

FRIENDS OF LYDIARD TREGOZ

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Report No. 9

Corrigenda:

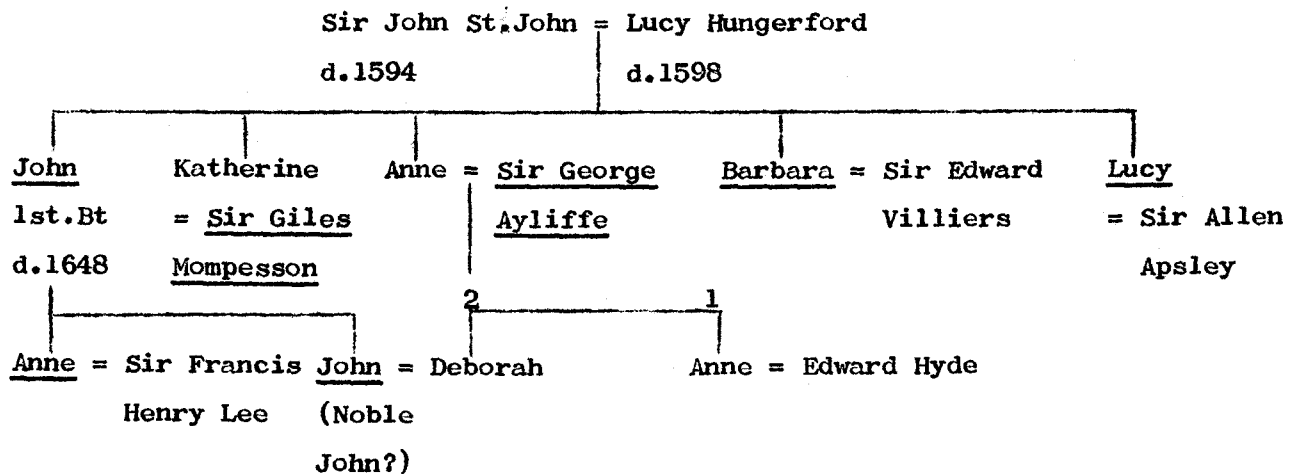
Apart from obvious errors in typing the following should be noted:

- Page 12 at the end of the Latin inscription, add "I LATHAM FECIT".
- 15 line 22. After "month's siege" insert ": but twelve years later (1637)".
- 17 46 Delete "as" after "so much",
- 21 11 After "Sir Edward)" ~~delete/dash~~ and add "to". *after/*
- 22 22 After "daughter" add "Anne".
- 25 28 For "Dixon" read "Nixon".
- 27 6 For "names" read "hames".
- 41 57 Delete "same".

On 27 June, 1625, he was collated as Archdeacon of Salisbury. (See Davenant Register and Fasti Ecclesiae Sarisberiensis, W.J.Jones, 1879.) His archdeaconry covered roughly the southern part of the county of Wiltshire, consisting of the deaneries of Potterne, Wilton, Wylve, Chalke, and Amesbury, though it excluded the sub-deanery of Salisbury. He continued to hold both the rectory and the archdeaconry until his death. He was buried at Lydiard Tregoze, according to the register returns, on 20 May, 1643.

Despite the guess of John Walker, The Sufferings of the Clergy, 1714, vol. 11, p. 63, there is no evidence that he was a 'Sufferer' in the Civil War. Walker Revised, A.G.Matthews, 1948, adds the information that his will, made at Lydiard and dated 13 May, 1643, was proved at Oxford on 14 July, 1643, and contained a bequest of £50 to his old college, Trinity, for the repair of the chapel. Probate was granted by the officials of the Prerogative Court at Oxford where the Court had moved because of the war, but the will apparently has not survived.

The eight letters that survive from his correspondence with Edward Hyde come from the period 1 December, 1640, to 26 May, 1641. (They are bound in MS. Clarendon 19 and 20, and are numbered 1460, 1470, 1493, 1503, 1506, 1513, 1521, and 1530.) The letters contain references to personalities and property in Purton - which have not been followed up - and to members of the St. John family. The following table indicates the relationships between those mentioned. Persons referred to are underlined.



Edward Hyde was born at Dinton, Wilts, on 18 February, 1608/9, the son of Henry Hyde and Mary, daughter of Edward Longford, of Trowbridge. He was admitted to Magdalen Hall in the Lent Term of 1622. Henry Hyde moved from Dinton to his own estates in Purton. (The Hyde arms are still to be seen on a fireplace in College Farm.) On his father's death Edward Hyde succeeded to the property.

Edward Hyde entered the St. John story when he married Anne, daughter of Sir George Ayliffe, of Grittenham, in the parish of Brinkworth, and niece of Sir John St. John, 1st Baronet, at Battersea, on 4 February, 1631/2. She died of small-pox the following July at the St. John manor at Purley while travelling from London to Wiltshire. His friendship with the St. John family was life-long.

In 1625 Hyde became a member of the Middle Temple. He was called to the bar in 1633, and acquired a good practice in the Court of Requests. His legal career was further advanced by his marriage, in 1634, to Frances, daughter of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Master of Requests. His political career began when he represented Wootton Bassett in the Short Parliament of 1640, and it continued

with his representation of Saltash in the Long Parliament, which sat from 3 November, 1640, to 20 April, 1653. D.N.B. comments:

Hyde began his political career as a member of the popular party. Although he did not share the hostility of the puritans to Laud's ecclesiastical policy, nor the common animosity of the lawyers to the churchmen, he was deeply stirred by the perversions and violations of the law which marked the twelve years of the king's personal rule (1628-40) In the Long Parliament [he] principally directed his reforming zeal [as in the Short Parliament] to questions connected with the administration of the law He was chairman of the committees which examined the jurisdiction of the Council of Wales and the Council of the North, and gained great popularity by his speech against the latter (26 April, 1641). He took a leading part in the proceedings against the judges In the proceedings against Strafford he acted with the popular party, helped to prepare the articles of impeachment, was added on 25 March, 1641, to the committee for expediting the trial, and on 28 April took up a message to the Lords begging that special precautions might be taken to prevent Strafford's escape Church questions soon led Hyde to separate himself from the popular party. He opposed, in February 1641, the reception of the London petition against episcopacy, and in May the demand of the Scots for the assimilation of the English ecclesiastical system to the Scottish. He opposed also, differing for the first time from Falkland, the bill for the exclusion of the clergy from secular office, and was from the beginning the most indefatigable adversary of the Root and Branch Bill.

William Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. He represented only a minority of the clergy and a still smaller minority of the laity.

In pleading against the intolerance of the puritans he was at one with the best spirit of his time. In pleading for the use of authority against the opinions of the intolerant, he was animated by immediate fear of destruction The difference between Laud and the House of Commons was one which had been inherent in the Church of England since the days of Henry VIII. Laud was the intellectual successor of the men of new learning, who had attempted, with the king at their back, to reform the church under the influence of constitutional authority and learned inquiry. The Commons were the intellectual successors of the men, who under the influence of the continental teachers, first of Zwingli and afterwards of Calvin, attempted to extract a definite system of doctrine from the Scriptures. In Laud's time, however, this latter mode of thought characterised the greater part of the clergy and of the religious laity, so that Laud, in attempting to revive a system which seemed to have passed away, found himself at issue with the conservatism which clings to existing habits of thought, and which is as dissatisfied with an attempt to reproduce the ideas of a past generation as it would be with an attempt to introduce ideas altogether unknown. (D.N.B.)

In days when the agents and institutions of prerogative rule were being overthrown - the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission were abolished on 5 July, 1641, and the proceedings relating to the non-payment of ship-money were annulled a month later - there was increasing political disintegration and the growth of actual disorder. The presence of the Scots army, necessary as part of Pym's political strategy, was deeply resented, not least because of the burden of taxation that it caused. It is against this background that Archdeacon Marler wrote in the rectory at Lydiard his weekly letters, normally, it appears, on Tuesdays, to the friend who was set at the very middle of the turbulence. The eight letters that survive were written during the first six to seven months of the Long Parliament, when the controversies between Parliament and King were beginning to take shape. They also reveal the desire of the writer to help Hyde with his property at Purton; there is the small-talk of the comings and goings of acquaintances; but there is, above all,

a thirst for news and a desire on his part to make a protest about the things that concern him deeply.

The text of the letters, by kind permission of the Bodleian Library.

MS. 1460.

Sir,

this letter is al the busines I now have of wrighting which I pray you see conveighed & let me know how you have cheered up Sir George. For I had rather heare somthing of the welfare of my friends (as I wrote lately unto you & that earnestly touchinge Mr Fording of whose health both Sir John & my self doe labour in desire to know the certainty but you gave noe touch [= hint] of it) then to receive your parliament newes in riddles & gralilys which I understand not

I know the malice of the faction against the clergy is deadly & I know almost al the passionat cavils & sophistry which ar also against our canons and I beleev as things now goe the proceedings will not be with that moderation as is fit nor doe I looke for better times heerafter. gods wil be don if it be that houre & power of darknes we must suffer.

For your busines at pirton I see noe hope but you must in part loose your halfe years rent for pevenhil [Pavenhill] it is at 9^l & it wil not be altogether lost foure what wil be saved for the present & the rest is but deferred but truly I thinke you cannot have a better tenant than Hayward. I would be glad to returne you som money as soone as I can receive it but in good faith I have not received xx^l above that which I have paid for you wherof I hope philip hath by this time gotten my pension from the receiver of Dorcet whether you have written by lavington I know not for he is not^l arived. I have only received your rents from Hayward & the two Lyddals & x^l from glead the rest of his rent Ralph hath taken up to buy commodities which you appointed him & therof he wil give you account. Let me have from you at your leysure what you wil have paid for I can see this & al things else

your affectionat servant

Tho: Marler

December 1

MS. 1470.

Sir

I am now promised speedy payment of your rents but howsoever you should not have bin disappointed of your money if you had signified how & by whome you would have it returned. Let me hear from you to that purpose & you shal have a speedy answer

Your man wels as I hear does looke upon your garden but what he does ther I entend to see to morow. I am glad you speake soe hopefully of Sir G: Ailiffe but my Lady Villers wrote to Sir John in another key. God bless your parliament & me from fallinge into your clutches. I know by this time our Canons ar subject to more damnation then the shipmoney & the authours more then the iudges for as the liberty of the subject can not stand with the former: so neither can true relligion with the later. I have given them over & my archdeconry to boote. But I could wish your parliament would proceed in ther work with a more gentle hand & not goe to neer the quick as I feare you have don in your shipmoney & I could have wished you had ben spared in those messadges you mencion. But al is wel that ends well, & I hope this wil doe soe.

I heare your house wil sit til Christmas and soe that we shal not looke for you to keepe my Lady Lee & Sir G: Mompesson company hear we ar providinge for mirth & I hope you labour for peace which is the foundation God bless al your proceedinges

your very affectionat friend

& servant

Tho Marler

Lydiard this
16 of December

MS. 1493.

