot was at its height (see *Report No.2*, p.7) Rochester read the first part of Gilbert Burnet's *History of the Reformation* – a well-timed publication; and during the following autumn and winter the two men met frequently and discussed morality, natural religion, and revealed religion – Christianity in particular. Burnet presented the rationalized, latitudinarian Anglicanism of the Restoration. Rochester was convinced by Burnet's arguments in favour of Christian ethics, but though he was not yet fully persuaded about the Christian religion he promised that he would never employ his wit more to run it down or to corrupt others.

The conversations ended in the spring of 1680, when Rochester left London and made his way to High Lodge, his official residence as Ranger of Woodstock Park. Overestimating the completeness of his recovery he rode on horseback into Somerset on business, arrived in a state of collapse, and was brought back by coach to High Lodge (mid-May). From this illness he never recovered. Doctors from London and Oxford attended him. His mother came from Adderbury to help his wife with the nursing; her domestic chaplain Robert Parsons also came from Adderbury, and the Bishop of Oxford and the rector of Lincoln College, his parish priest, also visited him. While Parsons was reading Isaiah 53 to him on 19 June Rochester had a mystical experience – “he felt religion at first hand as an inward force”. He assembled his servants, and read and signed a declaration expressing detestation and abhorrence of his past life and warning all against denying the “Being” or “Providence” of God, or making a mock of Sin or condemning religion. The document was witnessed by his mother and Parsons, and he took communion with his wife, who had renounced Roman Catholicism.

On 25 June at midnight Rochester dictated and signed a letter to Burnet asking for his prayers. The letter was tantamount to an invitation, but despite what some writers have described as Burnet’s eagerness to be in at the death of sinners Burnet did not go to Woodstock till the 20th July. Burnet stayed for four days, during which Rochester declared that “his mind was entirely turned, and though Horror had given him his first awaking, yet that was now grown up into a settled Faith and Conversion”. On Saturday the 24th Burnet left; and in the early hours of Monday the 26th Rochester died.

During this period Anne, the dowager Countess of Rochester, wrote five long letters to her sister-in-law Dame Johanna at Battersea, transcripts of which survive at the British Museum. (Add. MS 6269, f.33.) The third, fourth, and fifth letters are dated 19th and 26th June and 2nd July, those of 19th and 26th June being very close to the two important dates mentioned above. That of the 19th carried a postscript containing the words “Before I sealed this, I received yours, and two waters for my son, Ro. He and his lady give you thanks, and present their service to you.” That of the 26th has a similar postscript – “My son and daughter i.e., daughter-in-law present their service to you and we all thank you for your waters.” (Portrait No.4 at Lydiard Park shows John Wilmot’s son Charles, who died at the age of eleven, a year after his father.)

“Waters” abound in the pharmacopoeias of the period, and so do “drops”. Anything that was supposed to be good for the head was likely to include the adjective “cephalic” in its name; hence such terms as “Aqua Cephalica” and “Guttae cephalicae”. A work of 1656 distinguishes “Cephalicks Heating and drying” from “Cephalicks cooling and Moistning” with a further differentiation in each group between things to be taken internally and things to be applied externally. “Cephalic snuff” also occurs, and Lady Bountiful’s “Cephalic Plaister” could even be applied to the soles of the feet. Lady St. John’s medicine cupboard contained “Cephalic Drops”. Her grandson Henry, the future 1st Viscount Bolingbroke (1678-1751), was brought up by her in Battersea, though whether for more than the first eight years of his life cannot be said with any

certainty. He was a very sickly child and when he was 14 or 15 his life was almost despaired of. (See *Report No.2*, p.26.) Years afterwards, on 19 June, 1743, he wrote to his friend Hugh, Earl of Marchmont :

I doubt not, but your Lordship takes Pope as my grandmother's cephalic drops were to be taken – a little at a time and often.

These may have been *Guttae Goddardianae* (Goddard's Drops) which were described as an excellent thing "against the falling sickness --- apoplexy, lethargy, vertigo, megrim, headaches, caurus, palsies, convulsions, and against other diseases of the head, brain and nerves." The original formula was

R. Humane Bones or rather scales, well dried, break them into bits, and put them into a retort, and join thereto a large Receiver which lute well i.e., make a close-fitting joint : and distil first with a gentle Fire, then with a stronger, increasing the fire gradatim; so you will have in the Recipient a Flegm, Spirit, Oyl, and Volatile Salt. Shake the Receiver to loosen the Volatile Salt from the sides, then close your Receiver and set it in the earth to digest for three months, after that digest it in a gentle heat fourteen days, then separate the Oyl which keep for use.

With a certain show of reasoning the author argues that if made from the bones of the skull the drops are good for apoplexy, vertigo, megrims, etc., but for gout of any particular limb they are better if made from the bones of that limb. "The dose is 6 to 12 drops, but it has an evil scent." And so on and so forth. But a later writer describes *Guttae cephalicae* as "An old remedy for headache, consisting of oil of canella and an ammoniacal liquor distilled from raw silk. Also ammonium carbonicum pyro-oleosum 22 grammes, oil of lavender 4, and alcohol 46 mixed and distilled." These seem more likely to have been the "cephalic drops" than the more famous Goddard's drops.

Of Dame Johanna's thirteen children only two sons and three daughters grew up and married. Much is known of the eldest son Henry, 1st Viscount St. John (1652-1742), but comparatively little of William (1668-1706/7). He married Frances Compton, who was related on her mother's side to the Mashams. Through her maternal grandmother's second marriage Dame Johanna was also related to the Mashams, which explains the fact that Dame Johanna was christened on 27 January, 1630/1, in the church at High Laver, the parish church of Oates, the home of the Mashams. John Locke himself resided at Oates 1691-1704, where he paid 20 shillings a week for board and residence for himself and his servant, and in two letters Dame Johanna consulted him in the spring of 1693 about the illness of her son William, who was then twenty-four. William persisted in following the advice of somebody who had been recommended to him and who "warrants that he will effect a perfect cure". The treatment "must purg away the Humore & strengthen his stomach we find in his purges Aloes & in his stomach strengtheners wormwood either of wch I think very hot & improper for him & we find his strength & his Appetite much

abased since the use of them yet he begs me to let him try a little more wholly against my own sense." Dame Johanna thinks they ought to have three doctors and a chirurgion and act "by what they agree upon." She would be pleased if Locke would come to Battersea, for she would then be "confident that they durst not impose upon my Ignorance." She thinks that Battersea "Ayre" will be good for Locke's health "because our soyle is so good (28 April 1693 – Bodleian Library, MS Locke, c.18, f.60). When Dame Johanna wrote again to Locke on 9th May (B.L. MS Locke, c.18, f.61), her son had left his doctor, and she had persuaded him "to try the milk diet since wch his Bloud is st[o]pt & his gripeings quite gone. I doe not expect a cure from it nor that his patience will last long but to delay time till more seasonable weather." At the beginning of the letter she had wished that Locke had visited Battersea, where "it is now very sweet with woodbines & Bean Blossoms the natural perfumes of the season", and she ended by excusing herself for troubling him with her "nonsense. tis natural to us to troble others with what troubles us."

Finally Dame Johanna when making her will on 7 March, 1703/4, left "all Phisical Powders & waters --- to the same use wch I made of them." Presumably she kept a recipe book, but its present location is not known.

Quite obviously Goddard's Drops and many other concoctions of the time had no therapeutical value, but mistletoe has a vasodilator action and was formerly used for lowering blood pressure and in the treatment of hysteria and chorea. If the "cephalic drops" that Dame Johanna administered to her grandson may be identified with *Guttae Cephalicae* – which is not certain – then it would seem that the preparation would act in much the same way as "sal volatile".

The present writer is indebted to Dr.E.S.de Beer for the reference to Farquhar's play and the letters of Dame Johanna and her daughter-in-law in the Bodleian Library. For co-operation in the attempt to identify Dame Johanna's recipes and to establish their therapeutical value, if any, the writer is indebted to Mr.S.Wood of the Royal College of Surgeons, Mr.R.G.Todd of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, Mr.L.M.Payne of the Royal College of Physicians, and Mr.E.Gaskell of the Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine.

Appendix

Five letters from Anne (St.John), dowager Countess of Rochester, at Woodstock, to her sister-in-law Johanna, wife of Sir Walter St.John, at Battersea.

From transcripts at the British Museum. Add. MS 6269, f.33.

Two letters from Dame Johanna St.John, at Battersea, to John Locke at Oates.

From originals at the Bodleian Library. MS Locke c.18, ff.60, 61.

Six letters from Frances (Compton) wife of William St.John, son of Sir Walter and Dame Johanna, at Battersea, to John Locke at Oates. From originals at the Bodleian Library. MS Locke, c.18, ff.48 r & v, 50 r & v, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56 r & v, 58, 59.

Explanatory footnotes appear at the end of the transcripts.

Five letters of Ann, Countess of Rochester, b.1614,
written when 80 years old, to her sister in law
[Johanna] lady St.John,
giving an account of her son's behaviour during his sickness,
copied from the originals in the hands of Mrs. Meredith,
granddaughter to lady St.John.

Letter 1

Sweet Sister,

It has pleased God to lay his afflictive hand upon my poor son, in visiting of him with a sore sickness, and whether for life or death we cannot guess, but he is reduc'd to great weakness in the outward man. But in the midst of punishment he has remembred mercy, and strengthen'd him in the inner man, to the comfort of me his poor mother. For never all the former sicknesses, he has had, did in the least measure work to much upon him to the knowledge and acknowledgement of God, and to repentance of his former life, and the sense how he has gone astray, as this doth. I am not able to write you a long letter. I can only say this, that tho' he lies under as much misery almost as human man can bear, yet he bears his sufferings with so much patience and resignation to God's will, that I confess I take more comfort in him under this visitation, than ever I did in all his life before. And tho the Lord has been pleas'd not to work this work upon him till the last hour; yet I have great reason to believe, he will find mercy thro the merits and satisfaction of Christ, on whom he throws himself for the favour of God. O sister, I am sure, had you heard the heavenly prayers he has made since this sickness, the extraordinary things he has said, to the wonder of all, that has heard him, you would wonder, and think that God alone must teach him, for no man could put into him such things as he says. He has, I must tell you too, converted his wife to be a protestant again. Pray, pray for his perseverance, dear sister, and pardon me, that I can say no more, but to rest,

Madam,
Yr. Affectionate servant,
Ann Rochester

I did not receive the letter, Mr.Foot says you sent by the post.

To the Lady St.John's, at her house in Batersay.

Letter II

My Dear Sister

Mr. Blankort did not deliver me your letter till this Monday morning, and just now I am going to Adderbury, where I have not been these five weeks, but intend to return to my son again in a day. The account I can give you of him, is much as my last. He continues weak, but is sometimes better, than he is others. The greatest comfort he enjoys is his sleep, and that he does much. He has a kind of a hectic fever upon him, as the doctors call it, which is not at all times; for some times his temper is good outwardly, but the doctor says he is hot inwardly; yet I cannot think it, because he is seldom dry. He drinks asses milk, and it digests well with him, and some other spoon-meats, but he takes no broaths made with meat for fear of heat. He spits mightily within these two days, which some say is good for him, but I find all evacuations weaken him. I confess I cannot discern amendment in him yet, but as long as life is we have hopes. I thank God his sense continues very well, and when his strength will give him leave, expresses himself with great devotion both upon the account of his former ill life, with great humility he lays himself low before the throne of grace, begging favour and pardon from God upon the account of the merits of Christ alone, acknowledging himself the greatest of sinners. Truly, sister, I think, I may say without partiality, that he has never been heard say, when he speaks of religion, an unsensible word, nor of anything else; but one night, of which I writ you word, he was disordered in his head, but then he said no hurt, only some little ribble rabble which had no hurt in it; but it was observed by his wife and I particularly, that whenever he spoke of God that night, he spoke very well, and with great sense, which we wondred at. Since that night, he has never had a minute of disorder in his head; that was a most a fortnight ago. This last night if you had heard him pray, I am sure you would not have took his words for the words of a mad man, but such as come from a better spirit than the mind of mere man. But let the wicked of the world say what they please of him, the reproaches of them are an honour to him, and I take comfort, that the devil rages against my son; it shows his power over him is subdued in him, and that he has no share in him. Many messages and compliments his old acquaintance send him; but he is so far from receiving of them, that still his answer is, "let me see none of them, and I would to God I had never convers'd with some of them." One of his physicians, thinking to please him, told him, the K. drank his health the other day. He look'd earnestly upon him, and said never a word, but turn'd his face from him. I thank God, his thoughts are wholly taken off from the world, and I hope, whether he lives or dies, will ever be so. But they are fine people at Windsor, God forgive them, sure there never was so great a malice perform'd, as to intitle my poor son to a lampoon at this time, when, for ought they know, he lyes upon death bed. My comfort, is, he will partake of that joy unspeakable and full of glory in the highest heavens, that you wish him, I hope. Last night the very expression, you have made in your good wishes for his soul, he made to God in the conclusion of his prayer last night, that he might enjoy that unspeakable bliss of a place in heaven, though

he were but a door keeper, to sing praises to the Lord with the heavenly host. I do believe, if any has reported, that he should speak ridiculous, it has been the popish physician, who one day listened at the door, whilst my son was discoursing with a divine. But my son spoke so low, that he could hear but half words, and so he might take it for nonsense, because he had a mind to do so. But I thank God, my son lays hold on the merits of his Saviour Jesus Christ, for all his comfort from God, in whose arms I trust he will be receiv'd, when `ere he goes out of this world; which is the great comfort she has, who is, Madam,

Yr. Affectionate sister and servant,

Anne Rochester.

My daughter Ro. and my son remember their service to you, and my brother, to whom I present my affections.

For the Lady St.John's, at Sr. Walter St.John's house at Battersay. These.

Letter III

June th. 19.

I must, Dear Sister, give you an account of the first hopes of comfort I have of my son Rochester; who tho' he is very weak, yet these two days has produc'd strange alterations in him. He sleeps very well, is but little feverish, his great tortures of pain almost abated, gathers some strength, tho' but little yet. But God is infinitely merciful upon all accounts; both to his soul and body. Tis my great hopes, he will persevere in the way God has put him in for his soul's happiness.

I cannot omit one passage lately. Mr.Fanshaw, his great friend, has been here to see him; and as he was standing by my son's bedside, he look'd earnestly upon him and said: "Fanshaw, think of a God, let me advise you, and repent you of your former life, and amend your ways. Believe what I say to you, there is a God, and a powerful God, and he is a terrible God to unrepenting sinners. The time draws nigh, that he will come to judgement with great terror to the wicked, therefore delay not your repentance. His displeasure will thunder against you, if you do; believe me, do not defer the time. You and I have been long acquainted, done ill together." I love the man, and speak to him out of conscience for the good of his soul. Fanshaw stood, and said never a word to him, but stole away out of the room. When my son saw him go, is a gone, says he, poor wretch, I

fear his heart is harden'd. After than Fanshaw said to some in the house, that my son should be kept out of melancholly fancies. This was told my son again. Upon which, says he, I know why he said that, it was because I gave him my advice; but I could say no less to him than I did, let him take it as he pleases.

Dear sister, my hope is great, and God is good, on whom I depend for good both for his soul and body. I believe I have tired you with my discourse. I have nothing more at present, but to assure you, I am,

Madam,

Yr. Faithful friend and serv^t.

A. Ro.

You must not let Fanshaw know, what I have told you. Before I sealed this, I received yours, and two waters for my son Ro. He and his lady give you thanks, and present their service to you. I thank God, my son continues at all times very devout, ever since God struck him with a sense of his sins. He is very tender and fearful, but it does not carry him to despair. He is sensible the satisfaction of Christ is his comfort, and relies wholly upon Christ's merits for his salvation. This day has not been so good a day with him, as yesterday. He has had some faint fits.

N.B. The direction is torn off.

Letter IV

June th. 26th

I am sure, Dear Sister, 'tis your desire to hear some time how my poor weak son does. He gives us little hopes of his life, his weakness increasing so much. But as his outward man decays, I thank God, his inward increases and strengthens. For he is very pious and devout, and willing to resign himself into the arms of his Saviour, when God pleases to take him. I hear Mr.Fanshaw reports my son is mad, but I thank God he is far from that. I confess for a night, and part of a day, for want of rest his head was a little disorder'd; but it was long since Mr.Fanshaw saw him. When he reprov'd him for his sinful life, he was as well in his head, as ever he was in his life, and so he is now. I thank God. I am sure, if you heard him pray, you would think, God has inspir'd him with true wisdom indeed; and that neither folly, nor madness, comes near him. I wish that wretch Fanshaw had so great a sense of sin, as my poor child has, that so he might be brought to

repentance, before it is too late; but he is an ungrateful man to such a friend. Dear Sister, pray for us, and believe me to be, Madam,

Yr. Faithful friend and serv^t.

A. Rochester.

My son and my daughter present their service to you, and we all thank you for your waters.

N.B. The direction is torn off.

Letter V

July th. 2.

I did, Dear Madam, receive yours dated the 28th of June, full of kindness, and full of christianity, in your good wishes and kindness to my poor sick son, who I thank God is yet alive; but whether it will please God to restore him again out of this bed of sickness, none but himself knows. He is full of mercy, and good upon all accounts; and my prayers are, that whether my poor son lives or dies, the Lord may be glorified in all. His conversion is mercy enough for us, tho' we enjoy him not in this world; the comfortable hopes, that he will be a saint in heaven is beyond my expression. I cannot tell you that there is much sign of a recovery of my son, tho' his fever has left him; little heats he has still, which we imagine proceeds from his ulcer. But that, as I like worst in him, is, he gathers no strength at all, but his flesh wasts much, and we fear a consumption, tho' his lungs are well. He sleeps much. His head for the most part is very well. He was this day taken up, and set up in a chair for an hour, and was not very faint, when he went to bed. He does not care to talk much, but when he does, speaks for the most part well. His expressions are so suddenly spoken, that many of them are lost, and cannot be taken; yet I believe some, of what he has said, will be remembered. I told my son, that I heard Mr.Fanshaw said, that he hoped, he would recover, and leave those principles he now profess'd. He answer'd, wretch, I wish I had convers'd all my life time with link boys, rather than with him and that crew, such I mean as Fanshaw is. Indeed I would not live to return to what I was for all the world. I desire the continuance of your prayers, and all the good people, who has been kind in remembering my son in their prayers. I told him, that you prayed for him heartily. He said, pray thank my good aunt, and remember my

service to her, and my uncle. My daughter remembers her service to you. Dear Sister, whatever becomes of me through my affliction, I am sincerely,

Madam,

Yr. faithful friend and affectionate
servant,

A. Rochester.

For the Lady St. John at Battersay.

Leave this to be sent with safety at Mr. Dryden's in Kings-street, at the sign of the pestle and mortar, Westminster, London.

Two letters from Dame Joanna St. John, at Battersea, to
John Licke at Oates.
Transcribed from originals at the Bodleian Library

Letter I

28 Apr. [1693]

Sr

I returne yu my thanks for yrs & beg yr pardon for troubleing you wth that paper wch I suppose to be as much nonsense as I se his practise to be who made it we have taken the best advice for my son we could think of but a Friend of his much more likely by his example to bring him to such a desease then by his judgment to find out a man fit to cure it commended this man to him the man warants he will effect a perfect cure & we thought it reasonable to satisfie my son with a short tryal but I find he takes a way as unlikely as hitherto unsuccesful for he gives him such things as purg him that whereas he used not to goe above 5 times he goes 9 & his Gripes returne with violence & he lays downe this for a Rule that he must purg a way the Humore & so strengthen his Stomach we find in his purges Aloes & in his Stomach strengthners wormwood, either of wch I think very hot & improper for him & we find his strength & his Appetite much abated since the use of them, yet he begs of me to let him try a little more wholly against my own sence.

The only thing I can think of is to hve three Drs & a chiruurgion & govern him by what they agree upon & Sr it would be a great charity in yu & a great favor to me if yu pleased to be heare for I should be then confident they durst not impose upon my Ignorance for I know Dr Gibbones (who must be one) has so great a vallue for you that he would doe his best that he might have yr good oppinion whenever yur occasions cal you up my coach shall attend yu either at the Green man or where yu please & I beleve & hope Battersea Ayre may be of as good advantage to yr Health as any other whatsoever because our soyle is so good.

My Brother mends but so slowly that he does not yet arise every day I shall let him know of my Lady Mashams great favour in inviteing him to Oates but I have been beforehand in perswadeing him to come hither but as presant he is only fitt for his chamber

we heare of noe news only K Wm made choyce of an Irish Gentleman to cary a presant of his of 4 fine Horses to the Du of Bavaria & at Newport he swam the Horses over & carryed them to the K of France ther is a report that the French are coming before Mastrich [w]th a Hundred & so thousand men & tht ther Fleet is out & has chaced one of our men of warr home & that an Almanake maker in the Fishery of Naples has sd we shall this yeare have a victory at sea over the K of France & take some great Towne in France I doubt I shall tire yu therefore give me leave to subscribe myselfe

Sr
Yr obliged Friend and ser
Jo St John

My humble service to my Lady & Sr Fr[ancis Masham] I owe my Lady a letter but beg her pardon if I do not write this post

My sons wife who was big when you were there lyes in of a son

Robing Houses continues stil ther as a knott [presumably gang] designed to rob my La Windom & cut all ther Throats one of them discovered {i.e. revealed} it & some are taken

we heare my Lo Middleton has carryed to K Ja a scroole of many hands at his service I doubt Mr secre Jo will find hot work in Scotland Sr Jo Cutler has left my Lo Radnor 8000 pnd a yr & 60 thousand Pnd in mony besides wht he has left his kinsman

My service to my cosin & Mrs Cudworth I saw Mr Lukin at my Bro on Wensday last

For my Honored Fried Mr Locke
at Oates in Essex to be left at
Mr Joslins in Bishops Starford
Hertfordshire

Letter II

9 May [1693]

Sr

I was extremely sorry yr Health was so impaired by yr last being in Towne & cannot but wish that instead of taking a longer Journey you would have tried Battersea where you should have found a hearty welcome tho worse company it is now very sweet wth woodbines and Bean Blossoms the natural perfumes of the season

I heare by by cos Walker you have been at Matchin wch gives me hopes of yr being somewhat recovered wch I cannot yet brag of f[or] my two Friends my Brothers Leg broke of itselfe & was more opened by Mr Knoles yet he had a new confluenc of Humores to it the last satterday & alsoe a Chilnes folowed wth a smal Feavor his Leg is full of kirkels & in his Groyne a swelling as big as an egge notwithstanding his Dr does not think fitt to purg him tho I think it might have prevented his last relapps As to my son he has left his Dr & I found out this device to keep him from excesse in meat & Drink to perswade him to try the milk diet since wch his Bloud is st[op]t & his gripeings quite gone I doe not expect a cure from it nor that his patience will last long but to delay him tel more seasonable weather tho I cannot then tel what to resolve upon for him Dr Gibbons said when he left him he had all that Art could doe & to Mr Bennet (who is of kinn to him) he sd he must cure himselfe wch makes me feare he can say nor doe noe more & new ones will but repeat what we have tried already the weather is so wett that he cannot ride constantly every day

Were not yr charity so great I should a thousand times beg yr pardon for troubleing you wth my affaires & yr beareing wth my nonsense tis natural to us to troble others wth what troubles us & the best natured & most usefull have most of it least I troble you more sr give me leave to give you thanks for yr past &

& believe me yr most obliged Humble

ser

Jo St John

For my Honored Friend Mr Locke
at Sr Francis Mashams at Oates
to be left at Mr Joslings at
Bishops Starford Hertfordshire

Six letters from Frances (Compton) wife of William St. John,
son of Sir Walter and Dame Joanna,
at Battersea, to John Locke at Oates.
Transcribed from originals at the Bodleian Library.

Letter I

October the 28 [1694]

I was very much pleased at the reseiving a letter from my Good Father tho' it would have bine a greater degree of satisfaction to have seen you which I did attempt, tho' I could not succeed, & my Lady had resolved to have sent to you, but having heard you came up to one ill of the small pox, She would not send, upon my account tho' I was not in the least afraid, & should have ventured the coming to you, had convenyancy admited, but, I hope shortly I shall be within view of the walk of Oates & if I am shall not forget my old quallity of triping it along the feilds haveing not forgot the satisfaction, that walks have formerly affoarded me, & tho' fortun hath allowed me a new addition of friends it cannot so over power my thoughts as to occation tho' forgetting former, having so covetous a temper in that perticuler as to Aime at the keeping all, & not to quit old, for to gaine the new, amoungst which number I esteime Mr.Lock not the least, in whos acquaintence & friendship I think my self very happy, shall therfore desire & endeavor the continuance of it, & will conclud my letter by the title of,

Your Affectinat Daughter
& humble servant

Frances St.John

Mr. St.John desires his servis, my Lady allso desires her servis to you.

Letter II

December the 30 [1697]

It was a very great addition to my joy, that from your own kinde hand, I should reseive the account of your having in any degree, recovered that ill staite of health you was under at your going out of town, for which I could not but be extreemly troubled It

being a generall misfortune that your streingth will not permitt, without so great Iniury to your self, a longer stay in that plaice wherin you are capable of doing so great servis to the publick, tho' in what soever corner, of the earth, faite disposes of Good Mr.Lock, he will ever be that person, by whome others may benifitt, as I have expeirencd tho' not with such an improvement as might be expected under to great an Aduantidg in your good conversation, the reflection of which gives me a pleasant satisfaction, & had great reason to Lament my misfortuan of missing you both hear [at Battersea] & at your own Lodgings those few opertunitys I could get for attempting it, but wish I could make you a vissitt att your chimney Corner were I might Laugh with you, for I promiss I would have no design upon you for runing a race tho' I wish you were able for your own sake,

I am not able to answer those many kinde things My D[ear] Father has said to me in his letter, & a second part of which I reseived from Cosen Masham but will reffer my self to your own goodness to believe how much oblidged I think myself to you for retaining so kinde a remembrance of me whilst self Interist must ingaig me to Love & value so kinde a Friend as your self, for I must acknowlidg a pride, in that Title by which I desire to conclud myself your adopted Daughter

& your most oblidged

Humble Servant

Fra. St.John

I beg my service to Lady Masham to whome I shall ever acknolidg my self obliged very much

Mr St.John & all hear are your Servants, we are not yet without fears of good Sr Walter who is often ill

Letter III

c. 17 Dec., [1698]

S^r

To escape so dismall a destemper (w.^{ch} to many proved faitall, & to most very severe, wth so great eas,) is matter of great Joy and satisfaction; but the additionall pleasure which this lait Illness has afforded me, is the great kindness of my friends, who haveing given me such testimony how great a part they take wth me, in my Recovery, which gives me a greater sence of my happiness in it allso there being nothing so desirable

in this Life as friendship, & tho' I have not the vanity to think I have deserved that kindness which my good fortune hath allotted me, yet Justice obliges me to acknowledg it, & to my good Friend Mr.Lock, to whome I am not the least indebted having many thanks owing for those continued favores which I have offten reseived, & desire now to return my thanks for your last kinde letter, which I reseived whilest I was in town, a plaice which admitts not if much time for writing or I should not have omitted returning my thanks before this time, & now imagining it may afford you some pleasant thoughts I must give you the reason of my being in town, beleiving you will not easily gues it, (for the Aire, affter my infectious Destemper, & when I name Westminster as the plaice where I Lodged you will imagine I gained great benifitt,

And now I am to present my La S^t Jo servis to you & Sr Walters, & she desires you will let her know what time of the year is proper for the Honysucke & she will send them down & begs you will direct the sweet bryer to be left at Mr.Martins at the sign of the Unicorn in Bow Lane [a] Cooks shop, & now it's time to releas you from a teadious epistle, & with Mr S^t. Johns & my own very humble servis conclud my self by the happy title of

Your oblided friend

& humble Servant

Frances S^t John

I beg the favore of you to present my servis to Lady Masham, to whome I am indebted a letter, & my servis to the rest of your good Company.

