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LYDIARD TREGOZE

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I first heard the name of Lydiard Tregoze twenty-one years ago. It was my friend Robert Byron who told me of it, though — to be truthful — it was not of the house but of the nearby church that he spoke with such enthusiasm. Indeed, so enthusiastic was he that he made me promise to visit it forthwith. I did not forget the name Lydiard Tregoze — how could so magical a name once heard ever be forgotten? — but it was in fact ten years later, while on my way from one to another of those aerodromes with which war-time Swindon was ringed, that I saw the name on a signpost and turned off to keep my promise.

I left the car at the gate and walked up the long, deserted drive. The house and park were silent, watchful. I peered through the glass of the front door. The beady eye of a stuffed puffin in a glass case stared defiantly back at me. Abashed, I retreated to try my luck with the church. It was locked, but by clambering up I could see into its tiny but fabulous interior. The chancel was packed, literally jam-packed to the roof, with splendid seventeenth-century monuments — gilded and carved and painted and inscribed — looking in the dimness as heraldic and highly coloured as an upset pack of playing cards — and in a way, almost as sinister. For several minutes I watched. Above my head droned the Hudsons and the Whitleys, the Wellingtons and Oxfords and Ansons — honoured names ten years ago, but now I suppose as obsolete as the swords and breastplates which in effigy lay in the church, over the tombs of those who had worn them in battle. When at last I turned to leave I resolved to come back again as soon as I possibly could.

But needless to say it was again ten years — only a few weeks ago — before once more I turned off the Bath Road by the signpost which reads 'To Lydiard Park'. As I drove down the gently winding road I remembered what I had since learned of the history of the house. Until recently, it had remained in the unbroken ownership of one family — the St. Johns — since the early fifteenth-century. It was thus as old as, older perhaps than, some of the fields and hedges which stretched away on either side of us to the distant downs. I am not going to try to unravel for you

it's long and complicated history, for this is as confused, and really almost as irrelevant, as the plot of an opera — a hopeless tangle of nephews and half-brothers, of remarriages and disinheritances, of Jacobite alliances and exiles abroad, of titles lapsing and passing as swiftly as shuttles across the fabric of the centuries. But here are a few facts to get down and out of the way before we get there.

The house as it stands today was built with his wife's money by the second Viscount St. John in the early 1740's. The architect, if any, is unknown and the rebuilding was never finished — perhaps, since the owner was notoriously stingy, because the money ran out. The original designs were obviously much altered as the work proceeded. It has been twice damaged by fire and has had its share since of cobbling and patching. It is, in other words, a typical English country House, and like many others of its kind it was about to founder in the family seas of death duties and decay when in 1943 the Corporation of Swindon — all credit to them — came to the rescue and bought it. It is now being carefully and expertly repaired; but this is a slow job and it will be some time before the house is completely restored to health.

At this point in my reflections the road swooped left across a pocket-sized common, plunged into a green tunnel of an avenue, and as suddenly emerged into a small clearing, and there it was — or rather there they were — for church and house are set so close here as to form one group of buildings. On the left was St. Mary's, its churchyard set out as for some curious picnic, with flat-topped table tombstones. Behind, and almost touching it, stood the house — from this side an extraordinary assembly of brick and stone and plaster and projections and rakishly adjusted roofs, odd windows and chimneys of every size and date, looking as picturesque and untidy as the backs of houses you sometimes see from a railway train.

This unprepossessing view is all the casual visitor might ever see of Lydiard Tregoze. But he must not despair. If he penetrates, as I did, the old garden wall, past the coachhouse and across the cobbled yard, and finally through a thin screen of giant beeches, he will see something very different: a pair of formal and beautifully proportioned stone facades, two storeys high, and crowned with a balustrade which terminates at the corners in miniature pavilions, all set four-square to the park, so as to conceal within the angle of their joining the medieval jumble that lies behind. A central pediment contains the St. Johns arms, the only touch of richness upon an otherwise sedate facade. The colouring of the stone is exquisite — a white-flecked lilac grey with a warm golden underglow, as though the stones had managed to soak up and store the sunshine of many centuries. Even on a wet February evening this house would look friendly and beautiful. As it happened, I was lucky in my weather. It was the sort of day the weather people call 'bright periods'. The air was diamond bright, shadows fell on turf and stone as crisply as if they had been painted there. It was a day designed for architecture, and there before me was architecture designed

for such a day: a gentle, Georgian house, sunning itself as serenely as an old grey cat, accepting admiration but too old and confident to demand it. The white-barred windows stared at me with bland indifference — five of them, I was to discover later, are in fact false; the only movement perceptible to the eye was an occasional leisurely twitch from the wind-vanes on the corner turrets.

Such self-possession was a challenge to entry. I approached the main entrance, marked by a pillared porch, its mouldings still as razor-sharp as the day they were cut. Within was a cool, silent emptiness, an interior clean, pearly-coloured, and well-formed as some gigantic sea-shell. Faithfully beneath each window rested its sunny image upon the floor, one beyond the other from room to room, to room again. First the entrance hall, nearly two storeys high, cubical in proportion: the floor stone-paved, the walls rich in plasterwork, the ceiling vaulted and decorated. To the left and right stretch the main reception rooms, planned en suite. First the library, where busts of philosophers look down their marble noses from the tips of carved and ornamented bookcases; the dining-room, with its columned screen and on its walls the ghostly shadow stains of long-vanished pictures, which from their shape must surely have been family portraits and romantic Italian landscapes; the drawing-room, with its faded scarlet-damask-papered walls and gilded mirrors: the ballroom — more columns here, and a ceiling copied from the Queen's House at Greenwich; and at the far end of all, the tiny chapel. Everywhere, sumptuous ceilings and chimney-pieces and door cases.

Behind these elegant rooms lie the service quarters; long, stone-flagged passages strung with ancient bell-wires, cavernous pantries and still-rooms, larders as vaulted and ice-cold as castle dungeons, stone sinks as big as horse-troughs — and in the middle of all this, as far from the dining-room as you could possibly be, the kitchen. What a kitchen! A real pantomime giant's affair with everything to mammoth scale. A monstrous range; a griller big enough to roast an ox; the remains of a dresser which must have been designed to take dishes the size of motor-tyres. Rows of hooks for hams mounted almost to the smoke-blackened ceiling, twenty-five feet or so above the stone-flagged floor.

The staircase, probably not the original one, is unimpressive — you will have to watch your head in one or two places — and there is not much to see upstairs. But the bedrooms, all opening one out of the other in the friendliest and, one would have thought, the most inconvenient manner, are charming enough: low-ceilinged, prettily corniced, spacious, and sunny. In the night-nursery, tiny coat-hangers — roughly fashioned, I expect, by some estate carpenter — hang in the cupboard: and once, peering from a back-bedroom window, I was startled to find myself looking almost at arm's length straight into the stony bulging eyes of a gargoyle on the church tower.

Lydiard Tregoze is not, you see, a very grand house. True, it has something like fifty rooms, but none of them is spectacular in size, and, despite the elegance of their decoration, life here has, it seemed, never been on what you would call a magnificent scale. Until a few years ago the house was still lighted by oil lamps and candles, and water was pumped daily from a well. It still has no bathroom. It is more than forty years since fires were lighted beneath those richly decorated chimney-pieces. For a time the house was left, so to speak, for dead. And yet, unlike more recently deserted houses of its kind, there is no atmosphere of sadness or self-pity here. The house has kept its self-respect and is now being rewarded by the prospect of another century or so of useful life.

Just how timely this rescue work has been I was able to see for myself, for here and there repair work was in progress and it was possible to see, behind the smiling white paint, the rose-patterned papers and beeswaxed floorboards, the patched and ancient structure which sustained them all, a structure which in places had become dangerously frail, or over-strained. Rust, decay, lichen and moss — these, says John Piper, are the signs of nature's jealousy in the face of man's achievements, signs of her constant struggle to reclaim into her arms the stone, the timber, and the clay. Indeed, up in the attics and among the roof timbers and nearest to the elements, nature and architecture became almost indistinguishable. Here, in the dark, where the bats swooped and bumped and the wind hissed gently through the slipping tiles, it was like standing in some mountain forest. Above my head were knotted the huge crooked timbers, eaten away by age, shaken by storm, but still for the most part sturdy and serviceable. At my feet a massive great lead-lined gutter threaded its clumsy way across the ceiling rafters, carpeted with the twigs of the jackdaws' nests.

Do you remember Ruskin's description of the old tower of Calais Church? 'A grey-headed wreck', he wrote, 'having no beauty yet neither asking for pity: not as mins are, feebly or fondly garrulous of better days, but useful still, going through its daily work, as some old fisherman grey by the storm yet drawing his daily nets'. I thought of these words as I descended the stairs into the dusty sunlight and passed back through the silent, patiently waiting salons to have one more look into the tiny jewelled church. Here history is written in gold and marble, in heraldry and faded pompous epitaphs. But, exciting as all this was to the eye and to the mind, it was not so moving to the heart as that dark thicket of roof timbers above the old house — a place, to quote Ruskin again, where all seemed continuous and the words, 'from generation to generation', understandable.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE
Civil War
WITH REFERENCE TO WILTSHIRE AND THE ST. JOHN FAMILY

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The address given to the 1970 annual meeting at Lydiard Park.

Lord Methuen, Mr Mayor, Friends of Lydiard Tregoze, I think that I ought to say that my interest in the Civil Wars is not peculiarly confined to Wiltshire. What I have been trying to do, over the last thirty-five years or so, is to study in some detail the military history of the Civil Wars with special reference to the Royalist armies. Since 1954, I have been compiling a kind of Army List of the Royalists, and I have done this by building up a card index into which I have put the names of anybody of whatever rank who fought in the Civil Wars under Charles I or Charles II. I suppose that I have now got about 20,000 names. There must have been of course, a great many more than 20,000 people in arms on one side or the other. After all, in the biggest battle of the war, Marston Moor, there were probably 50,000 people engaged on the two sides. In the nature of things, when armies were paid rather irregularly, it may well have been that some people only served for about a fortnight before they got fed up with their diet of bread and cheese and disappeared back home. I dare say, if one really got down to it, a very large number of people were employed at some time or other, in the two armies. I have not gone into such detail with the Parliamentarians, largely because their armies have been studied by such authorities as Sir Charles Firth and Godfrey Davies.

The Royalist armies have been very much neglected. The reason for that seems to be that people have thought that to trace their organisation was too difficult. However, work that has been done in the last generation seems to indicate that diligence is what is required, as so often is the case in historical and antiquarian matters, and that the stuff is there to be found if you want to find it.

At the highest levels, we know with very few exceptions who all the colonels and generals in the Royalist armies were, for the major royalist supporters had to compound for their estates. By compounding they were able to recover their sequestered estates. The papers of the Committee for Compounding are still in existence, as indeed are the papers of another Committee, the Committee for the Advance of Money, which brought the same people into the net but also a lot of rather lesser persons, and so one gets a kind of haphazard reinforcement from that Committee's papers. These Committees were quite unashamedly trying to raise money for the

Parliamentarian cause by mulcting their opponents in parts of the country that the Parliamentarians had overrun.

Going down the scale one comes to a list, published in the reign of Charles II (1663), of what are called Indigent Officers. These were people who had fought in the first Civil War and who were hanging around London and elsewhere, hoping for employment, or jobs, or a bit of money, or to get their estates back, and so on. Charles II, whom one thinks of as doing very little for the old Cavaliers, in fact allotted £60,000; and this list numbers about seven thousand recipients — a very useful addition to our knowledge, the more so because they are listed by counties and by regiments. Although the regiments are called by their Colonels' names and not by numbers or territorial designation, it is a most valuable addition to our knowledge. There were several Wiltshire regiments on this list.

To go further down, it may strike you as strange, but Quarter Sessions records are also a help. They exist for some counties, and they do exist for yours at Trowbridge. I have been all through those for this county with the aid of Miss Vernon, who is one of your members, and a might work it was. As a result, we have a better list of Cavaliers for this county than for any other in England, because we have gone to all the sources in this case and have tabulated them. Although we have not yet published this, we have about as full a list of Royalists for Wiltshire as will ever be achieved. Naturally, it would take a very long time to read it, and I don't propose to inflict any part of it upon you this afternoon. You get the very low-ranking soldiers, the private soldiers, from these Quarter Sessions records. From the time of the first Elizabeth there was a fund in each county, administered by the Justices of the Peace at Quarter Sessions, for maimed soldiers and mariners. In the Commonwealth time this fund went to Parliamentarian soldiers, but when Charles II came in, all that lot were dismissed from the pensioners' list, and the old soldiers of Charles I began to appear. One gets quite a lot of them in Wiltshire. You can make little patterns. For example, one finds that many who had been husbandmen served in the cavalry — curiously. It is the more curious because you would have thought that the Royalist cavalry were rather 'snob' and that they were made up of hunting men and the county gentry. But I presume that the rear rank of the troop was, in fact, made up of the outdoor servants and practically anyone who could ride. I suppose that, in a county like Wiltshire, the husbandman rode to his work in the morning and therefore was used to being with horses. It is a very minor fact, but things of this sort do emerge.

One can also see whereabouts in the county the support for the Royalist cause came from, for Wiltshire was not, in fact, a specially Royalist county. It was rather more Royalist than Parliamentarian, one would think, but I am on shaky ground here really, for at the beginning of the Civil Wars, Wiltshire was virtually in the hands of Baynton and Hungerford, the Roundhead leaders, and it was some time before the Royalists made their mark

in these parts. I think on the whole, none-the-less, that the county's sympathies were rather more Royalist than Parliamentarian, but they lacked a great leader. In the north of the county, the Royalists raised a regiment of horse under the sons of Thomas Howard, the Earl of Berkshire, who lived in those parts. Sir George Vaughan, the High Sheriff, who doesn't seem to have been a very effective person, raised a small regiment in the southern part of the county, as did Sir James Long also. But it was not a very formidable undertaking from the point of view of recruitment, as they lacked a Marquis of Hertford or a Sir Ralph Hopton, or someone like that, who would take the lead.

The first Royalist excursion into the county seems to have taken place when Sir John Byron, going away from Oxford in the autumn of 1642 with the treasure of the Oxford Colleges to join the King, came apparently through Wiltshire or, anyway, near enough to have got recruits there. One of these was Captain Edward St. John. But why would one of the St. Johns go off and join the Regiment of Sir John Byron? Byron came from Nottinghamshire, and he raised his regiment early on by borrowing £5,000 from the Marquis of Worcester, apparently enough to mount a regiment of horse in those days. This regiment was about 250 strong. It went down to Oxford, and recruited dons and students there, and then made for Worcester. St. John was connected with this regiment almost certainly through his first cousin Sir Allen Apsley, who was a Captain in it. He was with this Regiment probably at Edgehill, and certainly at Burford on the 1st of January 1643, when there was a skirmish in the streets in which Sir John Byron got wounded in the face with a halberd. Captain St. John is mentioned in that fight. He is afterwards mentioned in the royalist newspaper, *Mercurius Aulicus*, or The Court Mercury, when he and four men did a patrol up to Nettlebed in Oxfordshire on one occasion and shot the sentry. He is mentioned by name then as Captain Edward St. John, and there is absolutely no question in my mind that this is he.

Another of the St. John family fell in Gloucestershire, William, a Lieutenant. He was killed in the storming of Cirencester on Candlemass Day, 2 February 1642/3. He was serving in an infantry regiment in the Garrison of Oxford, maybe in the King's Life Guards. There is a connection between him and one of the field officers of the Life Guards a man called William Leighton, who we know was related to Anne Leighton, the mother of these St. Johns, the evidence must be that this young man was serving in the red-coated regiment of foot which was the Life Guards of King Charles I.

The third of these three local St. Johns, John, died in the north. He had probably gone north with Richard Byron, the eldest of Sir John's brothers, who became Governor of Newark. He was certainly mortally wounded, and as Newark was being besieged he was probably wounded in that area. The record of his burial describes him as 'Curinall'. I think he was probably only a Lieutenant-Colonel. No doubt he had gone

with Richard Byron to assist him when he went away in the summer of 1643 to be Governor of Newark.

To revert to Captain Edward St. John, who adorns your church as the golden Cavalier. He appears to have succumbed eventually to wounds received at the second Battle of Newbury. As far as I know, no account survives to tell us how he came by these wounds, but there he is in his glory in your church here, dressed very much in the full cuirassier uniform of that period. This is not just formal armour, such as you normally find in a church monument. This is an accurate representation of the real armour that was worn at that time. If you go to Littlecote, between Ramsbury and Hungerford, you will see at least four suits of the same kind of cuirassier armour belonging to the Popham family. The Pophams were Roundheads, but both sides wore very much the same sort of thing. Hesilrige's Lobsters, who were defeated at Roundway Down, not very far away from here, and who came down the hill in a place where *never man nor horse ever came down before*, would have been wearing very much the same sort of armour as your Golden Cavalier, though perhaps somewhat less elaborate.

Now you may say, 'How do I know that this is proper armour, worn when they were really armed *cap-a-pie*?' There is one good clue. If you go and look at that monument you will see that over his left shoulder and across his body is a cord. Whatever was on the end of the string has vanished. I have seen it suggested in print that he had a whistle on the end. Presumably the man who had this bright idea imagined him like the chief of a troop of Boy Scouts giving shrill blasts on his whistle at the end of a charge and shouting 'Rally, rally!' But since they had two trumpeters in a troop in those days, (and you can see one in fact on the plaque at the bottom of the monument), the whistle won't do. At the end of the cord is his spanner. What does he want a spanner for? Is this for doing up the nuts on his armour? No such thing! This is a spanner for winding up his pistol. Remember that they used wheel-lock pistols at this time. He has a spanner there so that, when he has fired and is re-loading, he can quickly wind the thing up. It was a rather elaborate operation, but you may take my word for it that the best pistols in those days were these wheel-locks, and that is what he has got. Now if you were displaying purely formal armour you would not bother with such a detail as the cord for the man's spanner. Also if you look at his boots, you will see quite clearly that these are the sort of boots that a cavalier really did wear in action. It is not at all a formal representation. It has been mined, of course, at some time by gilding. Clearly, in the first place it was painted in natural colours. His armour would not have been gilt at all, but steel. His boots might have been a buff colour or even a darker brown. In all probability the remains of the original tinctures are underneath the gilding. These original colours became more and more worn over the years, and then somebody, probably one of the Rectors, I fear, suggested that a pot of gold paint was the answer. I think it was a very bad answer, and one would really like to see the original colour restored.

So much for the Golden Cavalier, but as to these wheel-lock pistols, another famous pair was used in this county, by Edmund Ludlow at Wardour Castle. (Curiously, Wiltshiremen seem to have had a connection with my College at Oxford, Trinity. Two of these three St.Johns were there, so was Ludlow.) Ludlow, the regicide, a major, was defending Wardour Castle against a fairly large Royalist army. The Royalists decided to blow him up, so they stuck some gunpowder down the end of a mine and let fly. Ludlow was in bed, having a well-earned rest, when part of the house came tumbling down round his ears. He was a great soldier. He nipped out of bed as quick as a flash, snapped up his pistols, and looking out of the window could see Captain Leicester and his Irish yellow-coats climbing up the rubble, trying to get in through the breach. He stuck his pistols out of the window, and went 'bang, bang'; but neither of them went off. This was a most embarrassing moment for Ludlow, as you can imagine. They had been wound up so long that the springs didn't work. He then leaped back across the room, pulled out his long sword, and started hacking at the Cavaliers' heads as they came up. He then found, shouting naturally for succour from the garrison, that no such thing arrived, because the explosion had wedged the door in some uncomfortable way. So he was nipping across the bedroom, pulling people in by another window, and then rushing back into the breach, pushing Royalists down into the rubble again. So it was quite an exciting day.

But I didn't come to give an account of the siege of Wardour Castle especially, but it is interesting to see how these wheel-lock pistols worked or didn't work. We are here in the fairly early days of fire-arms. One of the difficulties that we have in comprehending what the Civil War was really like is simply that the weapons were so inefficient. To us who did our soldiering with Bren guns, the Mark III rifle, 25-pounders, and things of that sort, which more or less did what the manufacturers advertised, it is rather strange to think of cannon that would only go off about every four minutes, muskets that were fired about every minute and a half, and then would not hit anything unless it was standing still at no more than 60 yards.

In the Civil War they used whatever arms were initially available. The great armouries at that time were the Tower of London and Hull. They used the arms of the trained bands, very often by calling them all together, taking some as volunteers, dismissing the rest, and keeping all the arms, which is a perfectly legitimate way of doing it.

In those days it was not at all uncommon for the country gentry to have substantial armouries of their own; for example there was a captain at Edgehill on the Royalist side who said that he brought eighty muskets with him when he came, all his own property. The father of Wood the antiquary had arms for a pikeman and for a musketeer, and he was just an Oxford shopkeeper. So people commonly had arms, and you must remember there was very little then in the way of a police force, and you were entitled to fire upon people if they came into your garden, as indeed you still are.