Sir

If Mr Doncaster or Mr Stevens or any such man com to pay you xx^{li} I pray you take order in your absence with your wife (to whome I present my best service) to receive it & to deliver a note of the receipt upon sight whereof I wil repay it as I have taken order with them.

your busines in the parliament I presume will not permitt you soe much spare time as to complement with your friends in relateing newes I wish you had more liberty for your owne sake & that these troublesom employments wherin you ar ingeedged doe not turne to your preiudice at last for finis coronat opus I pray god bless your proceedinges

Noble John hath ben with us heer & assured me of his Fathers good estate which I reioice to heare of. We have nothing heer of moment to acquaint you withal but that your fathers old friend the La: Pile is dead which whether it be newes or noe I know not but it is none that I am

your most affectionat friend

& servant

Tho Marler

Lydiard 13
of Jan:

I have not heard whether Phil
hath received my pention

MS. 1503.

Sir

I have paid Mr Stevens the xx^l upon the receipt of your note which hath a little disquieted me because I find it written by a new clarke which makes me feare you have forgott franke Blitheman whoe would have renned his suit unto you before this but his modesty would not suffer him to press his Master unto it in this distraction knowing that it would be unseasonable now til his fathers state be settled & besides your employment in the parliament made us beleeve you had little use yet of another man. Mr Stevens tels me that phil. is married & is gon from you but I beleeve my part. But if you be indeed spedd I shal be hartely sorry for the unfortunat yoagne man

The hopes of the contry ar that we shal be blest with another goulden aege after the parliament hath purged out all the corrupt humours of the state. And we ar assured that you cannot err in your deliberations it beinge soe determined by the now great statesman of Hakeney whose abilitys beinge soe transcendent as to be able to direct both the kinge & the parliament tis pittty they have ben concealed soe long; & more pity if now they doe appeare, if they be not placed upon a higher stage

your proceedings hitherto ar mysticall & breeds wonder in plaine contry people; and if ther be noe mystery the wonder is the greater. we of the inferiour clergy looke for a doome as well as our metropolitan; & if all corrupt lawiers wer punished as well as the iudges, it wer not amiss

Al is wel at pyrton only I feare your stocke of rabbets is too high, though we have don what we can to take them downe; but ralph will provide as well as he may that they destroy not the trees & frith [= woodland]

It is noe newes that Sir John intends to visit you the next weeke; for you heard of that by my La: Lee & La: Lucy

This comes to your chamber wher I pray you present my service to as many as ar pleased to owne me I rest

your affectionat friend &
servant

Lydiard this
27 of Jan:

Tho Marler

doe me the favour to advise me what is to be don to be put out of the commission; For though I doubt not but al cleargy men shalbe debared yet I had rather prevent the disgrace, which I know may easily be don now the commission beinge necessarily to be revued

I would know whether the 100^{li} from porters key wilbe ready to be paid to Sir John St John at his comming to towne; for I would have it from him here which would save the trouble of cariadge

MS. 1506.

Sir

I attribut it to you want of leysur that you mentioned not the kings speech in your last letter which we have since seene but I cannot reconcile how that & your purpose of disputeinge the state of our Bishops doe agree together I doe not wunder at the honest d^{es} [?] trouble since your house hath sent forth incouredgements & directions for busy men to traduce al such as be not of the faction. we have heer a paper printed that it is expected by the parliament that al ingenuous persons should be very active to improve the present oportunity, that is by informing against persecutinge minoraties & scandalous ministers upon which h--t [?] ther have ben divers conventicles made in this county, & I believe in others wherin such as ar Zealous in the cause both of clergy and layty (though otherwise of noe greate integrity but god knows very sory people) have mett together & consulted how to informe against such as ar orthodox & obedient clergy men & to furnish your house with arguments (if need was) for the overthrow of the heirarchy of the church. And I heare that som loiyers in London have sent downe letters to ther friends heer that parliament marvels that this shier is soe backward to petition them against episcopal government: If these things be soe as I am sure by the sight of the booke in part they ar I could wish that your house would not hunt after busines haveinge niought to doe of greater moment. I cannot blame the Scotts if ther demands be unreasonable seinge they know this goolding faciltyty of those with whome they ar to contract Sir Roger Williams was in his time a good soldier & held a skilful man in martiall affaires yet if he had delivered that speech which is in his book of the actions of the low contreys pag: 117 at this time & applied to the present occasion he would have ben accounted a traytour

But I hartely wish & pray that al may be ended without bloud but if not then it wil appeare whose counsel was best & what they deserve that have drawne the kinge to spend such a mass of treasur to strengthen his enemies I am

bold to utter my privat fancies to you which you will the rather excuse because you require me to write weekly which I will not faile to doe hopinge to heare somthing from you of more importance. I expect to heare this day from you touching 2 or 3 points which I mentioned in my last letter & if phil: be not recovered send your man to him that I may have an answer of my letter. present my service to Sir Ge: Ailiff & noble John & the rest & continue to love your

true & faithful friend

Lydiard
3 of feb:

Tho Marler

MS. 1513.

Sir

If you can a little descend from the care of the common wealth to thinke upon your owne particular I am requested to tell you that Rudele the Taylour hath a desire to take a state of that house & Land which Hayward now leaves caled frith which is eleven pounds a year & he would take it for 3 lives at the rent x ^s per annum & pay a fine proportionably for the rest wherin he would know your wil. Ralph tels me likewise that Rob: Read your neighbour at Pivenhill would gladly sel his land ther which is 9¹¹ a year & then take a state of it from you for 3 lives wherof he desires you would consider. It seemes that your tenant Lavington is goinge to his mother to dwell & Sanders is very desirous to take that house & wil improve your rent if he may have a state of it for 20 years he pretends only to use it as a warehouse but I beleeve rather if it is because he would have it to monopolise the trade

your relation of Franke blitheman hath grieved me to the hart for his friends sake & his owne & I should hardly have beleaved it had it come any other way I know not what to thinke of nor what to advise them for the recovery of this unhappy yougne man

you must expect Sir John the next weeke certainly. I will not looke for any thing from you touching the parliament for I know those businesses ar like the mysteris of Ceros & may not be divulged Only I should be glad to heare of the departure of the Percival Scots or whether they ar to be maintained heer stil as a guard or as the executioners of the papists & prelates or whether we have agreed with them as hezechia did with the assyrians 2 K. 18. 14.

I pray you let the money of porters key be ready for it shalbe called for the next weeke

I take leave & wish my service I beseech you remember

yours now to be commanded

Tho: Marler

you forgot to tell me what I must doe against the assises

Feb. 10

MS. 1521.

Sir

your neighbour Read hath sent you this inclosed but he wil not tell me what he wil give for a lease of 3 lives but only accordinge to the proportion that you

give him for the fee But he wil talke with you himself about it and if you doe not com into the contry shortly he wil com to you Ruddle seemes very desirous to deal with you for your other farme but speakes much out of the way he valewes the thinge but at x^s a year declare consceernig he is to pay x^s rent & al other dues & duties which you doe now discharge & yet have but xi^s Besids he alleadges how extreemaly the house is out of repair & must be of necessity in a manner new built. I thinke you wer better deale with both of them by lease for yeers and then you may hope to see the expiration xxi yeers is now commonly beleved at x yeers purchase & they seeme to thinke that 3 lives is worth noe more but heerin I must leave you to your owne choice. you shal doe well to obtaine some playdaies & com hither to sport your self after soe longe & tireing at schoole your sider shalbe brought heare as soone as possible. you sent me word of Dr. Chafies trouble but not how he is com of. we hear that Mr Goar is accused of treason If you touch som of these thinges as farr as you may without the danger of tellinge tales out of schoole in your next it wil be very welcom For other thinges we shal know when they appeare.

present my service to al your friends ther & I shal ever remain

yours constantly

Tho Marler

Lydiard this
24 of feb:

MS. 1530

Sir

I shal only tell you that I was yesterday at pyrton to see your affaires ther how your Cyder lies cheeke by ioule with your hoggshed of wine & ther let them ly together till you disturbe them I have brought away the kay of the Cellar. your man wels does som thinge in your garden & wil make it neat against your cominge both trees & grass in the warren flourish very happily. yowen the Bayliff was with me to signify that ther is xv^s com forth of the Checques for you to pay for a poot [?] fine for the Land you bought of Mr Masklin he shewed it me in his roule [manorial roll of tenants] which he had in charge to gather. you ar much longed for in the . . . [?] contry to sett thinges in order.

we ar heer in much expectation till the archbishop & the iudges goe the same way with the Lieuetenant & then we shal hope for a happy state noe doubt when al the disturbers of our peace & liberties ar taken away & the church & state settle in a new forme of government. I can only pray that al may be for the best though I have little reason to hope. I am called for my letter & so must conclud in hast

Sir

I am your assured friend

& servant

Lydiard
may 26

Tho Marler

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Brief notes on the foregoing letters:

MS. 1460. 'gralily'. Mr S.F.Sanderson, M.A., of the Institute of Dialect and Folk Lore Studies of the University of Leeds, writes, "I am afraid that I cannot give you very much help with this strange word. The English Dialect Dictionary cites the verb 'grawl' equal to 'to grope in the dark' as known in

Somerset and appearing in Sweetman's Wincanton Glossary, 1885. 'Gralily' sounds like some sort of adverb, though obviously used as a substantive. The form is difficult to explain, but if the word is connected with 'grawl' then it must mean something like 'confused gropings', 'uncertainties', 'obscurities'."

MS. 1503. 'Renned his suit'. Murray's Dictionary cites 'to ren' as an obsolete word meaning 'to clear a way for'.

'Spedd'. presumably this is the past participle of the verb 'to speed' in the sense of being successful, as in 'God speed the plough.'

MS. 1506. Sir Roger Williams (?1540-1595). See D.N.B.:

At a very youthful age he adopted the profession of arms. He spent most of his life on the Continent of Europe, in the capacity of a soldier of fortune. He rapidly acquired a wide reputation for exceptional courage and daring. Like Shakespeare's Fluellen, he was constitutionally of a choleric temper and blunt of speech, but the defects of judgement with which he is commonly credited seem exaggerated. In 1585 he was sent to the Low Countries with what promised to be an effective English army under the Earl of Leicester's command.

Actions of the Low Countries was published posthumously in 1618. On p. 117 in that book, Sir Roger Williams comments on the error made by Spain in withdrawing the Duke of Alva from the Netherlands by writing:

For whether the people bee strongly situated or not; wealthie or poore; few, or great in multitudes; being resolved to be mutinous and discontented, and not willing (as I said before) to be brought unto any composition, but such as pleaseth themselves: God helpe that Prince or State, that must be forced to compound with such a people, by any means but by the sword.

MS. 1513. Ceros. Presumably he means Ceres, in whose worship there were mysteries which were never divulged.

2 Kings 18, 14 reads: (N.E.B.)

Hezekiah king of Judah sent a message to the king of Assyria at Lachish: 'I have done wrong; withdraw from my land, and I will pay any penalty you impose upon me.'