Letter IV

Feber the 20 [1698/9]

It having bine long I have experienced the kindness of my good Friend Mr.Lock, that I cannot but be acquainted with your goodness but yet never the less sencible of my own obligation to you for it & therefore cannot be careless to every new Assurance you give me of your continued kindness for me which you have laityly repeated in a most obliding maner in your last letter for which I desire now to return you my thanks, & where [sic] I so happy as to be near enough to se you every day I could believe I should not only inioy the hearing of your good wishes, but the reall effects of them there being a sertaine happyness in your good company which I hartely wish I could partake more of, & that without depriving that part of our friends w^{ch} have now the posesion of you, my

wish being very just on'ly to be shairer in their felicity, being in great reallity to your Self & all your good company a very humble Servant & to my Dear Father

A Loving Daughter

& oblidge Servant

Fra S^t John

Mr S^t John & my self desire our Servis to all, I have also Lady S^t Johns Command to present her Servis wth great thanks for the eglentine w^{ch} came very safe, as I wish yours might tho' I fear there was not so good care taken in the putting them up, & if you pleas you may have more but by the mistake of a conceited Gardener I could not at that time get more

For John Lock Esq^r
Att S^r Francis Mashams
at Oates
to be left with Mr Josling in Bishop
Starford Hartford Shire

Letter V

Feberuary the 16 [1699/00]

That part which friends bear in ye Afflictions of others, as it's a great instance of their sincere kindness for ye person under the affliction, & upon y^t account extremely oblidgeing, So also a great allay to the trouble – as my Self has expeirenced in this laite tryall I have mett with, the loss of a Dear Friend having in it, many reflections, some of which allow of pleasure tho' intermixed with greif, Freindship, being that most valuable & desirable felicity in this life, & therefore will admitt of a pleasing thought in ye very Idea of y^t person who was once so indearing, of whome I am now deprived;

And from ye sence of such a loss do I desire to improve my time, by advantaging my self from the remaining friends I am yet so happy to inioy, & make a right use of their kindness, which has bin greatly testified to me upon this occation, & amongst many, your Self, & not the least; for when I consider the relation others bore to my Dear Sister could not but occation them to share in the Concern;

But that w^{ch} Good Mr Lock has expressed for me upon this loss, must proceed from the goodness of his nature, w^{ch} can be ye on'ly motive to incline your taking so kinde a part wth me; which kindness I would own with ye greatst sence of thankfulness could I express it, & perticuler for y^t part of your letter w^{ch} you seemingly designed to avoide, Reason & Religion being arguments allways usefull & nesenary upon such occations, be they never so offten repeatted there being so great a duty in considering how to make a right use of ye Affliction sent, & w^{ch} our nature requi'rs many helps & assistances for the performance of, therfore must wth great thanks acknowldg ye kinde hand, from which I reseive, such cautions as will ingaig to thought, w^{ch} must first be, in order to practice, & for this, to your Self I am greatly owing in thanks for your obliding letter wherin was so much goodn^s & kindness as must allways ingaige me to be what I allredy am wth great sincerity

S^r

Your humble Servant

& oblided friend

Frances St John

Mr S^t John desires his humble servis to you, and I beg my own to you & the rest of our friends wth you

Letter VI

May ye 29 [1702]

I having taken ye freedom when you were in town to ask your opinion as to the consern of my health makes me venture to continue troubling you a Second time by letter, & shall take it as a great favore if you will give yr self ye trouble of giving me your iudgment

I haveing had a very severer fitt since I se you ye extremity of w^{ch} lasted for 4 or 5 hours, & my sences much gon, till I vomitted w^{ch} I did of my self & y^t did releive my head tho' so long as the paine continued my head was affected & dosed, from w^{ch} I mostly apprehend my dainger. I have since taken Sr Theo Colleden advice w^{ch} is to take y^t vomitt w^{ch} he says will streingthen my stomach & not weaken it, but has desired me to go to Baith & advises me to Baith, and drink only when I Baith, & but little, & is inclined rather to Bristow water yⁿ Baith as thinking them the softer water & advises me to take

powder of vergina Snake Root & the same electury w^{ch} I told you of if I daire venture it leaving out ye Scamena.

& now the Assurance I have of your kindness & goodness makes me not question your pardon, & desire your opinion of Baithing & drinking & wether any method wth it is proper which will give me a great satisfaction in my jouny, if I have y^r iudgment, & you will greatly add to the former obligation w^{ch} I allredy have to Good Mr Lock & my Dear Father to whome I am

a very obliged Servant
& Affectint Daughter
Frances St.John

I beg my servis to my Lady & all ells of yr good Company this last fitt has left such an inward weakness as I cannot express, a great Sinking of my Spiritts as if I had to Life, but no pain or Sickness my Lady Sr Walter & Mr St John is yr servant – the week after next I think of going to Baith

COMMENTARY OF DAME JOHANNA'S LETTERS

It would be pleasant to suppose that Dame Johanna's information on public affairs was provided by Sir Walter, who, although he was already in his seventy-first year, was still a Member of Parliament and eventually reached the age of eighty-six. Unfortunately for such a surmise, King William III prorogued Parliament on 14th March till 2nd May. At the time of Dame Johanna's letter to John Locke, the King and his continental allies, who included the Electors of Brandenburg and Bavaria, were at war with Louis XIV, King of France. As happened again under Queen Anne (Ramillies, Oudenarde, Malplaquet), George II (Fontenoy), George III (Ligny, Quatre Bras, Waterloo), and George V (Mons, Ypres, Passchendaele), much of the fighting took place in the "Cockpit of Europe." There were also various minor naval engagements in the Channel, though after the destruction of the French fleet at La Hogue (19-24 May, 1692) Louis never again sent a powerful naval force against this country.

But even with the help of the *London Gazette*, *C.S.P.D.*, and Narcissus Luttrell's detailed *Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs* the present writer has not been able to pin-point some of the items of news and rumour that reached Lady St.John at Battersea. The incident in which the French fleet chased one of our men-of-war home is one such; the design "to rob my La Windom" is another. One would also like to know more about the Irish "Gentleman" who was chosen by the King to take a present of four fine horses to Maximilian Emmanuel, Elector (alias Duke, Prince) of Bavaria, who was Governor of the

Spanish Netherlands and was commanding some of the allied forces in the Lowlands. On 11th February, 1692/3, the King had sent Sir Henry Bellasis to the Elector with a complimentary message on the birth of his son. Was the present of four fine horses connected with the same event? Evidently the “gentleman” was a crypto-Jacobite, and having reached the Yser near Newport on the coast about ten miles S.W. of Ostend the rascal swam the horses across and delivered them to the King of France.

References to the movements of French troops in the neighbourhood of Maastricht (on the Meuse) are frequent. Luttrell mentioned the place on 11th, 16th, and 18th February and again on 11th April. Eight days after Dame Johanna’s letter Luttrell also noted (6th May, 1693):

The almanack printed at Millain for 1693 sayes, in Aprill a
great king shall crosse the seas, in May, a great towne shall
be taken, and another laid in ashes; in June, a great sea
fight; in July, a great river in Europe staineed with blood;
in August, great islands shall rebell; and in September, a
generall peace.

Is this the same almanac as the one to which Dame Johanna referred? News reaching Battersea may have been garbled, and Milan confused with Naples. At the time the printing of almanacs was a jealously guarded monopoly of the Stationers’ Company, and “Millain” may have been a false imprint for something printed in London or elsewhere in the British Isles. Regrettably the present writer has not succeeded in locating a copy of either publication – if, indeed, there were two. If the almanac appeared at the beginning of the Old Style year 1693, the prophecy that a great king would cross the seas was fairly safe, for King William’s preparations for his “descent” on the Continent were well known.

On the other hand the reference to “my Lo Middleton” is clear enough. Charles Middleton, 2nd Earl of Middleton and titular Earl of Monmouth (1640-1719) had held high office under Charles II, had resisted King James’s efforts to convert him to Catholicism, and had tried to persuade him to abandon his projected flight. On the King’s flight he remained in England, but did not come to terms with King William’s government, and aimed at a restoration but not by force. In May 1692 he was arrested and committed to the Tower, but he was released on bail in August, and his bail was discharged in November. But early in 1693 – as Lady St. John reports – he joined the court of James at St. Germain, taking with him a “scroole” of many supporters in England. In July 1694, he was outlawed, in July 1695 he was attainted, and his honours were forfeited, but for most of the rest of his life he had chief charge of the court of St. Germain. (See also G.E.C. *Complete Peerage* and *D.N.B.*)

Dame Johanna’s reference to “Mr secre Jo” is also easy to explain. James Johnston (1643?-1737), who was a friend of Sir Francis Masham’s, had helped to prepare William’s invasion of England (November 1688), and in February 1688/9 had been the new King’s envoy to take the Order of the Garter to the Elector of Brandenburg. In 1692

he was appointed Joint Secretary of State for Scotland, and on 3rd April, 1693, according to Luttrell:

secretary Johnson [sic] with divers of the Scotch nobility set forwards for that kingdome, and carried with him the commission to constitute duke Hamilton Lord high Commissioner, in order to the opening that parliament on the 18th, which is to sitt 40 dayes, and the commission being for noe longer.

At that time – and indeed till 1695 and later – there was intense resentment in Scotland at the treacherous “extirpation” of the Macdonalds in the Massacre of Glencoe (13th February, 1692), and Dame Johanna was undoubtedly right in expecting that Secretary Johnston would find “hot work” in the Scottish Parliament. (See also *D.N.B.*)

Sir John Cutler, Knight and Baronet, (1608?-1693), an extremely wealthy man, was famous for combining habits of petty personal parsimony – the word “avarice” has been used – with large benevolence and public spirit. At the approach of the Restoration he helped to promote subscriptions, for the use of Charles II and was promptly rewarded with a knighthood (17th June) and a baronetcy (9th November). His many benefactions included gifts to the rebuilding of St.Paul’s, to Gresham College (in recognition of which he was made an honorary Fellow of the Royal Society), to the Grocers’ Company (of which he was four times Master Warden), and particularly to the Royal College of Physicians. (A more than life-size statue of him from a niche in the facade of the College building is preserved in the Guildhall, London.) In addition he re-built the north gallery of St.Margaret’s, Westminster, and left £1,000 to the Blue Coat Hospital. But it is said that he had a pair of black worsted stockings which his maid darned so often with silk that they became at last a pair of silk stockings. Four years before his death he was elected M.P. for Bodmin, and in the same year (1689) his only daughter by his first marriage – the only child who survived him – married the 2nd Earl of Radnor without his consent. But on 13th April, 1693, - two days before his death – he sent for them both and told them “he freely forgave them both and had settled his estate to their satisfaction” (Luttrell). On the 15th, after a long illness, he died. He had given instructions that he was to be buried “without any sort of pompe.” On 29th April Luttrell recorded, “last night sir John Cutler, who has lain some dayes in state, was honourably interr’d in St.Margaret’s, Westminster.” The funeral was said to have cost £7,666 but St.Margaret’s has no monument to his memory. (See also *D.N.B.*)

The present writer would like further to acknowledge his indebtedness to Dr. de Beer for his help over this Commentary. Readers will be interested to learn that Dr. de Beer is engaged on an extended treatment of Locke’s correspondence.

Monumental Inscriptions

No. 4

Edward St. John

translation by the Rev. J. T. Wharton, M.A.,
with editorial notes

TRANSCRIPTION

P **M** **S**
Scitote

Vos quorum interest humanitatis,
Iustum esse dolorem et nolentem mori,
Qui per difficilem lapidem verba
quaerit.

EDOARDVS ST. IOHN
Felicissima natura vsus ad repentinam gloriam,
Brevi vixit speciosum inter homines exemplar
Imo ad omne magnificentum contendens,
Annorum tantum sit egenus.
Non enim citius virtute fortunam, fama bona
Ornarat familiam, quam per istas Iubetur vmbras
Transire haud sicco pede.
Eheu, festine satis reliquias mortales, maiorum
Cineri promiscuas florida iuventate
(Sed placide) misit, caetera Scilicet
in Coelum raptus.
Quantus in hoc elato marmore relinquitur, vos videte
Qui vigentem colebatis, victurum lugebatis.
Et vos etiam qui vita functum
desideretis.

Sic ille stetit olim vt erect'iam imaginat'est,
Adversum impetus incivilis belli, et rigidas minas
Armatae mortis, honesto vultu, fidentique pectore tulit:
Sic enim ille cecidit, vt stantem putes,
et mente saltem immobilem
Quinimo [sic] superstitem voluit amicum [sic] subinde
lacrymis
Proborumque memoriae, Amor Parentis optimi,
Cuius ingeniosa pietas hunc lapidem
fecit eloquentem.
Obiit pridie Iduum April: Anno
M DC XLV

EXPANSION OF TEXT

Piae Memoriae Sanctum

Scitote

Vos quorum interest humanitatis,
Iustum esse dolorem et nolentem mori,
Qui per difficilem lapidem verba quaeritis,
Edoardus St. John
Felicissima natura usus ad repentinam gloriam,
Brevi vixit speciosum inter homines exemplar
Immo ad omne magnificum contendens,
Annorum tantum sit egenus.
Non enim citius virtute fortunam, fama bona
Ornaverat familiam, quam per istas iubetur umbras
Transire haud sicco pede.
Eheu, festine satis reliquias mortales, maiorum
cineri promiscuas florida iuventate
(sed placide) misit, caetera scilicet
in Coelum raptus.
Quantus in hoc elato marmore relinquitur, vos videte
Qui vigentem colebatis, victurum lugebatis.
Et vos etiam qui vita functum
Desideretis.
Sic ille stetit olim ut erecta iam imaginatio est
Adversum impetus incivilis belli, et rigidas minas
Armatae mortis, honesto vultu, fidentique pectore tulit:

Sic enim ille cecidit, ut stantem putes,
et mente saltem immobilem.
Quin immo superstitem voluit amicorum subinde lachrymis
Proborumque memoriae, Amor Parentis optimi,
Cuius igeniosa pietas hunc lapidem
fecit eloquentum.
Obiit pridie Iduum Aprilium: Anno MDCXLV

TRANSLATION

Sacred to pious memory.

Know ye, whose concern is our human lot, and who trace words on the unyielding stone, that it is just to grieve especially [et] for one unwilling to die.

Edward St.John: using his natural good fortune to win quick glory, he lived but briefly, a shining example among men; nay, he strove for everything great, to lack nothing but years.

For scarcely had he embellished his luck with courage and his family with good repute than he was bidden to pass through those shades, not dry shod [and cross the river of death].

Alas, too quickly yet calmly, he sent his mortal remains, in the full flower of youth, to mingle with the ashes of his ancestors; as to the rest, to be sure, he is caught up to Heaven.

How much [of him] is left in this lofty memorial; see for yourselves, who were his friends when in full vigour, mourned him when he still had life to come, and indeed who may miss him now that he is dead.

Thus he once stood, as this statue now stands upright, against the onslaught of horrid war, and bore the affrighting threats of embattled death with calm expression and trusting heart; for he fell in such a manner that you would have thought him still standing, firm too in resolve.

Nay, the love of his good father wanted him to survive beyond death for his friends to weep over and good men to remember: that father's noble love set up this eloquent monument. He died on the 12th April, 1645.

NOTES

Almost all that is known about Edward St.John has already appeared in previous Reports. Readers are directed to the biographical details in *Report No.4*, p.14, and the discussion about the gilding on pp.18 and 19 of the same *Report*. Until the test of the paint layers is made, nothing further can be added to this matter.

The monument is full of interest. The figure is six feet high. Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Wiltshire*, p.285, describe it as, "Standing, gilt figure in armour below a baldacchino held open by two pages. An impressive composition, but alas bad

Craftmanship.” Christopher Hussey was positively lyrical in his *Country Life* article of April 16, 1948:

Indeed it is one of the most original and exciting monuments in Britain. The gilded bronze [sic] statue of the young cavalier, resting on his shield, stands at the threshold of Heaven against the black background of a tragic world. Golden haired, scarlet robed angels sweep back the cerulean curtains (fringed with gold) of eternal life, and above the golden scrolled and valanced canopy the St. John falcon sustains the role of the Holy Dove. Edward’s martial emblems flank the black marble [sic] pedestal: and the base represents in relief that cavalry charge in which he died [sic]. This glittering monument catches one’s breath, stealing the limelight from all the sombrely glowing opulence of colour and form heaped at its feet.

Neither Mr. Hussey nor Mrs. Katherine Esdaile in her *English Church Monuments, 1510 to 1840* can identify the sculptor. Sacheverell Sitwell, in his introduction to Mrs. Esdaile’s book, p.22, states that Edward St. John “in his bright gilding is unlike anything in England.” Whilst this may be true in regard to the gilding, there are at least two comparisons that can be made with standing figures of the same period. In the neighbouring church of Broad Hinton there is the standing alabaster figure of Colonel Francis Glanvil in armour. This son of Sir John Glanvil died on July 21, 1645, at the age of twenty-eight, whilst fighting for the king at the siege of Bridgwater. Margaret Whinney, in *Sculpture in Britain, 1530-1830*, p.240, n.16, gives a second comparison – that of Colonel William Rudhall, who died in 1651 and whose standing effigy is in Ross-on-Wye church in Herefordshire.

One item of heraldic interest appears on the St. John monument – on the shield. We are used to seeing the St. John Arms differenced with a crescent to show that the Lydiard branch of the family is a junior line, but the crescent here bears a martlet to show that Edward was a fourth son of that junior line.

The inscription is on a panel below the figure. Unlike the other monumental inscriptions in the church, it gives the absolute minimum of information, moreover, the Latin is particularly difficult to render into English.

At the base of the monument appears the bas-relief that is illustrated in this *Report*. The panel is 14” high, its width varies from 37” at the top to 21” at the base. Christopher Hussey states that it represents the “cavalry charge in which he died.” *Our Lady of Batersey*, p.164, is content merely to say that it is “a scene from the battle ... Edward leading his troop up a hill.” But no battle is depicted on the bas-relief. The visitor to the church gets the impression that, preceded by his trumpeter, Edward St. John is leading his troop in column of fours in front of us for our review. Local tradition has it that the windmill in the left-hand upper corner is the local Lydiard Tregoz mill – the one that is perpetuated in the name Windmill Leaze Farm.

What are we to make of this local tradition? It is difficult to believe that the sculptor included the windmill merely to balance the composition. Brigadier Peter Young, in *Report No.4*, p.8, has shown conclusively that the figure is no formal representation. Why then did the artist include the windmill in a total design that is so accurate – unless, of course, it could be shown from other examples of his work that he had a penchant for windmills? And why, if he were to depict Edward's troop at Lydiard, should he show a local windmill rather than Lydiard Park itself? The problem remains.

James Kibblewhite

of Lydiard Millicent and London , esquire.
Born 1770, died 1845.

By the Rev. Brian Carne, B.Com.

(A revision of the paper read to Purton Historical Society in March 1964.)

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1845, appears the following obituary note:

Nov.3. Aged 75, James Kibblewhite, esq. Of West End, Hampstead, and Langham-pl. London, formerly M.P. for Wooton Bassett. (vol.2, p.658.)

The reconstruction of the life of this Wiltshire village boy who 'made good' has revealed a prosperous, ambitious, and enterprising man, who appears none-the-less to have been incapable of inspiring affection. This early-nineteenth-century success story provides a comment, too, on the social, economic, and political life of the period.

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Together with his parents, brothers, and sisters, he lies buried in Lydiard Millicent Church in the family vault he had had constructed close by the font in which he was baptized, four days old, on June 14, 1770. (It is here assumed that James was responsible for the making of the vault. A re-opening of the vault, some ten years ago, during the reconstruction of the church floor, revealed that whereas he and his brother Edmund are buried in lead coffins, his parents and some other members of his family, who pre-deceased them, are in wooden coffins – no doubt after exhumation from an earlier earth burial. The vault entrance is marked by the ringed stone to the west of the font.)

Although he intended memorial plaques to the memory of himself and his family to be erected in the church, and left instructions to this effect in his will, no such memorials were erected. His memorial lay simply in the access of fortune and prestige that he brought to those of his immediate kith and kin, who were amenable to his direction.

He was the eldest son of William and Eleanor Kibblewhite, who lived at The Close, opposite the present-day Post Office in Lydiard Millicent. Of them and of their antecedents something can be gained from a pedigree of the family enrolled in the library of St. John's College, Oxford. In 1829, his sister Hannah's son, George Stone, applied for a Founder's Kin scholarship there and, to support his application, a pedigree had to be supplied to show the link between the Kibblewhites and Sir Thomas Whyte (1494-1566), the founder of the College. The application proved to be unsuccessful, and the pedigree was marked by the College as 'not checked'. (A successful candidate in 1820 for one of the six scholarships had been John Wayte Vilett.)

The pedigree starts with James Kibblewhite, of South Fawley, co. Berks., who was living in 1496. Sir Thomas Whyte was one grandson of this James; John Kibblewhite, of Ablington, was another. The pedigree shows our Kibblewhite as living in Castle Eaton parish from the mid-sixteenth until the end of the seventeenth centuries. They moved to Purton, and thence to Lydiard Millicent, probably after the marriage of Edward Kibblewhite (the fifth generation of that name) to Mary Seymour, of Lydiard Millicent, on September 29, 1761.

How far uncle James was behind the application to St. John's College must remain conjectural, but it is true that he was ambitious for his family and that he had some knowledge of his forebears. His will tells us that he bought "of the Earl of Shaftesbury lands adjoining other lands of mine in Lydiard Millicent, which his Lordship's ancestor had purchased of a collateral ancestor of mine in the 38th year of Queen Elizabeth." (These are the two fields, in Purton parish, that lie to the south-east of Lydiard Green cross-roads.)

The Rev. W.H.E. McKnight in his *Lydiard Manor*, (1892), p.24, states the local tradition that James's father was a basket maker – but this may reflect the villagers' propensity to damn with faint praise those of their number who have got on in the world. Another version is provided by Mr. W.F. Parsons. Writing in the *North Wilts Herald*, on October 26, 1900, he extols these Kibblewhites as being of very ancient yeoman stock of North Wiltshire. Indeed, his article suggests that James was descended from the Peter Kibblewhite, of Mannington, who died in 1667 and who figures in the Dewell story in this *Report*. It could be that Mr. Parsons has preserved a good tradition albeit defective perhaps in detail, for he was a great friend of James's brother, Edmund, an alderman of Wootton Bassett for forty-three years and one of the leading citizens of that town.

The immediate forebears of James seem to have been of lowly but educated stock. Grandfather Edward was parish clerk in Lydiard Millicent from 1757 until about 1802 -

a post then taken by uncle Cornelius for a short time, to be followed by uncle Thomas, landlord of the Sun Inn, for a few years until about 1809. James's father had a large Bible – a copy of the Rev'd Dr. P. Wright's *The Christian's New and Complete British Family Bible* published in 1788. It is a work of encyclopaedic proportions. It can be seen today in Wootton Bassett Town Hall. Whatever use father William may have made of the Family Bible, he certainly used it to record the names of the first nine of his children.

EARLY CAREER

After his baptism the earliest references to young James are in the Lydiard Millicent Churchwardens' Accounts. In 1780, 1781, and 1782, he earned pocket money by delivering to the churchwardens sparrows' heads and eggs.

He began his professional career as an office boy in Mr. Bradford's solicitor's office in Swindon. (*W.A.M.*, vol.28, p.61, n.2.) He then moved to London, took lodgings in Red Lion Street, Holborn, (about 4 minutes walk from Gray's Inn), and served his articles as a solicitor in the office of John Meakings, of 8 Arundel Street, Strand. In 1793 he was granted a lease of premises in Gray's Inn Place. On November 20, 1797, at the age of twenty-seven, he was admitted a solicitor and began his practice at Gray's Inn Place, dealing with cases for King's Bench and the Court of Common Pleas.

Back home, James's rise in fortune may be reflected in the family's ascendancy. His brother Anthony appears several times in the Millicent parish records. In his employed life, he starts off a labourer. Then he is described as a baker. Later on, he appears as a farmer – the tenant of Godwin's Farm which his brother had bought. It is more difficult to describe the ascendancy of the father in society as merely reflected glory, but his two terms as churchwarden and three as a Surveyor of the Highways at least indicates at this period that he was, or had become, a substantial householder in the parish.

ENTRY INTO LOCAL POLITICS

The interest of Friends of Lydiard Tregoz comes particularly when James Kibblewhite, at the age of thirty-seven, entered into local politics – in the Borough of Wootton Bassett.

Thomas Oldfield's *An Entire and Complete History, Political and Personal, of The Boroughs of Great Britain*, (1792), p.199 ff., has the following entry:

Wootton Basset. Political Character.

This small borough was strongly contested in the year 1784, between the interests of the Earl of Clarendon, and Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.

Since the above contest [1785], these noblemen have agreed, to avoid future litigation and expence, to permit each other to return one member.

Right of election is in the inhabitants paying scot and lot.
 Number of voters. About one hundred.
 Patrons. Earl of Clarendon and Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.

It is no wonder that their Lordships proposed this more economical form of political activity – for competition was expensive. Votes had a cash value and were offered to the highest bidder. It is recorded that as a result of the 1754 election £5,789 was spent by one side, the electors being paid thirty guineas a man, and bills from inns ranged from £300 to £3. 16s. (*Victoria History of Wiltshire*, V, p.226.) It is surprising that only eight men were committed to Salisbury Jail after this bout of roistering and rioting.

For many years the St.John and the Clarendon interests prevailed, but ... in 1807 and 1812 their interests were defeated by that of James Kibblewhite of Grays Inn, who succeeded in getting both members returned, largely by extensive bribery. He had built a number of houses in Wootton Bassett, which he subsequently sold to Joseph Pitt of Cricklade ... (*Victoria History of Wiltshire, ibid.*)

Jame Kibblewhite entered the lists against the Goliaths of the local political scene, but not as a candidate. Canon Jackson describes the contest.

He also, like David, armed himself with a scrip and a few pebbles. David's were only smooth ones picked out of the brook, but Mr.Kibblewhite's were heavy ones, picked out of the bank, for the price of the votes upon that memorable occasion rose up to £45 a man.

(*W.A.M.*, vol.23, p.171)

The quotation above from the *Victoria History of Wiltshire* over-simplifies the political activity of those years. There was a general election in May 1807 at which Kibblewhite's two candidates, Murray and Cheesement were returned. The appointment of the latter to the Chiltern Hundreds early the following year meant a by-election. In February 1808 Benjamin Walsh was returned in his place. The expulsion of the latter meant a further by-election at which John Attersoll was returned, in March 1812. The general election in October 1812 saw the return of John Attersoll and James Kibblewhite as the Members of Parliament for the Borough.

(The morning after the 1808 by-election is immortalized in the etching made of the procession in Wootton Bassett High Street, escorting the newly-elected Mr.Walsh back home to Swindon. The etching is reproduced in the *Victoria History of Wiltshire*, V, facing page 226.) The victorious candidate must have had several copies of this etching made for his principal supporters for at least four copies survive in the area to this day. *Notes on Wootton Bassett Town Hall* states that Elizabeth Hollister, a lady of the town, sketched the houses, both sides of the street being shown. The print was executed by

William Elmers who is said to have received forty guineas for it. With a little artistic licence, Peggy Lawrence, the last woman to be put in the ducking chair, appears on the left with a basket of apples. The weir pond in which she was immersed in c. 1784 was situated half-way across the road from the Crown Inn and was filled up about 1836, at the time of the establishing of the monthly Cattle Market – an enterprise in which Edmund Kibblewhite played a prominent part.

But, to return to Canon Jackson. Having spoken of Mr.Kibblewhite’s heavy pebbles, he continued:

One of the honourable members returned by this “free and independent” constituency was a Mr.Walsh, a London stockbroker, who, it was afterwards ascertained, had paid £4,000 for his success. However he did not occupy his costly seat very long, for, being entrusted by the Solicitor General with £21,000 to be invested in Stock, the Hon. Member for Wootton invested it in uses of his own, and then bolted, under a false name, for America but was caught at Plymouth, and of course expelled from the House of Commons. The other member, who had succeeded in getting in with the help of Mr.Kibblewhite’s scrip and pebbles, contrived to secure the seat for the future by buying up no less than a hundred and eight of the houses, all of which he afterwards sold to Mr.Pitt of Cirencester, who carried on the war against the two Lords.

Bitter feelings could rise to dangerous levels in political matters. Edmund Kibblewhite, described as “resident agent of the Whig party” in Wootton Bassett, suffered an attempt on his life in July 1811 - £100 being offered as a reward for information about the assailants. (See Mr.Parsons’ notebooks.)

Kibblewhite and Attersoll marked their success at the 1812 election by presenting gifts to the Borough: robes costing one hundred guineas from Attersoll and a ceremonial sword from Kibblewhite. (*W.A.M.*, vol.28, pp.60-61, states that Attersoll gave the sword and Kibblewhite the robes. On the other hand, Jewitt and Hope *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office*, (1895), vol.2, p.431, state that Kibblewhite gave the sword. The position of the Kibblewhite Arms on the sword would favour the latter view. W.Gough, *Notes on Wootton Bassett Town Hall*, adds that Attersolls’ Arms appear on the upper locket.) On the middle locket of the scabbard are James Kibblewhite’s Arms: In fess three talbots’ heads erased, in base a rose, on a chief as many roses. His motto appears as: Mens prudens propositi tenax. (These Arms are not listed in Burke’s *General Armory*, and it is more than likely that no grant of Arms was made to him by the College of Heralds.)