There were armourers living in London such as Harman Barne, a German who made Prince Rupert's pistols, and there was also a very considerable arms racket with the Continent. The Stadtholder of Holland, who supported the Royalists, allowed the Queen to buy cannon and things out of the stores of the Netherlands Army, which was quite illegal, I imagine. When the Royalists owned tin mines in Cornwall, they used Dartmouth and Falmouth for running ships over by night to St.Malo and brought arms back from France. Equally Scarborough was important to the Royalists for bringing arms in from Hamburg, and so on.

Occasionally you come across country-made arms; for example, in the Museum at Taunton there is a crude halberd probably made for Monmouth's rebellion by a local blacksmith. The Royalists set up a sword factory at Wolvercote, near Oxford. The main difficulty was getting powder. Powder-making was a Royal monopoly, but the factory at Chilworth, near Guildford, early fell into the hands of the Parliamentarians. The Royalists set up their own powder factories in places like Newark. The monopoly was forgotten about, you just did the best you could.

Another thing one should remember about these Civil War times is that the country has changed rather a lot. It is partly that population has grown so very much, and that the country is very much more thickly populated than it was in those days. At that time London certainly had not more than half a million inhabitants, and the total population of England Wales did not exceed five million. The country was very much more wooded than it is now. I don't say that this necessarily applies at Lydiard. This part of the country may have changed very little, except for the great urban spread of Swindon slightly to your north. The Marlborough Downs and Roundway Down are very much as they were then.

There was no barbed wire in those days. On the way here today we came up the valley from Hungerford, where Essex crossed the Rennet in 1643, just before the first Battle of Newbury, to Aldbourne, where Prince Rupert bit his tail as he was going home from Gloucester. You can very well picture those hills with regiments marching in ranks of file, cavalry moving not in column of troops or in column of twos or fours but actually on a front of 50 men, manoeuvring as they very easily could to very great advantage against the rearguard of an army hurrying away. From the point of view of manoeuvring with real aplomb, the barbed wire wrecks everything. The cavalry could in those days swing about all over the shop. They could get hull down under a ridge. They could do a bit of scouting to see what was in front of them, then they could deliver a fairly hectic charge. If you gallop on a horse, you can cover about quarter of a mile in about a minute; but if you are marching in rank and file you may want to go rather slower and you don't get speed up until you are nearly home. This probably gives the enemy time for only one volley before the cavalry come thundering into them. That is quite a solemn thought, really. It means that the chances of inflicting casualties on a regiment of cavalry before it gets up near to the infantry are very small.

One forgets, too, that the bayonet had not been invented at this time, and therefore infantry were either pikemen or musketeers. Now pikemen, though they cannot do any damage at long range, are extremely difficult to break, with their drums and colours — things that horses dislike — and therefore the chances of a horse getting home into a stand of pikes are not really very good. But the cavalry did have the advantage in fighting musketeers.

You can imagine the scene in a battle of those days:- for example, the people at Roundway Down with Waller's army waiting for Wilmot to come from Marlborough to try to raise the siege at Devizes in 1643. Waller probably has about six great chunks of infantry up on the top of the hill, cavalry on the wings and guns in front, and his infantry are drawn out with pikes in the middle and musketeers on the flanks. The moment the Royalists get a chance, they will naturally attack the musketeers who will then try to get behind the pikemen to protect themselves, inside the hedgehog. When they get in there, they will feel fairly safe. In fact, they muddle everything up, because they confuse the ranks and make it more difficult for the pikemen to wield their spears. You therefore get such a disaster as happened at Roundway Down. Having seen their own cavalry escaping, the roundheads decide that the best thing is to march off. So off they go towards Bath in good order at first; but gradually — as you can imagine — some of the keener ones start to go faster, and the procession becomes rather disorderly and breaks up with the loss of about as many as six hundred casualties, and the rest, to the number of three or four thousand, surrender. That was an untidy end to a battle but you can easily imagine that with the arms available at that time how things can have gone in that way.

Looking at the operations that took place in Wiltshire, as distinct from the Wiltshiremen who took part in the Civil War, we do see one big battle in Wiltshire — Roundway Down. We have also the passage of armies through the county on several occasions, notably the successful attempt by the Earl of Essex to relieve Gloucester when he marched from Swindon down to Hungerford and away to the Battle of Newbury in 1643. But really, for the most part, the war in Wiltshire was a war of small sieges and rough-and-tumble skirmishes. There is hardly a corner of the county where you can't find some sort of action. There was actually fighting inside the close at Salisbury itself on one occasion at least; and Penruddock started his insurrection in 1655 there. There was fighting later on in the war at Lacock; the house was defended by the Roundheads, and was captured by a force of Royalists that was made up from all their various garrisons in the area, notably from Devizes Castle. Again, there were the two sieges of Wardour, which belonged in those days to Lord Arundel, who was a Roman Catholic and therefore was decidedly not *persona grata* with the Parliamentarian side.

The Royalists controlled Wiltshire during most of the war. They began on 5 December 1642 by storming Marlborough. Lord Wilmot, who became the first Earl of Rochester, was the commander on that occasion, as he was again at Roundway Down. In fact, Wiltshire seems to have been a rather fortunate county for him, as he was not the great general for all time by any means, but at Roundway Down he had this very remarkable success.

From the time the Royalists captured Marlborough they seem to have done what they could to control the county. They used small garrisons, A couple of hundred men and also about 25 cavalry are put into a small house. The cavalry go out, perhaps by night, patrolling around. A small garrison like that is self-supporting. They live off the country, not to put too fine a point upon it, by plundering. They come back in again when they think it is getting dangerous, bringing in with them whatever the country provides — cheese, cattle, and so on. Before the days of tinned food, it was not very easy to victual a garrison against a long siege, and therefore they were inclined to keep live animals inside in their quarters and to subsist on things like cheese that did not go stale too quickly. A house of the size of Lydiard Park was commonly used for quartering soldiers, and it might have been so used had there been any special reason for putting a garrison here.

The importance of Wiltshire for the Royalists was not so much that they got a large number of recruits from Wiltshire as that they had very strong support in South Wales and around Bristol. (Bristol was, after all, a Royalist garrison from July 1643 until September 1645.) As the Royalist headquarters and the Court were at Oxford, they tried to control as much of Gloucestershire and Wiltshire as they could to keep their lines of communication open. That was the significance of Wiltshire for the Royalists. Another great Royalist area was Devon and Cornwall. Once more, by keeping fairly strong in Wiltshire they were safeguarding their communications with their supporters further west.

Even as one does not find any very great Royalist leaders in Wiltshire, I think that one can say the same of the Roundheads. Ludlow was certainly a colourful character, but Baynton and Hungerford, leaders of the Roundhead party at the beginning of the war, were very far from being effective. Oliver St. John, of Keysoe, Beds., although extremely important among the Roundhead leaders, was not a Wiltshire St. John. He was operating all the time in London and therefore did not appear in these parts, his duties as one of the government confining his activities to the capital.

APPENDIX compiled from information supplied by Brigadier Young, Miss Thelma Vernon, and Mr F.T. Smallwood.

A. Sons of Sir John St.John, 1st Baronet, who served Charles I in the Civil War.

1. John St.John.

2nd son. Born 24th March 1615/6. Inherited estates in Ireland on the death of Oliver, Viscount Grandison, 1630. *Killed in the north*. Buried at Newark, 15th December 1643. The burial entry describes him as *Cunnall Senione gent*.

Education: Entered at Lincoln's Inn 19th January 1631/2.

Married: His first cousin, Deborah Ayliffe, 2nd daughter of Sir George Ayliffe (B.M. Hark MS. 1443). By 1641 residing in Ireland. (See *Report No.2*, pp.4, 5.) No male issue. Deborah's second husband was Nicholas, Viscomte St.Paul (or Pol).

Status: Esquire.

Rank: Probably Lieutenant-Colonel.

Arm: ?

Service: There was a Captain.....St.Johns [(sic)] in Sir Jacob Astley's Regiment of Foot in 1640.

The Royalist Garrison at Newark was blockaded late in 1643, and it is believed that St.John was mortally wounded then. He made his nuncupative will — evidently he was too ill to sign it — on 12th December, three days before he was buried. (It was signed by George Otway and William Wilson.) He directed that he should be buried in the chancel of the parish church of Newark.

2. William St.John.

3rd son. Born 29th March 1617. Killed in action at Cirencester, 2nd February 1642/3. Buried Lydiard Tregoze 8th February 1642/3.

Education: Trinity College, Oxford. Matriculated 18th November 1631. B.A. 16th May 1633. B.C.L. from All Souls' College, 4th December 1637.

Unmarried.

Status: Esquire.

Rank: Lieutenant.

Arm: Foot.

Service: Garrison at Oxford, ? in the King's Life Guards. Was with Prince Rupert when Cirencester was assaulted and taken, 2nd February 1642/3.

3. Edward St.John.

4th son. Born 26th February 1617/8. Died 12th April 1645 and was buried at Lydiard Tregoze 16th April 1645. His memorial in the church is the Golden Cavalier, the bas-relief shows a trumpeter riding ahead of St.John (made large), and troopers ride behind their officer, four ranks each of four with cloaks. This is a captain's command.

Education: Trinity College, Oxford. Matriculated 17th October 1634.
Entered at Lincoln's Inn 1637.

Unmarried.

Status: Esquire.

Rank: Captain.

Arm: Horse.

Service: Sir John Byron's Regiment of Horse. Probably at Edgehill. Burford, 1st January 1643. Mortally wounded at the Second Battle of Newbury, 17th October 1644. Died five-and-a-half months later.

The Edward St.John, Eydiard, co. Wilts, who lent fl,080 for the King's service on the Oxford Engagement.

B. Sons of Sir John St.John, 1st Baronet, who served in the Parliamentary armies.

1. Walter St.John.

6th son. Born May 1622. On the death of his nephew inherited his father's estates. Died at Battersea, buried 9th July 1708.

Portrait: (Lydiard Park) number 42.

Married: A distant cousin Johanna, daughter of Oliver St.John, Lord Chief Justice, c. 1649.

Status: Esquire. 3rd Baronet, 1656.

Rank: Captain.

Arm: Horse.

Service: Captain of the troop of horse in the Surrey Militia. ? participated in the Battle of Worcester, 3rd September 1651. (See *ReportSlo.2*, p.4.)

2. Henry St. John.

9th son. Born July 1628. Inherited the Grandison estates in Ireland on the death of his brother John in 1643. Settled in Ireland by 1665. Murdered there 9th September 1679.

Portrait: (Lydiard Park) number 43, as a boy of about seven.

Education: University of Leyden, 19th July 1645. Gray's Inn, 1647.

Married: A distant cousin Catherine, also a daughter of Oliver St.John, Lord Chief Justice, c.1650.

Status: Esquire.

Rank: Captain.

Arm: Foot.

Service: Captain of foot in the Surrey Militia under Sir Richard Onslow.

C. Son-in-law of Sir John St. John, 1st Baronet, who served Charles I.

Henry Wilmot.

Baptised 26th October 1613. Died 19th February 1657/8. Son of Charles, 1st Viscount Wilmot (Irish peerage), d. ?1644.

Married: Anne, c. 1645, eldest daughter of the 1st Baronet. (A second marriage in each case.)

Status: 2nd Viscount Wilmot (Ireland), ?1644. Created 1st Earl of Rochester, 1652.

Rank: Lt. General.

Arm: Horse.

Service: (Captain of a troop of horse in Dutch service, 1635-7.) Edgehill, Marlborough, 1642. Cirencester, Roundway Down 1643. First Newbury 1643. Cropredy Bridge, dismissed August 1644. Worcester 1651. Accompanied Charles II on his flight.

D. Nephews of Sir John St. John, 1st Baronet, who served Charles I.

1. William Villiers, (1614-1643).

Son of Sir Edward Villiers (c. 1585-1626), half-brother to the Duke of Buckingham, and Barbara (? — 1676), fifth sister of the 1st Baronet.

Portrait: (Lydiard Park) number 59.

Education: Matriculated at Cambridge. Fellow Commoner from Trinity, Easter 1625.

Married: Mary, d. of Paul, 1st Viscount Bayning, 1639.

Status: 2nd Viscount Grandison, 1630. K.B. 1638.

Rank: Colonel of Horse. Colonel-General, 1643.

Arm: Horse, 1642. Foot, 1643.

Service: Wounded at the siege of Bristol, 24th July 1643. Died at Oxford, 30th September 1643. Buried 2nd October in Oxford Cathedral, monument erected by his daughter Barbara.

2. John Villiers, (? — 1659), brother of the above

Education: Matriculated at Cambridge. Fellow Commoner from Trinity, Easter 1633. B.A. 1634/5.

Married: Catherine, d. of John Clarke.

Status: 3rd Viscount Grandison, 1643.

Rank: Captain

Arm: Horse, Prince Rupert's Regiment.

Service: Received ten wounds at Marston Moor, 1644. Against Irish rebels at Dungan Hill, 1647. Taken prisoner by Parliamentary forces at the Battle of Worcester 1651. Committed to the Tower of London. After four years imprisonment, he petitioned the Protector to grant him an allowance, by then having no means of support.

In November 1655 he was allowed to leave the country *having engaged under hand and seal 30 Aug. last to go, and not to act against his Highness or the Commonwealth*” (C.S.P.D.) He died 9th November 1659, *a most miserable creature, in the charity hospital at Pans* (G.E.C.), and was buried the next day.

(A third brother was George (c. 1617-1699), 4th Viscount Grandison; knighted 24th April 1644, Captain of a troop of Horse in 1660, Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard 1662-1688/9, Gentleman Pensioner.)

3. Allen Apsley (1616-1683)

Eldest son of Sir Allen Apsley (? 1569-1630), Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and his third wife, Lucy (? — 1659), sixth sister of the 1st Baronet. Buried in Westminster Abbey. 17 Oct. 1683

Education: Merchant Taylors School, from 1626. Inner Temple, 1629.

Trinity College, Oxford, 1631. M.A. 1633.

Married: Frances, d. of John Petre.

Status: Knight 1646.

Rank: Captain, 1642. Colonel, 1643.

Arm: Hors, 1642. Foot, 1643. Horse of Foot, 1644.

Service: Edgehill, 1642. Governor of Barnstaple.

E. Nephew of Sir John St.John, 1st Baronet, who served in the Parliamentary armies.

John Hutchinson (1615-1664), Regicide, (see Report No.3, pp.3-5.)

Education: Free schools in Nottingham and Lincoln.

Peterhouse, Cambridge. Lincolns' Inn.

Married: Lucy, daughter of Sir Allen Apsley and Lucy, sixth sister of the 1st Baronet. Brother-in-law of D.3.

Status: Esquire.

Rank: Colonel.

Arm: Foot.

Service: Governor of Nottingham.

F. Half-brother of Sir John St.John, 1st Baronet, who served Parliament.

Edward Hungerford (1569-1648).

Son of Sir Anthony Hungerford (1564-1627) and Lucy (nee Hungerford (1560-1598), the mother of the 1st Baronet.

Married: Margaret, d. of William Hollidaie (sometime Lord Mayor of London.)

Status: K.B., 1st February, 1625/6.

Service: In command of the Parliamentary forces in Wiltshire, 1642.
Landsdowne and Roundway Down, led the attack on Wardour Castle,
2nd May 1643, and on Farleigh Castle.

(It is worth adding, as a further comment on the way in which families had divided loyalties in the Civil War, that after the death of his first wife Sir Anthony Hungerford married again and had a son, Sir Anthony (d.1657), who supported Charles I. Sir Edward Hungerford, leader of Parliamentary forces in Wiltshire had, by his father's two marriages, two half-brothers, unrelated to each other, who were Royalists.)

Bedfordshire St.Johns who served Parliament.

A. Oliver St.John (1603-1642).

Son of the Oliver St.John (?1580-1646) who was created 1st Earl of Bolingbroke, Lieutenant of the County of Bedfordshire, and one of the six Commissioners for the custody of the Great Seal. Oliver the elder raised a regiment that was commanded by his son.

Married: Arabella, d. of John Egerton, 1st Earl of Bridgewater.

Status: Eldest son of a baron. K.B., 1st February 1625/6. Commonly called Lord St.John. (See note below.)

Rank: Colonel of Foot and Captain of Horse.

Service: Mortally wounded at Edgehill, 23rd October 1642. Taken prisoner, and *died before the next morning* according to Clarendon (G.E.C.). Ludlow, *Memoirs*, 1698-9, p.51: *Those of ours taken by the enemy were the Tord St.Johns, who was mortally wounded, and declared at his Death a full Satisfaction and Cheerfulness to lay down his Tife in so good a Cause.*

B. Sons of Oliver St.John of Keyso, Bedfordshire.

1. Oliver

Son of the above by his first wife Sarah Bulkley (or Buckley) born ? 1598. Ambassador Extraordinary to the States of the United Netherlands, 1651. Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 1648-1660. Chancellor of the University of Cambridge 1651-1660. Died 1673.

Portrait: (Lydiard Park) number 17.

Non-combatant.

Daughters Johanna and Catherine married Walter and Henry St.John, B.1 and B.2 above.

2. John, half-brother of the above, son of Alice Haselden, second wife of Oliver St. John of Keysoe. Christened 13th September 1615.
Education: St. Catharine's, Cambridge, 1633. University of Leyden, admitted 19th June 1637, to study medicine. M.D. et Phil., Padua, 6th December 1640, having been inscribed there on 15th March of that year.
Non-combatant.
Service: Personal physician to the Earl of Essex.

N.B. Omitted from the foregoing list is Captain Howard St. John (1612-1642) another nephew of the 1st Baronet, the son of Eleanor, d. 1648, his fourth sister, and Sir William St. John, d. 1641, of Uchelolau, Glamorgan, a sea captain. It is not known whether Captain Howard served in the army or whether he followed his father's profession, in the Navy. Brigadier Young feels sure that he was not a sea captain. He died in 1642, before the Civil War broke out.

Sources:

Monuments and triptych in Lydiard Tregoze Church.
The Great Civil War, 1642-1646, Burne and Young.
Army Lists of the Roundheads and Cavaliers, E. Peacock.
Calendar for the Advance of Money, Voll. II, p. 998.
Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugdano-Bataviae, MDLXXV-MDCCCLXXV.
R. W. Innes-Smith, Oliver and Boyd, 1932, p. 203.
Alumni Oxonienses, Foster.
Alumni Cantabrigienses, Venn.
Dictionary of National Biography.
G.E.C. *The Complete Peerage*.
Our Lady of Batersey, J.G. Taylor.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on the gilding of the monument to Edward St. John.

Four possibilities exist about the original tinctures of the figure on the monument. When first constructed :-

1. the figure was entirely in the 'natural' colours described by Brigadier Young in his talk;
2. the armour was gilded whilst the face, hands, and boots were in 'natural' colours;
3. the figure was as it is now — completely gilded;
4. the figure was not painted at all.

Certainty on these matters will only come when a careful test of the paint layers is made.

Documentary evidence is as follows:

1. John Aubrey records the inscription, c.1670, but does not describe the monument.
Would the gilding have been sufficiently remarkable to have been noteworthy for him?
It is worth mentioning here that the armour of Charles I (c. 1630) in the Tower of London is completely gilded.
2. The armour is known to have been gilded by 1780. In that year Richard Gough copied up notes which he had taken on a visit to Wiltshire in 1769, or 1780. His description is as follows :
On y^e N. Side without y^e rails under a tent supported
by 2 half soldiers a statue in armour gilt holding a shield.
(M.S. Gough Wilts 3, fol. 79². Bodleian Library).
3. Mr Frank Bell in 1886 refers to 'the gilding of the figure' as if by that time the figure was already completely gilt. (See *Report* No.2, p.1 1.)
4. There was undoubtedly at some time a 'slap-happy period of gilding'. The Stuart royal arms above the chancel screen had until recently a gold field.

ADDITIONAL NOTE about Sir Oliver St.John, d.1642, son of the 1st Earl of Bolingbroke. There is a possible explanation of the error that was made in 1693, when certain details on Panel 1 of the triptych were brought up to date. (The subject was discussed on p.3 of *Report* No.1.) Oliver St.John, elder son and heir apparent of Oliver St.John 4th Lord St.John of Bletso, had been made a Knight of the Bath (1st February 1625/6) at the coronation of King Charles I, just over a year after his father received his earldom (according to W.A. Shaw, *Knights of England*, he was *commonly called Eord St.John*); and while his father was still living he was summoned to Parliament *in his father's barony* by writ directed *Olivero St.John, Chivaler*, and took his seat on 14th May 1641. The summoning of a peer's heir apparent to the Lords during his father's life-time has been by no means a rarity — G.E.C., *The Complete Peerage* Vol.1, pp.489ff lists 94 examples to the end of the 19th century — and in recent times the heirs apparent of (a) the Marquess of Salisbury and (b) the Earl of Ancaster have sat in the Lords in special circumstances.

Nevertheless the 1693 details on the triptych remain erroneous: the Oliver under discussion was not 2nd Earl of Bolingbroke.

F.T.S.