These notes would be much longer if some more of the 'gralilys' had been elucidated, for example the 'Percival Scots' in MS. 1513, and the 'poot fine' in MS. 1530. Comments or suggestions by members would be appreciated.

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SHORTER NOTES.

Cobbett.

In Report no. 4, p. 60, and Report no. 6, p. 104, there are short extracts from Cobbett's Weekly Register, vol. LX, cols. 12 and 13. Readers may wish to have the full section. In 1826 Cobbett was travelling from Wootton Bassett to Highworth when he digressed to Lydiard Tregoz. He left Swindon a few miles away to his left, and came by the village of Blunsdon. The 'Lord Bolingbroke' is Henry, 5th Viscount Bolingbroke, who had succeeded to the title two years before. The rector is Richard Miles, rector from 1780 to 1839.

Highworth (Wilts)

Monday, 4 Sept 1826

I could not come through that villainous hole, Calne, without cursing Corruption at every step; and when I was coming by an ill-looking, broken-winded place, called the town-hall, I suppose, I poured out a double dose of execration upon it. "Out of the frying pan into the fire;" for in about ten miles more I came to another rotten hole called Wotton-Basset! This is also a mean, vile place, though the country all round it is very fine. On this side of Wotton-Basset, I went out of my way to see the church of Great Lyddiard, which, in the parliamentary return is called Lyddiard Tregoose. In my old map it is called Tregose; and, to a certainty, the word was Tregrosse; that is to say très grosse, or, very big. Here is a good old mansion-house and large walled-in garden and a park, belonging, they told me, to Lord Bolingbroke. I went quite down to the house, close to which stands the large and fine church. It appears to have been a noble place; the land is excellent; but 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 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! And while this is suffered to be, a poor man may be transported for being in pursuit of a hare! What coals, how hot, how red, is this flagitious system preparing for the backs of its supporters.

Note: Cobbett's vilification of Calne and Wootton Bassett is due to their very limited parliamentary franchise. It should also be added, in defence of rector Miles, perhaps, that a new rectory was provided four years later.

Owing to a typing error, a line was omitted from the above. After 'land' in line 14 of the text, add:

is some of the finest in the whole country; the trees show that the land

- - - - -

The Arms of Blount and Zouche.

The beginner in heraldry soon discovers that the study teems with technical niceties, some of which prove to be pitfalls even for the experts. Two such occur at Lydiard Tregoze and in the St. John window at Battersea.

At a very early stage the novice learns that a fess is a broad horizontal band across the middle of the field. (In the St. John collection the coats of Umfreville - argent, a fess . . . gules; Paveley - ermine, a fess azure . . . ; Beauchamp - gules, a fess . . . or . . . ; Patshull - argent, a fess sable . . . ; and Ewyas - argent, a fess gules . . . provide examples.) If the lines that define it are not straight, their nature must be stated, and the fess becomes a fess "engrailed" or "invected" or "wavy" or whatever. There cannot be more than one fess on a coat, but the fess can be narrowed and so become a bar, two of which appear in the Hungerford coat - sable, two bars argent and . . . Like the fess, the bar can have a wide variety of defining lines and so become a bar "engrailed" or "invected" or "wavy" or "nebuly" or whatever. If the field is composed of a number of horizontal strips of equal width it is blazoned, e.g., as "barry of . . ." or "barry

wavy of . . . ", but the number of bands must be specified and must be even. If the number exceeds ten, "barry of . . . " becomes "barruly of . . . " (See Fox-Davies, ed. Brooke-Little, p. 92.)

So we come to Blount. Burke's General Armory blazons the arms of six members or branches of the Blount family, including the Mapledurham branch, to which Elizabeth, wife of Nicholas St. John, belonged, as barry nebulée of six or and sable. (Nebuly is an exaggerated form of wavy, and recalls the words of Psalm 107: They mount up to the heaven, they go down again to the depths.) This means that we have - or should have - six horizontal, nebuly bands of gold, black, gold, black, gold, black. But on the monument to Nicholas and Elizabeth - pace Report no. 3, p.41 - it is barry nebuly of 8 or and sable. On panels 1, 3, and 4 of the triptych (dating from 1684, 1699, and 1694 respectively) and in the east window at Battersea we have three black bars nebuly with gold at the top, in between, and at the base of the field. Pretty clearly this is Or, three bars nebuly sable, and not barry nebuly of six or and sable, as given by Burke.

The second technical problem arises from the use of the canton. A canton is a small rectangle occupying about one-ninth of the field and placed in one of the top corners of the field. It can be a charge in its own right, but it occurs as such - as we shall see - only once in St. John heraldry. It is found, however, very frequently as the Canton of Ulster in the arms of baronets, bearing the red hand of Ulster, the badge of a baronet. But whether serving as a charge in its own right or as the Canton of Ulster, it is far more frequently dexter than sinister.

"The canton . . . is superimposed over every other charge or ordinary, no matter what this may be . . . and even though a charge may be altogether hidden or 'absconded' by the canton, the charge is always presumed to be there and is mentioned in the blazon." (Fox-Davies, ed. Brooke-Little, p. 104.) Now the arms of Zouche are gules, ten bezants 4, 3, 2, 1, a canton ermine. According to this clear doctrine, therefore, the canton ermine in dexter chief ought to hide the first bezant in the top row of four and probably part of the second, just as the Canton of Ulster hides one of Sir John's mullets on two of the shields in the Battersea window. But in the top row of the sixteen paternal ancestors on panel 4 of the triptych, where Zouch occurs as nos. 7 and 8, and again in the second row, where Zouche is no. 4, some attempt has been made to show all the four bezants of Zouche's top row. Admittedly in two of the instances the problem is aggravated by the fact that the coat is on a lozenge instead of a shield, but in no. 7 of the top row of ancestors, where the coat is on a shield, the four bezants have been re-arranged as 2 and 2 beside the canton ermine. Quite clearly this does not conform with the strict doctrine.

On the other hand, Sir Richard St. George, who designed the work of 1615 on the triptych, was more accurate than his successor of 1694, for in the Leighton achievement of 16 at the feet of Sir John, 1st Baronet, and his wife Anne in the group of family portraits, the top row clearly has four bezants, one and a half of which are hidden by the canton while two and a half are visible.

F.T.S.

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MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS No. 6.

William Villiers, 2nd Viscount Grandison,
in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford.
with notes by Frank T. Smallwood, M.A., F.S.A.

H[IC]. S[EPULTUS]. I[ACET].
GULIELMUS VILLIERS
VICECOMES GRANDISON
DE LIMERICO,
MARTIS ET GRATIARUM CERTAMEN/
QUI
ORIS VENUSTISSIMI DECUS
FACTIS PULCHERRIMIS MAGIS HONESTAVIT:
POST RES MAXIMAS
IN BELGIO, HIBERNIA, DEMUM ANGLIA GESTAS
CUM A PARTIBUS REGIIS ADVERSUS REBELLES
IN OBSESSAM BRISTOLIAM LEGIONES DUCERET,
PRIMUS ADMOTIS SCALIS VALLUM SUPERAVIT,
DUCISQ[UE]: NON UNO NOMINE FUNCTUS OFFICIO,
MILITIS ITA SEU VIRTUTEM,
SEU PUDOREM ACCENDIT,
UT PROPUGNACULIS POTIRETUR,
GLANDE INTERIM FEMUR TRAJECTUS,
CUPRESSUM LAURO INTEXUIT
RECEPTAE URBIS GRANDE NIMIS PRETIUM,
OXONIAM DELATUS OBIIT,
SUB FINEM MENSIS AUG[USTI]. A[NN]O MDCXLIII.
AETATIS SUAE. XXX.
M[ONUMENTUM]. H[OC].
OPTIMI PARENTI
BARBARA CLEVELANDIAE DUCISSA
PIETATIS ERGO
P[OSUIT].
I LATHAM FECIT

The inscription may be rendered:

Here lies buried
William Villiers,
Viscount Grandison
of Limerick.

In him the arts of war (Mars) and of peace (the Graces)
competed for the pre-eminence, he increased the

dignity of a most handsome presence
by his most illustrious deeds.

After very great achievements in Belgium,
Ireland, and finally in England, he - while
leading his troops from Royalist areas to
besieged Bristol against the rebels - was
the first to cross the outer defences when
the scaling ladders were brought up. In
more senses than one did he discharge the
office of a leader: he thus inspired the
valour - or even the shame - of the soldier
that he might capture the defences.

Meanwhile his thigh had been pierced by a
bullet, and he interwove the cypress [symbol
of death] with the laurel [symbol of victory]
- too great a price to be paid for the capture
of the city.

He was carried back to Oxford and died towards
the end of the month of August 1643 in his
thirtieth year.

Moved by filial piety Barbara, Duchess of
Cleveland, erected this monument to the best
of parents.

I. Latham made [it]

The monument stands in the east aisle of the south transept of the Cathedral,
and is about 12 feet high, 28 inches at its widest dimension, and 18 inches deep.
The rectangular pedestal - "die" - stands on a rough stone plinth and has an
oval, bellied-out panel bearing the inscription. It supports an urn decorated
with leaves and standing on its own smaller pedestal. Behind the urn and at
the sides of the monument are carvings of implements of war - pikes, guns,
helmets, gauntlets, etc.

A few comments may be offered.

There is conflict of evidence on the date of William's birth and also on the
date of his death. The record of his christening does not seem to have been
found, and G.E.C. Complete Peerage gives 1614 as the year of his birth. But
according to the inscription he died towards the end of August, 1643, in his
thirtieth year. (On this detail more hereafter.) This means that on some
date after the end of August 1643 he would have completed his thirtieth year,
and that he was born on some date after the end of August 1613. But the
Friends of Lydiard Tregoze know that when William's great-uncle, Oliver St. John,
1st Viscount Grandison of Limerick in the Peerage of Ireland, died in Battersea
late in December 1630, the title passed to William. (By the very unusual
terms of the grant the peerage passed, if St. John had no male issue, to the
male issue of Sir Edward Villiers and his wife Barbara, fifth daughter of
Sir John St. John, of Lydiard Tregoze. Barbara's contemporary portrait, with
the Villiers-St. John arms at her feet, may be seen on the triptych in the
church. The influence of Sir Edward's younger half-brother, George, Duke of
Buckingham, may be traced in the terms of the grant.) When St. John died, the
new peer was about seventeen, and there is a strong presumption - but not a
certainty - that, being a minor, he could not yet take his seat in the Irish
House of Lords in Dublin. (On 22nd May, 1685, early in the first and only
Parliament of King James II, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament
Assembled at Westminster ordered:

That no Lord under the Age of One and Twenty shall be permitted to sit
in the House: And it is further Ordered that this Order be added to the
Standing Orders of this House.

This order turned what had been the usual practice into a firm rule of the

House. In 1667 King Charles II had summoned the Earl of Rochester, a minor, to the Lords, and the House had asked the King to be sparing of such writs for the future. A few years later he had similarly summoned the Earl of Mulgrave and had pleaded that he did not know that the Earl was much under age. In 1685 the House itself settled the matter as far as its own proceedings were concerned. There is high probability - but again not a certainty - that the general practice at Westminster was followed in Dublin.)