In the Wiltshire Archaeological Society’s Library at Devizes are Mr.W.F.Parsons’ notebooks, and these shed an interesting light on the 1812 elections. Political lampoons for and against the candidates have been preserved by him. Against Kibblewhite is a libellous public notice concerning Lawyer Kibble-black, alias Double-fee. But

Kibblewhite's own efforts in this field were far more imaginative. He published, in the language of the Authorized Version of the Bible, Book 1 of *The Chronicles of Wootton Bassett*. Fortunately, someone has added later marginal notes to identify the characters who appear in the narrative.

In these *Chronicles*, the battle is against the Philistines led by "Graspall" – a not very respectful name for George Richard, 3rd Viscount Bolingbroke. Kibblewhite pours sarcasm on his Lordship's nominee. He is ...

a crafty discarded Knight Errant ... [whose] services had often been rejected from WARWICK unto GRIMSBY THE GREAT.

The Rev. Samuel Starkey, Vicar of Wootton Bassett, comes under fire, too. He is:

... a high priest of the name of MOSES, a trencherman of transcendent quality [who] took great delight in the enjoyment of the good things of THIS WORLD, and increased in bulk; but gained no esteem. And while he was busily attending to the profits of his employers, the sheep strayed out of the fold. His zeal outstripped his genius, the atmosphere of which was filled with clouds; but no man entertained a higher opinion of himself at his attainments than he did.

The full wrath of Kibblewhite's pen is reserved for Mr. Bradford, of Midgehall, (?) his first employer, characterized under the name of Bifrons. Bifrons is the chosen follower and captain of Graspall's host

... much distinguished by his talent for INVENTION, and is expert in sending the frail daughters of SWINDON to the house of correction.

In the *Chronicles*, Graspall and his host are defeated. Chapter 7 deals with the Lament of Bifrons (i.e., Two-faced), who has become "a PERPETUAL TARGET for jokes". Bifrons makes this resolve:

Evermore will I avoid again falling under the lash of ridicule and chastisement, by confining my ingenuity and dexterity to its natural sphere, and as A MEMORIAL I will adopt as my motto, Ne sutor ultra crepidam – No cobbler beyond his last.

Another lampoon, preserved by Mr. Parsons, takes the form of a play bill. It appeared early in 1811:

To be performed
By Messrs. Graspall and Promisewell's Company,

AT THE
WOOTON BASSETT THEATRE
On MONDAY the 18th of FEBRUARY

Under the Patronage of General Turncoat and his NEW Colleague the Knight
of La Mancha, a New Comedy called

The Pudding Heads Unveiled

Or, as many Knaves as Fools;

To which will be added a New Farce, called
THE FOOLS PARADISE,

OR,

A New Way to satisfy a Hungry Appetite.

At the End of the Play a well-known General Performer, in the Character of "Honour" will introduce a Burlesque Song on Apostasy".

N.B. No MONEY to be returned.

(If "General Turncoat" is a veiled reference to General Frederick St. John, then he must have been more active politically at this time than his elder brother, Lord Bolingbroke.) Both the play bill and the *Chronicles* are heavily interlarded with italics and, whilst amusing to us, would have been hilarious entertainment for Kibblewhite's supporters.

The story of Kibblewhite's financial involvement in Wootton Bassett politics has been clarified by Mr. Roland Thorne, of The History of Parliament Trust, who has kindly written the following notes:

At the 1807 election, by building "108 houses of the meaner sort" at Wootton Bassett, and by ousting five of the corporation of fifteen on grounds of informality of proceedings and replacing them by his brother and friends, he successfully challenged the established control of Lords Clarendon and Bolingbroke over the borough. In other words, the two candidates returned in 1807 were his nominees. (Oldfield, *Representative History*, (1816) p.231.

On March 10, 1811, he wrote to the prime minister, Spencer Perceval, asking for the credentials of Jephson Oddy, a London merchant, who was looking for a seat at Wootton Bassett. Kibblewhite added that he would only promote a "steady well-wisher" to the present government. He also made the request – ostensibly at the instance of his partners at Gray's Inn Place – that he should be appointed solicitor to a parliamentary commission.

He received his reply the next day. Perceval disclaimed any knowledge of Oddy, and said that he could not give Kibblewhite the appointment. (B.M. Add. MSS. 37295, f.463.)

In 1812, perhaps *faute de mieux* or to avoid paying compensation to a nominee, he returned himself as one of the representatives in Parliament. He sold his interest at Wootton Bassett in March, 1813, to a celebrated boroughmonger, Joseph Pitt of Cricklade, for £22,000.

The only evidence of his politics is a vote against Catholic relief on March 2, 1813. No speech of his in Parliament is recorded, and he supported administration.

It would appear that the investment at Wootton Bassett was a very profitable one – especially as no doubt those whom he nominated paid for the privilege.

Kibblewhite's time in the Commons can only have been for about three months, for the *Commons Journal*, 68, p.256, states:

Ordered, That Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown, to make out a new Writ for the electing of a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Wootton Bassett, in the room of *James Kibblewhite*, Esquire, who, since his election for the said Borough, hath accepted the office of Steward or Bailiff of His Majesty's three Chiltern Hundreds of Stoke, Desborough, and Burnham, in the County of Buckingham.

That was on March 3, 1813. On the 29th of the same month, a similar Warrant was issued because Mr. Attersoll had followed his friend's example with the Chiltern Hundreds. (It was, no doubt, part of the deal with Mr. Pitt that the latter should have the free run of the constituency as soon as possible.)

A bank for Wootton Bassett?

Another venture in Wootton Bassett was planned – but it came to nothing. Mr. Parsons tells us that Kibblewhite intended to establish a bank there in partnership with his Parliamentary colleague, Attersoll, and Mr. Carrington, “which would have been kept in the house now occupied [1900] by Mrs. Weston on the east upper side. The bank notes were engraved, some of which have been preserved.”

The attorney's business

Kibblewhite's professional life as a solicitor was briefly outlined earlier in this article. Strangely, although only a solicitor, he was admitted a member of Gray's Inn, February 28, 1811, as was his brother Edmund in 1821. He had already, by 1809, taken Daniel

Rowland into partnership with him, and from 1812 he also had Stratford Robinson as partner. In 1814 he ceased to practice as a solicitor and applied to be called to the Bar. The matter was postponed many times, and it was not until 1817 that his application was finally rejected. He continued to lease the offices in Gray's Inn Place for the rest of his life, and it is assumed that the legal business was carried only by partners and employees. Daniel Rowland left the firm in 1817, and Stratford Robinson did the same in 1819. The latter moved to Jermyn Street and took into partnership James's nephew, George Stone. They continued there until Mr. Robinson died in 1833. George Stone appears to have continued alone and moved to South Bank, Regents Park, and continued there until he died in 1878. (It would appear that from 1824 until his death in 1835, James's brother George was associated with him in the practice.)

Kibblewhite's will shows that he regarded his solicitor's business as having been carried on by Stratford Robinson. George Stone, Kibblewhite's nephew, had been taken into the firm as an articled clerk with salary. The will also states that many thousands of pounds are due to Kibblewhite, mainly from Daniel Rowland, and instructs his executor to revive the suit in the Court of Exchequer against Rowland for the balance of the money due.

As an attorney, Kibblewhite seems to have supplemented his income by obtaining manorial leases and collecting quit rents. (In 1797-8 he was involved in an acrimonious dispute with Lord Hardwicke over rents he claimed were due to him. B.M. Hardwicke Add. MSS. 35696, ff. 217, 221, 223, 239, 240, 245, 248, 253, 254.)

One of the clients who came to him for a loan on security was Sir Charles Burrell Blunt, heir to the manor of Lydiard Millicent. First one loan was made, and then another, until his whole interest in the manor was given to Kibblewhite as security. All this was unknown to Sir Charles' widowed mother, Mrs. Blunt.

McKnight in 1892 wrote down the story of what happened in June 1817. (See p.25 of his *Lydiard Manor*.)

It happened one evening that a party were gathered round the fire in the kitchen of the Sun Inn in Lydiard, and as usual the village and its inhabitants were freely discussed. Mrs. Blunt had been poorly, and that was sufficient to start the question, "If anything happens to the old lady, I wonder", says one, "who will have the manor?" Mrs. Kibblewhite, who had only come in to buy the pint of beer for her husband's supper at that moment, fell into the temptation; and though cautioned "beyond words" never to mention it, could not resist, but blurted out, "You'll see, our Jim will be Lord of the Manor when the old lady dies." "Why, how so?", cried the astonished company, "Your Jim – never likely – as likely as me," said Richard Parsons, who was a servant to Mrs. Blunt. "You'll see," repeated Mrs. Kibblewhite, "I knows a thing or two – the manor's sold and bought already – good night."

The following morning Richard Parsons reported the conversation to Mrs. Blunt, who realised what her son had been doing. She sent for her agent, Mr. Bewley, and told him to collect all deeds and papers relating to the estate and be ready for a journey to London. The old lady, at the age of 71, set off with Mr. Bewley for London, and at her solicitor's, over a period of four days, there was a leasing and re-leasing of the Manor which, combined with her re-drawn will meant that, at her death in 1822 four years later, James Kibblewhite succeeded not to the Manor but to an expensive law-suit.

Mr. Parsons' note-books continue the story for us. He has preserved the transcript of a letter, written in July 1829 by William Oakes Blunt, Sir Charles's son:

... Yet as they are to pay all our expenses, & costs of suit it must be very long before they derive any benefit, if ever, as the costs must be considerable, & I suppose paid immediately ... How disappointed some people will be to hear of the termination of the suit – However there are so many, *much more respectable*, who will congratulate it, & as for the others, I never did, nor do I now, care a damn for them!"

The present writer wonders, perhaps unkindly, whether the (now demolished) dove cote at The Close in Lydiard Millicent was erected at this time, for dove cotes were anciently a manorial privilege!

Life Assurance

The year 1824 brought a new field for Kibblewhite's endeavour, an activity which must have consumed much of the last twenty-one years of his life. To it he brought his many gifts and abilities. He found success – but not much affection. (This section of the paper draws heavily on *Our Centenary*, 1924, by A.D. Besant – the history of the Clerical, Medical, and General Life Assurance Society.)

1824 was a year of great financial activity throughout the country. Joint stock enterprise was rampant. No fewer than eighteen Life Assurance Offices were started in that year. Most failed but one that did succeed is the office now known as the Clerical, Medical, and General Life Assurance Society. Kibblewhite was one of the first eighteen directors, and was, from the first, one of the two Deputy-Chairmen. One of the great features of the Society was that life assurance was extended "to persons subject to such deviations from the common standard of health as do not essentially tend to shorten life, on payment of increased premium, proportioned to the increase of hazard."

Kibblewhite was a member of each of the sub-committees working on the Deed of Constitution, and appears to have been the Society's spokesman in all business difficulties both before and during his ten years as Chairman. In those days, when each prospective

policy holder had to be interviewed personally in London, Kibblewhite's time must have been increasingly taken up with the work of the Society.

In 1835 he was made Chairman. The time was not propitious. Bonuses in 1837 tumbled owing to epidemic of cholera and influenza; but he threw himself into the job of developing the Society. He extended the system of office "Travellers", and was himself instrumental in attracting a great deal of new business. He also widened the range of the Society's investments. In 1840 he was able to announce that for the first time new annual premiums had exceeded £10,000. In 1842 bonuses were two-and-a-half times the size of those of 1837.

In 1845 Kibblewhite died. Mr. Besant wrote:

Mr. Kibblewhite presided as usual at the Board Meetings held on the 29th and 31st October, 1845, but died from apoplexy on the 3rd November, at the age of 75. Of his personality I can learn nothing. His name does not appear in any contemporary book of reference nor has any portrait of his come down to us. That he was an efficient Chairman, is undoubted, but, as the references to his decease in our Minute Book are purely perfunctory, it would not seem as though he had secured any such warm place in the affections of his colleagues as had his predecessor, Dr. George Pinckard. There is no vote of condolence, nor even any formal expression of regret entered upon our Minutes. The Secretary, it is recorded, on November 5th, reported the death to the Board, the Solicitors were instructed to take the necessary steps for appointing a new Trustee, and the Directors were summoned for the following Wednesday to appoint a new Chairman.

In his will Kibblewhite left ten guineas to each of four directors to purchase mourning rings!

Once again, Kibblewhite provided for a member of his family. The sixth codicil of his will, dated October 16, 1844, states that he had obtained a situation at the Clerical and Medical for his nephew George Sadler "where he has opportunity to distinguish himself." George Sadler, therefore, had his bequest substantially reduced.

The reference above to there being no portrait of him at the Clerical and Medical is strange, for *W.A.M.*, 28, p.61 n.2, states that one hung in their board room. If this latter statement is correct, then the portrait must have been removed well before 1924 – the date of Mr. Besant's centenary history. *W.A.M.*, 31, p.266, on the authority of information given by Mr. W.F. Parsons to Canon Goddard, states that a portrait hangs in Wootton Bassett Town Hall. There is an imposing portrait of brother Edmund, but not one of James there. It would appear that a portrait was painted, for portrait no.637 at the Royal Academy exhibition in 1816 is described as 'J.Kibblewhite, Esq.', the painter being H.Herve, – but its present location remains a mystery.

Another mystery surrounds the possibility that James Kibblewhite was married. The only evidence appears on the statement of probate of his will where he is described as “a widower without child or parents.” There is no mention in his will either of his deceased wife or of her relatives.

On November 12, 1845, he was buried in the family vault; the service was taken by the Rev'd. James Brogden, M.A. his Executor. The poor received £10, the continuation of brother George's 5s payments at Christmas, and the right to continue to rent the potato-growing allotments that he had inherited from his mother. (The allotments were called the Workhouse Ground and are now the present Park View Drive and the field between it and The Street in Lydiard Millicent.)

His will, (P.C.C. 1845, f.918) which runs to 23½ pages and includes 6 codicils, must have provided plenty of work for his executor! His total estate was stated to be worth £60,000. (See *W.A.M.*, 28, p.61, n.2.) Housekeepers received annuities. Cousins, nephews and nieces - whom he had educated at his own expense, great-nephews and great-nieces all gained some benefit under his will. Those who received the least were George Stone who had been established in the solicitor's practice, George Sadler who had been launched into the Clerical and Medical, his solicitor brother Edmund who had already received 'considerable sums' to set him up in business, and his niece Lucy Seeley, for whom James had done a great deal after her mother's death, but who “chose to frustrate my good intention on her behalf.”

A trust was to be formed of his land in Lydiard Millicent and Purton, and properties in Middlesex, Hampstead, and Langham Place for the payment of annuities, marriage settlements, and coming-of-age gifts. The estate was not finally settled for a number of years, the old family home and adjacent land being the subject of protracted litigation among members of a later generation of the family from 1872 to 1882.

Acknowledgements.

The present writer wishes to express his gratitude for the help afforded him by Mr. Roland Thorne, of The History of Parliament Trust, by the Clerical, Medical, and General Life Assurance Society for the loan of Mr. Besant's centenary history, by the Librarian at Gray's Inn, and by the Records and Statistical Department of The Law Society Services Limited.

DEWELL

By the Rev. Brian Carne, B.Com.

The Rev. Timothy Dewell was rector of Lydiard Tregoz for forty-seven years until his death at the age of seventy-six in 1692. This article seeks to assemble what is known to the present writer of his immediate family and of his incumbency.

Family background

Timothy Dewell was born c.1616, the son of John Dewell, of Reading. The Dewells were tradespeople in Reading. John had a brother, Thomas, who was a woollen draper. It is likely that George Dewell, a butcher, was another brother. It would appear that this John was the son of the Humphrey Dewell who was innkeeper of the Cardinal's Hat, in Reading, in 1577, and who married Joan Wyler on 21 May, 1555. The inn was situated in Minster Street, and existed from the mid-sixteenth until the mid-eighteenth centuries. The exact date of its foundation and demolition are not known. (Ex inf. Reading Borough Librarian.)

The inn was inherited by John, who was one of the leading citizens of the town and was Mayor of Reading in 1635/6. His will (proved P.C.C. 31 August, 1653) shows him to be a man of modest property and describes him as "gentleman". In addition to the Cardinal's Hat with its seven acres of "mondaie ground" in the King's Mead, his will disposed of three other houses in Minster Street in addition to a woollen-draper's business and a butcher's shop, both of which were let to tenants.

It has not been possible to trace the baptism of Timothy. *The Registers of St. Mary's, Reading, 1538-1812*, transcribed by G.P. Crawford, record the baptism of five of John Dewell's children:

1601/2	28 February	Mary
1603	14 June	Thomas
1605	12 May	Grace
1608	27 November	Ann
1614	3 July	Timothy

This latter Timothy was buried on 17 December, 1615. Our Timothy, his younger sister Sarah and brother Richard do not appear to have been baptised at St. Mary's.

Nothing is known to the present writer of Timothy's more distant forebears, but it may be inferred from the Arms on his grave slab that he regarded his surname as derived from 'De Welle'.

On his grave slab are inscribed the following Arms: Six crescents in pile (3, 2, 1.) The crest is: on a wreath a demi-boar erect charged on the shoulder with 3 annulets and a helm of an esquire. The College of Arms, on its own statement, has never made a grant of Arms to anyone with the surname of Dewell – so we can take it that these Arms were self-assumed. However, the College records show that a family of the name of Welle has had attributed to it the following Arms: Gules, 6 crescents (3, 2, 1.) Argent a bend compony Or and Azure. Leaving out the bend, the Arms sufficiently resemble the ones in Lydiard Tregoz church for us to say that Timothy Dewell considered ‘De Welle’ and ‘Dewell’ sufficiently near to justify the taking of comparable Arms. In using these Arms, he may be doing more than this – he may be making a statement based on his own knowledge of his forebears. (The same Arms appear on his sister Grace’s memorial which is adjacent to his own.)

Education

Timothy matriculated as a commoner at Magdalen Hall (later merged with Hart Hall to become Hertford College), Oxford, on 13 June, 1643, at the age of seventeen. He did not begin the family connection with that college for Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, includes George, son of George Dewell, of Reading, as matriculating there as a commoner eight years previously; but the Dewell – Magdalen Hall connection flourished under Timothy for four of his sons, and, later, a grandson were educated there.

Timothy received his bachelor’s degree on 15 October, 1636, and his M.A. on 15 June, 1639. Of his later creation as Doctor of Divinity in 1661 more will be said later in this article.

Assistant Curacy

He was made deacon on 22 December, 1639, with a title to serve the cure of Rodbourne Cheney, near Swindon. (The Bishop of Salisbury’s *Subscription Book*.) What brought this Reading-born Oxford graduate to Wiltshire? There are a number of clues, any or all of which may provide us with the answer. The first clue comes from the fact that his elder sister Grace was already in the district. A digression on Grace may here be permitted:

Grace Kibblewhite

Grace Dewell married Peter Kibblewhite, of Mannington in the parish of Lydiard Tregoz. They lie buried on the south side of the chancel – an area traditionally reserved for incumbents and their families. The grave slab, measuring 7’6” x 4’9”, is impressive. It is of Swindon stone, and is incised with a charming combination of free-hand portraiture (based on the central display of the triptych?) and very correct copy-book Corinthian architectural details. The inscription reads:

PETRUS KIBLEWHITE
DE MEXINGTON GENEROSUS
SPECTATAE PIETATIS & PROBITATIS UIR
ET GRATIA E DUELLIORUM FAMILIA
UXOR EIUS AMANTISSIMA
QUAMUNICE HABUITET DILEXIT
HIC LACENT SEPULTI
QUI QUIDEM PETRUS IN CAELUM CONIUGEM PREIUIT
EIUS PRAESTRLANS ADUENTUM
UI CAL OCTOB
ANNO (XTI MDCLUII
(AETATIS SUAE 69
ILLA UERO AEGRE ADMODUM FERENS UIRI ABSENTIAM
HAUD ITA MULTO POST SUBSE QUUTA EST
XII CALEND MAY
ANNO (XTI MDCLXVIII
(AETATIS SUAE 63
UNICAM POST SESE RELIN QUENTES FILLIAM
GULIELMO KENDRICKO ARMIG NUPTAM

The Rev. J.T.Wharton renders the translation thus:

Here lie buried Peter Kiblewhite, of Mexington [i.e. Mannington], gent., a man of proven honour and integrity, and Grace, of the Dewell family, his most loving wife whom he loved and held in the highest regard. This Peter went to heaven before his wife, awaiting her coming, on 26 September in the year of Christ 1667 and in his 69th year. She, truly taking very ill the absence of her husband, not so much later followed after – on 20 April in the year of Christ 1668 and in her 63rd year, leaving one only daughter behind them, married to William Kendrick, armiger.

Their surviving daughter Grace was baptised at Lydiard Tregoz on 8 April, 1632. She married William Kendrick there on 22 December, 1651. (William Kendrick was perhaps the son of the William Kendrick who was Mayor of Reading in 1632-3.) Two daughters of this latter marriage are recorded in the bishop's transcripts at Salisbury – Grace, baptised on 15 April, 1654, and Johanna, baptised on 5 December, 1661. William Kendrick was "of Reading, Berkshire" in 1668 according to the probate documents associated with the estate of Grace Kiblewhite.

There may be evidence of a good relationship between the 1st Baronet and this branch of the Kibblewhite family in the former's appointment of his "good friend" Francis Kibblewhite (to whom he left £50) as an executor of his will in 1645. Peter Kibblewhite's name appears in the first extant volume of the parish registers as one of the churchwardens in 1666. Peter Kibblewhite had a further link with Timothy Dewell's coming to Wiltshire, as will be shown shortly.

The second clue comes from the fact that the incumbent of Rodbourne Cheney was a Magdalen Hall graduate. Foster shows that he was Thomas Hedges, of Wiltshire. He became vicar in 1626. Having entered Magdalen Hall as a commoner, he received his master's degree in 1624.

The patron of the living was a Berkshire man. Phillipps *Institutiones Clericorum in Comitatu Wiltoniae* gives, as patron, William Lecey, alias Hedges, of Stainswicke, Berkshire, yeoman, for this occasion by grant of Francis Roberts, gent., and Sir Thomas Sadler. The Hedges, the Kibblewhites, and the Dewells are brought together over the advowson of Rodbourne Cheney in a series of documents preserved in the County Record Office in Trowbridge. (W.R.O. 212A: 268, bundle 99.) On 8 October, 1631, Sir Thomas Sadler, of Canons Close of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, made a gift to Thomas Hedges, the incumbent, of the next presentation to the vicarage of Rodbourne Cheney. Five days later, he sold the vicarage and advowson for £200 to four men who, in effect, were to hold them for Thomas Hedges. They were Robert Hedges and Tobias Hedges, both of Bourton, Berks, Peter Kibblewhite, of "Mayhendon", and Richard Dewell, son of John Dewell of Reading, woollen draper. The following February there was a further indenture of bargain and sale between the same parties. On 4 February, 1657/8, two deeds of release were executed: the one by Richard Dewell, the other by Peter Kibblewhite, whereby all their interest in the vicarage and advowson were transferred to Thomas Hedges. (Richard Dewell is referred to as "of Shaw, in the parish of Lydiard Millicent.")

These deeds remove the surprise that we may have felt that Timothy Dewell was licensed to Rodbourne Cheney in 1639. But the strange thing is that he was not ordained priest until 31 March, 1645. The present writer has no information as to how Timothy was occupied during those six years. The relevant parish records at Rodbourne Cheney furnish no information, for they have not survived for this period. The fact that his subscription on ordination appears in the Oxford diocesan records may suggest that he had a Fellowship at one of the colleges. No evidence is forthcoming to substantiate this theory except that he is listed as a member of Magdalen Hall in the Protestation Roll for Oxford University, dated 21 February, 1641/2, although he is marked as absent when the members of the Hall took the oath. (*Oxfordshire Protestation Returns, 1641-2*, Oxfordshire Record Society, vol. 36, p.108) He may have combined parish duties in some way with a continuing of his academic life in Oxford. Although, in these days of a diaconate lasting only twelve months, a six-year diaconate may appear strange until we remember the infrequency of communion services in those days.

Alternatively, his ordination at Oxford may merely be evidence of the dislocation of ecclesiastical life in the 1640's. The subscription book – MS. Oxf. Dioc. Papers e.13 – is the only record that has survived in regard to Dewell's ordination as priest. In the Oxford diocesan records there are no ordination papers extant from those days; and there is a gap in the bishop's registers from 1626 to 1660. Episcopal rule may have been effective longer at Oxford than at Salisbury, for Oxford was in Parliamentary hands for only one month – that of September, 1642 – and thereafter was the head quarters of the Royalists until 24 June 1646, when the city surrendered to General Fairfax.

The exact stages by which the traditional organisation of the Church died is not easy to trace. Institutions [in the diocese of Salisbury] continued at least till 1646; proceedings in the courts of the archdeacons of Sarum and Wiltshire seem to have stopped in 1642, in the dean's court in 1645.

Brian Duppa, who became bishop [of Salisbury] in 1641, was probably too much occupied with his responsibilities as tutor to the Prince of Wales to do much to prevent the disintegration of the Anglican administration. What happened in the parishes must have varied widely according to the sympathies of both the parson and the squire, some of whom would obey the orders of the king, some those of Parliament. (*Victoria History of Wiltshire*, III, p.40.)

Lydiard Tregoz

He became rector of Lydiard Tregoz in 1645, after the death of Willim Blackbourne, presumably on the nomination of Sir John St. John, 1st Baronet. Phillipps does not list the patron in this instance, but it is unthinkable that he would have ceded the patronage. His sister Grace has already been mentioned as one of the possible reasons for his coming to Wiltshire in the first place. It is also possible that her influence lay behind his being appointed as rector.

He married twice, and the two wives bore him ten children whose names have been recorded. To introduce them, here is the memorial inscription to Timothy Dewell from his grave slab, a slab which is only slightly smaller than the adjacent Kibblewhite memorial, and which, like theirs, is of Swindon stone. (Mr. Wharton's translation follows the transcription.)

M S:

Reverendi admodum Doctissimiq Viri

TIMOTHEI DEWELL S:T:P

Huius Ecclesiae nuper Rectoris Dignissimi

Uxorem primo duxit Elizabetham Filiam Rogeri
 Knight de Greenham, in Agro Bercheriensi Armigeri,
 Ex illa Quinq Suscepit Liberos,
 Johanne, Thoma, Elizabetha, Gualteru & Rebecca.

Secundis Nuptijs junxit Sibi Annam Filiam Antonij
 Saunders S.T.D. Rectoris de Pangborn in Agro praedict;
 Haec Quinq Ipsi Filios peperit,
 Timotheu, Henricu, Antoniu, Richardu, & Carolu.

Postquam Eximia cum Laude ultra Annum
 XI^{um} VII^{um} huic Ecclesiae praefuisset, ob:
 Vices^o. Sept^o Maij An. Dom: MDCXCII, Aetat: LXXVI

Non hic Pyramidum prodit Structura, nec Urnae
 Lectori radiat splendida pompa tibi:
 Uirtutis Fideiq jacens monumenta peregit,
 Marmora si sileant fama perennis erit.
 Quanto Evangelij sudauit munere quantus
 Pascebat populum concio uita docent
 Tu decus abreptum piores Ecclesia Certans
 Tuq Triumphalis plurima plaude lucra.

Sacred to the memory of the very reverend and learned Timothy Dewell, professor of sacred theology, lately the very worthy rector of this church. He first married Elizabeth, daughter of Roger Knight, gent., of Greenham in the County of Berks. By her he had five children: John, Thomas, Elizabeth, Walter, and Rebecca. Secondly, he married Anne, daughter of Anthony Saunders, rector of Pangbourne in the aforementioned county. She bore him five sons: Timothy, Henry, Antony, Richard, and Charles. He died after he had most laudably had charge of this church for more than 47 years on 27 May, A.D. 1692, aged 76. No pyramidal pile, no urn with glittering show beams for you, reader, here. He who lies here has made his own monument of his righteousness and piety; even did no marble speak for him, his fame would be undying. With what labour for the gospel he worked and how greatly he fed his flock his life and conversation show. Do you, Church Militant, weep for the glory you have lost. And you, Church Triumphant, the more applaud your very great gain.