St.Johns in their Robes

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

The portraits at Lydiard Park include five oil paintings of St.Johns in their robes as viscounts — two of Henry, 1st Viscount Bolingbroke (Nos.9 and 32), one of his father Henry, 1st Viscount St.John (No.31), and two of the latter's son (Bolingbroke's half-brother) John, 2nd Viscount St.John (Nos. 10 and 21.). In addition there are two corresponding oil paintings of John's wife Anne (Nos.11 and 45), an engraving (No. 1a) of one (No.9) of the portraits of Bolingbroke — or, to speak more precisely, of an original Kneller now at Petworth, of which No.9 appears to be a copy — and a photograph (No.2) of yet another oil painting of him, to say nothing of portraits of the Earl of Chatham (No.16) in the dining room and of (?) Earl Granville (No.58) over an archway in the main corridor on the ground floor. (Nos.32, 21, and 45 are reproduced on pp.6 and 7 of the *Guide*, and Nos.9 and 16 can be seen in the illustrations on pp.11 and 14 of the *Guide*) But the robes of Viscount John (Nos.10 and 21) are strikingly more elaborate than those of his father and his half-brother in the oil paintings and even than those of the Earl of Chatham. A brief commentary may be of interest to the Friends of Lydiard Tregoze.

To take the portraits in their chronological order, No.9 — the copy of a signed Kneller at Petworth, Sussex — and No.32, which is a duplicate, or possibly the original — of a portrait that was formerly in the Bagot collection at Blithfield, Staffs., show Bolingbroke in the parliamentary robes of a viscount. (The presence of five St.John portraits in the Bagot collection some time ago is probably explained by the fact that Louisa, daughter of John, 2nd Viscount St.John, was the wife of the first Lord Bagot.) These two cannot have been painted before July 1712, the date of his elevation to the peerage, and presumably the sittings were completed before the end of March 1715, when he fled in disguise to France to avoid the impeachment that was being prepared against him. (The robes that appear in the photograph — No.2 — will be discussed later in connection with the portraits of his half-brother John.) But one rather odd feature may be noted — in No.32 a viscount's coronet is resting on a table near Bolingbroke's left hand (see p.6 of the *Guide*), and the odd thing is — as will be indicated later — that coronets don't go with parliamentary robes. Henry, 1st Viscount St.John (No.31) is also wearing parliamentary robes, and, as he is declared on the portrait itself to have been 66 at the time, the painting presumably dates from 1718, two years after King George I raised him to the peerage. These parliamentary robes were of red material decorated with double horizontal

bands of gold lace and white fur. The number of double bands showed the peer's degree in the peerage. A baron had two complete double bands; a viscount added a third double band at the front; an earl's third double band was continued round the back as well — a fact that appears in the portrait of the Earl of Chatham (No. 16). (See p.14 of the *Guide*) A marquis had three-and-a-half double bands, a duke four. The wife of a peer has no parliamentary robes. Swords, which appear with both kinds of robes in the paintings, are no longer worn.

The difference between the parliamentary robes of a peer and his far more ornate coronation robes is clearly shown in the two portraits of John, 2nd Viscount St.John (Nos. 10 and 21) and in the photograph (No.2) of a portrait of Bolingbroke in coronation robes, though naturally the original in the National Portrait Gallery in London (No.593) does them fuller justice. The tunic and robe are of crimson velvet trimmed with white fur, and the peer's degree within the peerage is indicated by the number of rows of ermine tails on the upper part of the robe. A coronation is the only official occasion on which a peer wears his coronation robes, and as coronets are worn by peers and their wives at the coronation it is proper that coronets should be included when they pose for their portraits in coronation robes. When a coronation is approaching, the Sovereign indicates the kinds of garments over which the robes of peers may be worn, and these vary from one such occasion to another. The wives of peers wear robes of prescribed design over dresses that are of their own choice. These are shown in the two portraits of Anne, 2nd Viscountess St.John (Nos.11 and 45.)

Bolingbroke's father was raised to the peerage as Viscount St.John — at one time an earldom had been considered — by King George I on 2nd July 1716, rather less than a year after Bolingbroke himself had lost his title by attainder, and the grant provided that the title should descend to the male issue of his second marriage. Doubtless the Viscount and his lady (Angelica Magdalena) attended the coronation of King George II on 11th October 1727, and their portraits in coronation robes survive in the collection at Old Battersea House. (The ascription of these portraits to Kneller is quite untenable — Sir Godfrey died in 1724.) John succeeded to the title on his father's death in 1742, but between that date and his own death in 1748 there was no coronation, for King George III was not crowned till 22nd September 1760. There is, of course, nothing to prevent a peer from posing for his portrait in coronation finery, and John and his wife evidently did so for the two pairs of portraits at Lydiard Park. But even if John secured admission to the Abbey — as son and heir of a peer — for the coronation of George II in 1727, we may be sure that he was not wearing the robes of a viscount, and Anne Furnese did not become his wife till 1729. All four portraits were presumably painted after 1742, those of Anne not later than 1747 and those of John not later than 1748. It seems probable that they posed in the robes that John's parents had worn in 1727.

The situation in *Iolanthe* is, of course, thoroughly Gilbertian,. The peers are wearing coronets on an occasion that is not a coronation, and they are wearing them with robes — those of the Garter, the Thistle, or the Bath — that are not coronation robes.

The record of Bolingbroke's membership of the House of Lords from July 1712 till his attainder in September 1715 provides particularly interesting evidence of the wearing of parliamentary robes by peers, and happily the Journals of the House of Lords give full information of the attendances of peers and details of the procedures. By Letters Patent dated 7th July 1712, Queen Anne created Henry St.John a Peer of Great Britain by the style and title of Baron St.John of Lydiard Tregoze in the county of Wilts, and Viscount Bolingbroke. This massive document in Latin with the Great Seal attached has not survived, but its text is preserved in the enrolment at the Public Record Office. One unusual detail of the grant was the provision that in default of heirs male of his body the peerage should pass on his death to his father, who was at that time a mere baronet, and the heirs male of *his* body. Accordingly — the following quotations are from the Lords' *Journals* — on Tuesday, the 8th July 1712.

Henry St.John Esquire, One of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, being, by Letters Patents, dated Septimo Die Julii, Undecimo Annae Reginae, created Baron St.John of Lidiard Tregoze in the County of Wilts, and Viscount Bullingbrook, was this Day (in his Robes) introduced, between the Lord High Treasurer [(Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford] and the Lord Trevor (also in their robes): the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, the Earl of Abingdon in the absence of the Lord Great Chamberlain, and One of the Heralds officiating for Garter King at Arms, carrying the said Letters Patents, preceding.

A newly-created peer presented his letters patent in addition to his writ of summons to the House; peers succeeding to titles generally presented their writ of summons only. Accordingly :

His Lordship presented the same to the Lord Keeper, on his Knee, at the Woolsack; who gave them to the Clerk; which were read, at the Table.

His Writ of Summons was also read, as follows:
(videlicet,)-----

Then his Lordship was placed at the Lower End of the Earls Bench; and came to the Table, and took the Oaths, and made and subscribed the Declaration, and also took and subscribed the Oath of Abjuration, pursuant to the Statutes.

The Letters Patent and the Writ of Summons were both in Latin, and it is probable that the reading of the full text of the two documents took some 20-25 minutes.

“The oaths”, which were taken orally, were — *mutatis mutandis* — in the terms prescribed by 1 Wm. and M.c.I, para 4 (1689):

A — the oath of Allegiance: I A.B. Doe sincerely Promise
and Swear that I will be Faithfull and beare true
Allegiance to Their Majestyes King William and Queene Mary
Soe helpe me God.

B - the oath of Supremacy: I A.B. Doe Swear that I doe
from my Heart Abhor Detest and Abjure as Impious and
Hereticall that damnable Doctorine and Position that
Princes Excommunicated by the Pope or any Authoritie of
the See of Rome may be deposed or murdered by their Subjects
or any other whatsoever And I doe Declare that no Forreigne
Prince, Person, Prelate State or Potentate hath or ought to
have any Power Jurisdiction Superiority Preeminence or
Authoritie Ecclesiasticall or Spirituall within this Realme
So helpe me God.

The “declaration” against Roman Catholic doctrines and practices had first been formulated in the Test Act of 25 Car.II c.2, para.8 (1673) and expanded in 30 Car.II (1678).

I A.B. Do solemnly and sincerely in the presence of God
profess testify and Declare, That I do believe That in
the Sacrament of The Lords Supper There is not any
Transubstantiation of the Elements of Bread and Wine into
the Body and Blood of Christ — That the Invocation or
Adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint and the
Sacrifice of the Mass — are Superstitious & Idolatrous
and — I do make this Declaration — in the plain and
ordinary sence of the words read unto me — without any
— mental Reservation whatsoever and without any
Dispensation — by the Pope — or without any hope of
any such Dispensation or without thinking that I can be
acquitted before God or Man —.

The terms of the oath of Abjuration had been prescribed in 13/14 13/14 Wm.III, c.6, para. 1 (1701) and repeated *mutatis mutandis* in L Anne c.16 (1702):

I A.B. do Truly and Sincerely Acknowledge — and Declare
in my Conscience before God and the World that Our
Sovereign Lady Queen Anne is Lawful and Rightful Queen of
this Realm — and — that the person pretended to be
Prince of Wales during the life of the late King James,
and since his decease pretending to be, and taking upon

himself the Stile and Title of King of England by the name of James the Third — hath not any Right or Title whatsoever to the Crown of this Realm — And I do Renounce — any Allegiance of Obedience to him. And — I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to her Majesty Queen Anne and her will Defend to the utmost of my Power against all Traiterous Conspiracies, and Attempts whatsoever — and I will do my best Endeavour to Disclose — all Treasons and Traiterous Conspiracies — against Her — And — to Support Maintain and Defend the Limitation and Succession of the Crown [To the Hānoverian, Protestant line] against him the said James. And all these things I do plainly — swear according to these express words by me spoken — And I do make this Recognition — Heartily, Willingly, and Truly upon the true Faith of a Christian. So Help me God.

The full text of each form of words was written at the head of a long roll, and to each roll the new peer added his signature and the date, using the spelling Bolingbroke. (In the Letters Patent, the Writ of Summons, and the entry in the Journal for that day the spelling is Bullingbrook, though the marginal note in the printed edition has Bolingbroke. But other variants — Bolingbrooke, Bullingbrooke, and Bullingbroke — occur before Bolingbroke establishes itself. Even so, as late as 1754 the writ summoning Frederick, 2nd Viscount, had the spelling Bullingbrooke.)

The only remaining business of that sitting was the Prorogation of Parliament. Instead of attending in person, the Queen had appointed a Commission of seven members for this purpose, with power to any three or more to act — *aliquibus Tribus vel pluribus vestrum*. On this occasion three Lords Commissioners — in their Robes — acted; Black Rod was commanded to inform the Commons *The commissioners desire their immediate attendance in the House of Peers, to hear the Commission read*; on their arrival with their Speaker the Commission, in Latin, was read; and the Lord Keeper said, *In Obedience to Her Majesty's Commands, we do, in Her Majesty's Name, prorogue this Parliament to Thursday the One and Thirtieth Day of this Instant July*.

During the next two years Bolingbroke, being a Principal Secretary of State, was generally included in the Commissions for opening or proroguing Parliament or for conveying the Royal Assent to Statutes, and he actually functioned, in his robes, as one of the three or more who acted on three occasions. But when the Sovereign attended Parliament in person for these purposes or to read the Speech from the Throne at the beginning or end of a Session, all the peers present wore their parliamentary robes. Bolingbroke was present on six such occasions.

But in some ways Bolingbroke may be regarded as having reached the pinnacle of his public career when Parliament attended a service of Public Thanksgiving for the Treaty of Utrecht, of which he was the architect, on 7th July 1713. On 9th May he had reported to the House a message from Her Majesty about the treaties with France and Spain, and on 4th July the Lords had resolved :

That all the Lords do go in their robes to St.Paul's next Tuesday for a service of Public Thanksgiving — to go from this House in their robes — no Lord to have more than two horses to his coach.

Accordingly, at the appropriate moment on the 7th,

The House was adjourned to robe — in order to their proceeding to the Solemnity of the Public Thanksgiving.

The Queen had signified her intention to be present, and the children of the Charity Schools — the schools established under the stimulus of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which had been recommended by the Queen in 1711 — were to sing three quatrains with nine Allelujahs as the Queen went to the Cathedral and three more quatrains with Allelujahs as before as she returned. Doubtless to the great disappointment of the children Her Majesty changed her plan and decided to go from Kensington to St.James's *to return Thanks to God for the Peace in Her own Chappell* there. In the Cathedral the sermon was preached by George Hooper, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, and was afterwards printed; but there was no Richard Dimpleby to set the scene at the entrance to St.Paul's or within it, and although the Press wrote long articles in praise of the Treaty, with diatribes against the Whigs, who were conspicuously absent, there is — as far as the present writer yet knows — no report of the ovation that Bolingbroke presumably received from the crowd on Ludgate Hill. A well-known print drawn and engraved by George Vertue in 1715 shows, or claims to show — in two halves each 14¹/₄" high and 25" wide — *near IV thousand CHARITT CHILDREN Boys and Girls, being new cloathed massed upon a Machine extended in length 620feet, which had in breadth eight ranges of seats one above another.* (In fact, by artist's licence, the number of children in the print is near 1400.) The "machine" was erected on the north side of the Strand, and stretched from Exeter Change, some yards to the west of the present Lancaster Place (at the north end of Waterloo Bridge), to the Maypole (which is shown in the print) near the site of the present church of St.Mary le Strand. During the whole procession of both Houses of Parliament, *which lasted near three Hours, they sung & repeated the Hymns which were prepared upon the expectation of her Majesty's Royal Presence.* The foreground shows ten coaches, each drawn by two horses, with coachman and four or five footmen, and the full text of the two hymns is incorporated in the design.

Congratulatory addresses to the Queen were also presented from various boroughs, the deputations from the Town and Port of Faversham, Kent, and Ludgershall, Wilts., being introduced by Viscount Bolingbroke, and the one from Wilton, Wilts., being led by his kinsman Charles Mompesson, Esq., one of their representatives in Parliament. But the most significant direct reference to Bolingbroke comes from the report of the celebrations at Newbury, Berks., in *The Post-Boy* for 9th — 11th July. During the celebrations there on 7th July the bells were rung, and the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Burgesses met in the Town Hall and went to church, where the sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr Hinton, the Rector. Afterwards there was a very splendid dinner at the charge of the Corporation, and those present drank Her Majesty's Health with repeated Acclamations of Joy. Several loyal Healths were likewise drunk, particularly that of the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, his Lordship being High Steward of the said Borough. The evening was concluded with ringing of Bells, Bonfires, Illuminations, and all other publick demonstrations of Joy suitable to so great an Occasion.

About a twelvemonth later on Sunday, 1st August 1714 — Queen Anne died, and Bolingbroke was among the Peers who during a special sitting of the Lords on that day *took the Oaths, and made and subscribed the Declaration and took and subscribed the Oath of Abjuration, pursuant to the Statues*. But he was not among the persons who had been nominated in advance by the Queen's successor as "Lords Justices" to exercise the functions of the Crown during the interval between the Queen's death and the arrival of King George from Hanover. In fact, he was dismissed from office before the King arrived, but he was present in the Lords on two occasions on which the Lords Justices attended, and the peers wore their robes because the Lords Justices were exercising the functions of the Sovereign. It would appear therefore that in all Bolingbroke wore his parliamentary robes on thirteen official occasions.

Bolingbroke was present in the Abbey on 10th October 1714, when King George was crowned, and this was the only official occasion on which he wore his coronation robes (as in No.2 at Lydiard Park and No.593 at the National Portrait Gallery). The King, who had not previously seen him, is said to have noticed him particularly. With the other Viscounts Bolingbroke did fealty and homage to the new King, using the words :

I, - , Viscount - , do become your liege man of life and limb, and of earthly worship; and faith and truth shall bear unto you, to live and die with you against all manner of folk. So help me God.

On the following 21st March, when a new Parliament assembled after the general election, Bolingbroke again "took the oaths" etc., and he attended in the Lords on the 22nd and the 23rd. But he had received warning of the proceedings that the Whigs were preparing against him, and just before the end of the month he fled in disguise to

France. During the second half of 1715 he held office at the court of the Old Pretender, was made “Earl of Bolingbroke” by him — a creation that has never been officially recognized — and helped to organize the Jacobite rising of 1715.

On 6th August 1715, a message was brought by Mr Walpole and others from the House of Commons to the House of Lords declaring that:

The Commons assembled in Parliament, having received Information of divers traitorous Practices and Designs of a great Peer of this House, Henry Viscount Bolingbroke, have commanded me to impeach the said Henry Viscount Bolingbroke of High Treason, and other high Crimes and Misdemeanours.

The full charge runs to six-and-a-half columns in the printed Lords’ Journals. In the following summary its terms have been drastically shortened, but in the main the original wording has been retained.

Preamble — A Treaty of Alliance, 7 th September 1701, between the Emperor of Germany, King William III, and The States General of the United Provinces [^Holland] had provided that neither Party should *treat of Peace with the Enemy unless jointly*. Another treaty of November 1701 between King William III and the States General had confirmed an earlier treaty of 1678 by which it was agreed *that no Peace nor Truce or Suspension of Arms shall be negotiated — without it being done conjointly and with common Consent*. A further Treaty of 1703 between Queen Anne and the States General had renewed and confirmed these Treaties and Alliances. In April 1711 the French King had made Propositions of Peace to Her Majesty, which she communicated to the Ministers of the States General, but she declared to them by Henry Bolingbroke that *the said Propositions were too general — and that, in making Peace, as in making War, she would act in perfect Concert with them*, in which Sentiments the States concurred with reciprocal Assurances of mutual Confidence.

Nevertheless — Article 1 — Henry Viscount Bolingbroke did in July or August 1711 *set on foot a private, separate, dishonourable, and destructive Negotiation of Peace between Great Britain and France without any communication thereof to Her Majesty’s Allies*. Moreover, he advised the Queen to send Mathew Prior Esquire *directly to the Court of France to make Propositions of Peace without communicating the same to Her Majesty’s Allies*, and accordingly Prior was sent in a clandestine manner to France, and an express Article was inserted in the said Propositions *that the Secret should be inviolably kept, till allowed to be divulged by the mutual consent of both Parties*-, although at an earlier stage the French King had offered to treat with England and Holland alone, or jointly with all the Allies, at the Choice of England. The resulting Peace was more advantageous to France than ever France had asked; and had enabled the common enemy to create incurable Jealousies and Discords between Her Majesty and Her faithful Allies.

Further — Article II — in August 1711 the French King had sent Monsieur Mesnager into England to carry on a separate and clandestine Negotiation of Peace, Bolingbroke did secretly treat with the said Sieur Mesnager and did advise a private and separate Treaty between the said Crowns without any communication thereof to Her Majesty's Allies. In addition Bolingbroke did treacherously advise the Queen to sign Powers to several Persons for concluding on Her Behalf a pernicious Treaty with France, and on 27th September 1711, a dishonourable Treaty was signed by Mesnager on behalf of France and by the Earl of Dartmouth and Bolingbroke by which the interests of Britain were given up to France, the Duke of Anjou [a grandson of the French King] remained King of Spain, and the Balance of Power in Europe was thrown into the hands of the House of Bourbon.

Moreover — Article III — in October 1711 the Queen instructed her Ambassador to the States General to communicate to them certain Propositions of Peace and also her Resolution concerning the prosecution of the war against France and Spain. But Bolingbroke did falsely, maliciously, and traitorously disclose these Instructions to the said Sieur Mesnager and did inform Monsieur de Torcy Secretary of State to the French King by what Person and by what Means he might come to the Knowledge of Her Majesty's said Instructions.

Furthermore — Article IV — while the plenipotentiaries of Queen Anne, her Allies, and the French King were negotiating at Utrecht, January — March 1711 (O.S.) and there was still open war between the Queen and the French King, Bolingbroke did on 4th March falsely, maliciously, and traitorously communicate and disclose Her Majesty's final Instructions to her Plenipotentiaries — or did approve that they be disclosed, as in fact they were — to Abbot Gaultier, an Emissary of the French King, and did inform M. De Torcy that the said Gaultier was informed of Her Majesty's said Instructions.

In addition — Article V — in the autumn of 1712 the fortress of Tournay was held by the States General; and the French King had agreed that the fortress should remain to the States General as part of Their Barrier; the Queen had instructed her Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht to insist that Tournay should remain to the States General. But Bolingbroke did in October 1712, while the war continued, counsel and advise the said Enemy in what Manner, and by what Methods Tournay might be gained from the States General to the French King.

Finally — Article VI — to preserve a due Balance of Power in Europe the Queen had stood engaged to her Allies and in Particular to His Imperial Majesty for the recovery of the Monarchy of Spain to the House of Austria, but the Duke of Anjou had styled himself King of Spain and had acknowledged the Old Pretender as King of Great Britain. In consequence Her Majesty had at a vast Expence of Blood and Treasure prosecuted a vigorous War against the said Duke of Anjou, but while the War continued Bolingbroke did falsely, maliciously, wickedly, and traitorously, aid, help, and assist,

and adhere to the said Duke of Anjou, and did advise and counsel the Enemies of Her late Majesty, and in such counselling did concert with them the yielding and giving up Spain and the West Indies to the said Duke of Anjou then in Enmity with Her Majesty.