There is, however, the certainty that by the summer of 1634 William had not taken his seat in the Irish House of Lords - the Irish Parliament did not sit at all during the period 1615-1634. But under date 16th June, 1634, the Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, lists William, Viscount Grandison, with thirty-nine other peers who were granted licence to be absent from the Parliament that was due to meet on 14th July, 1634, and were ordered to vote by proxy. This means that by June 1634 Grandison ranked as a full member of the Irish House of Lords. (He is named in C.S.P.Ireland, as having been present at the ceremonial opening of the Parliament on 14th July, but he was not one of the many peers who were formally introduced on that and later dates, although the Journal of the House for 17th July includes a full list of the peers "as delivered in by the King of Arms" on the 14th, with Grandison ranking as fifth in seniority among the Viscounts. From causes that will appear later in the present article, Grandison did not take his seat till 26th October, 1640, when he was "brought in by his proxy the Earl of Ormond and placed . . ." The privilege of a Peer - English or Irish - by royal licence has long been abolished. (A member of the House of Commons never had that privilege - he is himself proxy for his constituents.) On the presumption therefore - but not the certainty - that Grandison had ceased to be a minor by 16 June, 1634, he must have been born before 16th June, 1613. This squares with the statement in Our Lady of Batersey, p. 325, that Barbara St. John married Edward Villiers before 1612. Unfortunately the D.N.B. article on Sir Giles Mompesson, which is Taylor's source on this point, is very inaccurate on matters of St. John family history. (See Report no. 4, p. 35.) But, as far as it goes, it supports the present argument that William was born before 1614.

Certain other evidences must also be accepted in preference to that of the monument. According to the Christ Church records Grandison was buried there on 2nd October, 1643; the inscription says that he was taken back to Oxford and died towards the end of August. That leaves an unexplained interval of some five weeks between death and burial. The Christ Church burial entry does not include the date of death, but G.E.C. Complete Peerage and Burke's Peerage both give 30th September without, however, indicating their authority. But William Dugdale, Rouge Croix Pursuivant of Arms - later Sir William, Garter Principal King of Arms - was keeping a diary in Oxford at the time and recorded, under date 29th September,

The Lord Grandison dyed in Oxford at Jesus Colledge, of the Fever, and was buryed in Christ's Church, at ye foote of Sir Wm Peñyman, ye Munday following, viz 2 Oct.

The inaccuracies of the inscription can easily be explained. The monument was erected by Grandison's only child Barbara, who is described as Duchess of Cleveland. This dignity was not conferred on her by King Charles II till 1670, and in an interval of at least twenty-seven years exact details of date and age can easily have been forgotten.

The biographical details that have already appeared in Report no. 4, p. 15, may be supplemented. Grandison is mentioned several times in C.S.P.Ireland for 1634. Although he had been granted leave of absence from the Irish Parliament that was due to meet on 14th July, he was named among the peers who were present at the ceremonial opening of that Parliament. Apparently he was, by October 1634, an officer in the army, for he was licensed to be absent from his company in Ireland whilst attending the King's person, and a month later

✓ to make another Lord of Parliament his proxy

he was exempted from the duty of residing in Ireland with his company, which was reported to be in good order.

By 1637 Grandison was involved in the wars of religion on the Continent. The phrase "in Belgio" on the monument must be interpreted widely. From the middle of the 16th century till 1648 (the end of the Thirty Years War) there was frequent fighting between the northern (Protestant) provinces of the Netherlands and the southern (Catholic) provinces - very roughly speaking, modern Belgium - which were held by Spain. Breda is best known to British readers because of the Declaration of King Charles II from "Breda, the 4/14th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign". (For the date Charles used both reckonings - the Old Style (Julian), which was still in use in England, and the New Style (Gregorian), which had already been adopted in the Netherlands. He claimed that his reign had begun on the day when his father had been executed.) Breda was the most important of a line of fortresses along the unstable boundary between the northern and the southern provinces. From the middle of the 15th century it had been held by the house of Orange-Nassau, notably by William I, the Silent (1533-54), first Statthalter of the Netherlands and great-grandfather of King William III of England. The Spaniards captured the fortress in 1581, but in 1590 it fell into the hands of William's elder son, Prince Maurice of Orange-Nassau. In 1625 the fortress surrendered to the Spaniards under Ambrosio, Marquis of Spinola, after a ten months' siege - again after a long siege - it was re-captured by the Protestant Dutch. Prince Maurice had been succeeded by his younger brother, Prince Frederick Henry of Orange-Nassau, grandfather of King William III of England, a very capable statesman and soldier particularly in the art of taking cities and defending them. (Foliorcetics is the technical term.) Many Englishmen joined the Prince's forces, including some who were later prominent in the Civil War - the Earl of Northampton, Sir Jacob Astley, Lord Goring, Lord Wilmot, George Monk, and Lord Grandison.

but twelve years later (1637)

At one stage two mines were set, one by the French on the right and one by the English on the left. The one on the right exploded prematurely and did little damage, but the one on the left breached the defences. George Monk is recorded as having led the forlorn hope, and many English were wounded in the assault. One may safely assume that Grandison took part in this assault and was wounded in it. The town was captured and was never re-captured by the Spaniards.

There has been some confusion - though not in Report no. 4, p. 15 - about Grandison's knighthood, but the final conclusion of W.A. Shaw in Knights of England Vol. II, p. 205, is that Grandison was never made a Knight Bachelor, but that he was made a Knight of the Bath when Prince Charles, afterwards King Charles II, became a Knight of the Garter in May 1638. Shaw relies on two Appendices - nos. LXXXII and LXXXIII - to John Anstis's Essay upon the Knighthood of the Bath:

On Monday the next day after Trinity-Sunday, being the 21 of May next, the Prince his Highnes, with other Knights of the Bath, that shall be appointed to attend him, are to beginne in the Evening the Ceremonyes belonging to the Knights of the Bath, at the King's ould Palace at Westminster, His Highnesse with them resting that Night in the Parliament Rooms, and other Rooms adjoining, which are to be prepared accordingly.

The next Morning, being Tuesday, his Highnesse, with the rest, having heard Mattins, and received their Oaths in the King's Chappell Royall of Hen. VII. at Westminster, after changing his Roabs with the rest of the Knights, is to come on horsebacke to Whitehall, and there that Morning receive Knighthood, and immediately after to offer in the Chapell there, at which time His Majesty (it being Sermon Day) may see the Ceremony, and then to returne on horsebacke to dinner, and so disperse there at Westminster.

On Wednesday, being the day, to which his Majestie for this Yeare is pleased to adjourne the day of St. George's Feast, all the knights of the Bath early in the Morning are to come on horsebacke in their Purple Robes

together, from some Place which shall be appointed, to attend his Highness all that day, who will be there in his purple Robes to honour the King his Father's Feast, at the Evening of which day, the Scrutiny for Election is to passe according to Custom.

On Thursday Morning his Majesty will invest the Prince with the Ensigns of the Order, at which tyme the Knights of the Bath are to attend his Highnesse to Chapell, where some Provision to be made for their conveniency toward the Altar.

On Friday Morning his Highnes is to goe towards Windsore, beginning his Journey from Somerset-House, and to be accompanied with all the Knights of the Order of the Garter, and all their severall Retinues (of which all the Knights of the Order are to take most particular Notice) as also with all the Knights of the Bath attending with their Robes in the Proceedings; and so to Windsor, where their Majesties are pleased to declare, themselves will be present to honour the Feast of his Highness's Installation on Saturday the next day following.

(Appendix LXXXII.)

(The above arrangements were made by the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Earl Marshal of England, on 13th February, 1637/38.)

Later in the same year Grandison was again involved in military operations, this time in North-west Germany. The Elector Palatine (the Elector of the Palatinate) had long been a leader of the Protestants on the Continent, and Englishmen were particularly sympathetic, for in 1613 the Elector, Frederick V, had married Elizabeth, daughter of King James I. (Eventually this marriage brought the Hanoverians to the English throne.) In 1619 the Bohemians chose Frederick as their king, but his reign was short and disastrous, for he was defeated at Prague in 1620 and lost both Bohemia and the Palatinate. Till his death in 1632 Frederick was an exile.

By 1638 Charles Louis, the new Elector - elder brother of Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, who were engaged later in the Civil War - had raised an army of about 4,000 men with a view to recovering the Palatinate from the Austrians. The battle took place somewhere between the Weser and the Werra - three places are named: Lemgo, Vlotho, and Hochfeld - in October 1638, and was disastrous for the Elector. Grandison was one of the Englishmen who were present.

By 1640 Grandison had his own regiment of foot and was active in Ireland. In the spring of 1641 he and three others reported detailed proposals for the "plantation" of Londonderry, alias Derry. A "fair new church" was to be built; a fort with twenty guns, carriages for artillery, guard houses, etc., were to be provided; two hundred competent houses were to be built at once, with fifty more annually for six years.

7 n/ But in the autumn of 1640 Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whose government there he called "thorough" and others tyrannous, was recalled. In the following March he was impeached by the Commons. The trial before the Lords continued till the middle of April; then the Commons abandoned the impeachment and, on the 21st, passed a Bill of Attainder. If the Lords passed the Bill, would the King save his servant by refusing the Royal Assent?

On 8th May only forty-eight Lords were in their seats when the Bill of Attainder was put to the vote, and eleven of them voted against it. Two days later the King gave his consent, and on the 12th Strafford was executed in the Tower. (The King never forgave himself for his failure to save his servant and regarded his own execution as a just punishment.)

The Irish reaction to Strafford's "thorough" government came in the following October, when rebellion broke out in the north-eastern counties with preparations for a later attack in Dublin. By 6th November Chester was reported to be full of ladies and women of fashion from Ireland "with their trunks and stuff", but Lisnagarvy - now part of Lisburn and about eight miles

H south-west of Belfast/ Carrickfergus, and Belfast were still safe. By the 13th the rebellion was reported to have spread to six of the north-western counties. On the 30th a report commended the behaviour of three officers in the defence of Lisnagarvy. On present information these gentlemen seem to have been officers in Grandison's regiment. Hence presumably Grandison was also there.

Before he marched from Oxford with Prince Rupert for the attack on Bristol, Grandison had been present at Edge Hill (23rd October, 1642). According to G.E.C. Complete Peerage Grandison was mortally wounded at Bristol on 24th July, 1643, but according to Burke's Peerage he was wounded on the 26th. The Royalist siege of Bristol lasted for only three days, and sufficiently detailed accounts are easily available - one thinks of the Earl of Clarendon's The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, begun in 1641, but not published till 1702-4, and a much more recent work - Dame Veronica Wedgwood's The King's War, (1958) - from which the facts emerge quite clearly. On Sunday the 23rd Prince Rupert, moving from Oxford with a strong force of foot, horse, and artillery, Lord Grandison being colonel/general, joined forces with the H of Western army (which included troops from Cornwall) under Rupert's brother, Prince Maurice, two miles from Bristol, and took up positions - Rupert to the north of the city and Maurice to the south. The Governor rejected the summons to surrender, and during Monday the 24th the Royalist guns maintained a day-long cannonade of the city. Meanwhile two procedures were considered in a Council of War at the headquarters of the Western army. The south side was almost impregnable by assault, and Prince Maurice and the Cornish leaders favoured mining, close investment of the town, and starving it into surrender. This would have been the less expensive method of attack, but Prince Rupert and the Oxford leaders favoured immediate assault. This view prevailed, and before dawn on the 26th the assault began.