Timothy Dewell married, firstly, Elizabeth Knight. Greenham is a village situated about fifteen miles from Reading. There was a Roger Knight who was twice Mayor of Reading – in 1616-7 and again in 1625-6. Three sons and two daughters are recorded in the inscription. Elizabeth Dewell was buried in Lydiard Tregoz church on 13 January, 1659. She lies beneath the south end of the altar. The grave slab measures 5'6" by 4'5". There are no Arms portrayed: only the inscription:

P. M. S.
 ELIZABETHA DEWELL
 FILIA SVMME DILECTA
 ROGERI KNIGHT ARM
 UXORQ MERITO CHARISSIM
 TIMOTHEI DEWELL HVIVS ECCLESIAE RECTORIS
 FATO SVCCVBVIT
 TERTIO IDVVM JANVARY
 M D C L I X
 RESVGRAM

Which Mr. Wharton renders:

Sacred to pious memory.
 Elizabeth Dewell, dearly loved daughter of Roger Knight, armiger and deservedly
 dearest wife of Timothy Dewell, rector of this church, died [lit. succumbed to fate] 11
 January, 1659/60.

I shall rise again.

Their eldest child was John, baptised at Lydiard Tregoz on 6 March, 1650/1. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, records that there was a chorister named John Dewell at Magdalen College from 1663 to 1666. He matriculated at Magdalen Hall on 20 February, 1667/8, took his B.A. in 1671, and his master's degree in 1674. He was ordained priest. He died, intestate, and was buried at Lydiard on Whitsunday, 18 May, 1684. The probate documents describe him as late of Lydiard Tregoz; and his father was granted administration of the estate as father and principal beneficiary. His goods and chattels were appraised on 4 October, 1684, by Charles Vilett, his brother-in-law, and John Wild, of Cricklade, as follows:

Imprimis in Weareing Apparrell and ready money	54 - 0 - 0
Item: Money due upon Bonds	35 - 0 - 0
Item: due in small debts	2 - 0 - 0
Item: In Plate one Silver Tankard & Bowls	12 - 0 - 0
Item: In Books	20 - 0 - 0
Item: one Silver Watch	3 - 0 - 0
Item: Three Gold Rings	1 - 15 - 0
Item: one Chest of Drawers	0 - 17 - 6
Item: one Pockett Pistoll two Truncks with other Small Things at	4 - 0 - 0
	132 - 13 - 6

His one item of furniture is consistent with his living at home in the Rectory. His estate was quite sizeable. It would have been interesting to have had the titles of his books listed in the inventory!

The second son was Thomas. The present writer has no knowledge of him except that he was still alive in 1689 – the date of his father’s will. The fact that he inherited his father’s property in Reading may explain why no mention has been found of him in the Lydiard records.

The elder daughter, Elizabeth, was baptised at Lydiard on 3 April, 1656. On 8 July, 1680, she became the first wife of Charles Vilett (1653-1705), gentleman. She was buried in the church in which was baptised and married – on 5 September, 1687. Her grave slab, measuring 5’6” by 3’3”, is under the north end of the altar, and is inscribed:

Here Lyeth the Body of Elizabeth
the Wife of Charles Vilett Gent:
and Daughter of Timothy Dewell
Doctor of Divinity and Rector of
this Parish she departed this life
the 5th day of September in the
year of our Lord
1687

Near here Lyeth the Body of
Charles Vilett Gent
Who departed this Life
July the 3rd AD 1705
Aged 52 years

The Arms above the inscription are Vilett quartering Dewell, with the helm of an esquire on a wreath with mantling but no crest. The Arms of Vilett are: [Argent] on a chevron [Gules] three Castles triple towered [of the field], and in a canton [Azure] a fleur de lis [Or] with a crescent for difference in sinister chief. The will of Charles Vilett describes him as “of Mannington”. His goods and chattels were valued at £1,246. 14. 4 in the inventory made just after his death.

The third son was Walter who was baptised at Lydiard on 25 March, 1658. He was probably so named out of respect for Sir Walter St. John who had succeeded his nephew as 3rd Baronet two years previously. Walter is not mentioned in his father’s will – so presumably he died before 1689.

The second daughter, Rebecca, is also not mentioned in her father’s will. She was baptised at Lydiard on 30 December, 1659.

On 11 January, 1658/60, his first wife died. The present writer has no knowledge of the date of his second marriage – to Anne, daughter of the Rev. Anthony Saunders, D.D., rector of Pangbourne, Berkshire. She died 2 April, 1711, and was buried in the chancel of Lydiard Tregoz church three days later. She out-lived her husband by almost nineteen years. The memorial inscription names five sons by this marriage.

The first-born of these sons was named Timothy. He was buried at Lydiard on 15 January, 1724/5. He bequeathed £20 to the poor of the parish, the sum being handed over by his brother Charles. (See *Report No. 3*, p.19.)

The second son was Henry. His undated will describes him as “Gentleman, of Shaw, in the parish of Lydiard Millicent.” (Did he inherit his uncle Richard’s property?) Two daughters of Henry Dewell and his wife Elizabeth were baptised in that parish: Elizabeth on 30 December, 1707, and Anne on 3 February, 1714/5. Henry was buried there on 15 May, 1731, to be joined by his wife two years later, on 18 January, 1753. Their daughter Elizabeth married Edward Lawrence, of Swindon, at Holy Rood Church, Swindon, on 29 August, 1727. Henry’s will disposes of his house, garden, orchard, an adjacent close known as the Home Close, and also two fields, Shaw Field and Pettys Close. The property is vested in two trustees, one of whom is “my nephew Charles Dewell the younger of Moredon in Rodbourne Cheney”, for the benefit of his wife and children.

The third son, Anthony, was baptised a Lydiard on 22 September, 1667. He matriculated at Magdalen Hall on 27 March, 1685, aged seventeen. He was buried at Lydiard on 24 July, 1689.

The fourth son, Richard, was baptised at Lydiard on 4 December, 1670. He matriculated at Magdalen Hall on 31 January, 1687/8. He received his B.A. in 1691, and his master’s degree in 1694.

The youngest son, Charles, was baptised at Lydiard on 6 February, 1675/6. He matriculated at Magdalen Hall on 14 January, 1692/3. He received his B.A. in 1696, and his masters degree in 1699. He was ordained priest. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, describes him as of Lydiard Millicent in making the entry for his son, Charles junior, who matriculated at Magdalen Hall on 5 February 1723/4, aged sixteen. (The Dewell family appear to have migrated to Lydiard Millicent after the death of Rectory Dewell.) Charles (junior) was baptised at Lydiard Millicent Church on 1 April, 1707. He married Mary, daughter of Anthony Goddard, of Purton, c. 1739. (*W.A.M.*, vol. 43, p.170.) A younger brother of this Charles, Timothy, was baptised at Lydiard Tregoz, “the son of Charles Dewell and his wife Anne”, on 6 January, 1714/5.

Details of the bequests to children and grandchildren appear in Timothy Dewell’s will which is transcribed in the appendix to this article.

The Rectory

The site of the old rectory can be seen on the map of the St. John estates, made in 1766. Close examination of the map reveals that the surveyor, Francis Howard Millington, was accurate in his delineation of buildings, both in location and size. The map shows that two buildings, the rectory and a barn, lay parallel to one another on the flat piece of ground immediately to the east of the churchyard wall. The rectory appears to have faced east. It appears to have been about eighty-five feet at its longest and about forty feet at its widest: the house lying adjacent and at right angles to the (then) carriageway to Lydiard Park. The barn is shown on the map as set behind the rectory, about eighty feet long and sixteen feet wide, its back wall serving apparently as the boundary wall for the churchyard. A walled area is shown to the north and east of these buildings.

Nothing more can be given by the present writer of the appearance of the rectory and its garden; but we do know something about the lay-out and the care of the gardens at the near-by Lydiard Park. One can only assume that the rectory garden had similar care bestowed on it.

Lydiard Park and Church, p.17, describes what a map of c. 1700 shows:

Immediately before the house was a paved terrace leading to a gravelled forecourt entered through a gateway with tall piers in the fencing dividing it from the park. Flanking the forecourt on the south-east was a formal garden with topiary work. South-east again there was a large walled garden.

Our Lady of Batersey, on p. 315, transcribed part of a charming letter from Lady Johanna to Thomas Hardyman, dated 23 March, 1660:

I have sent Rudler [the Lydiard gardener] some seed of Portingal Melons also some roots of Shallotts. Let him carefully plant them in the Kitchen Garden so that no Hog may come at them. I bid Richard send down an orange colored cowslip root. He must get Joan and old goodwife Woolford to get violet roots out of the woods and plant them in the orchard under the wall that goes from Dr. Dewel's garden to the great Pond and that wall by the Mill, for those violets planted in a garden will be far better and better for my use. Also I have sent some seed of Larkspur 2 sorts the one is the ordinary sort the other double. Let him plant flowers of the sun and Hollyhocks on the bank under the rails and balusters of the garden which bank is in the orchard and plant stocks or some thing against the dead wall in the garden next the bowling green and let him compass the laurel round the court with poles as he did the woodbine by the Hall door to fence it from the children.

Some muscovy ducks were sent from Lydiard by Thomas Hardyman in 1661 for Sir Walter to present to the King for the latter's restocking of St. James's Park. (*Our Lady of Batersey*, p. 80.)

It is likely that the second half of the seventeenth century saw Lydiard Park and the surrounding area better kept and more picturesque than at any time before or since. The St. Johns were at the height of their fortune. Sir Walter had a status in the County and a strong political interest at Wootton Bassett. The old family home in Wiltshire was more than just a source of provender for the kitchens at Battersea. It was a holiday home when Parliament was not in session, a place for entertaining important relatives, and a place for sending the children when plague threatened.

Benefice Income

Only two seventeenth century terriers have survived – those of 1608 and 1677. They are in the diocesan records at Salisbury. They are here reproduced to show the extent of the glebe and something of the other items that made up the income of the benefice.

Lydiard Treygose

John Pettye clerke parson of Lidyerd Treygose

Gabriel Church churchwardens
Ralfe Woolforde

Richard Jefferyes sidemen
William Cruse

Anno domini 1608

We the sayd churchwardens and sidemen bforesayde by vertue of our oathe taken at the late visitation at Marlborough by the reverend father in god Henry bishop of Sarum Do present That there Doth at this present belong to the rectorye bforesayde one mansion house [or capital messuage, i.e. large house] one barn and garden one orchard and a barton to the same adjoyning one severall cloase of pasture one meadow adjoyninge to the same conteyning by estimation thirte acres, also one cloase of meadow or earable grownd commonly called blacklands conteyning by estimation eight acres one pleck of pasture or earable grownd to the same adjoyning called prinnells conteyning by estimation five acres, Also one piece of pasture ground commonly called Cleypiece conteyning by estimation five acres adjoyning to a grown calledgreen Down also 60 of meadow grownd lying in high meade the parsons hamestimation five acres and one other ham of meadow grownd lyingconteyning by estimatation Three acres

Wiltes. A Terrier of Glebelandes and other possessions
 belonging to the Church of Lydiard Tregoze
 Anno Domini. 1677.

Imprimis One Parsonage House, and other Outhouses, a Barne and Stable belonging thereunto.
 Item One Garden walled partly with Brick, and partly with Stone, adjoining to the South End of the House.
 Item One Orchard adjoining to the North End of the House.
 It: One little Grounde called the Pleck conteyning by Estimation One Acre
 It: One Grounde called the Parsonage Close, adjoining to the Orchard aforesayd Conteyning by estimation Thirty Acres.
 Item One Meadow adjoining to the Parsonage Close, called the Hamme conteyning by Estimation Fouerteene Acres.
 Item one parcell of Meadow Grounde Lying in the Grounde of Mr. Thomas Hardyman, conteyning by Estimation Halfe an Acre.
 Item One ground Called Prinnells, conteyning by Estimation Twelve Acres.
 Item One Grounde called Claypeece, conteyning by Estimation Six Acres.
 Item One Grounde called Blacklands, conteyning by Estimation Twelve Acres.
 Item One Hamme Lying in High Meade, alias Tenants Mead, conteyning by Estimation Fower Acres.
 Item One parcell of Meadow adjoining to Caw=illan [sic] Bridge Brocke Conteyning by Estimation Eight Acres
 Item One Horselease in the Parke of Lydiard Tregoze
 Item a Composition of Five pounds quarterly, issuing out of the Auncient Demeane of Lydiard Tregoze
 Item a Composition of Sixteene Shillinges per annum, issuing out of Meyington
 Item a Composition of Sixteen Shillings per annum, issuing out of Tootehill
 Item a Composition of Eight Shillings per Annum, issuing out of Whitehill
 Item One Horselease, or a lease for a Mare and Colt, One yeare in Meighington, and the other yeere in Tootehill
 Item an Ancient Composition, issuing out of the Manner of Midgehall for which I receive yearly of John Pleydall Esqr Fifty Shillinges all the Coppy holdes belonging to the sayd Manner being involved in the Composition.
 Item an Ancient Composition of Foure Nobles per Annum, issuing out of Studly Farme
 Item an Ancient Composition of Five Nobles per Annum, issuing out of Can Court Farme
 All the rest of the parish pay Tythes in Kinde

Tim: Dewell Rector of Lydiard Tregooze

Toby Richman Churchwardens
 Thomas Wheeler

Personal property

Comparison between the will made by John Dewell, proved P.C.C. 31 August, 1653, with that of his son Timothy Dewell, proved P.C.C. 25 October, 1692 suggests that the latter gained from reversions on the death of brothers and sisters. In 1692 Timothy was seized of the majority of his father's property – the Cardinal's Hat and the seven acres of meadow that went with it, as well as two other houses in Minster Street, Reading. In addition to these properties, Timothy bequeathed to his family:

The unexpired portion of a lease in Stratfieldsaye, Hants; lands and tenements in the tithings of Eastcott, Westcott, and Nethercott, in the parish of Swindon; lands and tenements in the parish of Lydiard Millicent; and lands and tenements in Bupton, in the parish of Clyffe Pypard.

Doctor of Divinity

The honorary degree of D.D. was conferred on Timothy Dewell at a Convocation of his University on 12 Septebmer, 1661. It was a significant moment in his career, and the events in Oxford at that time must have provided him with a fund of memories for the rest of his life. He was one of a number of men who received honorary degrees to mark the first appearance in his new dignity of the newly-appointed Chancellor of the University, Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon.

Edward Hyde was born at Dinton, Wilts, on 18 February, 1608/9, the son of Henry Hyde and Mary, daughter of Edward Langford, of Trowbridge. He was admitted to Magdalen Hall in the Lent Term, 1622. He enters the St.John story when he married Anne Ayliffe, niece of the 1st Baronet, at Battersea, on 4 February, 1631/2. She died of small-pox the following July at the St.John manor at Purley while travelling from London to Wiltshire. His active support for the Royalist cause – even into exile with Charles Stuart – meant high honour for him at the Restoration. In November 1660 he was made Baron Hyde of Hindon. Three days before the coronation of the king the following year he was made Viscount Cornbury and Earl of Clarendon. He became Lord Chancellor of England, and remained the chief minister of the king from 1660 to 1667. In October 1660 he was made Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

Wood's Life and Times tells the story of the Chancellor's visit in 1661 – a visit that lasted from 7 – 24 September. It tells of the preparations, the arrival of the Chancellor's coach drawn by six Flanders mares, the speeches and the sermons, the presents and the entertaining. On 9 September a Convocation was held:

He [Clarendon], with the bishop of Worcester, John [Wilmot] earl of Roff. [Rochester], and James earl of Newburg, and other considerable persons, ascended with the beadle before them the house of Convocation. Where the chancellor seating himself in the cheif seat, his vicechancellor sate on his right hand with the

earl of Newburgh by him, the Doctors of D. and Phys. on that hand; on the other hand Robert bishop of Oxford and Georg bishop of Worcester with the other Drs. of D. and Law by them. And being seated, Dr. Baylie told the orator to doe his office. After which was done, purposely to welcome the chancellor and that honoured company, Mr. Nicholas Meese the senior proctor stood up and read with a loud voice the names of such that the chancellor appointed to be created and have degrees conferred on then, viz. the names of 28 appointed to be created D D., the names of 17 to be created Bac. of D., the names of 6 to be created D. of L., the names of 3 to be created Bac. of Civ. Law, the names of 10 to be created D. of Phys., of one to be B. of Phys., the names of 7 to be Mrs of Arts and two to be Bac., but with this condition that every Dr. on the day of his admission was to pay the usual fees to the officers and 10 li. to the Universitie ...

(Life and Times of Anthony Wood, antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695, described by himself, ed. Andrew Clark, Oxford, 1891, vol. I, p.411.)

John Wilmot, born at Ditchley, Oxfordshire, on 10 April, 1647, was the son of Henry, Lord Wilmot, Earl of Rochester and Anne, eldest daughter of Sir John St.John, 1st Baronet. (For Henry Wilmot, see *Report No. 4*, p.15. For Anne, see the photograph in this *Report* and the letters about her son John on pp. 18-23 of this *Report*.) He was aged ten when he became the 2nd Earl of Rochester, on 9 February, 1657/8. At the time of the Chancellor's visit, he was a fellow-commoner of Wadham, aged fourteen. In all probability, because he was an Earl and the first cousin of the Chancellor's first wife, he accompanied the distinguished visitors, but apparently did not occupy an exalted position as, for example, the Earl of Newburgh did. He was one of thirteen to be made M.A. on the nomination of the "prefects of colleges and halls." (The Earls of Rochester and Newburgh, although made M.A., wore the robes of a doctor for the conferring of their degrees.)

On 12 September five teen-age aristocrats – the eldest son of a baron and four young baronets, all membes of colleges – were admitted M.A. The Chancellor was not present at this Convocation, but without doubt these admissions were in some way connected with his visit. They throw light on the M.A. conferred by the University of Cambridge on Henry St.John. (See *Report No.5*, p.23.) Later in the same Convocation many of those who had been nominated for honorary degrees were made recipients of them – including Timothy Dewell with his D.D. and Christopher Wren who received a D.C.L.

This flood of honorary degrees brought financial reward to the University, status to the recipients, and a certain amount of grumbling from the Fellows. Wood records (pp. 438-9) under the date of April 1662 that, "The Masters murmured that they should be imposed upon to confer degrees on those they never saw; and, as I remember, there was grumbling in the matter." This grumbling reached the ears of the Chancellor. He wrote to the

Vice-Chancellor:

That he never recommended any but such – 1, that were strangers who never intended to come into England and have merited well from the king abroad; 2, such that were recommended by the Bishops of London and Winton, which seemed by that to have also a pre-approbation from the University; and 3, ‘at my being with you when you told me (Sept. last) the University resolved to do me that honour as to confer some degrees in my presence, I did not of myselfe recommend any but Dr. Rawlinson and 3 or 4 more, nor were the rest knowne to me otherwise then by such recommendation as I received there of them ...

Wood comments that the Vice-Chancellor did his best to conceal the letter, for:

You must understand that the vice-chancellor and officers for money sake put as many names in as they could think of and told the chancellor when he was here in Sept. that it was in honour of him

Whether Timothy Dewell’s doctorate, however well deserved, was ‘for money’s sake’ or was one of the few nominated by the Chancellor, perhaps on the recommendation of Sir Walter St.Johyn, cannot be determined without additional evidence.

Political and Religious Views

In the absence of any of the writings or sermons of Timothy Dewell, it is not possible to make any assessment of his political and religious views. Perhaps they were not all that settled: for his were troublous days – real Vicar-of-Bray days that stretched from the days of King Charles I to those of King William and Queen Mary. Some of the difficulties are spelt out by Christopher Hill, in *Society and Puritanism in pre-Revolutionary England*, p.409:

Each of the Governments which came to power in England in the revolutionary years tried to buttress its position by securing national subscription to an oath; with the concomitant that those who refused the oath were excluded from public office ... In all, men might have had to take up to 10 ... conflicting oaths of loyalty between 1640 and 1660, to say nothing of the counter-swearing at the Restoration.

Dewell’s origins were in the trading community of Reading, amongst those whom Slingsby Bethel described as “the industrious sort of people”. It is more than likely that Timothy grew up in that reforming atmosphere of Puritan opinion without which the civil war could never have been fought. We have already noted that he was marked as absent when, in 1641/2, the protestation oath was made by members of his college – so no inference about his loyalty or otherwise can be made on this score.

But there is no doubt that he was, in 1648, an avowed Presbyterian. In 1647 and 1648 ministers in thirteen counties published their agreement with the opinions voiced by their London brethren. (There were nine hundred signatories in London and the provinces.) The London *Testimony* is headed:

A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to our Solemn League and Covenant; as also against the Errours, Heresies and Blasphemies of these times, and the Toleration of them... Subscribed by the Minister of Christ within the Province of London, Decemb. 14 &c. 1647.

The *Testimonies* were Presbyterian manifestoes. The first was that of the London ministers, in part embodying decision of the Westminster Assembly. The signatories asserted that, "the Presbyterian Government is that Government which is most agreeable to the mind of Jesus Christ, revealed in Scripture": they had put into practice as much of it as they found possible and "sadly lament England's general backwardness to embrace, yea forwardness to oppose this Government." They declared their devoted adherence to *The Solemn League and Covenant*, and their abhorrence of many prevalent errors, especially the proposal of a general toleration. The undated *Concurrent Testimony of the Ministers in the County of Wilts* was signed by eighty-two ministers who included Timothy Dewell and his neighbour Robert Whitfield, rector of Lydiard Millicent. (See A.G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, Oxford, 1934, p. 552ff.) There is no evidence that Timothy was himself a member of the Westminster Assembly.

At the Restoration he must have conformed to the episcopal restoration for he was not ejected in 1662.

The only evidence of his religious views towards the end of his life are the terms of his commendation of himself to God. The sentiments are conventional and protestant:

First I Commend my soul into the hands of God my maker trusting through the merits of Jesus Christ my only Saviour and Redeemer to be made partaker of Everlasting life and of a joyfull resurrection and I resigne my body to the earth whereof it was made to be buried where I have appointed ...

This commendation is expressed in rather better theological terms than was the case with his father's:

I commend my Soule unto the handes of Almighty God & my body to the earth in sure & certaine hope of a joyfull resurrection to eternall life by & through the mercy of Almighty God and the merritts of my Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ ...

(In some future *Report* there will be some treatment of the religious aspirations that are expressed in certain Lydiard Tregoz wills.)

Local society – and his links with the St.John family

Nothing can be said with certainty about Timothy Dewell's relationship with the 1st Baronet. Sir John undoubtedly presented him to the living, but from 1645 he was more often at Battersea than at Lydiard.

In 1635 Oliver, eldest son of the 1st Baronet, married Catherine, daughter of Horatio, Lord Vere. It is possible that they made Lydiard their home. In 1641 Oliver died. His widow re-married possibly before 1648. Their son may have continued to reside at Lydiard, looked after by his grandmother Vere. Certainly he was living there in 1648 when his grandfather died. Sir John was buried on 18 October, 1648. Grandson John, now the 2nd Baronet, continued to live at Lydiard, while his uncles Walter and Henry lived at Battersea.

The bishop's transcripts at Salisbury record the burial of Mistress Mary St.John on 21 July, 1654. As no age is given, it is not possible to assume that this was a sister of the 2nd Baronet – who himself was buried on 8 May, 1656.

Nothing is known to the present writer of the relations between Rector Dewell and the 2nd Baronet. One can only assume that the teen-ager would find a friend and counsellor in his parish priest. Far more is known about the connections of Sir Walter, 3rd Baronet, with Lydiard. Something has already been said in this article on the subject.

As Lord of the Manor, Sir Walter took an interest in Lydiard. The triptych in the church is lasting testimony of this. (See *Report No.2*, pp.25-6.) Probably he did some electioneering in Wootton Bassett in 1656, 1659, 1660, and 1661. Evidence of his sojourn at Lydiard are seen in the bishop's transcripts and in the parish registers. The following baptisms are recorded:

1658	19	?Apr	Johanna
1666	29	August	Walter
1667	18	December	John
1668	29	December	William

The following burial is also recorded:

1662	27	January	William, Sir Walter St.Johns's cook
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Our Lady of Batersey contains extracts of letters written to Thomas Hardyman, their steward, by both Sir Walter and Lady Johanna. (See pp. 82, 313-6.) The letters belong to the years 1660-64, and reveal the good relationship that existed between the St.Johns and their steward (who resided at The Brook) and also their friendship with the Dewells, as the following extracts show. A letter from Sir Walter, dated 21 December, 1660, is concerned in part with at least two of his children whom he has sent from Battersea to stay with the Dewells at Lydiard because of small-pox. Sir Walter wrote:

... Pray not let Mrs. Dewell want anything I have may do her good and shee will not want our prayers ... I hope you have a care of the maide in that cold place. Blessed bee god my boy continues so well...

In an undated letter, Lady Johanna wrote;

There is tel Mr. Duell a report of the revolting of the West indies from under the K. of Spain's obedience and making a K. of their own at mexico but I can not certainly say it is true, my love to all.

These letters were stated by Dr. Taylor to be "in the possession of Mrs. Henry St.John." Diligent enquiries by Mr.Smallwood in recent years have failed to locate them – which is a great pity, for they may have yielded more information and their discovery would have permitted the checking of Dr. Taylor's transcription. (An example of the kind of checking that needs to be done appears in the letter reproduced on p.59 of this *Report*. The letter, dated 1660, refers to Dr. Dewell. It was not until the following year that he received his doctorate.)

On 11 December, 1673, Sir Walter's eldest son, Henry, married Lady Mary Rich. Sir Walter settled Lydiard on him – although they were not often resident there. (See *Report No.5*, p.25.) It was at Lyfdiard that their son Henry, later 1st Viscount Bolingbroke was born. (See *W.A.M.*, 60, pp96-99 for the article by Mr. Smallwood on the subject.) His mother died and was buried at Lydiard on 2 October, 1678.

Rector Dewell would undoubtedly see Henry at election times, but what we know of the interests of the latter associates him rather more with the life of London than with rural pursuits. Who lived at Lydiard after the death of Lady Mary Rich is not known. There may be a clue on the graveslab that lies immediately to the west of the altar-rail gates in the church. It records the death of Sir John Topp:

S^r IOHN TOPP
Barronette of Tormarton
In Comitatu Gloucester
Ob^t. the 29th of March
1727

Sir John had married Barbara, daughter of Sir Walter St.John. She pre-deceased her husband, and was buried in the church on 27 April, 1700. Their burial at Lydiard may very well be evidence that they lived at least part of the time at Lydiard Park.

Anothre clue may reside in the burial at Lydiard of Paulet, son of Henry St.John, on 28 May, 1695.

When in residence, the St.Johns must have dominated local society. They entertained important people, too. The letters, already quoted from, written by Sir Walter and Lady Johanna give evidence of at least two visits paid by the Lord Chancellor to Lydiard:

(24 July, ?1662) The house is ready to rise and wee to leave this place: my Lord Chancellor says he will see Lydiard in August.

(14 August, 1663) Sir W. dind with my Lo Ch yesterday and he tels him he wil be at our house the 2d of Sep. without fail and stay ther til the 4 day in the afternoon. He brings at least 40 in his own train.

Another letter speaks of other visitors:

(5 June, ?1661) Sr Alen Apsle and I think my Lord Gradison wil com to Lidiard when the K. goes progres therefore you must save a good deer.

But there were other people of interest in the locality whose company and conversation must have made Rector Dewell's life more interesting. There were the Yorkes at Bassett Down, the Pleydells at Midgehall, the Church family at Chaddington, the Hardyman at The Brook, the Vilets, the Ayliffes at Grittenham – to name just a few of the families. Later *Reports* will say something more about them. *Report No. 1* made a start with Benjamin Culme who was ejected from the deanery of St.Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, in 1649. When staying at Midgehall, Dean Culme must have had many interesting tales to tell.

It was during Dewell's incumbency that a very large number of the incised memorial slabs were placed in the floor of the church: to remind us of those who considered themselves leaders of local society. There is also a small brass plate on the floor of the south chapel that is intriguing. The present writer knows nothing about the person remembered nor why the plate should be in the St.John aisle. The inscription is written in a mixture of small letters and capitals – all of the same size

Here LYeth inturRed The
BOdY OF RichArd GorhAM
OF LYDYET Gen^t: He dePARTed
This LiFe 29th OF October.
in The YeAre OF our Lord
1670
AGeD 75 YeAres

Parish, deanery, and diocese

Rector Dewell's tombstone tells of his diligence as a parish priest:

With what labour for the gospel he worked and how greatly he fed his flock his life and conversation show.