For which Matters and Things — runs the concluding paragraph — the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons do impeach the said Henry Viscount Bolingbroke of High Treason; and do pray that the said Henry Viscount Bolingbroke be put to answer all and every the Premises, and may be sequestered from Parliament and forthwith committed to safe Custody.

Accordingly the House then ordered :

That the said Henry Viscount Bolingbroke be forthwith attached by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, and brought to the Bar of this House, to answer to the said Articles,

and informed the Commons of the order. But Bolingbroke failed to return from France to answer the charges, and Parliament passed the Act of Attainder (1 Geo.I, ch. 16) declaring :

— that if the said Henry Viscount Bolingbroke shall not Render himself to the Usher of the Black Rod —, or the Constable or Lieutenant of the Tower of London — in Order to his Trial in Parliament, at or before the Tenth Day of September next ensuing, and also Abide his Legal Trial for the Treasons, High Crimes and Misdemeanours, whereof he stands Impeached —, then the said Henry Viscount Bolingbroke, not Rending himself, or not Abiding his Legal Trial, — shall — stand and be adjudged Attainted of High Treason, — and shall Suffer and Forfeit as a Person Attainted of High Treason by the Laws of the Land ought to Suffer and Forfeit.

The Royal Assent was given by King George in person on 20th August.

Bolingbroke failed to “render himself” by the date named in the Act, and on 14th September the Deputy Lieutenant of the Tower of London and the Usher of the Black Rod were called into the House of Lords and reported this fact concerning Bolingbroke and another peer who was under similar obligation. Whereupon the House ordered :

That the Earl Marshal of England do cause the names of — and Henry Viscount Bolingbroke to be razed out of the Roll of Peers in this House and likewise out of all Books and Lists in the Heralds Office.

Moreover, on 17th September the Lord Chancellor acquainted the House

That — Mr Le Neve, Norroy King at Arms delivered to his Lordship a Warrant from the Earl of Suffolk, Deputy Earl Marshall of England directing the said Le Neve to raze the names of — and Henry Viscount Bolingbroke out of the Roll of Peers. The said Le Neve was thereupon, by direction of the House, called in; and having, at the Table razed the Names of the said — and Henry Viscount Bolingbroke out of the said Roll, he withdrew.

Eight years later (in 1723) Bolingbroke was granted a Royal Pardon, which meant that he could return to England without the risk of execution as a traitor. Late in June he came to England on a short visit, and *The Daily Post* for 2nd July reported :

Great Rejoycings were made at Battersea on Friday last, upon the *late* [présent writer's italics — the journalist was more precise than most writers] Lord Viscount Bolingbroke's Arrival there, where his Father the Lord Viscount St. John hath a pleasant seat, is Lord of the Manour, and much respected. A stately Bonfire was made on that Occasion, and a Hogshead of Strong Beer given among the Populace to drink his Health. Next morning he set out from thence.

A shorter report in *The Daily Journal* of the same date contains the significant words — *notwithstanding all Precautions to the contrary, some of the People were for shewing a Satisfaction, in their Way, at his Presence.* (Jacobitism was still a live issue. Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, had just been banished for life for Jacobite intrigue, it is not impossible that the two men met in Calais.) The Churchwardens' accounts record a payment of twelve shillings *For ringing when my Ford Bullingbrook came to towne.*

Two years later an Act of Parliament restored to him the right to inherit and acquire real estate in England. But his peerage and the right to take part in public life were never restored to him. Consequently he had no right to attend the coronation of King George III (1727) in his coronation robes, or to wear his parliamentary robes on appropriate occasions in the Lords, and, in fact, he did not wear a peer's robes for any of his later portraits. But the attainder did not annul the special provision for the succession of his viscounty. Consequently, on his death in 1751 his peerage passed — notionally - through his father Henry, 1st Viscount St. John, and his half-brother, John, 2nd Viscount St. John, who were both dead — to his nephew of the half-blood Frederick, who was already 3rd Viscount St. John, and thus became 2nd Viscount Bolingbroke as well. The present holder of the title is accordingly 6th Viscount Bolingbroke and 7th Viscount St. John.

Addendum re 1st Viscount St.John.

When Henry St.John the younger (later Bolingbroke) entered Parliament early in 1701 public opinion was surprised that his member of a Whig family attached himself to Harley's group of Tories; and when he was at the height of his power in 1712 the new French ambassador commented that his father was "Wight [*sic.* i.e., Whig] aussy outre que le fils est Thorris [*sic.* i.e., Tory]". For evidence that Sir Walter was a Whig see *Report No.2*, p.7. Early in the reign of King George I Henry the elder and his wife were moving in very high Society. Lady St.John visited, and was visited by, the Viscountess Cowper, Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess of Wales, and *The Weekly Packet* for the last week of December 1714 reported :

His Majesty has likewise honoured Sir Henry St.John, father to the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke; with his Royal Presence at dinner.

By the middle of February rumour had it that Sir Henry St.John was to be made an earl. But second thoughts prevailed, and delay ensued. It was realized that such a mark of royal favour would infallibly damp the prosecution that the King was driving against Bolingbroke in the next session of Parliament. Consequently, it was not until nearly a year after the Act of Attainder had been passed that the newspapers were reporting :

His Majesty has been also pleased to create Sir Richard Onslow, Bart., and Sir Henry St.John, Bart., Peers of this Kingdom — and the latter by the Title of Lord Battersey and Viscount St.John.

Various writers have offered explanations, e.g., *by which the Toss which the Family sustained by the Attainder was repaired* (1752); *for his great worth* (1797); *half a century's service in the cause of freedom* (1884); *so as to lessen the stigma of his own ['Bolingbroke's] attainder* (1936). The Letters Patent, dated 2nd July 1716, contain a long Latin rigmarole harking back to the new peer's Ewyas, Tregoze, Grandison, and Beauchamp forebears, and in particular to the Oliver who had become Baron Tregoze and Viscount Grandison, and in general terms to many other members of the family distinguished at home and in war. More briefly, the Letters Patent of 6th May 1719, granting supporters to the new Viscount, mention, in English, *the Great Vertues, Illustrious Antiquity, and Noble Extraction* of the new peer. But the diary of the Countess Cowper recorded, under date 8th July 1716, *Everybody believes that the Ehiches of Munster [the King's mistress] had 5,000 l.for making Ford St.John a Tord.*

The new peer, escorted by Viscount Townsend and Viscount Longueville, took his seat on the following 20th February with the ceremonial described above, and attended seven of the next ten sittings of the House. His son John, the second Viscount St.John,

took his seat with the same ceremonial — except that the writ of summons was in English — on 28th April 1742, and attended sittings fairly often, particularly in March 1746/7 during the trial of Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, for his part in the Jacobite rising of 1745.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS - 2

Sir Giles and Lady Katherine Mompesson

translation by the Rev. J.T. Wharton, M.A.,
biography by Mr F.T. Smallwood, M.A., F.S.A.

TRANSCRIPTION

M. S. FAEM^{RVM} OPTAE DNAE KATHERINAE MOMPESSESSON FORMA
PVDICITIA CONSTANTIA PIETATE OMNIQ VIRTVTVM GENERE
PRAESTANTISSIMAE IOHANNIS S^T IOHN DE LIDIARD TREGOZE
BARONETTI SORORIS NATV MAXIMAE: EDGIDII MOMPESSESSON EX
ANTIQVA FAMILIA DE BATHAMPTON, IN COMITATV WILTIS EQVITIS
AVRATI CONIVGIS CHARISSIMAE: QVI QVIDEM EGIDVIS VIGINTI SEX
ANNORVM MATRIMONIO FAELICITER PERACT: MINI ME OBLITVS (ADHVC
SVPERSTES) HOC SEPVLCHRVM CONDIDIT, VBI SVAS ETIAM CINERES
(QVVM ACCIDERIT) REPONIIVSSIT.

OBIIT XXVIII MARTII

A° DNI 1633

SISTE VIATOR

DEFUNCTORVM MORES

NON VT FIGVRAS PHIDIANA

PERLEGE

CONFECTAS MANV DISCVTIAS

EXPANSION OF TEXT

Memoriae sanctum faeminarum optimae Katherinae Mompesson forma pudicitia constantia pietate omnique virtutum genere praestantissimae Johannis St.John de Lidiard Tregoze baronetti sororis natu maximae: Egidii Mompesson ex antiqua familia de Bathampton in comitatu Wiltoniensis equitis aurati coniugis charissimae: qui quidem Egidius viginti sex annorum matrimonio faeliciter peractorum minime oblitus (adhuc superstes) hoc sepulchrum condidit. Ubi suas etiam cineres (quum acciderit) reponi iussit.
Obiit XXVIII Martii anno domini 1633

Siste viator
non ut figures Phidiana
confectas manu discutias

defunctorum mores
perlege

TRANSLATION

Sacred to the memory of the best of women, the lady Katherine Mompesson, peerless in beauty, chastity, constancy, piety, and every form of virtue, the eldest sister of John St.John of Lydiard Tregoze, Baronet, and dearest wife of Giles Mompesson of the ancient family of Bathampton in the County of Wiltshire, knight.^A This Giles, fully mindful of twenty-six years of happy married life (being still alive) has made this tomb,^B where he has given orders for his ashes to be laid (when the day shall come).

She died on 28 March 1633.

Stay, traveller, not to damage
these effigies made by the
sculptor's hand.

Read in full the ways
of those now dead.

NOTES

- A. The latin has 'eques auratus', literally 'golden knight'. Translation difficulties have been avoided in rendering it merely as 'knight'. The same words appear on the monument to the 1st Viscount Grandison at Battersea. In *Our Lady ofBatersey*, p.171, J.G. Taylor renders them 'a peerless Knight'. Mr A. Cohn Cole, Windsor Herald of Arms, writes in a letter, *It is possible to regard one described as 'equest auratus' as a member of one of the accepted orders of*

Knighthood whereas the term 'miles' is of more general application as regards anyone who enjoys the degree of Knighthood. However true this may be in general, it does not hold for the St.John memorials. Grandison and Mompesson are *equites aurati* but the 1st Baronet is a *miles*, yet all three were knights bachelor. The association of gold with the degree of knighthood is interesting; gilt spurs used to be presented to a newly-created knight as part of the dubbing ceremony.

B. Mrs Esdaile in her *English Church Monuments 1510-1840*, p.54, speaks of *that first of English Conversation Pieces, the enchanting Mompesson monument at Eydiard Trégoze.* Nikolaus Pevsner in *The Buildings of England, Wiltshire*, p.285 describes it as *a delightful piece, full of pensive melancholy.*

The monument is placed on the south wall of the St.John chapel above a doorway, 6' 7" from the floor.

Dimensions:

| | |
|--------------------------|-------|
| Height | 9' 7" |
| Width of base | 8' 6" |
| Height of seated figures | 5' 8" |

The grey-painted figures are in profile, facing each other, and seated in two arched niches, the reveals of which have decorated and painted panels. Sir Giles, wearing armour and complete with spurs, is seated on a solid stool, a crested helmet between his legs, holding an open book. Lady Mompesson is seated with her left hand resting on a skull.

Two Corinthian columns support an entablature bearing a pediment within a broken pediment, the latter supporting heraldic details. On the left, the crest of the Mompessons — a plume of three ostrich feathers Or on a torse Argent and Gules. On the right, the St.John falcon, ducally gorged, with a crescent for difference on its breast, on a torse Argent and Gules. In the centre, a cartouche decorated with swags of fruit on along scroll against a background of drapery. The arms are :

| | | | | | |
|----|-----------|---|---------|----|----|
| | Mompesson | | St.John | | |
| 12 | 3 | | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 4 | 5 | 6 | 10 | 11 | 12 |

Mompesson, (The tinctures are missing except for the lions in 1 and 6, the Ermine in 2 and 3.),

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 1 and 6 | Argent, a lion rampant Sable [(charged on the shoulder with a martlet of the field] (Mompesson of Bathampton) |
| 2 | [Cmics], a chevron Ermine between 3 leopards' faces [Or] (Goodwin of Gillingham, Dorset) |
| 3 | Ermine, a lion passant [Gules] (Drewe of Devon and Wilts) |
| 4 | [Azure], a fess between 3 leopards' faces [jessant-de-lis] [Or] (Watkins of Wilts) |
| 5 | [-----], a tower triple turretted [-----] and in chief 3 roundels (?) |

| | |
|----|---|
| 7 | St.John with a crescent for difference. |
| 8 | Tregoze |
| 9 | Patshull |
| 10 | Grandison |
| 11 | Beauchamp without mullet for difference |
| 12 | Hungerford (St.John) |

(The order ought to be St.John, Beauchamp, Patshull, Grandison, Tregoze, Hungerford.)

BIOGRAPHY

The most easily accessible account of Sir Giles Mompesson is to be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; but from the point of view of The Friends of Lydiard Tregoze it is regrettable that the article is inaccurate on five details of his connection with the Wiltshire St.Johns. His wife Catharine is described as *a younger daughter of Sir John St.John*, but, as every “Friend” knows, she was the eldest daughter; and he is said to have married her *about 1612*, which is contradicted by the monumental inscription recording her death in 1633 after 26 years of happy married life. (This means that Giles married Catharine about 1607.) The next errors follow almost inevitably, for *The lady’s elder sister, Barbara, was already the wife of Sir Edward Villiers*”. Barbara was, in fact, Sir John’s fifth daughter, as the triptych indicates, and married Villiers about 1612. This inauspicious beginning is followed at a later point by a reference (1612) to Mompesson’s *father-in-law, Sir John St.John*. But this gentleman — the central figure on the triptych — had died in 1594, and the gentleman involved in the 1621 arrangement was Mompesson’s brother-in-law, Sir John St.John, 1st Baronet. The narrative continues, *In the same year 1621 Mompesson petitioned Charles I to.....* But Charles I did not succeed till 1625. A new article correcting these and other inaccuracies and filling certain gaps would appear to be desirable.

Every schoolboy knows that from 1629 to 1640 Charles I ruled without Parliament, that he raised funds by enforcing ship money in time of peace and extending it to inland counties, that John Hampden resisted, and that Oliver St.John (later Sir Walter St.John’s father-in-law) made his reputation by his defence of Hampden in the trial. The schoolboy’s memory of all this is strengthened by Thomas Gray’s immortal tribute to

Some village-Hampden, that with dauntless breast
The little tyrant of his fields withstood.

But not every schoolboy remembers that in certain ways history was repeating itself; that for six-and-a-half years — from June 1614 to January 1620/1 — James I ruled without Parliament; that during that period he raised money by means that were regarded as extortionate and even illegal; that Chief Justice Sir Edward Coke resisted; and that when at last Parliament did assemble the storm quickly burst. It centred first on Sir Giles Mompesson, with Coke as leading Spokesman for the King’s critics.

The Parliament that King James had summoned to meet at Westminster on 16th January 1620/1, made a comparatively slow start, for the King twice prorogued it for a week. On the 30th the Commons were summoned to the Lords to hear the King's Speech (in Latin). Then Mr Speaker was elected with the customary show of reluctance on his part and the customary show of physical force by his proposer and seconder. On Saturday, 3rd February, the King gave his official approval to their choice, and the Commons forthwith re-asserted their ancient right to discuss matters other than those that the King put before them by giving a First Reading to *An Act for Limitation of Actions and for avoiding Suits in Law* (an Act of which nothing more was heard) *as a Matter of Course, and Form, used in former Parliaments*. On Monday, 5th February, the Commons began a full-dress discussion of the subjects that had accumulated since they last met — four, in particular.

- (1) With lively memories of Gunpowder Treason (1605) the House noted with concern the increased number of *recusants* (Roman Catholics), particularly Jesuit priests, and their increased liberty of movement.
- (2) The King's daughter Elizabeth was married to Frederick, the Protestant Elector of the Rhenish Palatinate, who had unwisely accepted an invitation to become King of (Protestant) Bohemia. (This marriage is very important in English history because (a) one of the children, Prince Rupert, was prominent as a Royalist commander during the Civil War and later as a Protestant peer (see *Report I.Ao.2*, p.7); and (b) another, Sophia, married the Elector of Hanover, became the mother of King George I, and so formed the link between our Stuart and Hanoverian dynasties.) But the Palatinate had been overrun by the (Roman Catholic) Spaniards from the Netherlands, and Bohemia by the Roman Catholics from Austria. The King saw the necessity of making at least a show of support for his son-in-law, more seriously in respect of the Palatinate than of remote Bohemia. But he hoped to help Frederick more by friendship with Spain and the marriage of the English heir to a Spanish princess — Spain might consent to withdraw from the Palatinate — than by armed intervention. The Commons were not convinced.
- (3) Supply, i.e. provision of moneys by *the King's own Wants*.
- (4) Grievances, which had *increased in this long Intermission*.

The Commons very astutely agreed that “Supply” and “Grievances” should *go hand in hand, be as twins*, and be dealt with *pan passu*. The King could hardly refuse to redress grievances when the Commons were willing to make *a free gift to the King of Two Subsidies, without any Question made*. On the same day the House adopted Coke's motion that *the Grievances may be set down* and a statement prepared by *A Committee of Grievances, of the whole House*.

On the following day the House discussed one grievance in particular. On the one hand there was such a scarcity of currency that traders could not pay cash for their purchase;

on the other hand *the shew of the Goldsmiths' Shops in Cheapside fwasp the greatest in Christendom!*. The importation of gold had been stopped by a patent; bullion and currency had been melted down to make gold and silver lace, and so £40,000 per annum was lost in bullion. The House referred the subject to the Committee of Grievances, and added on the 16th that throughout the Session Mondays and Fridays should be devoted to grievances. But soon the House moved on to grievances relating to the licensing of inns, and here Sir Giles Mompesson was heavily involved.

Giles (alias Gyles; Latin Egidius) Mompesson (alias Monperson, Moupesson, Monparson, Mompardon, Mompas, and probably others) was born in 1584 of an ancient Wiltshire family with many branches and holding properties in many places in the County, particularly Salisbury and Bathampton. He matriculated at Oxford, but does not seem to have taken a degree. At St.John's, Hackney, on 3rd February 1606/7, he married Catharine, eldest daughter of Sir John St.John, Kt., of Lydiard Tregoze, and therefore eldest sister of the John St.John who was knighted in 1609 and became a baronet of the first creation in 1611. In 1614 he was returned as a Burgess of Great Bedwin to the short Parliament [*the Addled Parliament*] that was summoned to meet on 5th April and was dissolved on 7th June, and again for the same Borough on 22nd December 1620. Mompesson was well connected with influential people in the high politics of the time, for his sister-in-law Barbara St.John married in or about 1611 Edward Villiers, half-brother of King James's powerful favourite George Villiers, later Earl, Marquess, and eventually Duke of Buckingham. His wife's uncle, Oliver St.John, was Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Sir Allan Apsley, Lieutenant of the Tower, was one of her brothers-in-law.

The suggestion that King James should take action about inns came from Mompesson late in 1615 or early in 1616. (The story is long and complicated; that of the monopoly for gold and silver thread is even more complicated; and the brevity needed in the present article involved the risk of some measure of obscurity.) The licensing of ale-houses was the business of the local Justices of the Peace, but the practice of these Justices varied greatly from place to place, and abuses arose. But the licensing of *innes and common hostenes* was the business of the Justices of Assize, who *by reason of their other manyfolde ymployments — cannot have leisure to take sufficient information whoe may befit persons for such licences*. The King sought legal advice from his Attorney-General, Sir Francis Bacon, who desired not to bear the responsibility alone. The King then associated three other eminent lawyers with Bacon, and received, orally, their opinion that the proposed scheme was legally in order. *Forpointe of conveniencie* His Majesty referred the subject to four more eminent lawyers, and, as they thought fit, a patent — the first of four — was drawn up. The preamble declared that since the fifth year of the reign of King Edward VI (15 51) *dyvers and sondry persons fhadj taken upon them of their owne heade and without anie lawful authority to keepe innes*

Nevertheless, mannie of the said persons are meete and convenient to keepe innes and dwell in howses and places fit for itt.

Accordingly the King authorized Mompesson and two other Commissioners to survey all the inns in the kingdom, to inform themselves of the due keeping of the assizes of bread and horsemeat (see below), and to draw up licences for men of substance and honest life to keep inns with a yearly rent reserved to the Crown. Unless the proposed innkeeper was a person of ill-fame, the Justices of Assize were bound to sign the licence, receiving five shillings for every signature. The three commissioners were to receive 100 per annum apiece, with an additional 100 to Mompesson as receiver of the rents and fines. Further authorizations extended Mompesson's powers and increased his emoluments — he and his brother Thomas were to receive one-fifth of the profits of the business, and Mompesson was to recover his legal and other disbursements.

Five years later the Commons questioned the legality of the new procedure. They said that *keeping of an inne or hostery is a trade or mistene and free by the common LLawe, and it is not a franchise [i.e., a privilege], nor hath been so reputed to be*". They could not find evidence that such franchises had every been claimed from the Justices in Eyre, that anybody had been impeached by writ for keeping an inn, or that documents granting such franchises had every been issued. The scheme was therefore an attempt to introduce a new law without the assent of Peers and Commons, with the danger that the novelty might be extended to other trades and mysteries that were free. If innkeeping were a franchise — which it was not — the power of granting should be a "regality", not communicated to common persons. In any case, the Justices were bound to sign such licenses as Mompesson made, which was a *blemishment of their estimation*.