The defence was resolute, even on the weaker northern side, and the Royalist losses on both fronts were appalling. But at last the northern defences were pierced, and cavalry entered through the breach. Here Clarendon's account is specific and confirms the inscription: "On Prince Rupert's side, it [the city] was assaulted with equal courage, and almost equal loss, but with better success; for though that division, led on by the Lord Grandison, colonel general of the foot, was beaten off, the lord Grandison himself being hurt . . . yet colonel Washington . . . entered and quickly made room for the horse to follow." There is therefore no reason for doubting that Grandison was wounded on the 26th, and it is surprising that a work of the high quality of G.E.C. Complete Peerage gives the 24th as the date.

Clarendon confirms the monument's tribute to Grandison's high qualities. "He was a young man of so virtuous a habit of mind, that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him; so great a lover of justice and integrity, that no example, necessity, or even the barbarity of war, could make him swerve from the precise rules of it; and of that rare piety and devotion, that the court or camp could not shew a more faultless person, or to whose example young men might more reasonably conform themselves. His personal valour, and courage of all kinds, (for he had sometimes indulged so much ~~as~~ to the corrupt opinion of honour as to venture himself in duels,) was very eminent, insomuch as he was accused of being too prodigal of his person; his affection and zeal, and obedience to the king, was such as became a branch of that family. And he was won't to say, "that if he had not understanding enough to know the uprightness of the cause, nor loyalty enough to inform him of the duty of a subject, that the very obligations of gratitude to the king, on the behalf of his house, were such, as his life was but a due sacrifice:" and therefore, he no longer saw the war unavoidable, that he engaged all his brethren as well as himself in the service; and there were then three more of them in command in the army when he was so unfortunately cut off."

William's portrait may be seen at Lydiard Park (no. 59), and there is a similar portrait in the Bodleian Library.

William had been accompanied to Oxford by his wife and presumably their very

young daughter Barbara, by whom the monument was eventually erected. Lady Grandison apparently stayed in Jesus College after her husband's death, for the College's Account Book for 1643 has the item: "A debt for the Lady Grandison for Bread and Beere, &c., had by her out of the Buttery 13:15:02," and in a later year - probably 1647 - "More debt contracted by the Lady Grandison, etc., 10:17:02." Presumably "etc." means "for bread and beere had by her out of the Buttery." On 25 April, 1648, Lady Grandison remarried, and under Principal Roberts, who was appointed in 1648, the College paid £3 for "a journey to Bedfordshire and thence to London in quest of the Lady Grandison about the debt owing to the College."

Grandison had four brothers, John, George, Christopher, and Edward. (See the article St. Johns in the Abbey elsewhere in the present Report.) Evidently Christopher died very young, but the others are the three whom Clarendon mentions. Report no. 4, pp. 15, 16 gives some information about John and George, and this can now be supplemented.

John was initially a captain of dragoons in the Marquis of Hertford's Western army. He was captured near Cirencester in January 1642/3 and was held in Gloucester. By August 1643 he was captain in Rupert's regiment of horse. He was present at Newark (March 1644), Marston Moor (2nd July, 1644), and the Parliament's siege of Bristol (August-September, 1645). Probably he had been at Naseby also (14th June, 1645). At Worcester (3rd September, 1651) he was in the Royalist foot.

George, who succeeded John as 4th Viscount Grandison on 9th November, 1659, is mentioned incidentally and with inadequate detail in some acrimonious correspondence that passed between Henry Pierrepont, Earl of Kingston upon Hull and Marquess of Dorchester, and his son-in-law, John Manners Lord Roos, in February and March, 1659/60. In his youth the Marquess had been an omnivorous reader; later he was admitted to Gray's Inn and became a Bencher, and not long after became a Member and eventually a Fellow of the College of Physicians. He was of hasty temper. In 1638 he had assaulted a man during divine service in Westminster Abbey, and in 1641 he was committed to custody by the House of Lords for words used in a debate. He made himself a laughing-stock by his pretences to universal knowledge, particularly in matters legal and medical.

Evidently the Marquess had challenged his son-in-law to a duel because of the latter's alleged ill-treatment of his wife. Lord Roos replied, but these letters, which must have been in abusive terms, do not seem to have survived. But the next three items - a vituperative letter from the Marquess dated 13th February, a reply in kind by Lord Roos dated 25th February, and the Marquess's "Reasons why . . ." he printed his son-in-law's letter and his "Answer to . . ." that letter - were all printed as single-sheet broadsides at the time and together as a twelve-page pamphlet. (C.S.P.D. has, unfortunately, summary paraphrases of the two letters - not the full text.)

The references to Lord Grandison are as follows:

Roos to Dorchester, 25 February, 1659/60 - But now you begin to vapour, and to tell us that you have fought before; so I have heard you have, with your Wife, and Poet, but if you come off with no more honour, than when you were beaten by my Lord Grandison you had better have kept that to yourself.

Dorchester's "Reasons why . . ." 20 March, 1659/60 - What you mean by my Poet, I cannot imagine. . . . The business between Lord Grandison and my Self is so fully known to the world, and his Second (an Eye-witnesse of what passed) yet alive, that there is no need for me to speak a word therein; only this, as a Hecor (a name amongst others you are pleased to bestow upon me) I tell you, He that will Fight, though he have never so much the worse, loses no reputation: and I protest, I had rather meet with a man of Honour and Courage, though he did beat me (as you word it) then [sic]

now to Fight and Beat you: But there's no great danger of that, For you are still a Coward, and dare not fight.

Grandison had succeeded to the title some three months before this quarrel between Dorchester and Roos, and the Marquess's statement that Grandison's second was still alive seems to indicate that the encounter between Grandison and the Marquess had taken place some time before George became 4th Viscount. Regrettably the present writer has been unable to obtain details from Gray's Inn or the Royal College of Physicians - the Marquess's biography in Munk's Roll of the College of Physicians is silent on the subject. Consequently no further information about the date, cause, place, etc. of the encounter can be given.

In 1674 George and his brother Edward received large grants of land in King's County. When he died on 16th December, 1699, the Grandison Viscounty passed to his grandson John, who was created Earl of Grandison in 1721 and died without male issue in 1766. John was maternal uncle of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham (Portrait no. 16 at Lydiard Park).

A few facts are known about the military service of the youngest brother Edward (1620-89). He was Lieutenant-Colonel to Sir Charles Gerrard in his Regiment of Foot (Bluecoats). He was present at Edge Hill (23rd October, 1642) and the First Battle of Newbury (20th September, 1643), where he was wounded. In 1644 he was in France, but was back in England in 1645, when he was involved in the quarrel between the King and Rupert in October of that year. He was knighted on 7th April, 1680, and became Knight Marshal of the Household.

Sir Edward's son, another Edward, was created Earl of Jersey in 1697. In 1766, on the death of John, 5th Viscount Grandison (and first and last Earl of Grandison), the Viscounty passed to William, 3rd Earl of Jersey (grandson of the 1st Earl). The Grandison peerage remains as a subsidiary title of the Earl of Jersey to this day.

The writer gratefully acknowledges the help of Brigadier Young and Miss Alison Michelli with the military service of Grandison and his brothers; of the Rev. J.T.Wharton, the Rev. D.J.Fehrenbach, Father F.O.Edwards, S.J., the Rev. Michael Watts, of Christ Church, and Miss S.H.Brand with details of the monument and the understanding of the inscription; of Dr. D.A.Rees with details of Lady Grandison's debt to Jesus College; and of Mr. Liam Cathery, of the Oireachtas Library, Dublin, with information about the admission of minors to the Irish House of Lords.

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ST . JOHNS IN THE ABBEY

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

Although various members of the St. John family have achieved eminence in public life - one thinks of Oliver, of Lydiard Tregoze and Battersea, Viscount Grandison and Baron Tregoze; Oliver, of Bletsoe, 4th Baron St. John of Bletsoe and 1st Earl of Bolingbroke; Oliver, of Keysoe, Lord Chief Justice and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; and Henry, of Lydiard Tregoze and Battersea, Viscount Bolingbroke and Secretary of State to Queen Anne - and although, in addition to the St. Johns of Basing who were summoned to the Lords in medieval times, the family collected one earldom, three viscounties, two baronies, and four baronetcies in Tudor and later times, yet none of the eminent members of the family achieved the distinction of burial in Westminster Abbey. Nevertheless quite a number of St. John family events - christenings, weddings, and burials - took place in the Abbey, but in most cases the St. John family name does not appear, and the visitor to the Abbey does not see a monument.

The two main branches of the family - Bletsoe and Lydiard Tregoze - are both represented. We begin with members of the Wiltshire line.

The group of family portraits on the triptych at Lydiard proclaims heraldically that Barbara, fifth daughter of Sir John St. John, of Lydiard Tregoze, was the wife of Sir Edward Villiers. So does the St. John window at Battersea. In each case Villiers - argent, on a cross gules five escallops or - impales St. John. (Incidentally, the alternative spelling Villers and Villars indicates the accepted pronunciation of the surname.) Sir Edward's younger half-brother was Sir George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, whose influence with King James I probably accounts for the very unusual provision that the Grandison Viscounty conferred on Barbara's uncle Oliver St. John was to pass, if Oliver had no male issue, to the sons of Barbara and Sir Edward - as in the event it did.

Sir Edward made a very successful career, being knighted in 1616 and becoming Master of the Mint in 1617, Ambassador to Bohemia and M.P. for Westminster in 1620, and President of Munster in 1625. He died in 1626 and was buried at Youghal, co. Cork, on 7th September. In consequence of his appointment as Master of the Mint his widow received a very handsome pension. Add. MS. 5755 f.94 in the Department of Manuscripts at the British Library is the receipt, signed by Barbara Villiers, for £1,122. 8s. 10d. paid to her at the rate of two pence on the pound weight on all the silver moneys coined in His Majesty's Mint within the Tower of London during the year March 1639 to March 1640. Barbara was evidently interested in her brother's Battersea property, for when Sir John headed the subscription list for a new steeple in 1639 with a donation of £50, the Lady Villiers stood next with a donation of £10.

Lady Barbara outlived her husband by some forty-six years and was buried in the Abbey "in the North side of the monuments near St. Paul's chapel" on 16th September, 1672. The fact that Barbara was buried in the Abbey should be noted. Many burials took place in the Cloisters.