Comment has already been made in *Report No.3*, p.17, that the fact that he only signed briefs in 1681 and 1685 is no indication of non-residence. On the contrary, some examination of the wills at the County Record Office indicates that he was very much involved in the community. He is named in nine of the twenty-six sets of probate documents that have survived of those that went through the court of the archdeacon of Wilts during his incumbency:

15 June,	1665	surety with Martha, widow of the intestate Charles Pratt for the administration of his estate.
3 October,	1666	one of the appraisers of the goods and chattels of Edmund Marsh.
23 September,	1667	one of the appraisers of the goods and chattels of John Bathe, of Hook.
8 November,	1669	surrogate of the archdeacon for hearing the oath of Joan Rundle als. Baystone over the administration of her brother John Sadler's estate.
16 May,	1670	surrogate of the archdeacon for the probate of the will of James Pannell, of Flaxlands
19 October,	1671	appraiser with Thomas Dewell of the goods and chattels of Anne Smith, widow. (See Appendix to this article.)
23 January,	1673	surrogate of the archdeacon for hearing the oath of Deborah Lawe concerning her husband's intestacy
15 October,	1684	responsible for the administration of his son John's estate
10 November,	1691	named in covenant concerning the estate of Christopher Spencer

Further evidence of a similar sort may well emerge from an examination of probate documents in the bishop's court during the periods when the inferior court was inhibited and from an examination of documents in the prerogative court.

This, the concluding section of this article, is of the most cursory for the present writer has yet to tap the resources of the Diocesan Record Office in connection with Rector Dewell's role in the deanery and diocese. That there is a story to tell is indicated by the isolated reference to him in a booklet on Stratton St.Margaret Church, written by the Rev.F.W.T.Fuller, in which it was noted that the Briefs Book at Stratton states that Dr. Dewell was the person authorized to receive the results of the brief for the great fire of London. It is hoped that future *Reports* will make good these omissions.

APPENDIX I

The will of Timothy Dewell from the will book at P.R.O. (PROB 11/41).

In the name of God Amen This Fourth day of June 1689 I Timothy Dewell of Lydiard Tregore D.D. being of perfect mind and memory praised by God being very sensible of my mortality by reason of my great age and many bodily infirmities doe make and ordain this my last will and testament in manner and forme following First I Commend my soul into the hands of God my maker trusting through the merits of Jesus Christ my only Saviour and Redeemer to be made partaker of Everlasting life and of a joyfull resurrection and I resigne my body to the earth whereof it was made to be buried where I have appointed Item I give and bequeath unto my eldest sonn Thomas Dewell all those years of my lease in Stratfieldsea in the County of Southampton which are yet to come and unexpired. Item I give and bequeath unto my sonn Thomas Dewell and to his heirs for ever All that my messuage or inne called the Cardinalls hat in Reading with my seaven acres of meadow in the Kings Meade Also I give unto my sonn Thomas Dewell and to his heirs for ever all that my house in Reading now in the tenure or occupation of John Hussey and after the decease of my wife Anne Dewell I do give unto my said sonn Thomas Dewell and to his heirs for ever all that my house in Reading in the tenure and occupation of James Spicer. Item I give and bequeath unto my sonn Timothy Dewell and to his heirs for ever all those my lands and tenements lying in the Tythings of Eastcott Westcott and Nethercott within the parish of Swindon in the County of Wilts Provided allways and upon Condition that he pay unto my sonn Henry Dewell One hundred pounds after the decease of my wife Ann Dewell Item I give and bequeath unto my Sonn Anthony Dewell during his natural life all that my land in the parish of Lydiard Millisent in the County of Wilts which I bought of John Petty and Richard Smith and also after his mother all that my lands and tenements in Lydiard Millisent aforesaid which I bought of William Munde and also after the decease of my sonn Anthony Dewell I give all the forementioned lands and tenements in Lydiard Millisent unto my sonn Henry Dewell and to his heirs for ever. Item I give and bequeath unto my two youngest sonns Richard Dewell and Charles Dewell and to their heirs for ever All those my lands and tenements in Bupton in the parish of Cleare pepper in the County of Wilts to be equally divided between them and if either of them dye before he arrive at the full age of One and Twenty years then I give the whole estate to the survivour of them and to his heirs for ever Item I give my study of books to be disposed of to those two my youngest sonns according as my Executrix hereafter named shall appoint and think fitt Item I give and bequeath unto my Grandsonn John Dewell my great Silver saltcellar and to my Granddaughter Elizabeth Dewell Fivety pounds to be paid within three years after my decease if the said Elizabeth Dewell shall so long live Item I give unto my Granddaughter Elizabeth Vilett my great silver tankard and to all the rest of my Grandchildren which shall be alive at my decease five pounds to each of them Item I give unto my brother Richard Dewell five pounds and to my cousin Reeve and my Cousin Terry twenty shillings apiece. Item I desire my loving brother in law Mr Jonathan Rogers and my loving sonn in law Mr Charles Vilett to be Overseers of this my last will intreating them to be assistant to my Executrix and I do

give unto each of twenty shillings to buy them a ring. Item I doe make my loving wife Anne Dewell the sole Executrix of this my last will and testament and do hereby disannull and revoke all other wills formerly by me made In witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seal the day and year first above written Tim: Dewell

Signed Published and Declared as my last will and testament in the presence of Robert Jenner Thos Hardyman Richard Hale

APPENDIX II

It may seem rather capricious to add a further appendix in a *Report* which is already over-long – especially as what is to be added here has only a tenuous connection with Rector Dewell. But the will of Anne Smith (house-keeper at Lydiard Park?) was written out by John Dewell, and the inventory was copied out by Thomas Dewell with Timothy Dewell as co-appraiser. Furthermore, there is a particular charm about this lady who took such an interest in her clothes. (The identification of materials and items of clothing comes from two excellent books by C.W. and P.Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the 16th Century* and *Handbook of English Costume in the 17th Century*.)

The will of Anne Smith, widow. Probate in the archdeacon's court, 3 May, 1672.

In the name of God Amen I Anne Smith of Lydiard Tregoze in the County of Wiltes widdow, being sick and weake in body but of perfect minde and memory (praysed bee God) doe make constitute ordaine and appoint this my last will and Testament in manner and forme followinge: First I resigne up my soule into the handes of my maker trustinge to bee saved by the merits of Christ my redeemer, and my body to the earth to be decently buried accordinge to the discretion of my Executor heerafter named. Item I give unto my son Christopher Smith Twenty Shillinges, two silver spoones, and my gold ringe. Item I give and bequeath unto my grandson, and granddaughter twenty shillinges a peice. Item I give to my granddaughter my mantle, and all my linnen, wollen, silke and stuffe apparell and Clothes (not otherwise disposed by this my will) to bee delivered by my Executor heeafter named to Mrs Dewell, to bee disposed of by her for the good of the sayd childe. Item I give and bequeath to all my brothers and brother in lawes, and to all my sisters and sisters in law five shillinges a peice to buy each of them a payre of gloves. Item I give and bequeath unto my very good friendes Dr. Dewell, and his wife, Mr Charnock and his wife Mr Charles Chappell, Mrs Mary Radcliffe, Mrs Tyliard, Mr Hardyman twenty shillinges to each and every one of them to buy them ringes, Item I give and bequeath to Mr Browne of Battersea, to John Smith of North Lydaird, to Anne Webb Joane Lamborune Mary Munke to each of them five shillinges Item I give to my fellow servants John Pettie, William Beeke, Richard Rudler Ephraim Smith John fly William Taylor Richard Shropshire, Richard Scarlet, and to Anne the mayd servant halfe a crowne

to each of them to buy them gloves. Item I give to Edward Sweeper Ten shillings, and to his wife five shillings, to William Lover five shillings, and to his wife five shillings. Iem I give to my sister Mary Morse my red safegard and whoode [safeguard = an over-skirt or sometimes an apron either to protect the skirt from dirt or to give extra warmth. Whoode = hood of one sort or another.] Item I give to Elizabeth Besant my sad [dark] colourd underpettitcoat [seen when the skirt was bunched up often an elegant garment] and my red underpetticot, and my best paragin black petticot. [paragon = common material in the seventeenth century; ? strong, sometimes watered, silk.] Item I give to Anne the mayd servant two white linnen whoodes, and two of my best shaddowes: [shadow or cornet = a cap of linen, lawn, etc.; being limp the front was rounded to encircle the upper half of the forehead, the back falling flat to the neck behind.] Item I give unto Elizabeth Woolford my old greene petticot, my old black and my old red Petticotes. Item I give to Elizabeth Turner my long blacke scarfe: Item I give to Mrs Church of Chaddenton my white sarcinet whoode, and my gloves with the Ribbins. [sarcenet = a fine soft silk of taffeta weave, largely used for linings] Item I give to poore of the parish of Lydiard Tregoze twenty shillings Item I give and bequeath to Dr Dewell twenty shillings more for my funerall sermon, which I desire him to preach. Item I give to Dina Richens five shillings: All the rest of my goods and Chattles unbequeathed I give unto my son Francis Smith whom I make and ordaine the full and sole Executor of this last will and testament In wittnesse wherof I have heerunto put my hande and seale the Two and Twentieth day of September in the Three and Twentieth yeere of the Reigne of our Sovraigne Lord King Charles the second etc Annoque Domini: 1671

Sealed published and declared to be
Last will and Testament of the above
Named Anne Smith In the presence of
John Dewell George X Hale

The marke of
Anne X Smith

An Inventory of the goods and Chatttells of Anne Smith of Lydyard Tregoze lately deceased taken and valued by us [Tim: Dewell and Tho: Dewell] whose names are underwritten this 19th day of October 1671

Imprimis her bookes and wearinge apparell	10	0	0
Item in ready money	crossed out		
Item the Executor's yeare [?]	23	0	0
Item the lease of the Coniger [?]	crossed out		
Item her goods at Easton	9	8	6
Item severall parcells of silke	3	3	8
Item 9 old napkins	crossed out		
Item one Silver whysle with a Corell	0	5	0
Item in fine holland	6	10	0
Item one new payre of Silke stokens	0	10	0
Item one greate trunke one little trunke and severall firre boxes	0	7	0
Item Two peeces of old pewter	crossed out		
Item Debts	10	0	0
Item two sylver spoones, and one little gold ringe	<u>crossed out</u>		
	[sic]	95	9
			0

THE ST. JOHNS OF 1066 and all that

By Frank T. Smallwood, M.A., F.S.A.

Quite certainly the St. Johns hailed from Normandy. Just as certainly the Oliver St. John who *circa* 1430 married Margaret Beauchamp – the ancestor of the present Lord St. John of Bletso (of the Bedfordshire line) and of the present Viscount Bolingbroke and St. John (of the Wiltshire line) – was settled in Glamorgan. Two questions are of paramount importance in the history of the family: (1) When did the St. Johns come to England? (2) How and when did they get into Glamorgan?

To these two questions Panel 2 (dated 1683) of the famous triptych at Lydiard Tregoze gives categorical answers. The St. John pedigree begins with the entry:

Iohannes de Sancto IOHN^e Intravit Angliam cum Will^{mo} Conq^{ste} An^o 1066

which may be extended as:

Iohannes de Sancto Johanne Intravit Angliam cum Willielmo Conquestore
Anno 1066

and translated as:

John de St. John entered England with William the Conqueror A.D. 1066.

The next generation is recorded in the entry:

Oliverus de Sancto Iohanne de Fonmon in Com: Glamorgan Miles.
(The ontracted Com: may be extended as comitatu, meaning county,
and Miles means Knight.)

Presumably this work was commissioned by Sir Walter St. John, 3rd Baronet (1622-1708), and presumably Sir Walter was advised by one of his cousins – either Sir Thomas St. George (1615-1703), who was Norroy King of Arms at the time, or Sir Henry St. George (1625-1715), who was Clarenceux King of Arms at the time – just as his father Sir John 1st Baronet (1568-1648) had been advised in 1615 by his uncle Sir Richard St. George, Clarenceux King of Arms. Unhappily, in spite of this impressive array of authority, both entries are now grievously discredited. The present writer is not qualified to do research into medieval documentary sources, and even if he were, it is unlikely that he would discover evidences that have escaped the notice of such scholars as J.H. Round, John Brownbill, and the contributors to *D.N.B.*, *G.E.C. Complete Peerage*, and the Victoria County Histories, who have done much to replace picturesque fiction and wishful thinking by authenticated, documented fact. Some problems are still unsolved and are

now probably insoluble; but it is possible to contrast what was formerly believed with what is now authenticated and to indicate the present state of the case.

Reference will be made to the following sources:

Domesday means 1086 *Domesday Book* (now at P.R.O.) printed 1783 with indexes 1811 and 1816.

Brompton means c.1436 *Chronicon Johannis Brompton* printed in Roger Twysden: *Historicae Anglicanae Scriptores X*, 1652.

Leland means c.1545 John Leland: *Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, 6 vols., 1715.

Visitation means 1566 *Visitation of Bedfordshire*, Harleian Society, **Vol.19**, 1884.

Holinshed means 1577 Raphael Holinshed: *Chronicles*.

Powel means 1584 David Powel: *The Historie of Cambria*.

The Abergavenny Pedigrees means 1592 P.R.O. document S.P. 12, 246, ff. 238-240. (See also *G.E.C.*, **Vol.1**, pp. 35, 6, and *C.S.P.D.* 1593, p.404.)

Stow means 1592 John Stow: *The Annales of England*.

Duchesne means 1619 Andreas Duchesne: *Historiae Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui*, Paris, 1619.

Aubrey means c.1660-70 John Aubrey: *Survey of North Wilts.*, ed. Jackson, 1862.

Dugdale means 1675 Sir William Dugdale: *The Baronage of England*.

The Triptych means 1683 Panel 2 of the triptych in St.Mary's Church, Lydiard Tregoz, though the earliest part of the monument dates from 1615. (See also *Reports 1, 2, 3, 5*.)

Notitia means 1713 *Notitia St.Johanniana* ---, a 42-page booklet sold at 6d, published in connection with the elevation of Henry St.John to the peerage as Viscount Bolingbroke 1712. A sentence on p.28 recurs with a change of only one word in the same connection in the 1714 edition of Collins's Peerage, which may mean that Collins was the author of *Notitia*.

Collins means Arthur Collins: *The Peerage of England* – various editions and supplements 1709, 10, 14, 15, 16, 35, 41, 56, 68, 79, 84, and finally in 9 volumes ed. Brydges 1812.

The Baronetage means 1720 Arthur Collins: *The Baronetage of England*. (The account of the ancestors of the first four St.John baronets – Sir John, cr. 1611, d. 1648; Sir John, grandson of 1st Bt., d.1656; Sir Walter, uncle of 2nd Bt., d.1708; Sir Henry, eldest son of 3rd Bt., living 1720 – agrees closely enough with *Notitia* in respect of facts, sources quoted, and phrasing to strengthen the surmise that Collins was the author of *Notitia*.)

Jacob means 1797 Giles Jacob: *The Law-Dictionary*, enlarged by T.E.Tompkins.

Burke I means Burke's *Peerage*, various editions 1826 to present day.

Burke II means 1848 J.B.Burke: *The Roll of Battle Abbey, Annotated*.

V.C.H. means 1870-: *Victoria County History* of the county named.

Cleveland means 1889 The Duchess of Cleveland: *The Battle Abbey Roll*, **3 vols.**

Clark I means 1877 G.T.Clark in *The Archaeological Journal*, **Vol. XXXIV**, p.19-.

Clark II means 1883 G.T.Clark, *The Land of Morgan*.

Clark III means 1884 G.T.Clark, *Mediaeval Military Architecture*, **Vo.II**, pp. 49, 50.

Clark IV means 1910 G.T.Clark: *Cartae et Alia Munimenta* ---, a 4-volume re-issue of works published in 1885 and later.

Portal means 1899 Melville Portal: *The Great Hall of Winchester Castle*.

Round I means 1899 J.H.Round: *The Families of St.John and of Port – The Genealogist*, New Series, Vol.16, pp.1-13.

Round II means 1900 J.H.Round in *V.C.H. Hampshire*, **Vol.1**, pp.421-4.

Round III means 1901 J.H.Round: *Studies in Peerage and Family History*.

The Ancestor means 1903 J.H.Round and others: *The Barons' Letter to the Pope* in *The Ancestor*, **Vol. 6**.

O.L.B. means 1925 J.G.Taylor: *Our Lady of Batersey*.

Brownbill means 1931 John Brownbill: *St.John of Bletsoe; The Genealogists' Magazine*, **Vol. 5**.

Nicholl means 1936 Lewis D.Nicholl: *The Normans in Glamorgan, Gower and Kidweli*.

G.E.C. means 1910 – *G.E.C. Complete Peerage*, Second Edition in 13 volumes.

Oswald means 1949 Arthur S. Oswald: Articles on *Fonmon Castle* in *Country Life*, **Vol. CV**, p.606 ff.

Kay means 1950 H.Kay: *The Shields in the Great Hall*, Sir Walter St.John's School, p.2.

Douglas means 1964 David C.Douglas: *William the Conqueror*.

Griffiths means 1966 R.A.Griffiths: *The Norman Conquest and the Twelve Knights of Glamorgan; The Glamorgan Historian*, **Vol.III**.

Pierce means 1968 Gwynedd O.Pierce: *The Place-Names of Dinas Powys Hundred*; University of Wales Press.

Reports means 1969-1972 *Reports* of The Friends of Lydiard Tregoz.

Whether the claim made in 1683 at the top of Panel 2 of the Triptych had been made in 1615 cannot now be said. In the spring of 1660 Johyn Aubrey was commissioned to make his Survey of North Wiltshire, and he was certainly in Lydiard at some date after 10th June, 1669. He reported that there was a pedigree on "the outside of the doors" – presumably the present central doors – but he recorded no details. The claim was, however, often repeated, and reached its greatest elaboration in the 1735 edition of *Collins* in the words:

This Family is paternally descended from the Ports of Basing in Hampshire who were great Barons at the Time of the Conquest; and by maternal Descent derive their Sirname of St.John in lineal Succession from William de St.John who entered England with the Conqueror, whose army he attended as grand master of the artillery and supervisor of the waggons and carriages: for which reason the horses hemes [hames] (or collar) was borne for his cognizance, and his Name occurs in the Roll of Battle Abbey among those who were with the Conqueror, when he obtain'd that Memorable Victory near Hastings.

The 1812 edition of *Collins* omitted the reference to the Roll of Battle Abbey but added the detail about William de St.John that he was “denominated from the territory of St.John, near Rouen in the province of Normandy”. In due course the claim made its way into *Burke I* and *Burke II*. (The hames were, in fact, the badge of the Tregoz family.)

The picturesque claim certainly had an unchallenged life for more than two centuries from 1683 and, if it was made in 1615, for nearly three centuries. The subject is of unusual interest, for while the words “by maternal Descent” exclude the possibility of establishing unbroken descent *in the male line* from a St.John at Hastings, paternal descent from the Ports of Basing – if it can be proved – will give the two present St.John peers the probably unique distinction of direct descent in the male line from one of William’s tenants-in-chief recorded in domesday Book, who may well have been at Hastings.

Difficulties present themselves at once in respect of the name. The Triptych begins the pedigree with John, father of Oliver – so does *O.L.B.*; but *Notitia* begins with William, father of Thomas, who soon disappeared from the story, and of John, of whom much more hereafter. Agreeing with the Triptych, the 1714 edition of *Collins* (p.51) traces St.John of Bletso from John, who “attended the Norman Conqueror into England and had a principal Employment, in his Army”, but Viscount Bolingbroke is declared to have been descended from “William --- who came into England with the Conqueror.” *The Baronetage* also began with William, “who enter’d England with the Conqueror ---” and continued with John, son of William. The later editions of *Collins* – 1735 onwards – settled for William, as did *Burke II*, and also *Burke I* certainly as late as 1967. But, by contrast, since 1683 the Triptych had clearly begun with John and had continued with Oliver. Moreover, though *Notitia* said merely that the family came from Normany, the 1812 edition of *Collins*, quoted above, placed their home near Rouen. (The error was repeated in *Burke II*, p.97, and in Jackson’s *Aubrey*, 1862, p.170.) But *Round I* (p.2) declared it to be “certain that the English house derived its name from St.Jean-le-Thomas, overlooking the bay of Mont St.Michel, in the extreme west of Normany.” *Brownbill* (p.355) adds a promising but tantalizing new detail by describing various English St.Johns as “related by descent from Ralph lord of St.Hean-les-Thomas (Marche).” (In addition to the two obvious spelling mistakes in the quotation, Lageham appears as Langham and Halnaker as Halmaker.) *G.E.C. Vol.XI*, p.340 (1949)

St.Jean le Thomas --- was held of the abbey of Le Mont St.Michel by a family of that name the first member of which was Ralph de St.John who, expressed to be a man of St. Michel, witnessed a charter to the abbey which was laid on the altar of Rouen Cathedral on Christmas Day 1053 in the presence of Duke William and Archbishop Mauger.

G.E.C. adds that “this Ralph was certainly a predecessor of Thomas St.John” and his three brothers, about whom details are recorded early in the twelfth century. (See below.)

But if William (alias John) de St.John was a companion of the Conqueror and particularly if he held the exalted rank mentioned in the 1735 and later editions of *Collins*, then presumably his services were recognized when “conquering William” – as panel 4 of the Triptych calls him – divided the spoils. But no St.John is named as tenant-in-chief or as a sub-tenant in Domesday Book. Admittedly the surnames of sub-tenants are often not given. William (or John) may have been such a sub-tenant, but hardly so if he was in fact one of William’s high-ranking staff officers. Conceivably he had offended the King and forfeited his lands before Domesday Book was compiled in 1086, but there is no hint of this, nor has any St.John been named by topographers or genealogists as having been associated with any named place during the Conqueror’s reign.

In the year after the Battle of Hastings the Conqueror founded an abbey (Battle Abbey): “in honorem S. Martini an. 1067 monachos instituit, ut pro occisis in bello ab ipsis in perpetuum hostiae salutis Deo redderentur”, which may be rendered that in 1067 he established monks in honour of St.Martin in order that sacrifices of salvation [masses] might be offered to God by the same for ever on behalf of those slain in war. (*Leland*, Vol.1, p.87.) In the course of time the monks compiled a roll of the gentlemen who “vindrent ove Willm le Conquerour a de primes”, (i.e., came with William the Conqueror at the first.) (*Leland* p.206.) Sir William Dugdale’s comment may be quoted:

“Such hath been the subtilty of some Monks of old, that, finding it acceptable unto most, to be reputed to be descendants to those who were companions with Duke William in that memorable Expedition whereby he became Conqueror of this Realm, as that, to gratify them (but not without their own advantage) they inserted their names into this antient Catalogue.”

The original roll does not survive, but versions differing from one another were printed in *Leland*, *Holinshed*, and *Stow*, and *Burke II* contains lists extracted from Brompton’s Chronicle and *Duchesne*. The first three of these writers claim to have used also the chronicles of Normany by William Tailleor (*Holinshed*) alias William Tayleur of Rhoane [i.e., Rouen] (*Stowe*). *Leland* provides the fullest version of the Battle Abbey Roll – 249 pairs of surnames often with alliteration and often riming in couplets, beginning

Aumeril et Deyncourt
 Bertrem et Buttencourt
 Biard et Biford
 Bardolf et Basset
 Deyville et Darcy
 Pygot et Percy
 Gurnay et Greilly
 Tregoz et Treyilly

Later, S.John et S.Jory form a line, and a short preliminary list includes “le sires de S.Jehan”. *Holinshed* also includes St.John in his two lists. *Stow* includes St.John in his list from “Tayleur of Rhoane” but not in his Battle Abbey Roll. St.John is not listed by *Brompton* or *Duchesne*. In view of the importance of what will be said later about de Port, the facts may here be stated that *Leland* includes the name in neither list, *Stow* includes it in Tailleleur’s list only. Neither *Brompton*, *Holinshed*, nor *Duchesne* mentions de Port. *Burke II* gives a mainly alphabetical list of surnames – not in pairs or riming couplets – including Sent Johyn but not de Port. In 1889 the Duchess of Cleveland discussed the Roll in three volumes with great piety but little critical scepticism, though she did quote *Dugdale* in her premininary pages. She repeated the St.John “family tradition” that “their leader — had the charge of the transport and munitions of the invading army” but added, “The name is missing in Domesday.” As late as 1899 *Portal* mentioned the descent of the Basing St.Johns from “William de St.John, a Norman chieftain, who came with the Conqueror to England, and whose name appears in the roll of Battle Abbey. He was the founder of the distinguished Hampshire family of St.John.” (For *Portal*’s use of the word “founder”, see below.) Obviously a source with so many contradictions cannot be trusted, particularly when it makes so much of St.John, who is not in Domesday and so little of de Port, who is.

Authentication of the deeds of the second generation of St.Johns in England is equally difficult. According to the Triptych, Oliver son of John was one of the twelve knights who helped Fitzhamon to conquer Glamorgan; according to *Notitia*, it was John son of William; but according to Dr.R.A.*Griffiths* (1966) this man “is indubitably a fictitious character.” The best version of the story – *Pozwel’s* – dated from 1584 – nearly five centuries after the event. Norman William did not conquer Wales, but he placed powerful tenants-in-chief along the line from Chester to Gloucester, and these barons were ready to take advantage of disunity among the Welsh. In 1089 Einion ap Cedifor joined forces with Iestyn ap Gwrgant against Rhys ap Tewdwr, the most important Welshman seen in South Wales for a quarter of a century. To seal their alliance Iestyn promised his daughter to Einion, and to improve their prospects of success Einion was detailed to make an approach to a likely Norman baron for help. Robert fitzHamo – *Griffiths* thinks this spelling preferable to Fitzhamon – was found to be willing in return for cash. In a combined attack by the three, Rhys ap Twedwr was defeated and slain; having fulfilled the bargain fitzHamo claimed his reward and prepared to depart with his knights. But the bargain between Iestyn and Einion about Iestyn’s daughter had just broken down and so

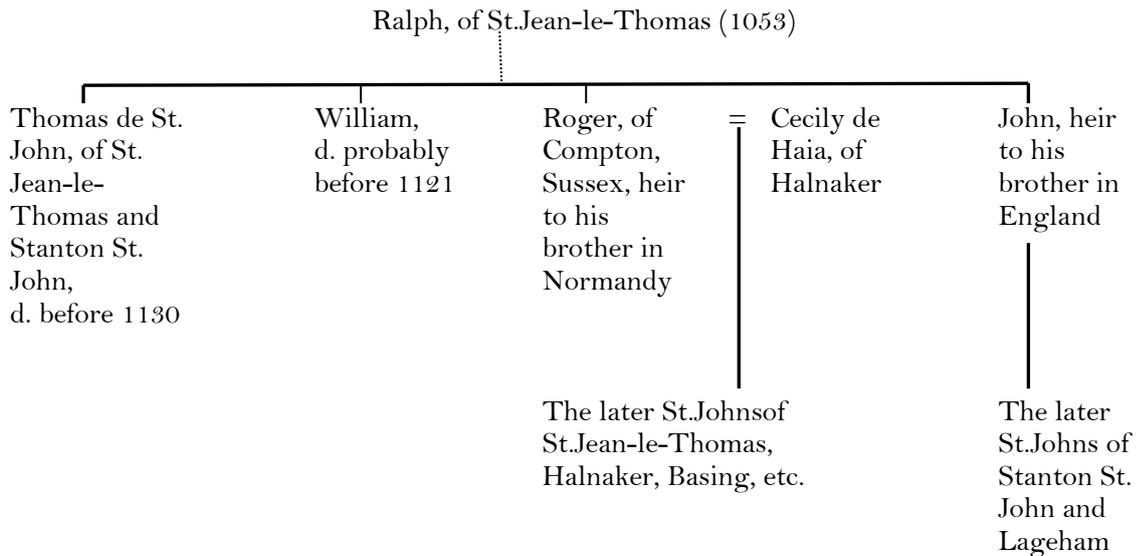
Einion rode down to the quay-side and persuaded fitzHamo to return. Robert thereupon destroyed Iestyn, relegated Einion to the mountains, and apportioned Glamorgan among his knights and Welsh allies. (There is an alternative account with variations that are not important for present purposes.)

Powel then gives some details of the twelve knights who helped Fitzhamon in the Conquest. No.11 is “Oliverus de S.Iohn, a younger brother of the Lord S.Iohn of Basing.” (N.B. The name Oliver agrees with the Triptych.) This is strong meat, for the first Lord St.John of Basing was the William de Port, son of Adam de Port, who – as will be emphasized later – inherited Halnaker (Sussex) from his St.John grandmother, adopted her surname, and was summoned to the Great Council as Lord St.John of Basing in 1205. But on the next page (p.126) Powel says that “to sir Iohn S.Iohn he [fitzHamo] gave the castell and manour of Fonmon or Fennon, being one knight’s fee”. So the Oliver of p.125 has become John on p.126. As will appear in due course, recent historians are not convinced of the presence of St.Johns in England till early in the 1100’s; Powel’s uncertainty about the name – was it Oliver, as in the *Abergavenny pedigrees* and on the Triptych, or John, as in *Notitia*? – and his error of a century in the relationship of the Glamorgan invader with the Lord St.John of Basing are only two of the many discrepancies that discredit his record; but the fact remains that St.Johns were eventually found in Glamorgan. How and when they came there is the most obstinate problem.