Two statutes dated from 13 Richard II (1389-90) and 4 Henry IV (1402-3) were also involved. These provided that *the ostler may not sell or utter oates at more then one hale penny upon the bushell above the price at which he buyeth it in the market*. Inflation is no new thing. At the time of those statutes a halfpenny was more than a labourer's wage for a day, but by Mompesson's time it was a twelfth part of a man's wages for a day. Consequently no innkeeper who observed this obsolete state could live. But the patent of 4th November 1618, gave Mompesson the power to assess reasonable rates for horsemeat for the innkeepers whom he licensed and no others. The Commons objected to this grant to Mompesson to dispense with penal laws, especially as he granted dispensation only to those whom he licensed to his personal advantage.

Although the first patent was prepared in October 1616 it was not sealed by the Lord Chancellor till March following, not because he was unsure of its legality, but because he was ill and also because he was annoyed that his son had not been appointed President of Wales. Even so, he did not seal the document until after King James had applied pressure by a personal visit. In the meantime Mompesson had been knighted on

18 th November 1616, a propos of which Bacon wrote that he was glad *because he may the better fight with the 'Bull and the Bear', and the 'Saracen's Head', and such fearful creatures.*

Doubt of the legality of the scheme was not universal: Coke said in the Commons that the patent for inns was *good in law, but ill in execution*; and abundant evidence to this effect was assembled against Mompesson. The keepers of alehouses that had been suppressed by the Justices of the Peace obtained licences to set up as innkeepers, paying fees and rents to Mompesson's advantage. Existing innkeepers were forced to obtain licences, and if they claimed that innkeepers were not required by law to be licensed Mompesson took, or threatened to take, legal proceedings against them. From approximately the end of June 1617 to the end of November 1619 Mompesson initiated legal proceedings against no fewer than 3,120 persons. In the County of Southampton 67 new inns were licensed, seventeen of which had been suppressed as alehouses by the magistrates. One of these alehouse-keepers in the New Forest, *a harboured of dear e-stealers*, had *braved the justices that he would do it in despite*. The alehouse of one Richard Randall served as *an intelligence to roages and thieves*, was suppressed in sessions, but was licensed as an inn, although Mompesson had notice of its suppression. And so on and so forth. One of Mompesson's agents came late at night to the house of an octogenarian ale-keeper in Staffordshire and asked for lodging. The old man said he had kept an alehouse for fifty years *but lodged none*. The agent pleaded that night was approaching, *for wante of lodging he might fall into the hands of themes*, and *soefarr importuned* the old man that he said he would allow the agent to be in his own bed while he sat up all night, would allow the agent's horse to stand in the cowshed, while the cow lay out-of-doors, and that he *would provide an oate sheaf for the horse*. *This is well* cried the agent, whose name was, appropriately, Ferrett, *you are one of those that I lookefor; you keepe an inne, you receive a horse and man*, and served him with a ticket to appear in London before the Commissioners.

The story of the monopoly for making gold and silver thread begins much earlier — in 1611; it is therefore much longer and more complicated, and involves many more persons; by comparison with its mischiefs, the objections to the Patent for Inns sink, in S.R. Gardiner's view, into insignificance; and Mompesson was not brought into the business, to impart fresh vigour to the proceedings, till 20th October 1618. Consequently, when the Commons really got to grips with Mompesson's misdemeanours, they were much more concerned with inns than with thread.

On every day, six days a week, during the three weeks Monday, 26th February, to Saturday, 17th March, the Commons gave attention to some aspect of the Mompesson case; indeed, on Saturday, 10th March, the House decided early in the afternoon that it would sit till 10 o'clock at night, if necessary, to dispatch both the Bill of Subsidy and the Mompesson business. In addition, four Conferences between the Lords and the Commons were held.

On Monday, the 26th, the House referred the matters connected with bullion to the Committee of the whole House, and the Committee heard Mompesson.

On Tuesday Coke reported that the Committee had condemned the Patents for Inns, etc., and that Mompesson had *offered to make what Satisfaction this House shall please*. Mompesson was brought to the Bar, not kneeling, and was charged by Mr Speaker to attend the Pleasure of the House *de die in diem* till licensed. Mompesson asked for leave to remain in his own house, but would be ready at all times to attend. Leave was granted.

On Wednesday Mompesson was again called to the Bar and was ordered to remain with the Serjeant, *who is required to keep him carefully, at his Peril*.

On Thursday the Committee reported that *they had found one* [[grievance] *of so a nature and of so high a strain both against the King and Kingdom as never the like*.

On Friday the Committee reported that they were *satisfied of the Heinousness and Hornbility of his Offences, by verbal Information of divers Witnesses*. In the Committee Mompesson was sick, but the Committee resolved that they could not give him leave to go home.

On Saturday, 3rd March, the House heard of Mompesson's escape. The Serjeant was blamed, and was called to the Bar. On Friday the Committee had refused to let Mompesson go to his home to get his papers; the Serjeant *thinking he* [[Mompesson] *could not have the Papers without going to his House, simply let him go thither*. Apparently the Serjeant accompanied or followed him. There *he found Sir William St. John, and divers other Padies*. Later two member of the House came in — Mr Hungerford and another, unnamed but from later evidence apparently Mr Choke. Mompesson was *in the dining-room; made himself declared*[[himself to be] sick; cast [Vomited] *in the Room, took Tobacco and Sack; spake to his Wife, to go into her Closet*. [[The Serjeant] *Thought it unmannerly to follow then, stayed an Hour or Two*". Mr Choke confirmed the Serjeant's evidence.

Members urged that the Serjeant be examined; that Mompesson's papers be seized, and he himself be found out and stayed; and that the ports *be laid for him*. The House forthwith resolved that Mompesson *be put out of the House; without one Negative*. The Lords desired an immediate Conference in the Painted Chamber — 40 lords, 80 Commons — and it was agreed that the King be moved for a Proclamation for his apprehension. A Royal Proclamation bearing that date — 3rd March — was, in fact, issued. The House congratulated itself on the *good Correspondency between both Houses*, and declared that Empson and Dudley, two notorious extortioners under Henry VII, who were executed (1510) early in the reign of Henry VIII, were *but Fools to this Projector*. If apprehended he was to be brought to the Tower.

The proclamation begins by rehearsing that Mompesson had been questioned *before our Commons house of Parliament — for many heinous offences and misdemeanours, to the intolerable grievance of our good and loving Subjects, the great dishonour of Our Person, and scandall of Our government but for feare of condigne punishment — made an escape out of the custody of the Sergeant of that House.* With more crocodile tears, King James continues, *Wee therefore, out of Our knowen and wonted zeale to Justice, and out of Our tender and princely care, that offenders of so foule a nature — under whose oppressions Our Loving Subjects do so much suffer, to our great griefe and displeasure — may not escape and avoyd the hands of Justice — Doe hereby straightly charge and command; all and every Our Lieutenants — Maiors, Sheriffes, Justices of Peace, Customers — and other Officers of Our Ports, Constables, Headboroughs, and all other Our Officers and loving Subjects whatsoever — to use all possible diligence and indevoir, for the searching — of the sayd Sir Giles Mompesson — and him to apprehend — and bring unto Our Tower of London — upon paine of Our high displeasure; and as they will answere the contrary at their uttermost perils.*

Nevertheless Mompesson escaped. For the next fortnight the case was discussed by the Commons, with consultations with the Lords, the evidence was prepared, and precedents for judicial proceedings by Parliament were assembled. On Monday the 5th one member referred to *These Blood-suckers of the Kingdom and Vipers of the Commonwealth. — the Plague of his Corruption did exceedingly poison the Country — he masked all under his Service to the King.* On the 6th a speaker declared that the King's honour, his Justice, and his Profit had been wronged. By the 12th the Lords had considered matters and had found them *weighty*. On Tuesday the 13th Coke moved *that heads be set down and be sent to the Lords on Thursday morning.* The Lords would be ready at 9 o'clock. On Wednesday the 14th the heads (*Capita*) were in writing. On Friday the 16th a message from the Lords reported that the Lords had found many exorbitant Grievances about Inns and Ostries; they desired that the Proof should be without exception and that Members should be allowed to make Declaration upon oath. On Saturday the 17th the House agreed that members willing to testify on oath against *that wretched man* should do so.

During the next week the Lords gave further attention to the matter and by the end of the week they had reached their conclusions. But the King had been kept well informed, and on the morning of Monday, 26th March 1621, he went to Westminster to address the Lords. The Commons were not summoned, for the Lords were sitting as the Supreme Court of Justice. The Lord Chief Justice sat as Speaker in place of the Lord Chancellor, Charles, Prince of Wales, was present wearing his robes and his coronet, and the other peers all wore their robes. The King *then made a most loving and gracious Speech unto them* [The reading probably took nearly twenty minutes], *confirming their ancient Privileges, and expressing his Willingness to ease His Subjects of their Grievances, and to punish such as had abused any Grants of Monopolies, to the Grief and Consumption of His loving Subjects.*

The which Speech being ended, the Lords conceived so great Joy thereat, that they Ordered the whole House to go to the King, at One of the Clock in the Afternoon, to render His Majesty most humble Thanks.

The House then further considered the detailed charges against Mompesson, concerning which *the Lords were fully satisfied*. They therefore desired the Commons to sit that afternoon *for that their Lordships intend to send a Message unto them*. The Commons forthwith replied that they would so sit, and *The Lords Agreed, to give their sentence this Afternoon, in their Robes*.

When the Lords re-assembled in their Robes at two o'clock *It was much debated —, what Punishment Sir Gyles Mompesson deserved, for his high Offences. And, for that the Punishment heretofore inflicted upon Empson and Dudley [1516] was much spoken of, the Lords required to hear their Indictments*". These men had been indicated for treason, Mompesson had not. The House therefore adjourned its formal sitting and held a long debate in the course of which two Lords declared, and the House agreed *nem. con.*, that their Lordships might proceed further against Mompesson later if matters of a higher Nature could be found against him.

The Commons were then invited to *come to demand of the Lords, That Judgement be given against Sir Gyles Mompesson, for the heinous Offences by him committed*, and in the mean Time the Lord Treasurer reported that the Prince of Wales accompanied by many Lords had presented the thanks of the House to His Majesty for His most Gracious Speech that morning. By this time *The Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons, Accompanied with their Speaker* had come to the Bar, and Mr Speaker demanded *Judgment to be given against Sir Gyles Mompesson, according as the Heinousness of his Offence doth require*. The Lord Chief Justice, being in Place of the Lord Chancellor then pronounced the Judgment of the Lords *in haec verba*.

1. That Sir Gyles Mompesson shall stand, and be from henceforth, degraded of the Order of Knighthood, with Reservation of the Dignity of his Wife and Children; and the Ceremonies of Degradation to be performed, by Direction of the Earl Marshal's Court, whensoever he shall be taken.
2. And that he shall stand perpetually in Degree of a Person out-lawed for Misdemeanour and Trespass.
3. That his Testimony be received in no Court; and that he shall be of no Assize, Inquisition, or Jury.
4. That he shall be excepted out of all General Pardons to be hereafter granted.
5. That he shall be imprisoned during his Life
6. That he shall not approach within Twelve Miles of the Courts of the King or Prince, nor of the King's High Courts, usually holden at Westminster.

7. That the King's Majesty shall have the Profits of his Lands for Life; and shall have all his Goods and Chattels as forfeited; and that he shall undergo Fine and Ransom, which their Lordships assess at Ten Thousand Pounds.
8. And that he shall be disabled to hold or receive any Office under the King or for the Common Wealth.
9. And Lastly, that he be ever held an Infamous Person.

For full measure the King added perpetual banishment, and proclamations to this effect and for the repeal of the offending Patents, etc., were issued on the following Thursday. In addition orders were given for sermons to be preached over England to declare the King's honour and justice and the deliverance of the subject from the oppression of Mompesson and his agents. Moreover, two statues of brass were to be erected to the King and Prince as monuments of their honourable justice.

By fleeing the country Mompesson escaped the official ceremony of degradation, and there is no evidence that the ceremony was performed later, when he returned to the country. Consequently he remained *Sir Giles*. But before the Commons had completed their preparation of the case against him, they had begun proceedings against Sir Francis Michell, *a Projector, and Mompesson's Compartner* as a contemporary called him, and on 4th May Michell was sentenced by the Lords in proceedings similar to those of 26th March. The second clause provided *That he shall be imprisoned, during the King's Pleasure, in Finsbury Gaol, in the same Chamber there, where he provided for others; the Tower, where he now remains, being a Prison too worthy of him*. But the Lords' sentence upon Michell left two things unsaid. He was to be *degraded of the Order of Knighthood*. But Knighthood had been conferred by the King. Would His Majesty assent? In due course *it pleased him for example sake that their grave and judicious sentence should be soone executed*. Further, *the Ceremonies of Degradation [were] to be performed by Direction of this Court [the Eordsj to the Earl Marshal's Court*. At that time there were six Joint Lords Commissioners for the office of Earl Marshal, and their Lordships *sent for all the Officers of Arms and commanded them to looke out such presidentis jfsicff for this purpose as they had*. Two precedents seemed to be available — that of Sir Andrew Harclay in 1322 and that of Sir Ralph Grey in 1464. But both of these gentlemen had been convicted of high treason, and Michell had not; and so the Court decided that *this degradation should be done in another manner*. In what ways the procedure differed from that of the Harclay and Grey cases is not known to the present writer. But the Lords Commissioners issued warrants (1) to the King's Marshall, to prepare Westminster Hall for the purpose; (2) to the Sheriffs of London, to bring Michell thither; and (3) to the Officers of Arms, to give their attendance in their coats of arms.

Accordingly, on the afternoon of Wednesday, 20th June 1621, four of the Lords Commissioners — another contemporary record says five — placed themselves on the King's Bench in Westminster Hall, *the Kings of Arms sitting right under them*

and the rest of the Officers of Armes standing on each side of them. The said Sir Francis Michell was by the Knight Marshall's men brought into the Court with out the bar and there sett upon a standing for the purpose as yet having neither sword or spurs on, refusing to have anie put on untill by commandem^l of the Fords Commissioners they were putt on. After three proclamations for silence John Phillipot, Rougedragon Pursuivant of Arms, read a writing, and the Cryer of that Court pronounced it after him with a very lowd voice. After mentioning the sentence of Parliament and His Majesty's royal pleasure the writing declared the manner and form of the execution of the sentence: his sword and gilt spurres being the ornaments of Knighthood, shalbe taken from him, broken and defaced, and the reputation he held thereby, together with the honourable Title of Knight, be from henceforth no more used. Whereupon one of the Knight Marshall's men, standing upon the Scaffold with him, first cut his Belt, whereupon his sword did hang, and soe let it fall to the ground; then hee cut his spurres off from his heeles, and hurld the one one way into the hall, and the other another way. That done hee drew his sword out of his scabbard, and with his hand brake it over his head, and threw the one piece the one way and the other piece an other way, and then the rest of the writing was read and pronounced aloud, as the other part was vizK Butt that hee be from henceforwards reputed taken and styled an infamous arrand Knave, and so

God save f King.

A contemporary writer adds: *He rode likewise from Westminster into Fondon with his face to the Horse-tail.* For this additional indignity the present writer has not yet discovered the authority.

Mompesson's *heinous Offences* soon became the subject-matter of a large-size satirical print of excellent quality, copies of which survive at the British Museum, the Society of Antiquaries, and perhaps elsewhere. The story is told verbally in forty-six lines of doggerel verse and pictorially in three compartments. On the left Mompesson, carrying in his left hand *ye Patent for Immes* with Great Seal attached and holding a box containing a Devil's head, approached the Bell Inn, the hostess of which stops his entrance with a long spit serving as a sword. The inn sign bears the lines :

Fye S^r Giles my bell do not disgrace
Pluck'm not downe except you take his place

With the forefinger of his right hand in a mincing attitude Mompesson replies:

Your signe shall down for this.

In the middle compartment Mompesson appears in the foreground running away from a gentleman who is presumably the Sergeant of Arms of the House of Commons. A devil at his left ear whispers *Shift for they selfe*. In the background he is shown dropping by a rope from a first-floor window, while his horse waits for him, partly hidden by the building, and still farther away in the background he is galloping away. In the compartment on the right Mompesson is shown limping away on crutches, scratching

his head with his empty patent-box hanging from his girdle. In the left background two men on crutches, representing presumably Michell and other “comparters”, cry :

Hoe, fellowe Giles stay for us yett a while
For here wee come, although behinde a mile.

And in the right background Empson and Dudley are seen running away, with the couplet:

In first yeare of Kinge Henry last
By Parliament to death they past.

The similarity of Mompesson’s offences to those of Empson and Duley is emphasized in the line :

His name MO-EMPSONS Annagrame doth make.

The D.N.B. article unfortunately wrecks the anagram and the joke, such as it is, by misprinting it as ‘No Empsons’.

Mompesson is believed to have provided materials for the character of Sir Giles Overreach, a cruel Extortioner, in Philip Massinger’s play, *A New Way to pay Old Debts*, written probably about 1625 and performed 10th November 1632. This *Cormorant Overreach — without touch of conscience will cut his neighbour’s throat* --.

He frights men out of their estates
And breaks through all law-nets, made to curb ill men,
As they were cobwebs. No man dares reprove him.
Such a spirit to dare, and power to do, were never
Lodged so unluckily.

To the question, *Are you not frighted with the imprecations and curses of whole families made wretched by your sinister practices?* he replies *Tes, as rocks are*. An incidental reference to *so much land — as would tire a falcon’s wings in one day to fly over* is an interesting, but doubtless coincidental, echo of the supposed origin of the St.John falcon crest.

On 7th July the King assigned the fine of 10,000 to Lady Mompesson’s brother, Sir John St.John, baronet, and half-brother Edward Hungerford as provision for her and her child. The reference to *his Wife and Children* in the judgement of the Lords is probably due to the lawyers’ concern to provide for all possibilities; but the mention of “her child” in this provision seems to be more specific. The child is not mentioned in the inscription on the monument, and the present writer has not yet discovered any relevant entry in registers of christenings or burials. No child is mentioned in Mompesson’s will.

On 18th February 1622/3, in response to petitions by Mompeson and his wife Mompesson was allowed to return to England for three months, provides he did not appear at court and confined himself to his private business. By July he had returned and was beginning *to put his patents for ale houses, &c., in execution, they not having been abrogated by Act of Parliament*. In August he was allowed to continue in the

kingdom for three months longer than had been allowed in the previous warrant *if he demean himself properly and remain in privacy*. By the following February he had overstayed the time, but was granted a warrant to pass the ports, *provided he sail within five days from the present date* [8th February].

Although he lived for another forty years — his will was proved in London on 3rd August 1663, a fact that the D.N.B. article missed — very few references to him survive. On 19th September 1628, Sir John St. John's wife, Anne (Leighton), died in childbirth. In his will, made 14th July 1651, Mompesson left property to the child — who survived — *my nephew Mr Henry St. John, whom I bred from his infamy*. Evidently Mompesson and his wife looked after this motherless infant, but for how long cannot be said. Sir John re-married in October 1630, and the child may then have returned to his father's home.

Lady Mompesson died on 28th March 1633, and it would seem probable that Sir Giles's care of his nephew ended at that time, if not earlier. (For further information about the nephew see *Report Slo.2*, pp.1-8.) Mompesson forthwith erected the monument that is the subject of the present article. A few incidental references to him in connection with wills, a law-suit, and a loan do little to illumine the obscurity of his later years.

During the Civil War he was a non-combatant Royalist. After his disastrous defeat at Naseby, 14th June 1645, King Charles was scurrying from place to place — Lichfield, Wolverhampton, Bewdley, Hereford, Leominster, Hereford, Raglan, Cardiff, Radnor, Brecon, Hereford, and so on and so forth, in a vain attempt to retrieve the situation. Possibly thinking that the King's headquarters at Hereford were safer than Wiltshire, Mompesson went thither, and was there at its capture on 18th December 1645. This fact was held against him later. On two occasions the Parliamentary Committee for the Advance of Money made an assessment on him — in December 1645 for £800, and in September 1651 for £^l200; but apparently making an assessment was one thing and collecting the money was another, and the entries add *but no proceedings taken*. The Committee for Compounding also considered his case in January 1647/8, but apparently respected the decision of 1621 that had vested £10,000 in Dame Catherine's near relatives, although the lady herself had now been dead for eighteen years. But an entry about Mompesson dated 27th April 1647, reads *Compounds for delinquency in going into the King's quarters at Hereford, where he was at its capture. Has been prevented by sickness from earlier compounding.*" Further delay seems to have followed, and the final entry about him reads :

1 May [1649] Fine at one sixth

561 l 9 s

When the terms of the inscription on the monument were settled in 1633 Mompesson clearly intended to be buried at Lydiard Tregoze, but when he made his will on 14th July 1651, he was less precise. He directed that he *be buried in such — place as I have already or shall hereafter declare to my executor*. He described himself as *of the*

City of New Sarum, and when the will was proved at London on 3rd August 1663, he was again of *New Sarum* (i.e. Salisbury). He held a *messuage or tenement called the Kings Armes and tenements thereto belonging in Katherine Street*. Unfortunately the register of burials at Lydiard Tregoze for 1663 has not survived. His own review of his life contains the disconsolate expressions — *having passed a long and troublesome Pilgrimage in this miserable and sinfull world and after so many grievous crosses afflictions and calamities I have endured from tyme to tyme from the beginning of my life hitherto*.