For the next generation - the grandchildren of Sir John St. John, Kt. - the entries are fairly numerous. Sir Edward and his wife Barbara had five sons and three daughters. By a curious coincidence all the five sons - William, John, George, Christopher, and Edward - were born before any of the daughters, and all of them except Christopher, who evidently died young, figure in the later history of the Grandison Viscounty. Three consecutive children of Sir Edward and Barbara were christened in the Abbey:

Sir Edward Villiers = / Barbara St. John
 d.1626 d.1672

William, 2nd Visc. Grandison, d.1643 John, 3rd Vsct. Grandison, d.1659 George, 4th Vsct Grandison, d.1699 *Christopher b.1619, died young / Frances Howard d.1677 = */Edward= 1620-1689 = Martha Love (+1683/4) *Barbara 1622- Elizabeth d.1634 /Eleanor 162?-1685

/King Charles X II Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland Hon. Edward Villiers d.1693 = /Katherine Fitzgerald, Vsctess Grandison, 1662-1725 William = Katherine (his cousin - german) 2nd son /Edward, cr. 1st Earl of Jersey, 1697-1711 /Barbara, Vsctess FitzHarding, d.1708 = Frances (?Anne) = William, 1st Earl of Portland, d.1709 Katherine who m. + (1) James Lewis du Puissar d.1701 (2) William Villiers, (her cousin - german)

/Charles Fitzroy (eldest son) 1662-1730 /George Fitzroy (3rd son) 1665-1716 John, 5th Vsct Grandison, cr. Earl of Grandison, 1721, d.1766 Harriet = Robert Pitt William, 2nd Earl of Jersey, d.1721 /William Henry, 2nd Earl and 1st Duke of Portland, d.1726

/Henry /Charles

/William Pitt (2nd son) Earl of Chatham, d.1778

William, 3rd Earl of Jersey 1721, and (1766) 6th Vsct Grandison d.1769

Frederick William Villiers, 1734-42

George Bussey, 4th Earl and 7th Vsct, d.1805

The later Earls of Jersey and Viscounts Grandison

Key * = baptized in the Abbey
 + = married in the Abbey
 / = buried in the Abbey

On 8 April, 1619, Christopher - fourth son;
On 15 April, 1620, Edward - fifth (and youngest) son;
On 1 June, 1622, Barbara - eldest daughter.

On 16th July, 1685, "Madam Villiers" was buried the Abbey. The unofficial register says: "Mrs. Elianor Villers bu: by y^e Old Lady Villers." This was Barbara's youngest child, and she died unmarried. But fifth son Edward seems to have established a family record in these matters. In addition to his own christening, the registers record the burial of his first wife, Lady Frances Howard, daughter of the 2nd Earl of Suffolk, on 27th November, 1677, (Edward himself being described as Colonel Villers - he was not knighted till 1680); his second marriage (he was now Sir Edward) - Mrs. Martha Love, who outlived him - on 25th February, 1683/4; and his burial in the Abbey on 2nd July, 1689.

60/ But Barbara and her children were not the only descendants of Sir John about whom the Abbey's registers provide information. When the triptych was painted in 1615, his sixth daughter Lucy was still unmarried, and therefore a lozenge bearing the St. John arms appears at her feet instead of a shield. On 28th October of that year she became the third wife of Sir Allen Apsley. They had five sons and five daughters; her eldest son, Sir Allen, christened at All Hallows, Barking, on 5th September, 1616, became Falconer to King Charles II, Treasurer of the Household to James, Duke of York, and M.P. for Thetford in the "Cavalier" Parliament of 1661 - 1678/9. He died on 15th October, 1683, and was buried in the Abbey on the 17th.

The theme can be pursued into the generation of Sir John's great-grandchildren and later generations. But in no case do the people concerned bear the St. John surname, and the St. John constituents in their blood-stream are by now much diluted. A few interesting facts emerge. The widow of the Sir Allen Apsley who was buried in the Abbey in 1683 was also buried there in 1698; their daughter-in-law Anne had been buried there in 1681, and their grandson Allan was also buried there in 1691.

It is well known that Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland, only child of William, Viscount Grandison, and donor of the monument in Christ Church, Oxford, was one of the mistresses of King Charles II. Not only was the King himself buried in the Abbey, but two of his sons by Barbara were buried there also - Charles Fitzroy (the eldest) on 3rd November, 1730, and George Fitzroy (the third son) on 11th July, 1716. Two sons of the above Charles Fitzroy were buried in the Abbey - Henry on 29th November, 1708, and Charles on 29th September, 1723. But Stuart blood had more to do with these burials than St. John descent.

The most pleasant surprise that emerges from the present enquiry involves William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, whose portrait (no. 16) hangs in the Dining Room at Lydiard Park. Under the date 9th June, 1778, the entry in the Register of Burials records:

The most noble and puissant Lord, William Pitt, Earl of Chatham and Viscount Pitt of Burton-Pynsent in the county of Somerset, died at Hayes in Kent May 11th, 1778, in the 70th year of his age, and was buried (from the Painted Chamber, at the expense of Parliament) on the 9th day of June next following in the centre of the North Cross of the Abbey.

Among the details that the Register does not record is the fact that the Earl's mother was Harriet Villiers, grand-daughter of George, 4th Viscount Grandison, who was himself a grandson of Sir John St. John, kt.

The story of the Bletsoe St. Johns in the Abbey involves fewer persons but is in one respect more distinguished - there is a monument in the east aisle of the north transept, which is normally not open to visitors.

In the chancel of All Saints' Church, Wing, Buckinghamshire, is an elaborate monument to Sir William Dormer, K.B., M.P., and his second wife Dorothy Catesby. But there are two inscriptions, the first of which gives the details of his

first marriage - to Mary Sidney. One fact is of particular interest to the Friends of Lydiard Tregoze. Anne, the younger of the two daughters of the marriage, married Sir Walter Hungerford. Their daughter Lucy married Sir John St. John, kt., of Lydiard Tregoze. But the effigies on the monument are all concerned with the second marriage. There is a full-length recumbent figure of Sir William with a fox between two wings erect at his feet. On a lower level is an effigy of his wife with a leopard at her feet. On the front of the base are small figures of the son and the three daughters who grew up. The three daughters who died in infancy are represented in cradles, covered with drapery, but with heads exposed. Originally the base also carried four shields of arms representing the marriages of the four children who grew up. The second of these is no longer there, but the shield that was originally third represents the marriage of Catherine, for it has nine coats for St. John impaling four coats for Dormer.

Sir William died in 1575; his second wife remarried, but was buried with Sir William, and is described in the inscription as "the onely Foundres of this Monument," which was finished in 1590.

Catherine, third but second surviving daughter of Sir William's second marriage, became the wife of John, 2nd Baron St. John, of Bletsoe, who died in 1596, and whom she outlived by nearly twenty years. Her only son Oliver predeceased his father at a very tender age, and the barony therefore passed to John's brother Oliver. But her only daughter grew up and married William, Lord Howard of Effingham, son of Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham (and later Earl of Nottingham), the vanquisher of the Spanish Armada. Apparently the new peer occupied the Bletsoe home of the St. Johns, and the widow resided in Westminster conceivably at the home of her daughter. Her burial in the Abbey may be explained by the fact that she was residing in Westminster - if indeed she was residing there - for members of the nobility were sometimes at that time buried in the Abbey merely because they were residing in the vicinity. Unfortunately neither Lady St. John nor Lord Howard can be found in the rate books for St. Margaret's parish for the last year of Lady St. John's life. But the family seems to have had some connection with Chelsea, for the wedding of William Howard and Anne St. John took place there on 7th February, 1596/7, and William was buried there late in 1615. Further research seems to be needed.

Anne

During her long widowhood Lady St. John was conscious that death was certain and that the concern of posterity was uncertain; evidently she had also arranged for her burial in the Abbey. Accordingly she prepared her own monument during her own life-time. What happened to it before her death on 23rd March, 1614/15, is not known, but its later history is strange and varied.

At present, the monument consists of a recumbent effigy of the lady resting on a slab of pink-veined marble, with the inscription:

CATHARINA DOMINA S^T. IOHN FILIA
GULIELMI DORMER DE BITHROPE

[modern Eythrope, a hamlet three miles west of Aylesbury] but the lady's feet are missing, and so is part of the cushion on which her right elbow is resting. The whole is supported by a black base, which is modern, and continues the above inscription:

A/

on the left -
VIDUA IOANNIS BARONIS S^T. IOHN DE
BLETNESHIO CUI PEPERIT OLIVERIVM
FILIOLVM TENELLA AETATE DEFVNCTVM
ET ANNAM VXOREM GVLIELMI DOMINI
HOWARD DE EFFINGHAM PRIMOGENITI
FILII CAROLI COMITIS NOTTINGHAMIAE
ANGLIAE THALASSIARCHAE ETC

Maid of Honour to Queen Elizabeth - an effigy restored
to the vicinity of its original position in 1849 from the
tomb of Bishop Dudley, to which it was removed to make
way for the Nightingale monument - Augustus J. C. Hare:
Westminster p. 61 1913.

But the Nightingale monument was erected in 1758.
Dart contradicts this.

and on the right - CVM MORꝰ SIT CERTA ET POSTERORVM
CVRA INCERTA MORTALITATIS MEMOR
CERTISSIMA SPE IN CHRISTO RESVRGENDI
HOC SIBI MONVMENTVM VIVENS POSVIT
OBIIT DIE XXIII MENSIS MARTII
ANNO SALVTIS MDCXIV

The whole inscription may be rendered:

Catharina, Lady St. John, daughter of William Dormer, of Eythrope, widow of John, Baron St. John, of Bletsoe, to whom she bore a little son Oliver, who died at a very tender age, and Anne, wife of William, Lord Howard of Effingham, the first-born son of Charles, Earl of Nottingham, Admiral of England, etc.

Since death is certain and the care of posterity uncertain, being mindful of her mortal nature, in the most certain hope of rising in Christ, she erected this monument to herself during her life-time. She died on the 23rd day of March in the year of our redemption 1614.

(She died on the penultimate day of the Old Style year 1614. When she was buried in St. Michael's chapel two days later (25 March) the year 1615 had just begun.)

When Jodocus Crull first published his Antiquities of St. Peter's - - in 1711 the monument was still in its original condition and was against the east wall of the chapel of St. Michael in the east aisle of the North Transept. Crull's description indicates that Catherine's two children appeared in effigy on the monument with a heraldic shield of four quarterings. Crull also quoted the inscription including the introductory formula Memoriae S. and a curious rendering of the unfamiliar word Thalassiarcae which Crull read as Thesaurii (Treasurer) - an office that Charles never held. But when John Dart published his Westmonasterium in 1723 a disaster had happened; the monument was no longer in St. Michael's chapel; during repairs to the Church "notwithstanding the utmost care [the monument] had been broken to pieces." The kneeling effigies of the two children and the heraldry had apparently been destroyed; the main figure had been damaged (as indicated above); and the monument had been removed to St. Nicholas's chapel at the S.E. corner of the ambulatory where it rested on the altar tomb of William Sutton, alias Dudley, Bishop of Durham, who died in 1483. Exactly what had happened to the main base is not clear, but when the monument was brought back to the Chapel of St. Michael while Arthur Penrhyn Stanley was Dean of Westminster 1864-1881, a new base was provided, with the inscription transcribed from the original or, with a correction, from Crull.