Round III (p.66) is categorical: “It can be positively shown — that the St.John family did not come in with the Conqueror, but, in the next century, under Henry I.” As has already been indicated, *G.E.C. Vol.XI*, p.340, gives details of four St.John brothers, of whom the Ralph already mentioned (1053) was “certainly a predecessor.” (*Round I* (pp.3, 5) had discussed three of them, omitting William, who had presumably died before the incident on which Round based his argument.) In 1106 Thomas ineffectually blockaded Tinchebray on behalf of King Henry I; by 1108 he was a leading man in Oxfordshire, of which he was joint sheriff in 1110; he died without issue before 1130. William was present with his brother Thomas at St.Albans, 12th December, 1116; King Henry I gave him lands in East Meon; he died without issue probably before 1121, and his lands descended to his nephew William, son of Roger. This Roger must be treated separately. John, the fourth brother, shared with Roger (July 1118) the defence of the castle of La Motte-Gautier for King Henry I against Fulk, Count of Anjou, but was forced to surrender; he gave the church of Stanton St.John to Eynsham Abbey at some date between 1135 and 1149, and died at some date between 1149 and 1153. When Thomas – of St.Jean le thomas, Normandy, and Stanton St.John, co.Oxon. – died (c.1130) his property in Normandy passed to his brother Roger, and his property in England to his youngest brother John. (*Round I*, p.5.) *Notitia* (p.16), claiming that a John St.John who died in 1316 held Lageham, Stanton St.John, and other properties, is corroborated by later writers. *V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol. V*, p.284, shows that Stanton was forfeited by the de Lacys in 1100, and passed to the St.Johns, from whom it received its distinguishing second name. *G.E.C.* shows that in the next generation Roger de St.John acquired

Lageham (a moiety of the manor of Walkhampstead (alias Walkensted, now Godstone) in Surrey by his marriage to Cecily de Lucy and later the other moiety. From this time, late in the 12th century, till the middle of the 14th century, when the male line failed, the St.Johns of Stanton were also of Lageham. The properties then passed with the daughter of the 4th Baron St.John of Lageham to her husband, Sir Nicholas de Loveyne.

Table I



The honour of Halnaker in West Sussex (see below) had been held – according to Domesday – by a certain William, but had come into the Kings’ hands and had been granted by King Kenry I in or before 1105 to Robert de Haye (alias de Haia or de la Haye). Robert founded Boxgrove Priory and in 1105 bestowed the church of St.Mary of Boxgrove and some lands upon the abbey of Lessay. Robert’s daughter Cecily married Roger, the third of the St.John brothers mentioned above. But was Cecily Robert’s heir as well as daughter? *Notitia* and *V.C.H.Sussex*, Vol.2, p.56, says she was, but *G.E.C.* says that Robert left a son and heir named Richard. (*Round I*, p.5, names Richard and Ralf de Haia, “both living under Henry II”, i.e., at some date between 1154 and 1188.) *G.E.C.* thinks therefore that Halnaker “must have been Cecily’s marriage portion” – rather than an heiress’s inheritance – and adds “its magnitude leads one to suspect the king’s intervention.” The implications of this comment are not quite clear. The date of the marriage is not known, but Roger died in or before 1130, Cecily was living in 1162 but was dead by 1177, the elder of their two sons (William) died between Michaelmas 1201 and Michaelmas 1202 and the younger (Robert) died between 8th July, 1199, and 27th February, 1199/1200. Did the King use his influence with Robert de Haia in order to recompense the St.Johns, and particularly Roger, for services rendered? He had granted Halnaker to Robert by 1105, i.e., before Thomas St.John had begun his services at Tinchebray. Perhaps the King’s memory was reasonably long.

The importance of this marriage for the present study can hardly be exaggerated. It established a St. John family connection with Halnaker that continued under various names – Poynings, Bonville, and West, Lord de la Warr – till the middle of the sixteenth century. The church of Boxgrove Priory still shows the St. John coat of arms several times in the ceiling and in the de la Warr chantry chapel. (Certain peculiarities in the marshalling of the coats may have been intended to emphasize the connection of the St. Johns with the early history of Halnaker and Boxgrove.) The St. John crest – falcon rising etc. – is claimed by *Notitia* to have belonged originally to de Haia. Moreover, Robert de Haia will be brought into the vexed story on Fonmon later in the present essay. The extensive ruins of Halnaker House still stand about a mile to the north of Boxgrove.

Before he acquired Halnaker by marriage Roger St. John had been “of Compton” in West Sussex and had given Compton Church to Lewes Priory. He and his wife Cecily (de Haia) had two sons, William and Robert, and a daughter Muriel. (The statements about Roger and his wife and their three children on the Triptych are thus shown by modern scholarship to be correct.) The two sons and their mother lived to surprisingly late dates – see above – but *Round I*, p.4, quotes documents that name grandfather Robert, father and mother Roger and Cecily, and the two brothers themselves and that leaves no room for doubt about the relationships. *G.E.C.* mentions incidents in William’s life in 1154, 1162, 1174/5, 1166-72, and 1189. William married twice, Robert once, but neither left issue, and their sister Muriel therefore continued the history of the Halnaker St. Johns. Muriel married Reginald de Orval and had a daughter Mabel. Mabel de Orval married Adam de Port and had a son William. This William de Port is as important for the St. John pedigree as the Roger de St. John who married Cecily de Haia.

William de Port belonged to the fifth generation of the de Ports in England, a family that maintained its connection with Basing in unbroken succession in the male line for ten generations from Conquest times till 1347. Like the St. Johns they took their surname from their home on the Normandy coast – Port-en-Bessin. *Round I* was at pains to disentangle the de Ports of Basing from other branches of the family, but as *G.E.C.* agrees with Round discussion of that problem need not encumber the present essay.

The de Ports of Basing and their descendants to the present day – whether named de Port, St. John, Poynings, or Pawlet – are often mentioned by writers who are not primarily interested in family history. No picturesque claims are made for the part that Hugh – the first of the line in England – played in the Battle of Hastings; no version of the Battle Abbey Roll names him; but *Douglas*, p.297, indicates his importance:

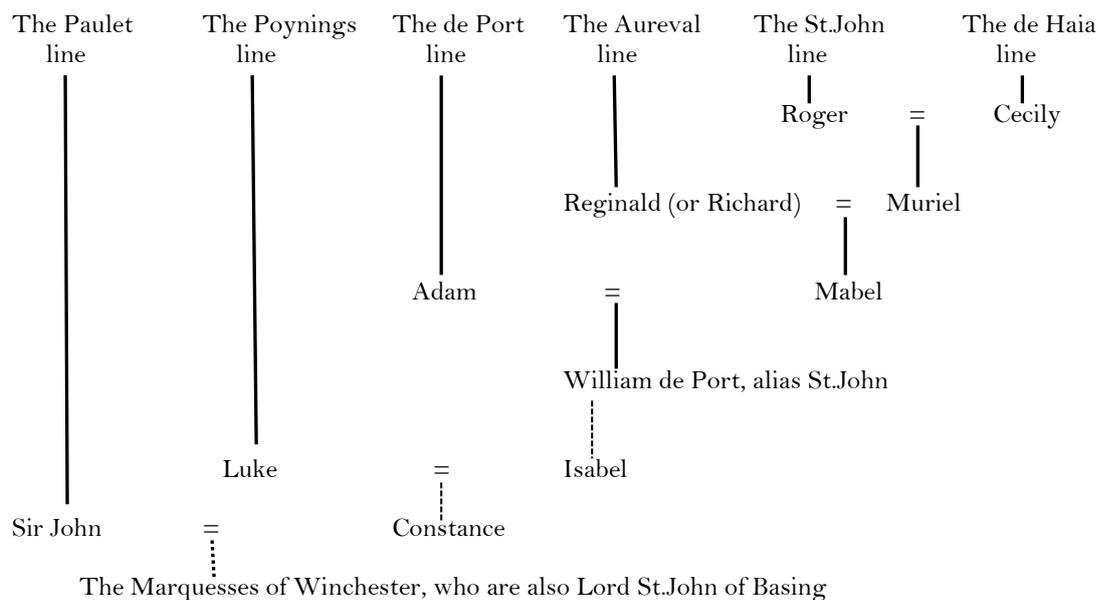
Not until after 1070 was there any consistent attempt to replace sheriffs of native ancestry by men of a different type recruited from the duchy. Then, however, the process was rapid, and it became an essential part of William’s policy to place prominent men from the aristocracy in an office which provided so powerful a means of giving effect to the royal will ---. Such, too, were Hugh of Port-en-Bessin, sheriff of Hampshire.

Round II, p.421, states that “a Domesday tenant in chief may have received a congeries of manors lying in a single shire. Of this there is a very striking instance in the fief of Hugh de Port.

It is difficult to determine exactly how many properties de Port held in Hampshire and elsewhere, for a place-name sometimes occurs twice and two place-names may represent only one holding. Moreover, Domesday itself lays a snare for the unwary by duplicating the entries for Cerdeford (Chardford) and Clatingues (identity uncertain) in Fordingbridge Hundred. *Round II*, p.421, puts the properties that Hugh held in Hampshire as tenant-in-chief, direct from the Crown at “fifty-six manors or thereabouts”, *G.E.C.*, Vol.XI, p.317, makes it fifty-five; the present writer cannot go above fifty-two. He also held five other estates direct from the King – two in Kent and one each in Berkshire, Dorset, and Cambridgeshire. He held nine other properties in Hampshire as sub-tenant of five tenants –in-chief. The number of his holdings from the Bishop of Bayeux also presents discrepancies. The present writer makes it twelve in Hampshire, sixteen in Kent, and one in Cambridgeshire; *G.E.C.* makes it thirteen each in Hampshire and Kent, and does not mention Cambridgeshire. He “farmed” some of the King’s manors in Rutland and may also be identical with an under-tenant who is entered simply as “Hugh”. In respect of his home in Normandy he was a vassal of the Bishop of Bayeux. He certainly sub-let many of his properties, but he and, at various times, members of his family occupied estates themselves – notably at Basing and Warnford.

Hugo (alias Hugh) de Port (alias Porth) heads a well-documented pedigree that runs without a break to the present Marquess of Winchester, with Basing as the main seat of the family. As will be indicated later the surname was changed from de Port to de St.John circa 1200. But in the middle of the 14th century the male line failed, and the property and title Lord St.John of Basing passed with the heiress to the Poynings family. Three generations later history repeated itself, and the property and title passed to the Pawlet family. Consequently it was a Pawlet who as Marquess of Winchester defended Basing House on the Royalist side during the Civil War. The massive ruins are still most impressive. The family still uses the same crest as the St.Johns.

Table II



Abundant biographical information of the de Port-St.Johns is easily accessible in *G.E.C.*, Vol.XI, pp.317-. A few details will indicate the high standing of the family. Hugo was at one time sheriff of Hampshire, and in a document of 1080/1 his name took precedence even of the sheriff's. On several occasions he was involved in matters that indicate his contact with King William II. He died as a monk of Gloucester in 1096, though he did not enter the monastery.

Henry, son and heir of Hugh, had close connections with the court of King Henry I between the years 1100-15, and was for a time sheriff of Hampshire. He and his wife were benefactors of Rochester cathedral priory, the priory of Sherborne – he founded it – Montacute priory (Somerset), West Shefford (Berks.), and the Templars. He was a justice in eyre in Kent and a vassal (as successor to his father) of the Bishop of Bayeux. He desired to be buried at Sherborne.

John, first surviving son and therefore heir of Henry, confirmed his father's benefactions to Sherborne and made gifts of his own to Winchester cathedral, the Bishop of Winchester, and the Templars. There is evidence in 1166 that he was still holding the very numerous properties of his grandfather. Evidently he died fairly young, for his son and heir was a minor at the time (1168) but of age by 1172. He also desired to be buried at Sherborne.

John's son and heir Adam incurred the displeasure of King Henry II probably for marrying the Orval heiress without licence, for he paid a heavy fine in 1180 for his land and his wife's inheritance in Normandy. He was with King Richard I in Normandy in 1194 and was in frequent attendance on King John during the period 1199-1212. Two stones set in the external faces of the north and south walls of Warnford church name Adam de Port and claim that he rebuilt the earlier church built by Wilfed (634-709) in the seventh century. A secular building now in ruins to the east of the church probably dates from Adam's time and may have been his residence. Adam married and outlived Mable, daughter and heiress of Rainald – or possibly Richard – D'Orval, alias de Aureval, Aureavalle. (The *Abergavenny Pedigrees* give his name as Richard. *G.E.C.*, Vol.XI, pp.320-1, presents the difficulties attending the name Rainald (alias Reginald) and suggests that "Reginaldus" may be a scribal error for "Ricardus".) Mabel brought with her the d'Orval properties in Normandy and some prospects, in due course, of Halnaker and St.Jean-le-Thomas. Shortly before Adam's death in 1213 he was given the custody of Southampton Castle.

For present purposes William, son and heir apparent of Adam de Port and Mabel (d'Orval), is the most significant of the de Ports. At some date before 1202 Mabel had died, Adam had re-married, and the Orval property had passed under Norman law to their son William. About 1202 (see above) his great-uncle William de St.John died having outlived his brother Robert de St.John, his sister Muriel (wife of --- d'Orval), and his niece Mabel (d'Orval) wife of Adam de Port, and William forthwith "made proffer --- of 150 *li* for the lands in England of his great-uncle William de St.John, i.e., the honor of Halnaker." (*G.E.C.*, Vol. XI, p.321.) Presumably William also acquired the family's original holdings at St.Jean-le-Thomas in Normandy.

But his tenure in Normandy was short, for in the unsuccessful war that King John waged against the King of France in 1203-4 William adhered to King John, King John lost Normandy, and William de Port lost St.Jean-le-Thomas and the Orval lands. (*G.E.C.*, Vol.XI, p.322, n. (a).) Nevertheless as holder of Halnaker William was now a man of property in his own right – i.e., quite apart from his prospects as heir apparent of his father Adam, who did not die till the middle of 1213 – and by the middle of 1205 he was calling himself “Willielmus de Sancto Johanne”. In another document he called himself “Willelmus de Sancto Johanne secundus” – the first William having been the great-uncle from whom he inherited. The comment of *G.E.C.*, p.321, n. (g), is worth quoting: “The change of name — is curious, since the family of Port both in ancestry and landed estate was more important than that of St.John.” Conceivably the fact that Halnaker was an Honour is relevant. An honour has been described as “the more noble sort of seignories” equivalent to a “baronia” (*Jacob.*) As far as the present writer has been able to discover, neither Basing nor any other of the de Port holdings was an honour. Consequently William was now not only a man of property in his own right but also the holder of a superior grade of property. (See also below, concerning his grandson’s seal.)

During the two years that preceded the granting of Magna Carta in 1215, William de St.John was evidently a supporter of King John. He was appointed governor of Southampton Castle in succession to his father on his father’s death in the middle of 1213; he was sheriff of Hampshire 1214 and 1215, and he was with King John in his disastrous expedition in Poitou and Anjou in 1214. In the following February he was one of the King’s emissaries in discussions with leading men of Hampshire. Evidently William was not one of the barons who forced the King’s hand at Runnymede on the 15th June, 1215. But the truce resulting from the granting of the Charter was short-lived. Some of the greatest warrior-nobles, including William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and Ranulf, Earl of Chester, with Archbishop Stephen Langton, still adhered to the King, but his only regular troops were foreign mercenaries, and the insurgent barons formed what threatened to be an overwhelming combination. In the autumn of 1215 William de St.John had the duty of bringing men from Angouleme and stores from the King’s stronghold Corfe Castle to support the King’s siege of Rochester. The siege was not successful. The rebel barons abjured their allegiance to King John, sought help from France, and elected Louis, son of the King of France as King. In May 1216 Louis landed near Sandwich; there was the prospect of a long, stubborn civil war; but in the middle of hostilities the King died (19th October, 1216). Meanwhile – probably in July 1216 – de St.John had joined the Dauphin.

Acting promptly and with powerful support, William Marshal the Earl of Pembroke, aged 70, secured the coronation of the King’s nine-year-old son as King Henry III at Gloucester on the 28th October. Two questions now faced the insurgent barons: Was it right that the offences of the father should be visited upon the innocent son? Was it right that Englishmen should support the foreign invader against the rightful King of England? The Regent, the Earl of Pembroke took strong action against his opponents. On the 15th March, 1216/17, William de St.John’s lands were granted to the Regent’s nephew, Jon Marshal Baron of Hingham. On the next day St.John had a safe conduct to speak with the

Earl Marshal. Evidently he made his peace with the Regent, for his lands were restored to him in the following September. Meanwhile the Dauphin had been defeated at Lincoln on the 20th May; a sea-victory by Hubert de Burgh off Dover cut off the Dauphin's French reinforcements, and after a year in England Louis had to leave. *G.E.C.*, **Vol.XI**, p.322, mentions five ways in which William served King Henry III between 1220 and 1233 and adds that from 1226 onwards he received numerous Crown grants. He was a benefactor of Boxgrove and also of Bromholm Priory, Norfolk. He died in 1239.

Pace Portal, William's great-great grandfather on the direct male line, has a far stronger claim to rank as "the founder of the distinguished Hampshire family of St.John" than William's maternal grandmother's great-grandfather William, about whose name, presence in England, and historicity there is now the gravest doubt.

Table III

William's son Robert was also a man of some importance. He served King Henry III in Gascony during the year 1253-4, and was involved in the King's service in Wales at various dates from 1257 to 1263. He was made Governor of Porchester Castle in 1266 and was sometime keeper of Farnham Castle. He died in the spring of 1267. (See also *G.E.C.*, **Vol.XI**, p.323.) But Robert's son John achieved even greater eminence – he gets four columns in *D.N.B.* He succeeded his father as Governor of Porchester Castle, he was one of the Council who proclaimed King Edward I on the death of King Henry III (1272); he was with the King on a long tour in France and Spain (1286); he was Lieutenant (1293) and Seneschal (1294) of Aquitaine, and was captured by the French in 1296 or 1297. During the last four years of his life (1298-1302) he was engaged in military operations in Scotland and along the Welsh border. But for present purposes the most interesting detail is the fact that early in 1301 he set his seal to the Barons' famous Letter

to the Pope. The Pope had claimed that Scotland was a fief of Rome and had forbidden King Edward I to molest the Scots. The King resisted on the principle that it was “the custom of the realm of England that in all things touching the state of the same realm there should be asked the counsel of all whom the matter concerns.” Instead of sending agents to Rome to prove his title to the lordship of Scotland – as the Pope had ordered – the King requested the barons to take the matter into their own hands. The barons – seven earls and ninety-seven barons – complied, shared the King’s view, and “for themselves and for the whole community of the land” sealed the letter. (The quotations are from W.Stubbs: *Constitutional History*, II, pp.165, 6, in the edition of 1880.) Whether the letter was ever actually despatched is not known but two copies survive at the P.R.O. The seal of Sir John St.John shows the knight, sword in hand, on a galloping horse with the arms of St.John on shield and horse-trappers. The helm has a crest of a leopard standing between two palm-branches, which is set upon the horse’s head also. Round the edge of the seal is the legend:

S. IOHANNIS. de S’C’O IOHANNE D’NI [DE HAN]NAK

(The initial S. stands, of course, for Sigillum, the seal.) The smaller counterseal bears a shield of arms with two pierced molets of six points elegantly poised on one point in chief with a shorter version of the legend. (See also *The Ancestor*, pp.187 and 196, and *Kay*, p.2.) But why was Halnaker mentioned and not Basing? In its article on Sir John *D.N.B.* says that “after Basing his chief centre of power was Halnaker, round which he held four manors.” Does the legend on Sir John’s seal, with its emphasis on the Honour of Halnaker, the early home of the St.Johns in England, help to explain his grandfather’s change of surname?

The next three generations of the St.Johns of Basing and Halnaker – or should it be Halnaker and Basing? – John, Hugh, and Edmund, ranked officially as Barons by writ, with the title Lord St.John (of Basing). But on the death of Edmund (1347) the male line failed, and the title and properties passed eventually (1359) to Hugh’s younger daughter Isabel, wife of Luke de Poynings. With the death of Luke’s grandson Hugh (1426) the male line of Poynings failed. The Basing property went with Hugh’s daughter Constance to Sir John Paulet, ancestor of the Earls and Marquesses of Winchester, and the Halnaker property went with Hugh’s daughter Joan to the Bonville family and two generations later with Elizabeth Bonville to Sir Thomas West, Lord de la Warr. This story is still told heraldically in the church at Boxgrove.

The problem of the Glamorgan line remains. Despite contradicting evidences, the supposed association of the St.Johns with Fonmon persisted – even after the publication of *Round I*. On the one hand, the “inquest”, alias “feodary”, alias survey, of the Honour of Glamorgan made in 1262 – see *Round I*, *Brownbill*, and *Pierce* – and the similar “extent” made in 1307 – see *Brownbill* and *Pierce* – do not mention Fronmon or St.John; in fact, *Pierce* concluded that the name Fonmon could not be attested with certainty earlier than 1436, and *Clark II*, giving the 1262 details, quoted no evidence of fonmon as part of the

four knight's fees held by Umfreville in Penmark. Indeed, in 1877, *Clark I* had dismissed the story of the conquest of Glamorgan as a "legendary tale". The explanatory surmise has been offered that Fonmon was merely a hamlet within the manor of Penmark, too insignificant to be named in the documents mentioned above, and that its holders were merely undertenants of the Umfravilles of Penmark. But on the other hand, in 1884

Clark III wrote that Fonmon Castle "was no doubt built by Sir John de St. John soon after the conquest of Glamorgan; and part of the present building is original." The keep "may be presumed to be Sir John de St. John's work." *Oswald* adds that "it can claim to be the oldest inhabited building in the county and possibly in the whole of Wales."

But in support of tradition and in spite of all the facts that demand scepticism, there are evidences of the presence of St. Johns in Glamorgan. *Circa* 1200 a William was first witness to an Umfraville charter to Margam Abbey. (*Brownbill* and *Pierce*.) This might mean that St. John at Fonmon was an undertenant of Umfraville at Penmark. It would be pleasant to suppose that this was the William de Port who changed his surname to St. John at this time, but *Brownbill* found a William in the Stanton family at the same time. (*Brownbill* and *Pierce* record the presence of three Basing St. John's at the Glamorgan County Court in 1299, but they were there not as local magnates but as representatives of the Earl of Gloucester, sent down to settle a dispute. *Pierce* also found a John and a Richard in (?) 1234, and a William in 1289; *Brownbill* offered an identification of this William.

What of the argument from Fonmon Castle itself? *Clark III* believed that the castle – or at least part of it – dated from *circa* 1100, and *Oswald's* articles had a sub-title declaring that "Fonmon was a possession of the St. Johns from the century following the Norman invasion until the Commonwealth." *Brownbill* was satisfied that a trustworthy pedigree could be constructed, to begin with Alexander St. John, husband of Elizabeth Umfreville, coheir to Henry, the last of the Umfrevilles of Penmark, in the 14th century. The *Visitation* recorded this Alexander as the grandson of William St. John of Fonmon. But if the castle has existed from *circa* 1100 to the present day and was held by St. Johns in the 14th century, the question arises, If it was not held by the St. Johns, by whom was it held during the period 1100 to, say, 1350? Unauthenticated tradition – e.g., the *Abergavenny pedigrees* – points to the St. Johns. Documented evidences give no clear support, but they hint at no alternative. The present writer offers no firm conclusion, but he thinks that the following clue ought to be investigated.

The Robert de Haia who acquired Halnaker in or before 1105 also held extensively in South Wales. *Circa* 1102, with the consent of his overlord Robert fitzHamo he and his wife granted to Glastonbury Abbey five churches and two chapels – Bassaleg, Machen, Bedwas, Mynyddislwyn, Manmoel, Coldkernew (to give them their modern spellings), and Pulcryd (which has not been identified). (*Clark IV*, **Vol.1**, p.38.) These places lie west of Newport and north of Cardiff. In 1106 Henry I confirmed to the monks of Theokesburia (Tewkesbury) various benefactions, including a mill and fisheries at Roath, just east of Cardiff, given by Robert de Haia. (*Clark IV*, **Vol.1**, p.39.) *Clark* also thinks that de Haia

resided at Bassaleg. *Round I*, p.5, declares that Robert had two sons Richard and Ralf, who were both living under King Henry II, i.e., at some date between 1154 and 1189. Admittedly Fonmon lies some ten miles west of Cardiff. Is it possible that some portion of de Haia's property in South Wales, particularly Fonmon, which was too small to be recorded in the surveys of 1262 and 1307, eventually rejoined Halnaker – perhaps on the failure of the de Haia male line – was held by the St.Johns of Halnaker and Basing, passed to a junior branch, and provided a factual basis for what otherwise appears to be fiction.

The Triptych and east window at Lydiard Tregoz and the east window at Battersea indicate the importance that the seventeenth century St.Johns – Sir John, 1st Baronet, and Sir Walter, 3rd Baronet – rightly attached to the marriage, *circa* 1430, of Oliver St.John of the Glamorgan line and Margaret, heiress of the Beauchamps. Its immediate effect was to bring to the St.Johns valuable properties in Bedfordshire and Wiltshire, and from the two sons of the marriage, John and Oliver, the St.Johns of Bletso and of Lydiard Tregoz respectively are descended. But the husband died in 1437, and the widow married again – this time into the royal family. Her new husband was John, Duke of Somerset, a grandson of John of Gaunt and a great-grandson of King Edward III. The daughter of Margaret's second marriage – Lady Margaret Beaufort – became the mother of King Henry VII, and consequently the St.Johns who descended from Margaret Beauchamp's first marriage claimed kinship with the descendants of her second marriage – which means all the sovereigns from King Henry VII to Queen Elizabeth II. Through the 1st Baronet's first wife all his descendants could claim a double kinship with Queen Elizabeth I. Till Commonwealth times the St.Johns of Beltsoe retained their Glamorgan properties, and a junior branch of the Glamorgan St.Johns remained at Highlight (Uchelolau) till the eighteenth century. (To this line the Sir William St.John who married the 1st Baronet's sister Eleanor at Battersea on 10th February, 1611/2, belonged.)

John *Brownbill* was satisfied that the pedigree could be satisfactorily established for three generations before the St.John-Beauchamp marriage, and consequently the following table seems to be firmly established – certainly it does not go beyond Brownbill's authenticated conclusions.

The heraldry at Lydiard Treogoz and Battersea agrees; so does the Triptych except that it names Alexander's son as John instead of Oliver.

But at what point did the Glamorgan line branch from the Halnaker-Basing line? Three views may be combined in the following table:

The *Visitation* provides a fourth version, but fails to connect the Bedfordshire (Bletso) line with the Halnaker-Basing line:

The difficulties are obvious, if only because three of the four begin the separate Glamorgan line with a William who is not named on the Triptych, and the *Visitation* does not connect its William with the main line at all. Moreover on the one view John (husband of Beatrix) had an elder brother Hugh who had issue, but on the other view he had an elder brother Henry who had no issue. *Brownbill*, p.356, found this Henry, son of Sir William in an undated charter and identified these with the people named in the *Visitation*. But he did not commit himself (p.359) to the idea that Alexander was the son of John and Beatrix, though he designed his pedigree of the Bletso line in a way that supported that possibility. The most tenable view seems to be that Alexander was the son of John and Beatrix. On this the *Visitation* and the Triptych agree. The Triptych clearly attached John to a well-authenticated John in the Basing line, whereas the *Visitation* makes him a son of a William whom it does not connect with the Basing line. *Burke I* begins with a William who may have been the William of the *Visitation*, but is silent on

the generations between that William and the Oliver who married Margaret Beauchamp. Superficially at least, the Triptych categorically connects Alexander with the main Basing Line through his father John and his mother Beatrix. But who was John's father: John of the Triptych or William of the Visitation?

And when the question, Was John (husband of Beatrix) a son of John, 1st Baron St. John of Basing, or a nephew? has been answered, there will still remain the question, How came it that William, younger brother of John, 1st Baron – or alternatively John, younger son of the same John – was of "Fonmon"?

Monumental Inscriptions 5

George Richard

3rd Viscount Bolingbroke and 4th Viscount St. John (1761-1824)

and his two wives, Charlotte Collins d. 1804,

and Isabella Charlotte Antoinette Sophia Hompesch d. 1848,

with additional notes.