Verily, the way of transgressors is hard.

Principal sources:

Commons' Journals

Lords' Journals

S.R. Gardiner in *Archaeologia*, Vol.XLI, pp.219-269.

Inner Temple Library, Petyt MS. No.538, **Vol.44**, pp.260-262.

WILLIAM BYRD

In the south porch, over the south door and below an empty rectangular recess, is a black marble cornice inscribed

W^m: Byrd O x : fecit.

Information about this cornice and the craftsman appear in two articles by Mrs J.C. Cole: 'William Byrd, Stonecutter and Mason', *Oxoniensia*, XIV (1949) pp.63-74, and 'The Painting and Staining of Marble as Practiced by William Byrd of Oxford and others', *Oxoniensia*, XVII/XVIII (1952-1953) pp. 193-9.

William Byrd was born in Gloucester in 1624. After serving an eight-year apprenticeship under Walter Nicholls in his home town, he moved to Oxford at the age of twenty-four and established himself there as a mason, stone-cutter, and marble-stainer. His early appointments in Oxford included those of college mason at Wadham and carver to the new Sheldonian. In the 1680's he was engaged on building the Garden Quadrangle at New College, and was one of the six contractors chosen by Wren to work on the Great Palace at Winchester. His Holywell yard also conducted an over-increasing trade in monumental masonry: *large monuments, pilastered mural tablets, cartouche tablets, small unclassified tablets, big armorial floor-slabs, and many small diamond-shaped floor slabs of a type common in the district*.

Mrs Cole writes, *There exist, as far as I know, only three monuments and one signed fragment from his hand:*

1. *The monument to Bishop Bndeoake in St.George's Chapel, Windsor;*
2. *The Fettiplace monument in Swinbrook church;*
3. *The monument to Major Brunch at Pusey in Berkshire.*

The fragment is at Bydiard Tregoze church in Wiltshire."

Mrs Cole is confident that this fragment belongs to the inscription panel, dated 1679, to Sir Charles Pleydell, which is in the south aisle on the other side of the wall to the fragment, as this panel is *characteristic of Byrd's yard and has the ligatured double L*. She also thinks it extremely likely that the inscription panel and the cornice were originally part of a much larger monument. Unfortunately history records neither the original position of the monument nor the date of its destruction.

ST. JOHN OF FARLEY CHAMBERLAYNE

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

The connection of the Wiltshire St.Johns with Farley Chamberlayne, near Romsey, Hants, lasted for about three hundred years. A select pedigree appears at the end of this article. The connection began when John St.John of Lydiard Tregoze maintained a family practice — he was the sixth to do so in seven generations — by marrying an heiress. This heiress was Jane, the daughter of Sir John Iwardby or Ewarby, of Farley Chamberlayne. The Farley Chamberlayne property had come to the Ewarby family by marriage with the Missenden heiress, and the Ewarbys — three Johns and a Nicholas — held it for four generations till John St.John married their heiress. With this Jane came also Purley, Berks., (which had come to the Ewarbys when Sir John Ewaby himself married Sainche, an heiress of the Carews) and no fewer than fifteen coats of arms. (See *ReporCNo.2*, p.28, and *ReporCNo.3*, p.27.) Among these coats, Ewarby

(silver with an engrailed saltire and a black chief with two silver molets), Carew, alias Carey (gold with three black lions passant), and Huscarl (blue with three silver battle axes) were particularly important as showing the earlier history of Farley and Purley, and were therefore often displayed by the St.Johns when the others were not. (The elder son of his St.John-Ewarby marriage also married a Carew, but this lady was not an heiress, and she added nothing to the St.John's territorial and heraldic possessions.) It may be noted that although Farley Chamberlayne is in Hampshire it was not one of the many properties held in Hampshire, according to Domesday Book, by that Hugh de Port whose descendants adopted the surname of St.John and held the title Lord St.John of Basing.

Whatever use John made of his newly-acquired property, it is evident that his son John resided there, for the latter's son William by his second marriage was born there on 1st August 1538. William's will says so; and while William's elder half-brother, Nicholas, maintained Lydiard Tregoze as the home of the senior Wiltshire line, William made Farley Chamberlayne the home — or, at least, a home — of his junior line. Certainly the monuments in the church there begin with William. A copy of the funeral certificate of John, father of Nicholas and William, on the south wall of the church at Lydiard Tregoze indicated that John had a third son, John, of whom the present writer has no further knowledge.

William, who died on 18 th April 1609, was described as *a man of great countenance and credyt* and described himself in his will as *the elder, of Norton Walrey in the Countie of Southampton*. (The observant visitor to Farley Chamberlayne may discover on William's monument what looks like the date 1600, but it is probable that the last digit is a 9 with a very small tail that is now indecipherable.) Norton Walrey, alias Norton St.Valery, in the parish of Wonston, was named after the St.Valery family that held it in Norman times, and it had been held in the middle of the sixteenth century by three generations of the Twyne family. Barbara (Gore), widow of Thomas Twyne, married William St.John of Farley Chamberlayne, and the two daughters of her first marriage eventually surrendered their moieties of Norton Walrey to William and Barbara. (Two generations later the property was conveyed out of the St.John family to Dr. Nicholas Love. Norton Farm, north of Sutton Scotney, marks the centre of the original manor.) William gave instructions that his body should be buried in *the Chancell of the parish Church of Farley St.John commonly called Farley Chamberlayne*. It is interesting to note that both William and his son Henry used, and apparently preferred, the name Farley St.John to the earlier form, but did not succeed in establishing a change of usage.

William directed that he be buried *with as little charge and cost as may be*, but he added that *one tombe or monument of free stone or lie of Wight stone be made over or above his grave wherein I will shall be graven St.John his arms with some other remembrance of my Children and to whom they weare maned So that the Charge thereof excede not*

Twentie poundes. The monument survives in the south-east corner of the sanctuary of the church at Farley Chamberlayne. A recumbent effigy of William in armour rests under a canopy. A shield of arms on the canopy bears on William's half the arms of St. John — St. John; Beauchamp (a fess between six martlets — legless swallows — with a molet for difference), a never-to-be-forgotten name among the St. Johns because of the estates and heraldic heritage that it brought them from the past and the kinship with royalty that it established later; and Ewarby and Carew to indicate the descent of Farley and Purley. The impaled coat of William's wife Barbara (Gore) shows a chevron between three bulls' heads, with a crescent for difference.

Two panels against the wall behind the effigy bear inscriptions that have long been made very difficult to decipher. Presumably they executed William's instructions about his children, who seem to have numbered seven — two sons, Henry and William the younger, and five daughters, three of whom married knights. Other children may have died in infancy.

William's line was continued by his elder son Henry. (William's will contains a cryptic reference to his son William the younger. William appointed his wife Barbara as his sole executor, adding *andyff it please her to call him. Sonne William, and use his help or advise.*) Henry's second wife Ursula Stukeley was the mother of at least four sons and four daughters. These children were comparatively young when Henry made his will in 1614, for he provided for the education of his son John (three or four years at Oxford followed by a period at the Inns of Court), and his younger sons Oliver and Henry (Inns of Court or apprenticeship to a *Marchaunt Adventurer*), and for marriage portions for his daughters. Henry died at the age of 53, only twelve years after his father, and was buried on 8th April 1622, at Farley Chamberlayne. Like his father, he described himself in his will as *of Norton Wallrey* and directed that he be buried *in the pparjische Church Channcell of Farleighe St. John co m~only Called Farleigh Chamberlayne in the vault there by my wife Ursula wch I made of purpose.* Over this vault a monument was to be erected with the arms of St. John and Stukeley and some remembrance of his children *and to whome they may be married in time to come (if it please God)*, the charge not to exceed thirty pounds. He directed also that a monument or tomb be erected in the chancel of the parish church of Wonston, by permission of the parson there, where two of his sons, his first wife Anne, his mother, an aunt, a sister, and a nephew were already buried. Henry was laid to rest beside his wife Ursula in the vault that he had constructed at Farley Chamberlayne but there is now no evidence of the monument that was to cost half as much again as William's monument in the south-east corner of the sanctuary, and, to aggravate the problem, there is no St. John monument in the church at Wonston. This latter fact may be explained by the fact that the church at Wonston was destroyed by fire in 16714. (The problem will be discussed further, but not solved, later in the present article.)

A small stone set in the outside of the north wall of the church bears an inscription that is largely indecipherable and even where legible

is hardly intelligible. It seems to refer to a servant of Henry and Ursula, who died in August 1610 and was presumably buried in the churchyard.

The John who became head of the Farley Chamberlayne St.Johns on the death of Henry in 1622 is one of the three persons who are commemorated on a stone tablet on the east wall of the sanctuary there. (The shield of arms above the tablet bears St.John (dexter) and ten red roundels — “torteaux” — (sinister) for Gifford.) According to the inscription John died on 2nd September 1627, his posthumous son John on 26th February 1628, and his widow Susannah (Gifford) on 5th May 1628, - all in less than eight months. (Other sources indicate that the child lived for one day.) One minor problem about this pathetic story may easily escape notice. At this time and for a further century and a quarter, until Chesterfield’s Act of 1751, the Julian (Old Style) calendar was still in use in England and the dates from 1st January to 24th March were at the end of one calendar year and not — as in the Gregorian (New Style) calendar — at the beginning of the next. Consequently, if the necessary adjustment from Old Style to New Style were made, the date of the infant’s death — 26th February 1628, on the tablet — would become by modern, Gregorian, New Style reckoning 26th February 1629, some nine months after the mother’s death and seventeen months after the father’s death. But the parish register records the burials in chronological order :

John, the father, 5th September 1727.

John, the infant son, 26th February 1627
i.e., Old Style. By New Style
the year would be 1628.

Susanna, the widowed mother, May 1628.

Closer inspection of other monument shows that the inscription was originally correct. Five times roman numerals are used, and in each case the final digit has a long tail thus “j”. For example, xxvij. The year of the infant’s death is given as xxvijj. Why two digits with tails? Because the second one has been added well after 1751 by somebody who did not understand O.S.N.S. The incising is shallower and the spacing between the digits and the following full point is crowded.

The headship of the family then passed to John’s brother Oliver (1608-1665) — yet another Oliver to perplex the genealogist; and the name is repeated in the next two generations. This Oliver married Constance Dawley, but there is no evidence of either of them in the church. There is, however, a stone slab in the floor of the chancel immediately in front of the communion rail and just to the south of the central line of the chancel itself. Its inscription is now completely illegible, and the stone presents the perhaps insoluble problem that has been mentioned above.

The suggestion has been made that this stone covers the vault in which Ursula, 2nd wife of Henry, had been buried some time before Henry made his will in 1614. In the present writer's opinion that suggestion is quite untenable. In his will Henry directed that he himself should be buried by his wife in the vault that he had made for that purpose and that a monument should be *erected* at a cost not exceeding £30 over the vault. With all due respect, such a position near the centre of the chancel immediately in front of the communion rail was quite impossible position for the *erection* of an above-ground monument that was to cost half as much again as William's monument in the south-east corner of the sanctuary. Moreover, when Henry chose the site for Ursula's vault he had a perfectly free choice of position except the south-east corner, in which his father's monument stands, and it is incredible that he should have chosen for his £30 monument such an impossible position as that of the defaced stone. He could have chosen, for instance, the north-east corner of the sanctuary, balancing his father's monument, with opportunity for external ventilation such as was not available in the middle of the chancel.

The present illegibility of the inscription has been explained as damage caused by a heating stove. Quite apart from the fact that, on this view, the stove must have covered the whole area of the slab exactly and have damaged it uniformly without damaging the adjacent stones, this site was just as impossible for a heating stove as for a £30 monument. But another slab of the same kind of stone in the floor of the nave has suffered similarly, though not so severely. The comparative softness of the stone itself, taken in conjunction with its position in front of the communion rail, probably explains the disappearance of the inscription. It has just been worn away by feet.

The absence of Henry's £30 monument remains unexplained, but if Ursula and he were not buried under this stone, who was? The central position points to a parishioner of great eminence, and the adjacent stones refer to St.Johns of two or three generations later than Henry and Ursula. But apart from several very young children, the register records the burials of a number of adult St.Johns in the 17th century, Henry himself being the first, who are not named in monumental inscriptions. It is good to know that these people were, in fact, buried at Farley Chamberlayne, but identification of their last resting places is made more difficult. The persons are :

| | |
|------------|--|
| 1630 | William, presumably younger son of William and younger brother of Henry; |
| 1636 | Margaret, Henry's third wife; |
| 1665, 1666 | Oliver and Constance; |
| 1681, 1686 | Walter, b.1644 and John, b.1649, gentlemen, sons of the above. |

There is some evidence of a further unidentified memorial slab in the chancel. A fragment bearing what looks like part of a coat of arms is adjacent to the black slab to the memory of Sir Paulet St.John, d.1780.

Two inscribed stones in the floor of the chancel and two others in the sanctuary provide much information about the next two generations and also present some heraldic difficulties. Oliver and his wife Constance had a son Oliver and a daughter Christian who later becomes very important. Oliver (1641-1689) and his wife Margery (Rivett) (1642-1681) had three daughters and one son Oliver. The son died unmarried in 1699 in his twenty-first year, and the male line of the St.Johns of Farley Chamberlayne failed. His two surviving sisters Frances and Margery were his heiresses, and Frances forthwith settled certain properties that she inherited from him on her prospective husband, Ellis Mews the younger. Shortly after her marriage Frances died. Now Ellis Mews the younger was the son of Ellis Mews the elder and Christian St.John, aunt of Frances; he was therefore his wife's first cousin, and he now claimed to be the representative of the St.Johns by virtue of his descent from his mother Christian (St.John), with the additional argument that his wife (and first cousin) Frances was a sister and co-heir of her brother Oliver. But the settlement of St.John properties on her prospective husband by Frances was subject to the condition that Mews and his heirs should *take on him. and them, the Simame of Saint John And procure an Act of Parliament for that purpose.* The whole sequence of events from Frances's settlement to her inheritance (9th and 10th November 1699) to her widower's parliamentary action covered a relatively short period, and the progress of the required Act can easily be traced in the Journals of the two Houses of Parliament.

Mews began the proceedings by presenting a petition *To the Right Hono^rble theTords Spintuall & Temporall in Parham^l Assembled*, outlining the foregoing facts and humbly praying that *Reave may be given for the bringing in of a Bill to enable him to change his said surname according to the direction in the Said Settlements contained.* This petition came before the Lords on 10th April 1701, and the Journal records :

Ordered That the Judges in Town attend To-morrow and that the Deeds mentioned in the Petition be then produced. [(The entries continue:)] 11 April 1701 - Ordered That the Petitioner hath hereby Leave given him to bring in a Bill as desired.
 16 April 1701 - Hodie 1^a vice lecta est Billa [(bill read to-day for the first time)], intituled, *An Act to change the Surname of Ellis Mews and his Pleirs to the Surname of St.John.*
 17 April 1701 - Hodie 2^a vice lecta est Billa intituled [(as above)] Ordered That the Consideration of the said Bill be committed to the same Committee to whom [(another named Bill)] is referred.

3 May 1701 - The Lord Longueville reported from the Lords Committee, the Bill, intituled [Lis above] as fit to pass with one Amendment, Which was read Twice, and Agreed to; and the Bill ordered to be engrossed, with the said Amendment.

]This “engrossment” - fair copy (in court hand) of the original draft as amended — survives at the House of Lords as 12/13 Wm.III, ch.XXV, and is the Act of Parliament. It is not printed with the Statutes of the Realm]

6 May 1701 - Hodie 3^a vice lecta est Billa intituled [as above] The Question was put, *Whether this Bill shall pass?*” It was Resolved in the Affirmative. A Message was sent to the House of Commons by Sir Robert Legard and Sir Richard Holford To carry down the above-mentioned Two Bills, and to desire their Concurrence thereunto.

]The decision is recorded on the Act in the words, *Soil Baillee aux Co m uñes*.

The Journals of the House of Commons continue the record, but indicate that the Commons were less expeditious than the Lords.]

6 May 1701 - A Message from the Lords, by Sir Robert Legard and Sir Richard Holford :

Mr. Speaker,
The Lords have passed a Bill intituled ----- : and also a Bill, intituled [as above for Mews]: To which they desire the Concurrence of this House.

Then the Messenger [sic] withdrew.

19 May 1701 - An ingrossed Bill from the Lords, intituled *An Act* [as above], was read the First time, Resolved, that the Bill be read a Second Time.

26 May 1701 - An ingrossed Bill from the Lords, intituled *An Act* [as above] was read a Second Time. Resolved, That the Bill be committed to]18 members included Henry St.John, M.P. for Wotton Bassett, a distant cousin of the petitioner’s late wife, and Charles Mompesson, M.P. for Old Sarum, a relative of the Sir Giles Mompesson who had married Catherine St.John of Lydiard Tregoze] and all for the Counties of Southampton, Wilts., and Dorsett: and they are to meet at Five a Clock this Afternoon, in the Speaker’s Chamber.

9 June 1701 - An ingrossed Bill from the Lords, intituled, *An Act* [as above] was read the Third time. Resolved, That the Bill do pass. Ordered That Mr Jervois do carry the Bill to the Lords, and acquaint them, That this House hath agreed to the same, without any Amendments. []This decision is

recorded on the Act itself in the formula, *A ceste Bille les Co m unes sont assentusC*

The Journal of the House of Commons for 12th June 1701, records the interruption of their proceedings by a Royal summons to the Lords. The Lords' Journal gives details.

12 June 1701 — Then the House was adjourned during Pleasure, to robe. ----- His Majesty, being arrayed in His Royal Robes and Crown, attended with His Officers of State, ascended His Royal Throne (the Peers being also in their Robes): commanded the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to signify to the Commons

It is His Majesty's Pleasure, they attend him presently.

[(When the Commons arrived his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to eight Public Acts in the formula,

Le Roy le veult.

The titles of thirty-one private Acts, including the Mews Act, were also read.] To these Bills the Royal Assent was severally pronounced, by the Clerk of the Parliaments, in these Words; (videlicet)

Soit fait come il est desire.

[These words appear also at the head of the Act. It is interesting to note that a third form of words was used when an Act granted moneys to the Crown :

Le Roy remercie ses bons Sujets, accepte leur Benevolence, et ainsi le veult

So much for the family history and the change of surname. Now for the heraldry on the four stones in the floor. The slab commemorating Oliver and his wife Margery (Rivett) shows St. John on the husband's half of the shield and Rivett — three bars with three trivets in the chief — on the wife's half. But Margery was an heiress, and her coat should therefore have appeared on an inner shield — an inescutcheon — in the middle of her husband's St. John shield. Because she was an heiress her children were entitled to display St. John and Rivett quarterly, and this was done correctly on the neighbouring stone that relates to Elizabeth London, eldest daughter of Oliver and Margery. At the time of her death Elizabeth was not an heiress, and therefore her coat was "impaled" with her husband's. But the stone commemorating the son Oliver in the north-east corner of the sanctuary shows St. John with Rivett in an inescutcheon, which would signify that Oliver was the husband of the Rivett heiress. In fact, he was unmarried: but as the son of a St. John and the Rivett heiress he should have displayed St. John and Rivett quarterly, as on Elizabeth's stone. By his death his two surviving sisters Frances and Margery became his co-heiresses, and therefore the stone in the sanctuary that commemorates Frances should have shown St. John and Rivett quarterly — for Frances — on an inner shield in the middle of Mews. In fact, the shield shows merely Mews impaling St. John and ignores (a) the fact that Frances was herself an heiress, and (b) the fact that she was a daughter of the Rivett heiress.

Several evidences in the church indicate that the family changed not only its surname but its arms. The stone in the sanctuary commemorating Frances, who died before the Act, shows Mews (husband) impaling St. John (wife). But the adjacent stone commemorating — in the next generation — the First Baronet's third wife shows St. John (not Mews) impaling Harris (chevron and three hedgehogs) for Jane, the wife. So does Jane's hatchment at the west end of the church; and the 2nd Baronet's hatchment near it begins with St. John and does not include Mews.

Ellis Mews the younger, now St. John, who eventually died in 1729, married as his second wife Martha, daughter and eventual heiress of Edward Goodyear, Lord of the Manor of Dogmersfield. (This explains the fact that two or three generations later the St. Johns, having sold Farley Chamberlayne, ceased to be *of Farley Chamberlayne* and became *of Dogmersfield*.) The line was continued by the eldest son Paulet, who became in 1772 the first of a new line of St. John baronets. In 1733 at the age of 29 he had jumped on horseback into a chalk-pit 25 feet deep without injury to horse or rider, and in the following year he won a race on the same horse running under the name *Beware Chalk Pit*. A lofty monument on Farley Down records the exploit.