The Abbey's records show that Catherine's daughter Anne, who died in St. Bartholomew's Close, London, on 7th June, 1638, was buried with her mother in the Abbey on 8th June, 1638, although her husband William had been buried at Chelsea late in 1615. The explanation is a matter of surmise. One might suspect the influence of Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, but if he had ensured the burial of Lady St. John in the Abbey some time before she died in March 1614/5, why was his son not buried there also, with his mother-in-law, a few months later?

The Latin word thalassiarcha, here used in its genitive singular form thalassiarcae, is worth a comment. The two Greek words thalassa, the sea, and archein, to rule, could easily have been put together to make a compound meaning "ruler of the sea, or admiral," though the form thalassarcha - without a linking vowel - would have been the more normal form - cf. monarch, anarch, oligarch, tetrarch. But the word is not found in Classical Greek. Such a Greek compound - if it had ever existed - could easily have been taken into Latin as a masculine of the first declension - cf. nauta, poeta, incola, agricola. But the word is not found in the dictionaries of Classical Latin. Moreover, the Oxford English Dictionary quotes only one example of the English form thalassiarch, and that dates from 1656 - more than forty years

later than the monument.

But in the first (1586) and later editions of his Britannia William Camden used the Latin form of the word in his topographical description of Reigate. The paragraph (p. 149) reads as follows:

Parum hinc abest Rhiegat, in quo nominis Regnorum reliquias superesse putat Talbottus, hoc amplitudine quam structura est speciosius viuarium nobilissimi herois Baronis de Effingham, summi Angliæ Thalassiarche qui ibi suas aedes habet.

This may be rendered:

Not far from here [Betchworth] is Reigate, in which [name] Talbot thinks that remnants of the name of the Regni survive. This park, more notable for its extent than for its buildings, [is the park] of the most noble hero the Baron of Effingham, most high Admiral of England, who has his seat there. (Talbotus is doubtless Robert Talbot, the antiquary, 1505?-1586. Ekwall: Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names does not accept Talbot's etymology of "Reigate.")

In 1597 Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, who had vanquished the Spanish Armada in 1588, became Earl of Nottingham. Camden duly added this detail in his editions of 1600 and later.

We now have the remarkable fact that a word that had - on the evidence at present available - been invented by William Camden by 1586 and used by him in a rather abnormal form as a description of Lord Howard of Effingham in the various editions of his Britannia was used in the inscription on the monument in the same form as a description of the same man. The question inevitably arises, Did Camden compose the inscription? His connections with Westminster Abbey were of the closest. He was Librarian from 1587 to 1597. In 1600 he published Monuments and Inscriptions in Westminster Abbey, with revised editions in 1603 and 1606. (In 1575 he had been appointed Second Master at Westminster School, and Head Master in 1593.) The date of the composition of the inscription cannot be determined exactly, but it is not mentioned in Camden's 1606 edition of his work on the inscriptions, and we know that the monument was executed during the lifetime of Lady St. John, who died on 23rd March, 1614/15. At this time Camden was still active - he did not die till 1623. Moreover, the monument included originally a shield of arms with four quarterings. (This was evidently destroyed in the disaster of 1711-23 and has not been replaced.) In 1597 Camden became Richmond Herald and Clarenceux King of Arms, which strengthens the possibility that he was involved in the design of the monument as well as the inscription. Further research might reveal some business dealings between Lady St. John and Camden. But if Camden did not compose the inscription, we have the fascinating situation that the man who did compose it was struggling with the difficulty of finding a decent Latin word for admiral, had a vague memory that Camden had invented a fine title for the man who was being named in the inscription, ran it to earth in Britannia, and re-used it with Camden's peculiar spelling.

Even those of us who, like Shakespeare, have "small Latin and less Greek" may have met not only the second element, which is common enough, but also the rarer first element. In 404 B.C. Cyrus the younger, second son of Darius Nothus, king of Persia (who had just died), formed a plot against his brother Artaxerxes, who had succeeded to the throne. In 401 B.C. he set out from Sardis in western Asia Minor with a powerful native army and a strong force of Greek mercenaries, crossed the Upper Euphrates at Thrapsacus, which may be identical with Biblical Tiphshah, marched down the valley till he met and fought his brother in the Battle of Cunaxa, some fifty-five miles from Babylon. Cyrus was killed in the battle, but Xenophon, who had joined the Greek contingent and was now elected one of its generals, led the Ten Thousand in their memorable retreat along the Tigris over the high tablelands of Armenia to Trapezus (Trebizond) on the Black Sea. In his Anabasis Xenophon tells the story:

"However, on the fifth day, . . . we were conducted to the holy mountain of Theches; on ascending which, our vanguard were agreeably surprised on seeing the sea, and consequently gave a tremendous shout. Xenophon and the rearguard were astonished, concluding that some enemy had attacked them. . .

"As the rear-guard came nearer the hill, the noise increased, and the men, as soon as they had ascended, ran to those who were shouting, which still increased the noise; so that Xenophon, suspecting something serious had happened, mounted and rode up, with Lycius in company. They had not rode far before they heard - "The sea! the sea!" [Thalassa! Thalassa!] - and the soldiers cheering and congratulating each other; on which the rear-guard began running . . . till they had all reached the eminence. Here tears of gratitude flowed, and the soldiers embraced each other and their generals and captains." (From N.S.Smith's translation of Xenophon's Anabasis, 1824.)

Those who read German poetry may remember that in more recent times the lyric poet Heinrich Heine (1797-1856), using a variant form of the word, recalled Xenophon's undaunted Ten Thousand, and himself hailed the North Sea in a poem beginning and ending with the line "Thalatta! Thalatta!"

The three chapels of the east aisle of the north transept of Westminster Abbey are not normally open to the public, but are used for the storage of furniture. Consequently the monument can be seen only on the rare occasions when the furniture is removed from the chapels for use elsewhere.

On 6th March, 1724/5, John, Lord St.John of Bletsoe, married Mrs. Elizabeth Crowley, spinster, in the Abbey. John was 10th Baron according to Burke's Peerage, but 11th according to G.E.C. Complete Peerage. The number of Bletsoe entries in the Abbey Registers is therefore three.

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Main authority: Westminster Abbey Registers, published by The Harleian Society, 1875.

N/A
The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to H.M. Dixon, Esq., F.S.A., Librarian of the Abbey, for help with the history of Lady Catharine St.John's monument.

S U P P O R T E R S

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

"And whereas it is a Special Right and Preheminence, appertaining to the Peers of this Realm; to have Supporters added to their Arms, as well for their Greater Honour, as to distinguish them from Persons of Inferior Rank:.."

So wrote Sir Henry St. George, Knt., Garter Principal King of Arms, grandson of the Sir Richard St. George who in 1615 had designed the earliest heraldic work on the triptych at Lydiard Tregoze. On 7th July, 1712, Queen Anne had conferred a Viscounty on Henry St. John, one of her Principal Secretaries of State, but such a grant by the Sovereign says nothing about the addition of supporters to the new peer's arms: that comes later - in Viscount Bolingbroke's case on the twenty-sixth day of the same month - by means of a separate grant by Garter Principal King of Arms.

Before Tudor times the use of supporters was occasional but by no means universal among peers, and the Lords St. John of Basing, although summoned to parliament as peers, do not seem to have had supporters. But when, on 13th January, 1558/9, Oliver St. John of Bletsoe, great-great-grandson of Oliver St. John and Margaret Beauchamp, and son of the Sir John who is the central figure on the St. John monument at Bletso, became the holder of the first of the six peerages that have been granted to St. Johns of Bletsoe or Lydiard Tregoze, he set the fashion of ringing the changes on the badges of the early ancestors of the family. The monkey was the badge of the de Ports of Basing - Friends of Lydiard Tregoze know that from about 1200 the St. Johns have been, in fact, de Ports living under an assumed name - and the new baron adopted two monkeys as his supporters. When Oliver's grandson, another Oliver, 4th Baron, became 1st Earl of Bolingbroke in 1624, he made no change in his supporters. In 1711 the earldom became extinct, but the barony continued in a junior branch of the family, and to this day the Lords St. John of Bletsoe use the two monkeys as their supporters.

Meanwhile one of the St. Johns of Lydiard Tregoze was attaining eminence. Oliver, second son of Nicholas St. John, was making a very successful career in Ireland, and in 1616 he became Lord Deputy of Ireland. (We might call him Viceroy.) In the passage from Sir Henry St. George quoted above, Supporters are described as a special right of peers of the realm, but Fox-Davies, ed. Brooke-Little, p. 317, adds that grant may be made to Knights of the Garter, Thistle, and St. Patrick, and to Knights Grand Cross, or Knights Grand Commanders of other Orders. Although Fox-Davies does not mention high Officers of State, it appears that Oliver, though not a peer or a K.G., had supporters, for Add. MS. 5524, f. 141 v., in the British Library has a drawing of the arms of "S^r Oliver S^t John L: Deputy of Ireland". Details leave no doubt of the identity of the man. The shield has nine quarterings: St. John, Umfreville, Delabere, Beauchamp, Patishull, Tregoze, Ewarby, Carew, and Huscarl. Just above the centre of the shield a crescent is superimposed on a crescent to indicate a second son of a second branch. Above the shield are two crests each on its own torse - the St. John falcon and the hames of Tregoze. The motto is Deus Providebit, as in the Battersea window, but there is no coronet indicating a peer, as there is in the east windows at Battersea and Lydiard Tregoze. Clearly the details fit the man named above the drawing, but there is a monkey proper as sinister supporter. The idea that the Lord Deputy had only one supporter may be dismissed: the probability is that the artist thought that there was insufficient space at the edge of the paper for a full sketch of the dexter monkey.

h/ In January 1620/1 Oliver St. John became Viscount Grandison of Limerick in the peerage of Ireland. This explains the appearance of an eagle with wings displayed - the badge of Grandison - as his dexter supporter and the appearance of a viscount's coronet, showing nine pearls on the rim, in the two east windows. When in 1626 he became Baron Tregoze of Highworth in the peerage of England he made no change in his supporters. The flames of Tregoze are in both east windows, but they had already been used as a crest in the Lord Deputy's drawing. The Viscount used the badges of Port, Grandison, and Tregoze as additions to his St. John coat.

When Sir Walter's grandson Henry, the Tory Secretary to Queen Anne, was raised to the peerage on 7 July, 1712, as Viscount Bolingbroke, he received on the 26th of the same month a grant of supporters from his distant relative Sir Henry St. George, namely "On the Dexter Side a Falcon, the Wings Displayed, having Bells on his Legs Or, and Gorged with a Ducal Coronet Gules, On the Sinister side, an Eagle Or, the Wings Displayed in like manner, and charged on the Breast with the Hames Gold, being an Ancient Badge of Tregoze, an Ancestor of his Family . . ."