Inscription:

In
Memory
of
GEORGE RICHARD
ST. JOHN,
VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE
and
ST. JOHN,
Died December 11. 1824
Aged 65,
and of
ISABELLA ANTOINETTE
His Second Wife,
Daughter of
BARON HOMPESCH
of
BOLHEIM in the
PALATINATE.
Died July 12th 1848,
Aged 76.

This inscription is on the brass plate, 5' high at it tallest by 18" wide, which is on the south wall of the south aisle.

The memorial to his first wife takes the form of a hatchment, high up on the east wall of the south chapel. It bears the St. John Arms impaling those of Collins, the latter being edged in black. The Collins Arms are: Gules, on a bend Or 3 martlets Sable, within a bordure Ermine. Above the shield is the coronet of a viscount, and below the shield are two sprigs of acacia (Vert) and the motto, "In coelo quies". The supporters are: dexter, a falcon with wings elevated Or ducally gorged Gules, sinister, an eagle with wings elevated Or bearing on its breast hames per party Argent and Gules.

The principal sources for the following biographical notes are:

Parish registers at Lydiard Tregoz, Compton (Hampshire), and Manston (Dorset), by kind permission of the incumbents.

Mortgage deeds in the possession of the Corporation of Swindon,

The Williams MSS in Winchester College Library – letters mainly between the Rev. Philip Williams and his wife, quoted by kind permission of their owner Mrs. Jervoise, a direct descendant of that marriage. (The present writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Peter Gwyn, Archivist at the College, and to Mr. Francis W. Steer, Librarian of New College, Oxford, for their invaluable help.)

Under their Vine and Fig Tree, Travels through America in 1797-1799, 1805 by Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, translated and edited by Metchie J.E. Budka, and published by The New Jersey Historical Society. (The extracts quoted in this article appear by kind permission of Dr. Budka.)

A Deed of Conveyance and Acknowledgement enrolled in the Register's Office of Essex County Book L 887 of Deeds for the County. (A photostat copy was kindly supplied by the Law Librarian, Essex County Courts Building, Newark, N.J.)

An article in *The New-York World* of December 18, 1876, and a corrective letter by Julia Lawrence in *The New-York Times* of January 29, 1877. (These are reproduced in full in the Appendix.)

G.E.C. Complete Peerage, II, p.208, and IV, Appendix A, p.571.

Materials for a History of Cricklade, parliamentary history, p.191.

Foster *Alumni Oxonienses*.

Burke *Peerage and Baronetage*, 8th edition (1845), pp.107-9.

J.G. Taylor *Our Lady of Batersey*.

The Two Duchesses, ed. Vere Foster, Blackie (1898), pp.239-40.

The will of the 3rd Viscount in P.R.O.

Early years

George Richard was born on 5th March, 1876, the son of Frederick 2nd Viscount Bolingbroke and his wife, the former Lady Diana Spencer, eldest daughter of Charles, 2nd Duke of Marlborough. It was his mother who drew the two portraits in pastel of him as a child. The one is portrait no. 12 at Lydiard Park – the one over the fireplace in the main hall. The other, reproduced in this *Report* facing p.36, is now in a private collection.

Two events in his early years, together with all the circumstances that led up to them, must have had a profound effect on his life. In 1763 his father sold the Manor of Battersea – thus ending the close connection between the St.Johns and that place that had existed for the previous 170 years. Then, in 1768, when George Richard was just eight years old, his parents were divorced.

No attempt is made here to present the characters of his parents (about which several uncomplimentary remarks appear in print), nor of the interest in the turf shown by his father, nor of the latter's alleged insanity towards the end of his life. These matters will have their proper place in a future article on the St.Johns and Battersea. Suffice it to say that George Richard had the example from his father of realising family capital to meet current needs. (Frederick's somewhat cavalier treatment of his assets was to reappear in the financial dealings of his son and grandson.)

The present writer knows nothing of the upbringing of young George Richard and of his younger brother Frederick after the divorce of their parents. The first known date is George Richard's matriculation at Christ Church, Oxford, on 23rd June, 1777, at the age of sixteen. (He does not appear to have proceeded to a degree.)

At the age of nineteen he was courting Charlotte Collins, whom he later married, in Winchester. Her sister Sally, writing to her husband early in 1780, said:

We hve spent a good deal of time in College Street [Winchester] & of course have seen Mr. St.John often, he being a constant attendant upon the Squigg [Charlotte], & quite the reverse of every thing we suspected him to be, we are exceedingly pleased with him he has a vast share of diffidence [and] good humour (M/PW/30)

The courtship was somewhat interrupted by George Richard's going abroad early in 1781. Three letters from Sally Williams, dated possibly in February of that year, refer to the event: Mr. St.John is going abroad in all haste, I pity poor Squigg (M/PW/34)

Mr. St.John left Winchester yesterday morning for the last time before he goes abroad, & on Monday he sets out for Margate in order to embark for Ostend, from whence he proceeds to Munich, where he is to remain for six months, there is a long tale belonging to this matter which I shall keep till we meet, it is sufficient for

the present to say that nothing can have behaved better than he has done upon the occasion, & the Squigg tho' exceedingly hurt bears up better than I could have expected, I hope & firmly believe that nothing on his part will ever give her uneasiness. (M/PW/35)

George Richard was certainly back in England by 1782 for on 28th June of that year he was elected Member of Parliament for Cricklade. The 1780 election at Cricklade involved such corruption that one of the then successful candidates was unseated. The by-election that followed saw the return of George Richard to the Commons – joining two of his uncles who were already members. He appears to have stood again at the 1784 General Election – only to be defeated, as one of “Fox’s Martyrs”. (*Complete Peerage*, IV, p.571.) (He had no further dealings with Parliament until he took his seat in the House of Lords in 1787.)

In 1783 he married Charlotte Collins. The marriage register at Compton, Hampshire, has the following entry:

February 26 1783

By special Licence of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury the Hon. George Richard St.John (elder son of the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke) & Charlotte Collins second daughter of the Rev. Thomas Collins under-master of Winchester School were married in the Parsonage house between the hours of ten and eleven in the forenoon this twenty sixth day of February one thousand seven hundred and eighty three by me

Philip Williams Rector of Compton

This marriage now solemnised between us

Geo: Richd St.John
Charlotte Collins

In the presence of us

Thomas Collins
J. Dyson

The following table includes the several relationships of the above:

In order to understand something of the background of Charlotte Collins, a brief digression on the career and character of her father may be permitted.

Thomas Collins

Baptised at Midhurst in 1728, the son of Christopher Collins, Thomas Collins went to Midhurst School, then to Winchester College, Queen's College, and New College, Oxford, where he had a distinguished career, holding a Fellowship of that College from 1748 until his marriage in 1755. He also had the post of "Archdidascalus Scholae" at New College, apparently until 1766. (Warden Sewell's register.) He became rector of two parishes – Coombes in Sussex in 1753 and Graffham, six miles south-east of Midhurst, in 1764. Both of these appointments he held until his death in 1804. In 1766 he became second master at Winchester College, which post he resigned in 1784. Some assessment of his character appears in Wooll's *Life of Joseph Watson*, on p.45:

To a noble spirit, and a mind superior to every selfish consideration Mr. Collins added, in the highest degree, Christian piety and profound erudition. As a man, the liberality of his heart was unbounded; and his contempt of money, such as to preclude the meanness of avarice, or the servile blandishments of sycophantic dependence. To a superiority of talents and virtue he conscientiously bowed, but, allured not by the corruptions, or terrified by the power of the great, he bowed to these only. As a master, he was sedulously accurate in imparting the first rudiments of classical learning, and in impressing the necessary foundation of grammar, without which, he well knew, no real scholarship could be obtained. He strictly and impartially inflicted those punishments productive only of present pain and degradation; but was feelingly averse to the more serious penalties, by which future prospects in life are affected. In the year 1784, he resigned this situation; and after many years of accumulated sorrow and anxiety, originating in the guilt of others, and arising from sources to which he naturally looked forward for comfort and felicity; and surviving three excellent daughters, who in the discharge of their relative duties had proved their descent from such a father, he died in his seventy-fifth year at Bath; and with humble and pious fortitude resigned his spirit into the hands of that Saviour on whose merit he relied, and to whose precepts he had ever so laudably adhered.

In 1794 Thomas Collins was in Italy. Abbe Ellyott wrote of him in a letter (M/PW/184):

Mr. Collins is a man of great learning & answers the Character I heard of him of being belov'd by all who know him. He has learnt Enough of Italian as not only [to] read but to Converse ...

His obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* states that his was:

A name for ever dear to his contemporary Wickamists; well known for his literary attainments, and not less loved and respected for his generosity and noble

disinterested spirit, than admired for his fortitude and Christian resignation under the severest trials. (vol. 74 (2), 1804, p.695.)

Perhaps it was incompatibility of temperament stemming from their very different backgrounds that doomed George Richard's first marriage to failure.

First marriage

Julia Lawrence, writing in 1877, has her version of the failure of this first marriage: (See Appendix III.)

Lord Bolingbroke, when a youth, was placed with a private tutor, who aided his daughter, a woman much older than the young man, in her design to marry him. They succeeded in their plan, but he soon became disgusted with his wife, and on the death of his father, being his own master, and unrestrained by any principle, religious or moral, he left her with her father, and went on to the Continent ...

The present writer has had no success in tracing the baptism of Charlotte so the claim about the differential in age cannot be refuted. Similarly, the charge of "design" on the part of father and daughter is hard to gainsay without much more evidence. The only evidence that has come to light is in a letter from Sally Williams to her husband, written most probably in 1781. Unfortunately for us, Sally and Philip loved to use nicknames. So it may well be that the following extract has nothing at all to do with George Richard and Charlotte:

Great revolutions in the states of Aquitaine and Normandy; such as for the credit of certain persons whom I have allways had a high opinion of, I should be glad to suppress, Gonzago has renewed his addresses & to our utter astonishment they have been accepted not only by the old Folks, but by the young Lady, who has in consequence thereof lost much of my esteem, there is such a want of sentiment & sensibility in the whole proceeding, & the desire of gain seems to have so far predominated over the finer feelings that I think the sponsor is better off as it is, tho I am sorry to say he is not of the same mode of thinking, the disappointment has made such an impression upon his mind as will not be soon worn off; I cannot help rejoicing a little with our friend Gonzago, this favourable turn having given him great spirits & as he will never find out that the Cara wants those delicate feelings (without which she will be much happier) he may live pleasantly & die in a good old age superannuated by the gout, Pthisick & Lumbago; he means to have Becket house; you may tell your sister of this, but don't mention the sponsor's name. I would wish that story to be buried in oblivion. (M/PW/38)

Suspicion is aroused by this letter – but the verdict must remain as "not proven".

Reference has already been made, in the table on p.94 above, to the fact that there were three children of the marriage, George, Mary, and Henry. The Williams MSS indicate that the family lived “at Critchill” in 1783, and at Leckford in 1784, Lydiard Park being let at the time:

Mr. St. John is at Ld. Powis’s for some days, he (Ld. P.) has taken Lydiatt, a house that Mr. St. J. was about formerly. (Letter, M/PW/36, dated 3 December, 1783.)

Sally Williams tells her husband about Charlotte’s successive confinements and of George Richard’s interest in shooting and fishing – activities that did not greatly interest his sister-in-law. Indeed, she had very little sympathy for him when he had “a most dreadful hoarseness & fever, which he got in the old way by standing all day up to his knees in the river” (M/PW/52) nor very much sympathy for her sister whom she described as “a mouse” (*ibid.*) She is anxious that nearly two years elapse before George Richard is able to make a settlement of £500 a year on Charlotte, the settlement being a charge on the Lydiard estate. She was disappointed that it was so long before Charlotte was introduced into London society.

George Richard and Charlotte were in Paris in 1787 at the time of the death of the 2nd Viscount. (M/PW/91). This information is contained in one of the last of Sally Williams’s letters for she died also in 1787.

The death of his father meant that George Richard could sort out his finances. Under a deed of release, dated 5th July, 1783, he had borrowed £16,600 from Robert Mackreth, the sum to be repayable after death of the 2nd Viscount, interest being charged at 5% per annum. In 1788 the sum, then amounting to £17,942. 13. 6d was repaid to the creditor. But it would appear that further money was required, for *Our Lady of Batersey* (p.92, n.120) states that in 1789 the manor of Purley was sold to Robert Mackreth “Proprietor of White’s Club, Usurer and Book Maker.”

1789 also saw deeds of lease and release being executed on 2nd and 3rd February to provide for Charlotte and her two younger children after the death of George Richard, Jeremiah Dyson and the Rev. Philip Williams being trustees. In the event of his death, Charlotte was to receive a yearly rent charge of £800, whilst the two younger children were to receive £7,000 between them at the age of twenty-one or at previous marriage. (It was also provided that, should Charlotte pre-decease her husband and there be only one surviving son, then the benefits should go to a second or subsequent wife and to the children of such marriage or marriages.)

According to Julia Lawrence, it was about this time that George Richard went abroad and met the girl who was to be his second wife. Her version of the story, written in the clear-cut nineteenth-century terms of virtue and villainy, can be read in Appendix III.

George Richard was back in England by 1794, for deeds of lease and appointment were executed on 4th and 5th July whereby Charlotte was to receive an additional £400

annually after his death “during the life of the Right Honorable Lady Diana Beauclerk.” (George Richard’s mother had married Topham Beauclerk four days after her divorce from the 2nd Viscount.) Further, these deeds provided for an increased benefit for Charlotte’s two younger children. Henry’s portion was increased by a further £3,000, and Mary’s by £500. (A copy of this deed is in the West Sussex Record Office.)

Two months previously, on 16th May, 1794, a deed had been executed with Lord Robert Spencer, Jeremiah Dyson, and John Wickens as trustees. This deed provided that an annuity of £600 should be paid to “Mary Beauclerk, spinster”, and annuities of £100 each should go to Charles Barton, George Barton, Robert Barton, and Edward Barton. (“Mary Beauclerk” is described in a deed of 1828 as “the right Honorable Mary Countess Jenison Walworth, widow of the late Count Jenison Walworthy, of Heidelberg, Germany.”)

By 1794 George Richard had left his wife and had set up a separate establishment with the girl whom he was eventually to marry. Charlotte lived at Lydiard with her father and her three children in the narrow society of local farmers and their families. (See Appendix I). Occasional visits from relatives relieve the quietness (?and boredom) of “the little World of Lydiard”. See Appendix II, letter II.

The Williams MSS contain a letter from Philip Williams to his children who are staying at Lydiard Park. The letter is dated 19th October, 1796:

Don’t poke: and pretend to imitate your aunt ... Your aunt loves flattery – tell her she writes better than any body & always ask her how to direct your letters. (M/PW/95)

Charlotte’s grief over the death of her beloved son, George, in 1803, is expressed in her letter reproduced in Appendix II. By then she was living in Clifton, Bristol, in a vain attempt to regain her own health. She pitied “the Invalides who come here poor things! without a ray of hope lodge at the bottom of the Cliff to be near the Well ... we are spar’d the misery of seeing these unhappy Objects.” (Letter III.)

By October, 1803, presumably for economic reasons, she had joined the poor unfortunates at the foot of the hill.

Felix Farley’s Bristol Journal of Saturday, January 21, 1804, tells the end of the story:

Same day [Wednesday, 11th January] died at the Hotwells Charlotte Viscountess Bolingbroke. In the respective characters of friend, daughter, mother, and Christian, she exhibited to the world so perfect a pattern, as few of her sex will be able to imitate – none to surpass.

She was buried at Lydiard Tregoz on 19th January, and the hatchment was put up to advertise the fact of her decease.

Her daughter, Mary, died in the May of 1804. Her father, the Rev. Thomas Collins, died on 29th June of the same year.

The sole survivor was son Henry, later the 4th Viscount, who matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, on 3rd February, 1804. He was the sole beneficiary of his grandfather Collins’ (admittedly small) estate.

Grandfather Collins' will was sworn at "under one thousand pounds", and contained the codicil:

It is my request that Mr. Crowdy's Bond for 500 lent to me under pressing difficulties to be the first discharge of all my debts.

Straightened financial circumstances coupled with the "many years of accumulated sorrow and anxiety, originating in the guilt of others, and arising from sources to which he naturally looked forward for comfort and felicity" meant a sad end for the old man.

Second marriage

Julia Lawrence tells the story of the clandestine bigamous marriage in Germany, of the lengths to which George Richard had to go to ensure concealment – the cottage in Wales, embarking for America, and then moving from New York to Elizabethville, New Jersey. Then came the breaking of the news to Isabella, and their marriage on 1st August, 1804. Reconciliation with her family and the return to Lydiard completed the story. (See Appendix III.)

One child was born to them in Wales, five in America, and two at Lydiard.

It is difficult to be precise about dates. If Isabella was seventeen when George Richard met her first, then it must have been a matter of four or five years before their marriage and residence in Wales. Their first child was born in 1795. They bought the house in Elizabethville on 29th March, 1798, from Brockholst and Catherine Livingstone. They sold it on 31st May 1806 to Thomas Eddy. (In the conveyance it is described as a dwelling house with twenty-two acres of land. The sale price in 1806 was 12,500 dollars. The deed was acknowledged before a Judge of the Common Pleas on 5th June, 1806.) (Deeds enrolled in the Essex County Courts Library.) The earliest reference in the deeds in the possession of the Corporation of Swindon is to one dated 28th April 1807 – this is seven months before the baptism of Charles Robert at Lydiard on 27th November, 1807.

In addition to the account given by Julia Lawrence, which is fulsome in its praise of Isabella Hompesch, there are two contemporary accounts that are of considerable interest, dealing with their time at Elizabethville.

The first is afforded by Augustus John Foster (1780-1819), afterwards the Rt. Hon. Augustus John Foster, Bart. (See *D.N.B.*) He was in America from December 1804 until his return to this country in 1808. In *Jeffersonian America*, p.278, he wrote:

Elizabeth Town is a small but gay-looking place and a very ancient settlement: having been founded in 1664. Lord Bolingbroke, known in America by the name of Mr. Bellasyse was living near it when I was there.

In a letter to his mother, Lady Elizabeth Foster, afterwards Duchess of Devonshire, addressed from Elizabethtown on 22nd September 1805, he wrote:

...On my return here, Lord Bolingbroke, who lives a mile off under the name of Mr. Bellasyse with the German lady his wife, now declared so, and married over again to him since the death of Lady B., sent his carriage for me to a ball which he gave on his departure for Niagara. He has been here nearly ten years now, and as they say means to return to England this year. She is anything but handsome; a little square German with broken teeth, but they say very amiable. Their children are remarkably fine. He flatters himself that he is not known here to be Lord Bolingbroke. As he did not enquire after his friends in England I did not say anything about them to him, but I dine with him to-day. He is disgusted, I believe, as every man of education must be, with the manners in general of the people of this country, which is made up of ragamuffins and adventurers that flock here from all parts of Europe, and particularly the Irish. As no man is thrown out of society here from the badness of his character, you sometimes meet with the meanest and most worthless felons in free conversation and intimacy with perhaps very respectable men, and I must say that people sometimes perhaps judge too harshly of the natives from the foreign adventurers that we meet with.

(The Two Duchesses, pp.239-40.)

The second source of information is the diary of Count Niemcewicz, (1758-1841). Niemcewicz's long life was devoted to service to Poland as publisher, playwright, pamphleteer, politician, soldier, educator, statesman, and poet. "His is the diary account of America of the widest range; agriculture and architecture, botany, bridges and balls, ?? and commencements, heroes and homesteads, magic and mining, prisons, politics, warships and water-falls, all provoked his lively and info?? ?? interest." (*Budka*, p.xix.) Julia Lawrence tells us that George Richard and Niemcewicz were already acquainted before they met in America, but of this former relationship there is no hint in the diary.

The following extracts from the diary are mainly concerned with a journey that the Bolingbrokes made, in company with Niemcewicz, to see Niagara Falls in October 1805. It was a twenty-day journey with a fine carriage, two good horses, a reliable servant, and a good hunting dog. The Bolingbrokes are described as "amiable companions".

He had eloped with Miss Hompesch, niece of the last Grand Master of Malta. Lord Bolingbroke was a man of strong passion, he was however, both polite and learned.

(p.267)

October 28 1804 ... I went to see M. et Mme. Belassis. Madame laid low by her yearly sickness, that is pregnancy, but always pleasant and kind.

(p.279)

They invite Niecewicz to join them on their expedition. The diarist gives an interesting account of every sort of aspect of the journey.

We arrived at Coeymans at two o'clock in the afternoon and, as the countryside promised abundant game which M.B. ardently craved for, we stopped there. The appearances were not misleading. In less than two hours M.B. had brought down three pheasants, seven quails, and a woodcock, to the great astonishment of the inhabitants and perhaps even of the feathered tribe, neither the one nor the other having seen shooting on the wing and above all such a good shooting. (p.237)

October 15th. The lodging and food were mediocre. Reed, the servant of M.B., poor fellow, has become sick; it is the first serious unpleasantness that we have had on our journey so far, although more than once we have been exasperated by stupidities. Mme. Belassis has given the sick man the most touching care. She has given up her place in the back of the carriage to him. She has given him drugs and cooling medicines. Whether things go well or ill, it is equally good to be with her. On this journey she is our main bulwark; she sustains us all and finds pleasure in everything.

(p.244)

The Cayuga Indian tribe which has a reservation here is not seen anymore. This retirement dates from an incident which will give an idea of their primitive character. One of these Indians killed a white man in cold blood. Taken and questioned, he answered that he had no rancour against the dead man but that he felt a thirst, a pressing need to shed blood that he could not overcome, that he asked nothing better than that his own blood be spilt, that he had lived long enough. He was tried and condemned to be hanged. He certainly wanted to die but the means did not please him, perhaps because of a superstitious belief that Indians hold that they will not be happy in the other world unless they shed the blood of their enemies and spill their own. My travelling companion, M.B., also feels from time to time this thirst and need to shed blood but, as he is kindhearted, that of partridge and quail satisfy him, though at present he longs to kill a bear. (p.249)

They were all duly impressed with the Falls.

Shortly afterwards Lord and Lady Bolingbroke, the companions of my journey to Niagara, returned to England with their seven lovely children. They had been in America living in my neighborhood in hiding, for valid reasons, under the name of

Belassis, and after the death of Bolingbroke's first wife they were freed from all restrictions. I accompanied them to the boat and the 6th of June 1806 they set out on their journey. Although I rarely went to their house I felt desolated by their absence especially the absence of Lady Bolingbroke who, although she was not beautiful, possessed not only all the virtues but also all the graces. She was calm and sweet with a lustful husband, the best possible mother, a good friend, with a heart in which trust follows respect once given, a heart which was not hardened and everlastingly closed with a lock as the hearts of the inhabitants of this country usually are.

(p.283)

The Children

To the "seven lovely children" there were added two more at Lydiard.

The viscounty and the inheritance were for Henry, the sole survivor of the children of the first marriage. The Church and the Army were the obvious avenues for the sons of the second marriage to follow. (The brother and the uncle of George Richard were both Generals.)

The eldest son, George Frederick, matriculated at Balliol College on 12th February 1813, aged seventeen. He took his bachelor's degree in 1816 and his M.A. in 1823. His father purchased the patronage of a church in Dorset – Manston - to which George Frederick was presented in 1820. (The Bishop of Bristol's Subscription Book.) He remained there until his death in 1867.

It was evidently the wish of George Richard that Ferdinand should also be ordained. In his will, made on 19th October 1820, George Richard provided that should the benefice of Lydiard Tregoze become vacant before Ferdinand attained the age of twenty-four, then George Frederick should be given it. (Ferdinand being offered Manston in return.) However, Ferdinand was not ordained. In 1826 he married Selina Charlotte, daughter of Maurice St.Leger Keatinge. Four sons are in Burke (1845): Ferdinand William Maurice, later Vicar of Lechlade and Canon of Gloucester Cathedral; John Henry; and twins, Charles Louis and Robert Frederick.

The Army provided careers for three of the sons. George Richard's will (1820) stated that William James was then a Cornet in the 13th Regiment of Light Dragoons, and that Joseph Henry was an Ensign in the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards. The memorial tablet in Manston church shows that Charles Robert was "late of the XC-Vth Regiment". He married Jane, daughter of Thomas Gibson, in 1841, and died at Mundeford on 30th January 1844.

Of the two daughters, nothing can be reported except what Julia Lawrence tells us about them and the fact that both were buried at Lydiard – Isabella Marianne on 1st May 1822, and Antonia Diana on 7th June 1826.

John Dyson died at the age of two. (The careful reader will have noted that one of Niemcewicz's seven is missing. Presumably this child died sometime between the departure of the family from America in 1806 and their arrival at Lydiard late in 1807.)

Mortgage Deeds

One by-product from the study of the deeds belonging to the Corporation of Swindon is the positive identification of the artist of Portrait no.77 which was briefly noted in *Report No. 5*, p.83. A comparison of signatures shows that George Frederick was the artist.

The deeds, especially as they rehearse other and earlier deeds, combined with the will made by George Richard show how provision was made for Isabella and her children. (It should be remembered that Henry's title, as eldest son, to Lydiard and his father's other properties was assured by these deeds, also.)

The 1794 settlement on Charlotte and her children provided, as we have noted, for a second or subsequent wife and the children of such marriages. On 28th April 1807, a deed of appointment was made whereby Isabella was assured of the £800 rent charge and also the additional sums of £400 and £200 – the latter sum being added after the death of Lady Diana Beaculerk. The £7,000 that was originally intended for the two younger children of the first marriage became the portion of Ferdinand and the child (Charles Robert) who was, at the time of the deed, not yet born.

On 1st January 1810, Jeremiah Dyson, as trustee under the terms of the 1794 settlement, sold "several hereditaments" on behalf of George Richard to Robert Hughes, William Kilmister, and Charles Hedges for £16,644. 1. 6. In the deed George Richard acknowledged that he had received from Jeremiah Dyson the sum of £13,494. 1. 6. Presumably the remainder of the sum can be accounted for in terms of perhaps £150 for legal fees, the remainder being, maybe, the payment of an existing debt to Dyson.

George Richard made his will on 19th October 1820. Mention has already been made above of the advowsons of Manston and Lydiard Tregoze. The will does everything it can to provide for Isabella and her children. There are only two clauses that concern non-members of the family – £500 is to be paid to the Rev. John Sebastian Tisserant "in lieu and satisfaction of an Annuity I promised to give him", and £1,200 each is to be paid to George Barton and Edward Barton "who are Brothers and residing in America and persons well known to Thomas Barclay Esquire formerly British Consul at New York."

The overall impression that the will gives is that the intention was to create as large a personal estate as possible, to be devoted by the trustees, Isabella and Thomas Adlington, for her benefit and the benefit of her children. Certain woodlands are devised to the trustees for sale, Henry having the first option to purchase. The sum that is to be required from this sale is £35,000. This sum, added to other personal estate, is to provide:

£4,000 for Isabella "in virtue of any devise bequest or gift to her by her late Brother or otherwise."

£3,000 each to William James, Ferdinand, and Charles Robert.

£4,000 for Joseph Henry.

£6,000 each for Isabella Marianne and Antionette Diana.

£1,000 for George Frederick. (In each case the time for payment is stated.)

The guidebook, *Lydiard Park and Church*, on p.6, noted that, 'It was after his [George Richard's] death in 1824 that the most valuable contents of the house were sold.' This was due to the provision in this will:

I give and bequeath All my household Goods and Furniture Books Pictures and Prints of every kind plate Linen China Wines Liquors Horses Carriages and Harness which at the time of my decease shall be at or belong to my House or Establishment of Lydiard Tregoze aforesaid or elsewhere unto the said Lady Viscountess my Wife for her own absolute use and benefit.

(George Richard was in Pisa when he died on 11th December 1824. He was buried in Lydiard Tregoze church on 24th January 1825.)

. . . and Lydiard?

It is not possible to make any assessment of the impact and influence of George Richard, as the largest employer and landowner, on Lydiard Tregoze. Without a great deal of information that is yet to be discovered, no comment can be made on the subject. It would be too easy to suggest that his interest in the place, even during the last eighteen years of his life, was mainly restricted to the enjoyment of the fruits of his inheritance. All we have for the moment is the description of the life of the family that is contained in the last paragraph of Julia Lawrence's letter. The idyllic scene at Lydiard Park, if it is the whole truth, would suggest that George Richard and Isabella were remarkable parents in being able, so successfully, to contain the tensions between the different members of their family that were inherent in their legal relationships.