The connection of the St. Johns with Farley Chamberlayne virtually ends with the death of Sir Henry Paulet St. John, 2nd Baronet, in 1784. A stone in the floor of the sanctuary commemorates the 1st Baronet and his third wife Jane (Harris), widow of William Pescod, who, dying in 1791, outlived her husband and her stepson the 2nd Baronet. Jane's funeral hatchment, easily recognized by its chevron and three hedgehogs, and that of her stepson, who died in 1784, survive at the west end of the church. In all three cases the red hand of Ulster indicates that the husband was a baronet. A stone at the east end of the church commemorates the Rev. John St. John, M.A., third son of the 1st Baronet and Rector of Farley Chamberlayne 1765-86.

Why the descendants of Ellis (Mews) St. John used the family name Paulet as a Christian name and the motto of the Bedfordshire St. Johns — *Data fata secutus* — is not known to the present writer. They were only very distantly related to the Bletsoe line and even more remotely connected with the Paulets, Marquesses of Winchester, who still held the title of Lord St. John of Basing. It is conceivable that as the status of this junior branch of the Lydiard Tregoze line rose they wished to emphasize their descent from Margaret Beauchamp and their consequent kinship with the Royal Family, and, not being perhaps very sure of their genealogy, they connected themselves with the Bletsoe line, particularly with the Earls of Bolingbroke 1624-1711, who had used the name Paulet in two successive generations.

Further evidence of the professed link with the Bletsoe line is afforded by the inscription :

Here lyeth the body of
Oliver St.John Esq.
descended from Sir Oliver St.John
and Margaret Beauchamp
of Bletsoe in Bedfordshire
who was grandmother to
Henry 7th
King of England.
He dyed the 26th day of August A.D. 1689
and in the 48 th year of his age.

Although the information about descent is correct, a casual reader would assume that Oliver (d. 1689) was of the junior branch of the Bletsoe St.John line.

In 1786 Sir Henry Paulet St.John, 3rd Baronet, (1764-1808), the only surviving son of the 2nd Baronet, married Jane Mildmay. At the age of four — in 1768 — this lady had become heir to her father Carew Mildmay, of Shawford, co. Hants., and Mildmay Park, Stoke Newington, Middlesex; in 1771 under the will of Sir William Mildmay, Bt., of Moulsham Hall, Essex, a distant relative who had become Jane's uncle by marrying Jane's aunt Anne, she inherited further properties subject to the life interest of her aunt, who eventually died in 1796; and in 1784 on the death of her great-uncle Carew Hervey Mildmay, M.P. for Harwich, 1713, and private secretary to the 1st Viscount Bolingbroke, of Marks Hall, Hornchurch, Essex, and Hazelgrove, Somerset, at the age of 93, further estates devolved upon her as the representative of the Mildmay family, now extinct in the male line. (There were other properties beside the seats above mentioned.) All these three benefactors — Jane's father, uncle by marriage, and great-uncle — gave instructions in their wills that the persons to whom these properties should come should use the surname and arms of Mildmay and no other surname whatsoever. From the point of view of the vast accumulation of properties that came to the 3rd Baronet with Jane Mildmay this was probably the most important marriage that any St.John ever made, with the possible exception of the St.John-Beauchamp marriage of circa 1430. In 1790, therefore, in compliance with these testamentary injunctions, Sir Henry Paulet St.John, 3rd Baronet, obtained royal permission to use the additional surname of Mildmay and to bear the arms of Mildmay only. But, just as happened with the Glamorgan St.Johns after their Beauchamp marriage, the head of the family moved to one or more of his new homes. There are no St.John monuments in the church at Farley Chamberlayne later than those of 1784, 1786, and 1791 mentioned above. Not long afterwards the manor house, which stood just to the north of the church was sold and, early in the nineteenth century, demolished. Its well survived in a corner of a field jut to the north-east of the church until May 1971, when it was concreted over. The north wall of the church shows traces of a doorway that doubtless served as the Lord of the Manor's private entrance to the church.

From William to the 2nd Baronet the story covers seven generations, six of which are represented by at least one monument in the church. But there is an interesting postscript. Jane Dorothea, eldest daughter of the 3rd Baronet and Jane (Mildmay), married Paul, 1st Lord Methuen, and became, in time, the great-grandmother of our President. Maria, the second daughter, married her distant cousin Henry, 4th Viscount Bolingbroke and 5th Viscount St. John — they both belonged to the eighth generation after Nicholas St. John of Lydiard Tregoze and his half-brother William of Farley Chamberlayne — and became, in time, the grandmother of the present Lord Bolingbroke. (This probably explains the use of Mildmay as a Christian name by the St. Johns of Lydiard Tregoze in recent times.) Anne Judith, the third daughter, married William, Viscount Folkestone, later 3rd Earl of Radnor (of the second creation), and became, eventually the great-great-grandmother of the present (8th) Earl.

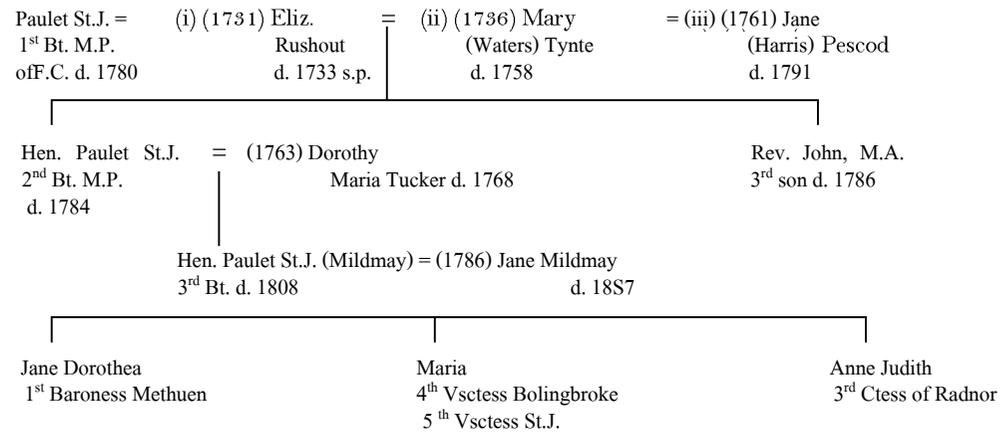
The present writer wishes to acknowledge the help with this article received from the Rev. S. Boothman, M.A., H.C.F., Miss Hannah Boothman for extracting the entries from the register, and Mr W.R. Bugby.

APPENDIX — Extract of St. John entries from the Registers of Farley Chamberlayne church.

BAPTISMS

| <u>Chr. Name</u> | <u>Born</u> | <u>F ather</u> | <u>Mother</u> | <u>Baptised</u> |
|---|-------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Barbara | | Henry, Esq. | Ursula | 23 Jul 1601 |
| Henry | | Henry | Ursula | 2 Aug. 1602 |
| John | | Henry, Esq | | 2 Jan. 1603 |
| Ann | | Henry | Ursula | 3 Mar. 1604 |
| Ursula | | Henry | Ursula | 10? Apr. 1606 |
| Lucy | | Henry | Ursula | 11? Aug. 1607 |
| Oliver | 27 Sept | Henry | Ursula | 16 Oct. 1608. |
| Henry | 2 Apr | Henry | Ursula | 15 Apr. 1610 |
| Sara | | Henry, Esq. | | 9 Sept. 1616 |
| Mary | | Henry, Esq. | | 25 Apr. 1618 |
| (There is a gap in the register from 1629 to 1643.) | | | | |
| Christian | | Oliver | Constance | ? Oct. 1643 |
| John | | Oliver | Constance | 20? Oct. 1644 |
| William | | Oliver | Constance | 29 Jan. 1645 |
| Walter | | Oliver | Constance | 16 Oct. 1649 |
| Margery | | Oliver | Margery | 4 Sept. 1677 |
| Oliver | 8 Feb. | Oliver | Margery | 20 Feb. 1678 |
| Paulet | 7 Apr. | Ellis | Martha | 27 Apr. 1704 |
| Ellis | 28 Feb. | Ellis | | 19 Mar. 1705 |
| Esther | 23 Aug. | Ellis | | 9 Sept. 1707 |
| John | 29 Dec. | Ellis | | 31 Jan. 1712 |

SELECT PEDIGREE OF ST.JOHN OF FARLEY CHAMRERLAYNE continued



MARRIAGES

| | | | |
|---------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| MEWS | Ellis | ST.JOHN Christian | 4 Oct. 1666 |
| GODFREY | Walter, of Lee, Gent. | ST.JOHN Margery | 30 May 1695 |
| MEWS | Ellis, Gent. | ST.JOHN Frances | 6 Dec. 1699 |

BURIALS (The Register commences in May 1612.)

| | | | | | |
|--|---|--|-----|-------|------|
| Mary | d. of Henry, Esq. | | 25? | May | 1618 |
| Henry, Esq. | | | 8? | Apr. | 1622 |
| John, Esq. | | | 5 | Sept | 1627 |
| John | s. of John Esq. | | 26 | Feb. | 1627 |
| Susanna | widow of the late John, Esq. | | ? | May | 1628 |
| William, Gent. | | | 5 | July | 1630 |
| Margaret | wife of Henry, Esq. | | 2? | Sept. | 1636 |
| | stillborn s. of Oliver, Esq. | | 16 | Nov. | 1647 |
| | stillborn s. of Oliver, Esq. and his wife Constance | | 5 | Apr. | 1654 |
| Oliver, Esq. | died the last day of July | | 3 | Aug. | 1665 |
| Constance | wife of Oliver, deceased, died 14 Sept. | | 16 | Sept. | 1666 |
| Margery | wife of Oliver, Esq., died 27 June | | 29 | June | 1681 |
| Walter, Gent | | | 11 | Mar. | 1681 |
| John, Gent | | | 28 | July | 1686 |
| Oliver, Esq. | Lord of this Manor & Patron of this Church, died 26 August | | 27 | Aug. | 1689 |
| Elizabeth | wife of Robert London, Gent. | | 9 | Feb. | 1691 |
| Margery | d. of Walter Godfrey of Lee | | 3 | May | 1698 |
| Oliver, Esq. | died 20 May | | 27 | May | 1699 |
| Walter and Margery | twin children of Walter Godfrey | | 17 | Feb. | 1700 |
| Frances | wife of Ellis Mews, Gent., died 15 Mar. | | 20 | Mar. | 1700 |
| Margery | wife of Walter Godfrey | | 20 | Apr. | 1703 |
| (There is a gap in the register from 1737 to 1766. When resumed the Gregorian calendar is used.) | | | | | |
| Sir Paulet, Bt. | | | 16 | June | 1780 |
| Rev. John | | | 10 | Apr. | 1786 |
| Lady [(Jane)] | relict of Sir Paulet, Bt. | | 2 | Feb. | 1791 |
| - | [A later annotation suggests that this may be Mary, only d. of Sir Paulet, Bt.]] | | 12 | Nov. | 1802 |

The Miles Charity

by the Rev. Brian Carne, B.Com.

Six weeks before his death and after almost sixty years as Rector of Lydiard Tregoze, the Rev. Richard Miles enriched the parish by establishing a blanket charity for all time. On July 27th, 1839, at 68 Pulkney Street, Bath, he conveyed to the Curate, the Rev. Giles Daubeny, and to Churchwardens Cornelius Bradford and Jacob Woodward and to their successors as Trustees the sum of £100 in 3% Consols for *the purchase of Blankets, BedBinen and other articles of a like nature to be selected according to the discretion of the said Trustees for the time being and to distribute the same yearly and every year at Christmas for ever amongst such of the deserving Poor of the said Parish of Cydiard Tregoze as shall not for the time being be receiving Parochial Relief*

The Rev. Richard Miles was born in 1747, the son of Thomas Miles, Gent., of Wootton Bassett. He matriculated at Balliol College 14th May 1766, at the age of 18, and gained his B.A. in 1770, his M.A. in 1792. He became Rector of Lydiard Tregoze in 1780. *Report No.3*, p.18 comments on the frequency of his signing minutes: he is on record as appointing a churchwarden only three times. For many years he occupied Moredon House 'with its old world garden, surrounded by well-timbered fields'. By 1783 he had a curate residing in the parish. William Cobbett did not view Richard Miles with much favour. The entry for 30th September 1826, in his *Weekly Register* Vol.LX, col. 12 and 13, reads :

I went out of my way to see Great Tydiard..... all, except the Church, is in a state of irreparable and apparent neglect, if not abandonment. The parish is large, the living is a rich one, it is a Rectory; but, though the incumbent has the great and small tithes, he, in his return, tells the parliament that the parsonage-house is worn out and incapable of repair! And, observe, that parliament lets him continue to sack the produce of the tithes and the glebe, while they know the parsonage-house to be crumbling down, and while he has the impudence to tell them that he does not reside in it, though the law says that he shall!

The parsonage house Cobbett refers to was situated just outside and to the north east of the churchyard, on a site now occupied by a group of beech and chestnut trees. Part of the boundary of the site of the former Rectory can still be traced. William Cobbett's

strictures no doubt could have elicited a defence from Richard Miles. In 1830 Rector Miles made an exchange of land with Lord Bolingbroke. The wording of the Agreement (W.R.O. 305/6) suggests that the new Rectory (now known as The Grange) was already in existence. It is likely that Richard Miles paid for it to be built.

Richard Miles was buried at Lydiard Tregoze churchyard in a vault situated in the corner formed by the north wall of the chancel and the east wall of the north aisle. He is buried with his wife, Mary, who died 29th August 1841, at the age of 87, and with his mother-in-law, Mrs Elizabeth Knight, who, according to the tablet above the Rectory pew, *quitted this state of existence on the 28th July 1814 after a protracted life of 89years.*

A brass plate high up on the south wall of the nave brings us back to the subject of this article. It records briefly the establishment of the blanket charity in 1839.

The successive rectors and churchwardens acted as trustees until the Local Government Act of 1894 replaced the churchwardens by nominees of the Parish Council and further required a report on the charity to be given annually to the Parish Meeting. The present Trustees are the Rev. Michael West, Mr A.C. Nutland, and Mr F.M. Clark.

The interest from the stock fell from the original £21 per annum as the rate of interest on Consols was reduced. Late in the century dividends were /£19.5.0d per annum, later still they fell to £17.10.0d. The Consols were transferred to the Official Receiver of Charities by the Rector and churchwardens in 1897. In 1967 the Consols were sold by the Trustees for ^301.6.8d, the proceeds being re-invested in the Charities Official Investment Fund. The interest received in 1970 amounted to ,£19.0. 10d. In 1967 also the Miles Grave Account was closed. Donations had ceased to be made towards this fund. The £16 standing on deposit at the bank was given to the Church Council towards the cost of renovating the grave, which had suffered from natural causes and from the removal of its iron railings during the 1939-45 War.

Records of the distribution of the charity prior to 1885 have not survived. The following selection indicates how welcome the day was when someone from a very large number of households attended Hook School for the annual distribution and gave their tiny offering for the maintenance of Rector Miles's grave.

| | | £ s d |
|------|--|----------|
| 1885 | 83 blannkets at 5s. each | 20.15. 0 |
| 1888 | 24 pairs of blankets at 10s. 108 yards of calico at 4d. 72 yards of sheeting at 10/4 d. etc. | 17. 5. 9 |
| 1908 | 71 coloured counterpanes | 17.15. 0 |
| 1910 | 63 pairs of sheets at 5s. 2d. | 16. 5. 6 |
| 1924 | 87 flannelette blankets at 5s. | 21.15. 0 |

Wartime shortages affected the distribution of the charity. Pairs of sheets were distributed in 1914, but from 1915 to 1921 5s. vouchers for the purchase of clothing or bed linen were given. 1924 saw the resumption of gifts in kind. 65pairs of pillowcases in 1941 formed the last of these distributions; thereafter the Trustees reverted to the 5s. vouchers. In November 1949 the Parish Council resolved, *that due to the increase in the population caused by the Swindon Corporation using Fydiard Park as a housing estate, this Charity should be distribute to old deserving people only.* Eight such old, deserving people were selected by the Trustees to receive rather larger vouchers redeemable, as the others were, at Maslin's at Wootton Bassett. In 1970, 12 vouchers were distributed.

Like so many other parochial charities the glories of the Miles Charity are in the past. Elderly parishioners today express their own immense gratitude and that of their parents and grandparents for this blanket charity. Although complete accounts have not survived, it is likely that almost,AT500 have been distributed in goods or vouchers by this charity over the years. Presumably it will continue, as its founder intended, *for ever.*

RECTOR RATTY

by the Rev. Brian Carne, B.Com.

- 1815 Born 2nd December, the son of George Baily, woolstapler of Caine, and his wife Harriett. Baptised Henry George at Caine 10th January.
- 1816 A.E.W. Marsh, *A History of the Borough and Town of Caine*, 1903, p.120: *From about the middle of the eighteenth century until the extinction of the trade a century later, the leading clothiers were the Baily's through marriage the Baily's acquired.... a preponderating influence in the political and municipal affairs of the borough In the Devizes Gazette of 1830 a correspondent says in effect that the borough of Caine was entirely in the hands of this family and its connections.* Educated at Tilshead School.
- 1839 Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge.
- 1842 B.A. Made a deacon and ordained priest, Diocese of Chester. Perpetual Curate of Hurdsfield, Cheshire.

- 1843 Began eighteen months of deputation work on behalf of the London Jews' Society, *the claims of whose organisation he advocated in all parts of the United Kingdom* (obituary notice in the *North Wilts Herald*).
- 1844 Married Elizabeth Mignon, daughter of Major Richards of the East India Company's Service. (By her had twelve children, three sons and four daughters of whom survived him)
- 1845 M.A.
- 1847 Began thirty-eight years' ministry as Vicar of Swindon. Took steps to replace Holy Rood Church, and met with opposition from church-rate payers.
- 1851 Christ Church built to the design of Sir Gilbert Scott at a cost of £8,000.
- 1871 Parochial schools re-built in the King William Street.
- 1885 Rector of Lydiard Tregoze until his death on 8th May 1900, at the age of 84. Buried at Christ Church, Swindon. Memorial tablets in Christ Church and at Lydiard Tregoze.

Published works :

Sermons and several pamphlets, including the following:

A sermon against Popish aggression

Pitaniés for Sunday Schools

Ten reasons why I love my Church

Ten reasons why I love my Prayer Book

Obituary notices :

Devizes Gazette, 10th May 1900.

North Wilts Herald, 11 May 1900 : *His strong point was his dislike of anything that tended in the slightest direction of Ritualism* *As an extempore preacher he as facile princeps, [on one occasion the sermon] lasted for an hour and twenty minutes without any sign of impatience from the congregation* *He was a warm supporter of the total abstinence cause* *He was a Tory of the old school and a great fighter for his party* *[He had a great interest in education], a member of the School Board.... an elected member of the Bocal Board and for a time its chairman* *The deceased gentleman had the courage of his convictions* *and would brook no interference from anyone in the discharge of his duties, in which he was single-minded and impartial.*"

Wilts, Archaeological Magazine, Vol.51, p.92 : *he was known as a vigorous and popular preacher of uncompromisingly Evangelical views* *He was a practical agriculturalist, and at one time possessed a famous breed of pigs.*"

Rector Baily had never taken very kindly to popularly elected boards, and nineteenth-century legislation had provided a number of these. The Local Government Act of 1894 made further significant inroads into the rights and powers of the select vestry of a parish and into those of an incumbent of the Established Church. It is the purpose of this article to trace, from vestry minutes, correspondence, the first volume of the minutes of the Parish Council, and their letter book, and from burial

registers kept separately by the Rector and the Parish Council, the story of a struggle that was occasioned by the 1894 Act.

There were three points at issue, two minor and one major. The 1894 Act transferred the authority for parochial charities, as distinct from ecclesiastical charities, from the vestry to the newly-created parish council or parish meeting. It required that records such as tithe commutation maps and schedules should be transferred from the incumbent burial authority, except in regard to the churchyard itself.

Charles Arnold-Baker, in *Parish Administration*, 1958, pp.5 and 6, writes :

[By the 1894 Act] the Church was excluded from formal participation in Local Government and the traditional functions of the parish, which had always had a 'Christian' complexion, were to be administered by laymen..... In 1894 the squire, the parson and sometimes the schoolmaster were the leaders of the village. Their influence depended upon their traditional prestige, their superior education and their relative wealth, and, in a hierarchical society, upon their social standing. The vestries had followed their lead, taken their advice or bowed to their power. The parish councils were regarded as an intrusion. Most of them began without the co-operation of the influential and had even to face their active opposition. This, in an age when higher education was the privilege of a class, was a serious matter But their difficulties had only just begun the revenues of parish councils derived mainly from rates on agricultural land. Within eighteen months of their creation agricultural land was derated by 50 percent, without compensation.

Under the new act, a parish meeting was held in Hook School on 4th December 1894, to elect the nine members of the new parish council. Rector Baily took the chair, and the minutes record that he *opened the meeting with a few sensible and practical remarks*. Those elected were Walter Ody of Flaxlands, Samuel Weight of Hook Villa, Humphrey White of Midgehall, Alfred J. Hitchcock, Frederick Tuck of Highgate, Abner Carew of Hay Lane Wharf, Edwin H. Edmonds of Hook, Charles Price of Hook, and Norman Hitchcock of Hook.