It would appear that George Richard has some share in the creation of the present roadway that runs on the north side of the church. In 1812, with the agreement of the Bishop of Salisbury, an exchange of lands was made between George Richard and Rector Miles. (See deed in church safe.) The deed provided that George Richard should receive four poles and eight feet of land on the south side of the churchyard "which adjoin the Court yard of Lydiard House". In return, he was to cede eight poles of land on the west side of the churchyard to enable a stable to be built to accommodate six horses. In addition, George Richard agreed to a new road to the church from the east "for a Horse road" and also a carriage road from the west "for the exclusive Use and Accomodation of Persons going to Church". (This latter road, running behind the walled garden and across the Park to the old school-house, disappeared when the Park was commandeered at the beginning of the last war and has never been restored.)

The final comment comes from Cobbett's (prejudiced?) entry in the *Weekly Register*, **Vol. LX**, for 30th September 1826:

I went out of my way to see Great Lydiard . . . all, except the Church, is in a state of irreparable and apparent neglect, if not abandonment.

APPENDIX I

[The following list appears at the beginning of Voume 3 of the parish registers. It is followed by Certificate No.3064 from the Commissioners of the Treasury stating that the sum has been paid into the Bank of England “on Account of the Supplies granted by Parliament for the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety-eight, pursuant to an Act of Parliament of the Thirty-eighth Year of His present Majesty’s Reign, Chapter 16.”]

VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS towards the exigencies of the State, collected in the Parish of LIDIARD TREGOOZE WILTS May 1798.

	£	s	d
Revd. Mr.Miles, Rector	10.	10.	0
Lady Bolingbroke	5.	5.	0
Revd.Dr.Collins [sic]	5.	5.	0
Mr.Iles	10.	0.	0
Mr. Matthews	5.	5.	0
Mr.Vivash	5.	5.	0
Mr.Richd.Bradford	5.	5.	0
Revd.Mr.Wetherell, Curate	1.	1.	0
Mr.Dore	1.	1.	0
Mr.Rudler	1.	1.	0
Mr.Richard Dore King	1.	1.	0
Mr.Weston	1.	1.	0
Mrs.Ann Dore	0.	10.	6
Miss Edwards	0.	10.	6
Mrs.Bounds	0.	10.	6
Mr.Baden	0.	10.	6
Mr.Lock	0.	10.	6
Mr.Wody	0.	5.	0
Mr.Jesse Wilson	0.	2.	6
John Templer	0.	2.	6
Frances Clark	0.	1.	0
Thomas Draper	0.	1.	0
William Beasant	0.	1.	0
John Barret	0.	1.	0
Elizabeth Richings	0.	1.	0
Mary Edwards	0.	1.	0
Mary Allen	0.	1.	0
Miriam Haskins	0.	1.	0
Sarah Lewis	0.	0.	6
Wm. Hitchings	0.	0.	6
Thomas Blake	0.	0.	6
Adam Tuck	0.	0.	6
William Titcomb	0.	1.	0
Thomas Hunt	0.	0.	6
	55.	14.	0

APPENDIX – II

Four letters of Charlotte, Viscountess Bolingbroke

(Three of these are in the Winchester College Muniments M/PW/196 A, B, and C. and appear here by kind permission of their owner, Mrs. Lettie M. Jervoise, the second is in the Dorset County Record Office D.289 and appears here by kind permission of Sir Philip Williams, Bart.

Letter I

(To Miss Williams, Compton, Winchester.)

Lydiard Wotton Bassett

April 22, 1800

My dearest Girls,

I am not so much to blame, for not having written to thank you for both your Letters, as you imagine, - having much to offer in my defence - if I could have made you happy I should have most readily written - by the Grace and mercy of Providence & skill of my Physicians I can now tell you, that I am well enough recover'd to come down stairs to dinner, after a confinement of two months to my Room & some part of the time in great danger - the complaint was upon my Lungs attended with a great degree of fever - my repose was first disturb'd by Charlotte and Harry Sargent, who would dance grotesque dances upon my bed Charlotte in the Character of a Cyclops, with one Eye in the middle of her forehead & her face cover'd with Tripe - Harry Sargent's face was grown as big as a large Globe, with his Nose jumping into his upper Lip - & I look'd exactly like an old Bust, upon a Stair Case that wanted dusting - however after being flay'd alive, like St. Bartholomew, with blisters &c &c I am well enough to leave my Room & am now only waiting for the blessed Sun to shine upon us, that I may breathe the fresh Air - in the midst of all this, when Dr. Ludlow had declar'd me out of Danger, poor George was seiz'd with a violent pain &c upon his Chest, & fainting fits - & we thought it impossible for him to get thro' the night, with James's powder, & a large blister upon his Chest, he was oblig'd to be bled in the middle of the night - which thank God! relieve'd him - tho' the severe discipline he was obliged to undergo, to lower the inflammation, has so reduc'd him, that his extreme weakness is hardly to be imagin'd - & we are oblig'd to dry up the Setin, our Surgeon thinks him too weak to bear the drain poor fellow! - He has amus'd himself this morning by writing a feeble Letter to one of you - his poor little hand shakes so that he can hardly hold his pen - Missy has told you all that is not triste, as for gaieties

we know of none in this part of the World – grandpapa has had a bad Cold & sore Throat, which has ended in the Gout, in his mild usual way, - pray tell your Papa, that Grandpapa having laid waste all the Turnips in the County during the Winter, he has now thrown himself into Bread Pudding, which, if the gout lasts long, in these days of scarcity will not be quite so convenient – Grandpapa is much better – poor Hockey's China & Hams have been cruelly attack'd too this winter, in short our Houe has been a mere Hospital these three Months, but we are all in a way to get on thank God!

Mrs.Sargent has been occupied with her Christening, & taking leave of her Son George, who is going on a Secret Expedition, which is I suppose the reason why you have not heard lately from them – I know she builds & relies upon seeing you both at Lavington at the latter end of the Summer or the Autumn, so you may build upon the pleasures of your visit there - & I am sure your Papa will be pleas'd to have you both with your friends in Sussex –

We have our Castles here too, we build upon the pleasure of seeing Charles & your Papa in the Summer Hollidays – we shall be fixtures here for this year at least – all my travelling money is gone off in five guinea fees to my Physician &c so tell your Papa that I shall expect to see him & Charles, remember I do not prohibit any of the rest of the party from coming by naming him & Charles only – the larger the party the more agreeable to us remember –

Adieu God Bless you all, & believe me Ever Affly yours

love to all – my dearest Girls C.B.

Letter II

Lydiard Tregoze

July 18th 1802

Dear Mrs. Williams,

My most sincere & grateful acknowledgements are most justly due to you for your very kind & Friendly Letter – as it hath diffus'd a most cheerful & general Sunshine over all the little World of Lydiard; by reviving the very pleasing impressions of esteem and affection, which you left behind you upon the minds of us all, even in the little we say of you, during the great Event of the Wotton Canvass: your friends there, as they are at present in their senses, are full as unanimous as they were even in the overflowings of

their Election Ebrieties, in proclaiming aloud, that the Gen^l never favor'd them with a Candidate so perfectly agreeable to them: possibly I am not altogether disinterested in communicating these Sentiments of the Wotton Basset Electors – because they may be thought worth attending to now & then against some future day & in that case, permit me to hope, that it may be remember'd, that Lydiard Housde is but a little distance from the Scene of the Election, & that Mr. Williams (notwithstanding his own personal merit great as it confessedly is) will nevertheless take care to come properly attended, if indeed it is possible for him to forget it – I beg leave to assure you that we all remain under the same affectionate sense of the great pleasure we receiv'd, when you did us the nonor of your transitory visit at Lydiard - & it will always give us the greatest pleasure to hear of your Health & prosperity -

We all unite in respectful Comp^{ts} to Mrs. Williams & Mr. Burgess, & beg you will

Beleive us all

Your sincere

& faithful friends

C. Bolingbroke

T. Collins

Maria St. John

George St. John

Henry St. John

I have put off sending my Letter a few days that I may have the pleasure to enclose it to Mr. Williams. I am extremely oblig'd to you for your kind solicitude about Mr. St. John's Health; He is in the same cruel debilitated state.

LETTER III

(To Miss E. Williams, Lincoln.)

12 Princes Buildings,
Clifton,
Bristol.
July 1st 1803

My dearest Girls,

If I had not had my Secretary (Missy) with me, I should certainly have written to you a

few words, as the Letters of Boys, especially when they concern an Invalide are not always satisfactory, or correct – Upon the whole I hope I may say that I gain ground & the unpleasant symptoms seem to be abating; but it must be a length of time before I can expect to feel any thing like health, & Dr.Gibbes says the progress must be slow towards it, as there is little medicine to do in the case – He says He does not see any thing at present that may not be cur'd by time patience & care; but I fear my body is too much under the influence of my mind at present to make any rapid progress towards health &c. &c. – I see the merciful hand of providence in every part of this business & am most thankful, & grateful for it – but the separation from this belov'd object of my tender care for 19 years stings me to the heart – you my dearest Girls, who knew the irreparable value of what I have lost, will know how impossible it must be, for me to lose the recollection for a moment of his cherubimical angelic countenance. Providence supported me wonderfully in the last trial, I never felt my own debility, & had the resolution never to leave the dear angel 'till He had breathed his last – and I kiss's his beautiful face every day 'till it was necessary to have his coffin soddered down, don't my dear Girls think that it is any effort to me to write to much upon this subject, I am never easy but when I am talking, or thinking of this Cherubim, & it is only to my prime favourites that I ever mention the subject – I assure you that I do every thing I can for myself & I hope when my health will enable me, to mix a little with the multitude & the affairs of this world – but “Othello's occupation's gone” and & I have lost the business & pleasure of my Life!

Amongst all my Castles there is none I look forward to with so much real pleasure, as the thoughts of seeing you at Lydiard –

I am delighted with the Tour of England that you seem to be going to make – I hope you will have fine weather for your expedition – Harry returns to Lydiard to morrow, Phil has most kindly offer'd to put him in the way of Mathematics & Algebra, that He may not be quite at a loss when He goes to Oxford in Octr: - He has laid fallow so long, & never looks in a book but by absolute force that I am glad He is going home to his two Tutors – tho' I don't like to part from him - & I am always happy to have him with Phil - & your Grandfather you know doats upon Phil, so that I hope some of his good will stick to Harry-

By way of gaieties, Harry went to a Ball last night, & they only muster'd eight couple; it is reckon'd a very bad season here, the general rage for the Sea Side has carried away all the company from hence – I rode a double Horse the day before yeterday for the first time; & I am such a mere skeleton, that the motion had nearly dislocated all my bones, so it is given up for the present 'till better times - & we have got a Socialet that I am delighted with – it is upon springs & extremely easy, is drawn by one Horse & a Man – it holds six people & you get in at the tail & sit opposite each other wide ways – The situation of our House is beautiful beyond measure, we Lodge at the top of the Cliff, & the Invalides who come here poor things! without a ray of hope lodge at the bottom of the

Cliffe to be near the Well, so we are spar'd the misery of seeing these unhappy Objects; - every Ship that comes in or goes out of Bristol passes under our Windows -

Adieu God bless you my dearest Girls we all unite in kindest Love & best wishes -

& Believe me Ever Your most affly.

C.Bolingbroke

Pray give my kind love to your Aunt, & best wishes.

LETTER IV

(To Miss Williams, Compton, Winchester.)

Hot Wells Bristol

Octr.3d. 1803

My dearest Girls,

Tho' I can have nothing to say that can amuse you, (I know you will like to see my hand writing-) especially as I take Sedatives, & Opiates to keep the nervous system quiet; & all anodynes have a contrary effect to stew'd pruens - my Ladies are gone to the Church this morn: to be present at fine doings &c. &c. -

I was sadly disappointed at not going to Lydiard but Dr.Gibbes would not hear of it, & there was so much good sense in his arguments against it, that He very soon beat me to the ground - I really flatter myself that I am better since I have been here already - with the assistance of Miss Byron, & Missy, I have walk'd twice up & down a gravel walk just before the House; Hocky thinks my Lady looks more spraker about the Eyes, & they say that I am losing a most beautiful lemon colour complexion that I have had many months -

Poor Henry has met with a sad disappointment He had made his mind up to go to Oxford on the 10 of this month & I have had a Letter from the Dean to say that He can not admit him this Jany. term - this is a disappointment to us all - your grandfather is I believe quite tir'd of School keeping, notwithstanding the divinitiship of the Pupil -

Pray let us know how your Rheumatism goes on, I hope it does not go on at all, & that you are quite well - Adieu God Bless you all with my kindest love to all

Believe me Ever my dearest Girls your most affly,
C.B.

APPENDIX – III

The New-York World, December 18 1876:

A HOUSE WITH A HISTORY

“Liberty Hall” and its many romantic associations.

The episode of Lord Bolingbroke and his beautiful young mistress.

[The article tells of the building of Liberty Hall in Elizabeth, New Jersey, in 1773, and of its sale in the 1790's to an agent of George Richard. It continues:]

His Lordship arrived at the hall in a close carriage one cold winter's night, accompanied by a pale but beautiful lady. All but two of the old servants were discharged, and for three weeks afterwards neither the new owner nor his fair mistress ventured beyond the threshold of the mansion. Neighbors called, but were received with coldness, and it was some time afterwards before the reason for his strict seclusion was made known. Then it was discovered that the lady in question was not his wife, but the unmarried school-girl Isabella, daughter of Baron Hompesch, of Hanover. She had eloped with Lord Bolingbroke who, in turn, had deserted a loving and devoted wife. The scandal at that day created as much gossip in American and London society as did the Lady Mordaunt affair of three or four years ago. His Lordship made but few changes to the mansion or the grounds, living quietly and secluded, seldom visiting Elizabeth or New York. The principal amusement of the two was in hunting excursions in the neighborhood. On rainy evenings and during the winter they whiled away the dreary hours by playing whist with a select number of friends in one of the grand old rooms on the first floor. It is recorded that one evening while busily engaged at card-playing Bolingbroke detected the Baroness Hompesch receiving a kiss from an ex-Lieutenant Ward, a young and handsome American guest. In a frenzy of jealous rage the nobleman seized a heavy ale-tankard from the sideboard and threw it at the head of the offender. Ward dodged the intended blow, and the vessel struck the wall behind him, leaving a dent which is visible to this day. The two men then came together, to the consternation of the other guests, and a serious difficulty was barely averted by the interference of the Baroness, who separated the combatants and effected a reconciliation between them. Lieutenant Ward never afterwards visited “Liberty Hall.”

This and other like annoyances finally induced Lord Bolingbroke to sell the manor. His wife died in 1803, leaving him one son, Henry, born in 1786, some five or six years before the Hompesch elopment. In 1804 Lord Bolingbroke married the fair but flightly Baroness Isabella in London

Just over a month later, on January 29 1877, The New-York times printed a letter from Julia Lawrence, of Washington, correcting the article in The New-York World. The letter is headed :

AN OLD ROMANCE REVIVED
THE TRUE STORY OF LIBERTY HALL

How Lord Bolingbroke came to purchase the property –
His romantic marriage with a German Baroness – Personal
recollections of the family – The character of Lady Bolingbroke
vindicated.

[After dealing with the early history of the house, the letter continues:]

George Richard St. John, third Viscount Bolingbroke, was only known in this country as Mr. Bellasis. He purchased Liberty Hall, as stated in the *World*, "through his agent," a few years after the death of Gov. Livingstone and his wife. The agent was "Gov. Crawford," well known in England, which country he left in consequence of a tender attachment to one of the royal Princesses. Mr. Crawford was appointed Governor of the Bahamas, with "a request" that he would not return to England. Soon wearying of his position, he came to New-York, and there married a widow Livingstone. Lord Bolingbroke, when a youth, was placed with a private tutor, who aided his daughter, a woman much older than the young man, in her design to marry him. They succeeded in their plan, but he soon became disgusted with his wife and on the death of his father, being his own master, and unrestrained by any principle, religious or moral, he left her with her father, and went on the Continent, where he became acquainted with Count Niemcewicz and many other celebrities. Lord Bolingbroke traveled [sic] under the name of Mr. Bellasis, and passed as an unmarried man. Entering as a student at Heidelberg, he became intimate with the young Barons Charles and Ferdinand von Hompesch, who, during the vacation, invited the young and clever Englishman to accompany them to their father's castle, near Dusseldorf. He went was hospitably received, and remained after the departure of the young men to college, having fallen desperately in love with the young Baroness Isabella, a girl of 17, at home for her vacation from the convent where she had been brought up, having lost her mother in infancy. The old Baron, occupied with the cares of his estate and the pleasures of the chase, had little thought of the danger to which he left his daughter exposed in the daily intercourse with the young and fascinating Englishman, while the poor child, with no knowledge of the world, innocent, accomplished, sweet-tempered, and confiding – no wonder that she soon learned to love her daily companion, so handsome, refined, and winning, an adept in every art to win the affections of so young a girl. I grieve to write what follows, but it is due to the memory of my dear old friend to refute the calumnies against her, and say I know she was innocent of all save her entire trust in the truth and honor of the man she loved, who persuaded her there was no impropriety in a private marriage, as her proud father would never consent to her marrying a Protestant and simple English squire. After much hesitation and devoted prayers to Our Lady of Succor, whose image she daily worshipped in the chapel on the

estate, built by one of the Dukes d'Albrecht, her ancestors, Isabella consented to meet Mr. Bellasis, who had left the castle a few days previous, at the nearest village church where, in the disguise of a peasant girl, she married him according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church. He induced her to fly with him to England from the church door; but, sad to relate, to avoid pursuit he threw the bonnet and shawl she usually wore, into the mill-stream on the estate where they were found, and shown to the Baron, as proofs that his daughter was drowned, Lord Bolingbroke having taken the precaution to detain the letter she left for her father, telling of her marriage. On arriving in England he induced her to believe that his father was so incensed at his marrying a Catholic that he would not receive or forgive him; consequently he must live in retirement, which they did in Wales, where they had a lovely cottage amid the beautiful scenery of that region. There they resided for about two years. The only interruption to Isabella's happiness was not receiving answers to her numerous letters praying for forgiveness from her father! It is needless to add he never received them, and died a short time after her marriage. Some alarm, some fear of discovery at length disturbed their peace. Lord Bolingbroke determined to leave his quiet retreat for America, taking with him the Baroness and their only child George, accompanied by a refugee, Abbe Tessaint, who formed one of their family and became the children's tutor. In New-York "Mr. Bellasis" took a house on Greenwich street, then a fashionable part of the City, and considered himself safe from discovery, as the intercourse between the countries in those days was difficult. Their second son, William, was born in Greenwich street. Shortly after his birth, Mr. Bellasis was accosted in the street with, "Good God! my Lord, where did you come from?" and saw before him his old friend Mr. Crawford. The recognition was alarming! Lord Bolingbroke took Mr. Crawford to his house, told his story, and induced him, for the sake of the young and innocent Isabella, to keep the secret: he however advised Lord Bolingbroke to leave New-ork; and Liberty Hall being then on the market, engaged to make the purchase, and attend to all necessary arrangements. They soon after removed to the country, in the immediate neighborhood of Elizabethtown, where they lived for many years, improving the place by importing varieties of fine fruit trees, flowering shrubs, and rare plants, many of which remain to this day, proving that Lord Bolingbroke did "embellish," and not leave it uncared for.

Mr. Crawford soon introduced the new-comers to his wife's cousins, Mrs. Niemcewicz and Mrs. Ricketts, their families, and a small circle of friends, with whom Mr. and Mrs. Bellasis were in almost daily intercourse, and by whom they were universally respected and esteemed. Count Niemcewicz in Mr. Bellasis recognized "an old friend," but he, too, kept the secret, and although they continued to reside near Elizabethtown, where sons and daughters were born to them; the true story of the couple was known to but three persons, those mentioned, and my father, Mr. Ricketts, or were they ever suspected to be other than Mr. and Mrs. Bellasis. In 1803 the wife in England died, leaving one son, Henry, who succeeded to the title on the death of his father in 1824. Immediately on receiving the news of this death, Lord Bolingbroke married Isabella Hompesch, in Trinity Church, New-York, Gov. Crawford, Count Niemcewicz, and Mr. Ricketts being the witnesses. The ceremony was performed by Rev. John Henry

Hobart. Until the news of his wife's death reached Lord Bolingbroke, the innocent and much injured Baroness Isabella had no suspicion of the truth. She had implicit trust in her "George," as she always called him, and he made her believe in the anger of his father, then many years dead, which he said alone prevented their return to England. I cannot attempt to describe her feelings when the truth was revealed. She was a devoted wife and mother and, with all his sins, he was a most affectionate and faithful husband to her. At the time of the marriage in Trinity Church they had five children, three sons and two daughters. Shortly after another son, Ferdinand, was born. For the episode in the "veracious" tale related in the *World*, bringing in the name of one Ward, I do not hesitate to pronounce there is not one word of truth in it. Lady Bolingbroke's conduct throughout her life was irreproachable, correct, and dignified, in every way worthy of her name and family. In 1805 my father, with his family went to England. He was requested by Lord Bolingbroke to see his wife's two brothers, the Barons Charles and Ferdinand Von Hompesch, both holding commissions in the Prince's "German Legion," disclose the secret, and endeavor to make peace between them, their sister and himself. In the happiness of learning that their dear sister lived, and, although sinned against, was an innocent, loving wife and mother, they consented to a reconciliation. Mr. Ricketts wrote of his success to Lord Bolingbroke, who as soon as possible after, returned to England with his family. The meeting between the brothers and their long-lost sister took place at my father's residence, near Hammersmith, not far from Holland House. Some excitement may have been caused in fashionable circles by the return of Lord and Lady Bolingbroke, but, as they soon left London for his estate in Wiltshire, Sydiard Tregozia [sic], near Wootton Bassett, the scandal could not be compared with the affair of Lady Mordaunt, as related in the *World*.

At the charming old place, surrounded by a select circle of friends and their large family, three sons having been added to those born in America, and Lord Bolingbroke's eldest son, Henry, who was always with them during his vacations from college, and tenderly attached to Lady Bolingbroke, who treated him as one of her own, the Bolingbrokes continued to reside for many years. My parents, sister, and myself were frequent visitors at Sydiard, passing every Christmas there. The lovely girls, about my own age, were my constant companions. We studied, walked, and drove about the extensive grounds together, and were devoted friends, until my father left England for his estate on the Island of Jamaica. From that we never met, but kept up a constant correspondence until the death of Isabella and Antonia St. John. The second son, William, born in New-York, visited this country in 1838, remaining for several months. He was a most agreeable man, and a constant visitor at our house. He returned to Europe and died soon after, leaving a wife and one son. Lady Bolingbroke survived both her daughters and all save two of her sons – George, her eldest born, and Ferdinand, her fourth. She died in 1848, beloved and respected by all her friends. A purer or better woman never lived.

The Society

The Officers of the Society for 1972/3 were the same as for the previous year. During the year Mr.A.R.Dufty and Mr.D.Murray John were invited to become Vice-Presidents. The Committee is very pleased to announce that they have both accepted.

Secretary/Treasurer: Mr.A.Jones, 6 Lambourn Avenue, Swindon.
Editor of *Report*: The Rev.B.G.Carne, The Vicarage, Peterson Square,
Bristol. BS13 0EE.

Congratulations are due to the following members:

Mr.W.E.L.Ellery on becoming President of the Sir Walter St.John's Old Boys' Association.
Mr.D.Murray John on becoming a Freeman of the Borough of Swindon.
The Rev.E.A.Noon on becoming an honorary Canon.,
Dr.Arnold Taylor on becoming a Fellow of the British Academy.
The Ven.F.S.Temple on becoming Bishop-designate of Malmesbury.

New Members:

Mrs.M.Anderson,
The Rev.P.E.Bird,
Mr.L.P.Flood,
Mr.D.J.Jaques,
Mr.G.S.Judd, F.L.A.,
Mr.D.Murray John, O.B.E., B.A.,
Mr. and Mrs.G.Parsons,
Mr.M.G.Rathbone, A.L.A., County Record Office, Bythesea Road, Trowbridge.
Miss C.M.Strange,
Mr.D.R.M. West,

During the year we have lost two members through death: Dr.Dorothy Gere and Mr.Geoffrey St.John, M.C.

Statement of Account for the eleven months ending 30th April 1973.

	£	p		£	p
Balance b.fwd.	185.62		The <i>Report</i> , research costs,		
Subscriptions	66.55		printing, postages, annual		
Donation	10.00		meeting expenses	45.38	
Bank interest	7.83		Balance	224.62	
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	270.00			270.00	
	=====			=====	

(Audited and found correct – Mr.Sharp.)

IN MEMORIAM

Geoffrey Robert St.John, M.C.

It is with regret that we record the death, on 4 October last year, of Geoffrey St.John at the age of eight-four. He was great-great-grandson to George Richard, 3rd Viscount Bolingbroke, by his second wife, Baroness Hompesch. From 1921 he was heir-presumptive to the Bolingbroke and St.John viscounties.

Canon Maurice Sharp, of Rochester, gave the address at the Memorial Service at St.Michael's, Cornhill, last December. (Geoffrey had given his body, characteristically, to medical research.) Canon Sharp's address is added to this note. He tells of Geoffrey's war service and something of his notable work as Secretary to the "Over Forty-Fives" Association Ltd. for so many years. But my memory of him is limited to the last ten years and to those annual visits of him to Lydiard in company with his wife, Brynhildr, and their lovable dog, Penny, before they moved from London to Essex. Lechlade (the parish served by his grandfather, Canon St.John) and Lydiard were sources of great pleasure and joy to him. He had an old-world courtesy and gentleness that endeared him to us as a family. He welcomed the formation of our Society and enjoyed attending our meetings. We shall miss him. The Friends of Lydiard Tregoz extend to his widow and family heart-felt sympathy in their loss.

B.G.C.

Canon Sharp's address:

On November 11th this year – the 54th anniversary of the Armistice, which brought World War I to an end – I looked in at the Festival of Remembrance in the Albert Hall on television. My mind, I suppose inevitably, went back to September 1914, when I joined the 10th (5th) Battalion, the Royal Fusiliers, at Colchester under canvas at Reed Hall. I was a young and shy subaltern at the time. Geoffrey 'St.John was then in the ranks, I think, as a sergeant; but he quickly showed qualities of leadership and was commissioned to the 10th, say, about October 1914. Those were still the gracious days, as we called them.

After Church Parade on Sundays we young officers were often entertained to lunch at Wivenhoe Park (now the University of Essex), and in places further afield near Ipswich. In February 1915 we moved to billets in Andover and went under canvas at Windmill Hill in May 1915, till we sailed for France on July 30th 1915. During all this time Geo. and I were with the 10th and became friends.

The Somme battle a year later saw me in command of "B" Company, and Hall in Charge of "C". We were both wounded in the attack on Pozieres on July 15th. Geo. succeeded Hall as O.C. "C" Company, which he led with great bravery, and for which he was awarded the Military Cross. Our paths having so suddenly separated, we did not meet again until the annual reunions of our unit's O.C.A. He and I were regular supporters. Geoffrey St. John when I first knew him in 1914 was of leonine appearance and very attractive. He has always been so in my opinion.

After the Great War he gave over 20 years to the "Over Forty-Fives" Association, whose objects were finding jobs for those over 45, a difficult thing at any time and requiring great patience and perseverance; but Geo. was very successful at this, and its aims were very near his heart.

I have given 19 addresses from this pulpit, apart from one in the Tower Moat in 1964. Geo. and I last met in 1971 at the Reunion. We both missed out in 1972 from ill-health. What more shall I say? It is only fitting that this service be held in St. Michael's, Cornhill, within the City of London. It is famous for its beauty and also for its music. Dr. Harold Darke made it so. In addition, it houses our Colours laid up here, along with the Roll of Honour. In fact, without wishing to offend the kind Rector, Canon Motley, who allows us to meet here, we have come to regard this as our Church, and so to say, peculiar to the 10th Royal Fusiliers. I am now the sole surviving officer of the 1914 vintage.

I feel absolutely certain that our service in the 10th Royal Fusiliers will be counted to our credit. So putting our trust in the Almighty, we commend our lion-hearted Geoffrey to him, and we extend our sympathy to his widow and family.

Postscript

It is a very happy duty, at the end of the compilation and production of this bumper edition of the *Report*, to thank all those who have made it possible.

Our thanks as a Society are due to those who contributed articles – particularly to Mr. Rathbone who spoke at last year's annual meeting, and to all through whose kindness photographs and information have been included. The Corporation of Swindon have continued their generous practice of supplying paper and stencils; and Mrs. Harris has once again performed wonders in typing manuscripts and stencils.

Last, but by no means least, our thanks are due to our President for the benefit we receive as a Society from his unflagging zeal in historical research. Long may he be spared to delight and instruct us.

Brian Carne.

The Friends of Lydiard Tregoze
May 19 1973
Free to members