Nine days later, the first meeting of the new Council was held. Humphrey White was elected Chairman, and Joseph Habgood was appointed Clerk. The Council's struggle to establish its identity is reflected in two of the resolutions passed at this meeting, that *All arrangement for Burials and the care of the Cemetery be in the hands of C. Price Jnr. for the time being*, and that the *Chairman have an interview with the Rev. Henry G. Baily on the Question of Chanties*.

The involved story of the burial ground must be told as a whole, later in this article. The lesser matters of the Miles Charity and of the custody of records, which also became an issue between the Rector and the Council, can be stated quite briefly.

After the Chairman's visit to the Rector, the Council resolved at their next meeting to write to the Charity Commissioners about the new arrangements for parochial charities. As the annual parish meeting in 1895 received no information about the Miles Charity, the Council resolved to write to the Rector for a statement of accounts for the two years, 1894 and 1895. The Rector was unwilling to have the Council appoint two of the Trustees, so the Council had to proceed in November 1895 to appoint Messrs. H. White and A.J. Hitchcock as Trustees, thereby displacing the Churchwardens, Messrs. C. Large and W.A. Rebbeck. Throughout, the Council found the Rector very unco-operative over information on the Miles charity.

The dispute with the Rector over the custody of parochial records centred in the provision of adequate, acceptable storage by the council. In December 1897 he was asked for the tithe map, which was enclosed in a long metal tube, and the relevant schedule. Nothing happened; so the Council twice wrote to the County Council about the matter. Several times the Clerk wrote to the Rector, and covered the point of safety by explaining, *My house is slated and the map would be as safe here as at the Rectory — especially as the latter is fitted with gas*. In January 1899 a new fireproof safe was bought from Messrs. Smith & Sons for £50.10.0d. The internal measurements were 60" x 30" x 22" — ideal for the tithe map, old rate books, etc! The Rector was again requested to hand the records over. Six months elapsed before a further urgent letter was sent to the Rector on the subject. Presumably the Council had to wait another twelve months, until his death, to fill their new safe.

The closure of churchyards is a nineteenth-century phenomenon. The general increase in the population, the establishment of private property in the form of vaults and grave stones, the desire for family graves, Victorian delicacy, and Public Health Acts all combined to close the old churchyards. At one time there was continuous burial, of the great ones inside the church, and of lesser breeds in the churchyard. The 0.730 acres of Lydiard Tregoze churchyard may have been used for 1,000 years for the dissolution of mortal remains, but the time came when enlargement of the churchyard became necessary. In 1880, five years before Rector Baily became incumbent, a vestry meeting had decided that the churchyard was overcrowded, that immediate steps should be taken to provide additional burial ground and that an earnest request should be addressed to Lord Bolingbroke for him to grant an enlargement of the existing ground. Action did not follow this decision, and the matter was allowed to drop.

Rector Baily took up the matter. Urgent action was needed to bring matters to a head. The Privy Council were asked for a Closure Order. This was made at their meeting on 17th September 1885, with the usual

clause that *In such vaults and wholly walled graves as are now existing in the Churchyard burials may be allowed on condition that every coffin buried therein be separately enclosed by stone work or brickwork properly cemented.* The Order was to take effect on 30th April 1886. In May 1886 the Privy Council postponed the date of closure until the following 31st December, on which day yet another postponement was ordered — to be effective on 1st July 1887. Apart from burials in bricked vaults, the last burial in the churchyard took place on 24th June 1887. Rector Baily added a marginal note in the burial register to explain what happened then, *From June 24 1887 to 26 August 1891 the bodies of Fydiard parishioners were buried in the burial grounds of adjacent towns and villages.*

Rector Baily took up the matter. Lord Bolingbroke offered half an acre of land near to Park Copse together with £80 (later increased to £100) towards the cost of laying it out. The vestry considered that a mortuary chapel would be needed, as the burial ground was separated from the church, and the cost of this together with drainage and the cost of laying out the approaches was estimated to be about £680. Lord Bolingbroke's offer was turned down. An approach was made by the Vestry to the local Board of Guardians, as the sanitary authority, requesting that they should provide a new burial ground. As this produced nothing immediately, the Vestry, acting on its powers under the Burial Act 1855, appointed a Burial Board of six members. The new Board learned at their first meeting on 26th April 1889, that the Sanitary Authority threatened to borrow £100 on the security of the parochial rates to provide a new burial ground. The Board objected strongly, and so did forty-three of the principal rate-payers. Jasper Stratton of Greatfield was approached to sell half an acre of land at 8s per perch; but the sale was not concluded, for Lord Bolingbroke offered half an acre from the field 'Abies', which was accepted.

The site that was accepted did not meet with Rector Baily's approval because of drainage difficulties — it is solid clay; nor did it fulfil the Vestry's hopes of having an enlargement of the churchyard. The first burial took place on 26th August 1891, that of Mary Molden of Lydiard Tregoze, John Hunt being appointed by the Burial Board as Sexton. On 14th November of that year an all-important, definitive decision was taken by the Vestry *that the new burial ground shall be held and used like manner, and subject to the same Laws and Resolutions in all respects, as the existing Burial Ground or Churchyard of the Parish.* Public notice of the meeting and of the proposed resolution had been posted up in the parish, the notice being signed by the Rector and the two churchwardens, Thomas R.P. Kinchin and William F. Ellison. Although Lord Bolingbroke had *given* the land, it was not then conveyed to the Burial Board. Moreover, the Bishop refused to consecrate any part of it. (The present writer has been unable to discover the reasons advanced for this refusal. It may have been that the site was considered unsuitable, or that the distance from the existing churchyard was too great, or simply that the site had not yet been conveyed.) Between 1891 and 1894 the burial Board met quarterly, held three elections, issued precepts on the Overseers, and were recognised as the burial authority by the Local Government Board.

Then came the 1894 Act with its shift of authority from the Church to a popularly elected Council. The day before the first meeting of the new Parish Council, the Burial Board met and heard the news that Lord Bolingbroke did not wish to convey the land to them but to the new Parish Council. How much of the drama that was played out during the ensuing five years is due to Lord Bolingbroke's preference for the new lay lords of the parish, how much was due to pique on the part of Rector Baily and others, how much was due to ignorance of the 1891 Vestry decision, cannot be now assessed. The cold facts of letters and minutes tell only part of the story. The 1891 Vestry decision clearly meant that the Rector would enjoy the freehold of the new burial ground and that John Hunt would be Sexton according to common law. It is strange that in all the correspondence and discussions between 1894 and 1899 no reference is made to the particular issues raised by Lord Bolingbroke's intention to convey the land to the new parish council and by the fact of the ground remaining unconsecrated.

Events moved fast early in December 1894. The new Council was elected on the 4th. The Burial Board heard of Lord Bolingbroke's decision on the 12th. The Parish Council met for the first time on the 13th. Joseph Habgood, the Clerk, described events at this first meeting in a letter to the Secretary of Local Government at Whitehall, dated 3rd January 1895 :

The Burial Board sent all Books and Accounts with Cheques balance of funds in the Bank, to the Meeting asking acknowledgement of the same which was given. The Council had no knowledge that it would be handed over on the first night of their meeting. The Burial Board had met the day before and balanced up the Books, and paid the man who acted s Caretaker and Gravedigger up to the day. The Council after discussion decided to let all arrangements for the cemetery stand over for the time being, the Caretaker who was present gave up the keys saying, *No doubt alterations would be made and it would be no good to him.* The Council then passed a resolution that all burials and matters relating to the Cemetery be placed in the hands of C. Price Jn., a Carpenter and undertaker of the Parish. The past Gravedigger says he will claim the fees as Mr Baily (Rector) says he can do so.

Mr Habgood amplified the Gravediggers's words in another letter, this time to the Secretary of the Home Department, dated 9th May 1895 :

The caretaker's words were, *No doubt there will be some alterations, the job is no good to me and I wish to have no more to do with it,* and tossed the keys of the Cemetery on the table and left the meeting.

The 'powers, duties, and liabilities' of the old Burial Board were taken over by the Parish Council at their first meeting in some urgency, as a corpse was awaiting burial, and they had been handed the keys of the burial ground. Registers were obtained, and the Parish Council administered the burial ground until December 1898.

The following points of contention indicate the causes of the unedifying story :

1. Who should conduct the burial services and receive the fees? Rector Baily consistently asked for the fees due to him as incumbent for burial services taken by others. He refused to officiate at any grave not dug by Sexton John Hunt. During the period of the Council's administration there were thirty-eight funerals, at only eight of which did Rector Baily officiate, the remainder of the Church of England services being taken by the clergy from Purton and Wootton Bassett. Messrs. Butterworth & Rose, solicitors, were employed by the Rector, Mr Bevir being employed by the Council.
2. Who should dig the graves? As John Hunt had appeared to resign, the Parish Council appointed a caretaker and gravedigger for the time being, and then advertised the post publicly. To protect the tools the shed was locked, and the key was held by the council's representative. By January 1896 it became necessary for the Council to request the Police to remove anyone, not appointed by them, who should attempt to dig a grave. (The local constable was Mr. Tilley.)
3. In whom was the land vested? Lord Bolingbroke's intention to convey the land to the Parish Council, made public in December 1894, still had not been carried out a year later. (The present writer has found no evidence that the conveyance was ever made.)
4. Who should hold the keys? John Hunt threw them on the table at the first meeting of the Council. Rector Baily did not agree with this action, for later he removed them from the porch of the burial ground. This action produced a further spate of letters.

The Parish Meeting held in March 1896 had before it a resolution (not carried) that we *are of the opinion that the whole of [Rector Bailey's] actions since 9th November 1895, is entirely unlawful, ungentlemanly, and unchristianlike in every respect.* During May 1897 Rector Baily learned from a local newspaper that the Council were to erect a shed in the burial ground to house the new wheel bier. He wrote to the Council, *I have endured an amount of provocation to which no other Clergyman would have submitted.* Matters came to a head when, shortly after this letter, Mr Baily appealed against the Parish Council's accounts before the District Auditor on account of the non-payment of fees due to him.

The crisis point had been reached, and a meeting was arranged at the Rector's suggestion between representatives of the Council, the churchwardens, and himself. Events moved fast. The 1891 vestry resolution was upheld by the Local Government Board and the Home Office — the Parish Council had *no rights or duties in connection with the burial ground*. The Rector reluctantly received back from the Council the records and accounts, for he had hoped that they would continue to administer the burial ground on his behalf. Both he and John Hunt received the fees due to them.

So the story would have ended, but the Council had a short-lived twinge of conscience about having spent money from the rate fund on the burial ground, and confessed the fact to the Home Secretary. They then rose to their public duty to keep a watching brief on the administration of the burial ground, and accordingly purchased a copy of *The Law of Burials*.

Soon, weighty matters had to be reported to the Home Secretary. The burial ground required proper drainage. In 1898, a prominent Parish councillor, Walter Ody, died, his wife having pre-deceased him seven months earlier. The vault was opened up for Mr. Ody's body, and 225 gallons of water had to be removed before the burial could take place.

The force of the representations of the Council on this matter to the Local Government Board was somewhat abated by the fact that Mrs Ody's burial took place during the time of their administration of the burial ground and that they had omitted to see that the coffin was bricked over. Rector Baily did not fail to point the moral — that the basic fault lay with the Local Government Board and the Home Office, whose inspectors had passed the site as suitable, his own adverse views being disregarded. Furthermore, the Rector pointed out that, although he himself was completely convinced of the need for deep drainage, the Thames Conservancy Board and Lord Bolingbroke, the owner of all adjacent land, had consistently objected to drainage schemes.

Rector Baily died 8th May 1900. He was succeeded by the Rev. Ebenezer Humphrey Jones. Rector Jones was joined in 1903 by the churchwardens in an abortive attempt to obtain an Order in Council for the transfer of the burial ground to the Parish Council. In 1904 five rate-payers headed by Frederick Leighton, schoolmaster at Hook and chairman of the Parish Council, sought to achieve the same end. But the Hook burial ground has continued to the present day to be the responsibility of the Church, although happily it can be reported that in recent years the Parish Council have made small grants towards its upkeep.

Addendum re the knighthood of Sir John St. John, d. 1594

In this article, dealing with the monument to the parents of Sir John, attention was not drawn to the fact that the inscription states that *John St. John set up this monument*. In 1592, the date of the monument, he clearly had not yet been knighted. Yet in his will, dated 1st June 1594, he describes himself as Sir John.

W.A. Shaw does not enter the knighthood in his *Knights of England*, but it appears fairly certain that not only did Sir John receive his knighthood on or just before 1st September 1592, but that he received it at Lydiard Tregoze on what must be the only royal visit to the place in history. It is well known that Queen Elizabeth I undertook a number of royal progresses. Information concerning the Queen's route through Wiltshire and Gloucestershire in 1592 is given by Mr W.F. Parsons in *Wilts Notes and Queries*, Vol.1, p.467. Mr Parson's quoted from a manuscript book then in the possession of Gloucester Corporation

Tempore Rich. Cox, Maior Cwiti: Gloucr. Anno Reg: Elizabeth Tncessimo Quarto. This Sommer the Queen's Progresse began about the 8 th of August, and came to Rams bury e, and from thence to Burtheropp, and from thence to Eiddearde, and we came to Down Ampney on Friday night, being the first of September.....

We know the date of the visit to Lydiard Tregoze for *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, New Series, Vol. XXIII, A.D.1592, p.158, states that the Court met at 'Lyddiard' on 1st September 1592, when there were present, in addition to the Queen, the Lord Treasurer (Lord Burghley), the Lord Chamberlain (Lord of Hunsdon), Mr Vicechamberlain (Sir Thomas Henneage), Sir Robert Cecil, and Mr F ortescue (*Master of the Great Wardroppe* and Chancellor of the Exchequer).

The progress continued via Cirencester, Redcomb, and Sudeley Castle to Oxford where the Queen stayed from 22nd to 28th September. On the 29th she was at Rycote. The Privy Council met there and, as part of its business, it sent a letter to 'Sir John St. John, knight'.

The Society

The Officers of the Friends of Lydiard Tregoze for 1970/71 were the same as for the previous year.

Editor of the *Report*:

The Rev. Brian Carne

New members:

[REDACTED]

Changes in address:

[REDACTED]

Corrections of last year's list:

[REDACTED]

Deletions:

[REDACTED]

IN MEMORIAM: Tom Daish.

Mr Daish died suddenly on 19th October last year whilst on holiday: the Society join with his wife and family in mourning his passing. Long before the Society was formed, Mr Daish approached me about transcribing the registers of Lydiard Tregoze on behalf of the Society of Genealogists, as a winter-time occupation in his retirement. Our friendship developed from that day. He further undertook the even greater task of transcribing the Lydiard Millicent registers before tackling those of his own and neighbouring parishes. (Mrs Daish has generously given to the Society his own bound copies of the Lydiard transcripts.) His interest in Lydiard Tregoze is seen in the articles he wrote for the *Reports*.

At the memorial service at Ramsden last December, the Bishop of Dorchester read an appreciation, written by a friend of Tom's :

He was a gentle man — gentle in all his ways; in all he said and did. Upright in figure and character, he never said an unkind word, and was ready to help all who asked at any time even at some inconvenience to himself: he would put aside anything he was engaged on and give his whole attention to whoever needed his help. His interests were many and varied, and he brought a fresh outlook and a new point of view to much that he did. When his advice was sought it was freely given, and nothing was too much trouble to undertake for anyone. He lived among the people of Ramsden for just over sixteen years, and he will be sadly missed not only in the village he loved but also over a much wider field.

Such words bring him vividly to mind.

B.G.C.

Statement of Account for the year ending 31st May 1971.

| Receipts | £ p | Expenses | £ p |
|--------------------------------|--------|-----------------------|--------|
| Balance b.f. | 96.90 | Report | 8.65 |
| Subscriptions and donations | 72.13 | Catering | 3.50 |
| Bank interest | 6.29 | Printing & stationery | 1.49 |
| | | Receipt book | 0.18 |
| | | Postages | 3.65 |
| | | Gratuity | 2.00 |
| | | Balance in hand | 155.85 |
| | ----- | | ----- |
| | 175.32 | | 175.32 |
| | ===== | | ===== |

Audited and found correct — Mr Sharp, 1.6.71.

Postscript

Very warm thanks are due to Brigadier Peter Young for his masterly address at last year's Annual Meeting, for the trouble he took in correcting the transcript of his talk, and for furnishing further information for this *Report*. Sincere thanks are also due to Sir Hugh Casson for his most ready permission to reproduce the broadcast talk.

Once again, the Society wishes to acknowledge the unfailing generosity of the Corporation of Swindon in making available the materials for the production of this *Report*. And the Editor adds his own special thanks to Mrs Harris for the typing of manuscripts and stencils.

It would seem highly ungracious to leave to the Postscript the heralding of two important books, published during the last year. Ten years ago there was almost nothing in print about Lydiard Park and Church that could be accepted on its face value. Errors and surmises abounded in newspaper articles and even in standard works. Thanks to the energy and initiative of Swindon Corporation, and in particular to Mr Murray John, Miss Elizabeth Crittall and Mr A.R. Dufty collaborated on the production of a guidebook, *Lydiard Park and Church*, in 1967. Miss Crittall's researches into the history of the parish were part of her work as Editor of the *Victoria History of Wiltshire*. Volume IX of that massive work appeared late last year, and it contains among other parish histories that of Lydiard Tregoze: sixteen pages including a map of about 1773, and two pages of illustrations.

Those sixteen pages, packed with information, will continue as required reading for anyone studying any aspect of the history of the parish. Students will always be grateful for Miss Crittall's careful research. In drawing attention to a few errors in the text the present writer must hasten to add that some at least of these are due to his own poor communication of information to Miss Crittall. Page 78 speaks of *the hutted camp in Lydiard Park, which provided temporary dwellings for Polish refugees for some years*. Whilst this may be true in part, the purpose of the hutted camp was as a hospital for German prisoners-of-war; after the war it reverted to Swindon Corporation whose Housing Department used it as temporary accommodation for homeless families. On page 80, the 2nd Viscount St.John is three times called Sir John prior to his peerage but no evidence is known to the present writer about his knighthood. Also on page 80 it is stated that the house and land *were purchased from her [Lady Bolingbroke's] executor by the Corporation of Swindon*. In fact, Mr F.E. Akers initially purchased it, selling it shortly after to the Corporation. On page 86 we read that the church yard was closed in 1888; it was closed in 1887. Page 89, in dealing with the St.John Chancel Trust, omits

to state that under the terms of the Conveyance of 9th October 1943, a lien was placed on Lydiard Park whereby Swindon Corporation pays £10 annually to the church in accordance with the 1st Baronet's intentions.

The other important book published in 1970 is Dr. Dickinson's, *Bolingbroke*. From time to time books have appeared on 1st Viscount Bolingbroke, but all of these have tended to draw heavily on previous biographies, repeating former errors. Dr. Dickinson's researches have freed him from many of these mistakes. An example of this is his re-telling of the story of the 1708 election at Wootton Bassett, (see also his article in the *Wilts Archaeological Magazine*, Vol.64, pp.107-112), and of Henry St.John's failure to get into the Commons in that election. (One error must be mentioned, however: page 4 — Bolingbroke's father *had only sat in the Commons for the previous, very short parliament*. He had been returned to seven consecutive parliaments, including the 'Convention' parliament of 1689-90, from the one elected in the autumn of 1679 to the one dissolved in December 1700.)

Dr. Dickinson presents a convincing portrait of Bolingboke, *He had a cool, rational intelligence and a fierce, unbridled nature. While he had always aspired to display the former, he was more often betrayed by the latter. Tense, sensitive, highly strung he reacted violently to criticism and came near to panic in a crisis. He was resentful when he believed his talents and his political services were not sufficiently valued, and he could hardly bear criticism* (page 9). The account for the negotiations leading to the Peace of Utrecht and of Oxford's far greater share of responsibility make Bolingbroke's flight almost unbelievable and illuminate Mr Smallwood's recital of the charges on pages 27-29 of this *Report*.

Members of this Society and very many others have in the work of Miss Crittall and Dr. Dickinson something they can handle with confidence.

Last June we saw that work had commenced on the roof of the church. The work was completed, including the re-plastering of the nave roof, at a cost of ,£2,334. This figure was an increase on the estimated cost of over £500 — a sum which is still to be raised. The next job to be tackled on the fabric is the south-aisle roof, at a cost of £750.

Urgent consideration is, however, being given by the Church Council to the repair of the monuments. These have wisely been left until the building was wind-and-weather tight, but last winter showed just how urgent matters were. The alabaster bedstead tomb of the 1st Baronet has long been in danger due to its iron dowelling. The condensation caused by heating the church in winter causes corrosion which in turn bursts the stone. Last December the buttresses that crown the monument and the falcon they support crashed inside the monument. This tragedy indicates the extent of the work to be done on the monument.

We look forward to welcoming Mr Maurice Rathbone, Wiltshire County and Diocesan Archivist, as speaker at our Annual Meeting to be held on 24th June 1972. Work has already started on *Report No.5!*

The Friends of Lydiard Tregoz

19th June 1971

Free to members