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h/ The grant went on to indicate that the supporters were to pass, with the Viscounty itself, to the heirs males of his body lawfully begotten, and in default of such issue to his father Sir Henry and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten. This unusual condition of the peerage itself and of the grant of supporters did in fact take effect which explains why the later Viscounts have been both Bolingbroke and St. John.

h/ In adopting the falcon ducally gorged gules as a supporter, the new viscount was using what had long been the crest of the St. Johns. The picturesque legend is told in Fox-Davies ed. Brooke-Little (1969), who used J. B. Paul's quotation (1900) from Nisbett:

"In the reign of Kenneth III, about the year 980, when the Danes invaded Scotland, and prevailing in the battle of Luncarty, a country Scotsman with his two sons, of great strength and courage, having rural weapons, as the yokes of their plough and such plough furniture, stopped the Scots in their flight in a certain defile, and upbraiding them with cowardice, obliged them to rally, who with them renewed the battle, and gave a total overthrow to the victorious Danes; and it is said by some, after the victory was obtained, the old man lying on the ground, wounded and fatigued, cried, 'Hay, Hay,' which word became a surname to his posterity. He and his sons being nobilitate, the King gave him the aforesaid arms (argent, three escutcheons gules) to intimate that the father and the two sons had been luckily the three shields of Scotland, and gave them as much land in the Carse of Gowrie as a falcon did fly over without lighting, which having flown a great way, she lighted on a stone there called the Falcon Stone to this day." (The Carse of Gowrie is a strip of alluvial land along the north bank of the river Tay.)

Three writers conspire - Fox-Davies, ed. Brooke-Little, 1969, p.314 - to give reasons for regarding the tale as utterly incredible. At the time of the battle armorial bearings were quite unknown; the origin of the surname is derived from a place in Normandy; and there is strong suspicion that the battle itself was invented by that "incorrigible old liar, Hector Boece." (Hector Boece, or Boethius, c.1465-1536, Scottish historian, principal of the University of Aberdeen, published in 1527 his Historia Gentis Scotorum.)

Be that as it may, the falcon crest had come to the St. Johns when Roger de St. John married Cecilia de Haia early in the twelfth century and became Lord of Halmaker in Sussex. Bolingbroke was therefore using in his supporters the badges of St. John, Grandison, and Tregoze.

In 1715 Bolingbroke lost his viscounty by Act of Attainder and never regained it, although to the end of his life he used the name Bolingbroke

2k

in his signature and was - and still is - known by the name. But the accession of K. George I in 1714 had led to the replacement of the Tories by the Whigs/and in 1716 Bolingbroke's father - a Whig - was raised to the peerage as Viscount St. John, and three years later he obtained a grant of supporters: "Two Eagles their Wings elevated Or and Crowned with Ducal Coronets Gules, Each of them being charged on their Breasts with the Hames Party per Pale Argent and Gules". The eagles and the hames emphasized the family's descent from the Grandison and Tregoze families respectively; the ducal coronets may have come from the St. John falcon, which is ducally gorged. (Incidentally a duke's coronet has eight strawberry leaves on the rim, but as a heraldic detail it has only four.)

Very regrettably most of the original documents conferring dignities on the St. Johns of Lydiard Tregoze - one thinks of the viscounty (1620/1) and the barony (1626) conferred on Oliver St. John (to say nothing of documents appointing him to various high offices in Ireland), the baronetcy conferred on his nephew Sir John (1611) and the Viscounties conferred on Henry in 1712 and on his father in 1716/have not survived. But happily the original letters patent granting supporters to the father, Viscount St. John, in 1719 have survived. H

In granting supporters the officers of the College of Arms acted under royal authority - hence the arms of the sovereign himself appear in the upper border of the grant. But the officers of the College acted under the immediate authority of the Hereditary Earl Marshal and his deputy - hence the arms of these two noblemen also appear - in the left and right borders - with indications of their functions in matters heraldic in the form of their gilt batons with black ends passing behind their shields. The officer making the grant naturally declared his authority for so acting and appended his signature and the seal of his office at the foot of the patent.

For longer than can be stated with accuracy this framed document has been in the vestry of St. Mary's Church, Battersea. In 1763 Frederick 2nd Viscount Bolingbroke and 3rd Viscount St. John, sold his Battersea and Wandsworth property to the trustees of Lord (afterwards Earl) Spencer, a relative of his wife's, and so ended the 170-year old connection of the Wiltshire St. Johns with Battersea. By some odd chance the document may have been left in the vestry of the old church at this time, but there is no record or objective evidence.

Until recently the document had deteriorated seriously in the details of two of the coats of arms; two phrases of the text had been partially obliterated, and the lower edge, which was originally folded up to carry the seal and signature of Garter, was flattened out so that the signature was invisible. The patent has now been expertly restored at the College of Arms under the supervision of J. P. Brooke-Little, Esq., M.V.O., Richmond Herald, and its original condition can now be seen to advantage.

In the top left corner of the document the peer's arms are depicted on a fairly large scale - St. John (argent, on a chief gules two molets pierced or) surmounted by a viscount's coronet and supported by the new supporters. (Incidentally the drawing shows only seven of the sixteen pearls that adorn the rim of a viscount's coronet, instead of the nine that are usually shown, as, for instance in the east windows at Lydiard Tregoze and Battersea.) The new peer's new motto - Nec quaerere nec spernere honorem - appears on a fluttered ribbon interwoven with a blue, mauve, green, and gold decorative design below the shield.

A similar decorative design continues across the top of the document and down both its sides. In the upper border the royal arms of King George I within the Garter bearing the Garter motto, are surmounted by the royal crown with winged cherubs mounted on ornamental dragons in support. The border on the left incorporates the arms of Thomas, 8th Duke of Norfolk, surmounted by a Duke's coronet, and the fact that he was Earl Marshal is

indicated by two batons of gold tipped with black crossed behind the shield. Similarly the arms of Henry Bowes Howard, Earl of Berkshire and Deputy Earl Marshal, are incorporated in the border on the right, surmounted by an Earl's coronet. As the Earl was closely related to the Duke - by the present writer's reckoning the Duke was the Earl's 4th cousin of the half blood twice removed - his arms are in the main the same, but with a small sable crescent on the silver bend in the first quarter to indicate a second branch of the Howard family and with a different coat in the fourth quarter. His office is indicated by one baton passing behind the shield from top left to bottom right.

The full details of the Royal Arms are:

1st Quarter - England impaling Scotland, but the tressure is not continued down the palar line.

2nd Quarter - France: azure three fleurs-de-lis or.

3rd Quarter - Ireland: azure a harp or stringed argent.

4th Quarter - Hanover: tierced in pairle reversed,

1. Brunswick: gules two lions passant guardant in pale or; 2. Lüneburg: or semé of hearts gules, a lion rampant azure; 3. Westphalia: gules a horse courant argent; and on an inescutcheon (over the fourth quarter) gules, the crown of Charlemagne (as Arch Treasurer of the Holy Roman Empire).

The full details of the Norfolk arms are:

1st Quarter - gules on a bend between six crosses crosslet fitchée argent an escutcheon or charged with a demi-lion rampant pierced through the mouth with an arrow within a double tressure flory counterflory of the first - for Howard. (The escutcheon on the Howard bend is an honourable augmentation granted by King Henry VIII to Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey (later Duke of Norfolk), who defeated King James IV of Scotland in the battle of Flodden Field on Friday, 15th September, 1513.)

2nd Quarter - gules three lions passant guardant in pale or, in chief a label of three points argent - for Brotherton.

3rd Quarter - chequy or and azure - for Warren.

4th Quarter - gules a lion rampant or armed and langued azure - for Fitzalan. (These are the four coats referred to in Report no. 3, p. 25.) Behind the shield two truncheons, or marshal's staves, in saltire or enamelled towards each end sable.

The arms of the Earl of Berkshire repeat those of the Duke of Norfolk except that they add a small black crescent for difference near the top of the silver bend in the first quarter and that the lion in the 4th Quarter is argent - for Mowbray. His office of Deputy Earl Marshal is indicated by one baton passing behind the shield.

The text of the grant reads as follows: (The sign / indicates a line end.)

TO ALL AND SINGULAR /

to Whom these Presents shall come John Anstis Esq^r Garter Princi=^rpal King of Arms sendeth Greeting. Whereas Our Sovereign Lord King George / considering the Great Vertues, Illustrious Antiquity and Noble Extraction of S^r / Henry S^t John Baronet, hath been pleased by Letters Patent bearing the date the second / day of July, in the second year of his Reign, to Create Him a Peer of this Realm, by / the Titles of Baron of Battersea, in the County of Surrey, and Viscount S^t John; To / have and hold to Him, and to John S^t John his second son, and the Heirs Males of his / Body lawfully to be begotten, and in Default of such Issue to Holles S^t John his third Son, and the Heirs Males of his Body / lawfully begotten: And for want of such Issue to the Heirs Males of his own Body hereafter to be begotten: And Whereas it is / one of y^e known Privileges belonging to y^e Peerage, to have Supporters, added to their Arms, for their Greater Honour, and to distinguish / them from Persons of inferior Rank. Now Know ye that I the said Garter, do, according to the Power and Authority / annexed to my Office hereby Give, Grant and Confirm to the said Henry Lord Viscount S^t John the Supporters here=^rafter mentioned, That is to say, Two Eagles, their Wings elevated Or, and Crowned with Ducal Coronets Gules, / Each of them being charged on their Breasts with the Hames, X

Party per Pale Argent and Gules, Which Later was the / Badge of the Ancient and Noble Family of Tregoze, from whom his Lordship, is, in a direct Line, descended; as in the / Margin of these Presents is more lively depicted: To be borne and used by Him and Those, on whom the said Titles / of Baron of Battersea in the County of Surrey and Viscount S^t.John are Entailed according to the Laws and Rules / of Arms. In Witnesse whereof I have hereunto subscribed my Name and affixed the Seal of my Office. Dated at / the Herald's Office, the Sixth day of May, in the fifth year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George by the Grace of / God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith &c. Annoq, Dni 1719.

The four words of the first line are in large caps and caps, gilt with red shading; the rest of the text is in italics except the details of the supporters - Two Eagles . . . and Gules - which are in a more roman script.

A few comments may be offered.

1. Quite obviously "the Herald's Office" should be "the Heralds' Office".
2. The rim of a duke's coronet carries eight strawberry leaves, and when it is depicted, as it is above the Duke of Norfolk's shield, three whole leaves are shown between two half-leaves. (The coronet of the Duchess of Somerset in the Battersea east window erroneously shows five whole leaves and two halves.) But when a ducal coronet is used as a heraldic device, it has only four strawberry leaves on the rim, and one complete leaf is shown between two half-leaves. The St. John falcon is thus "dually gorged", and Viscount St. John's supporting eagles are thus crowned.
3. The representation of the hames on the breasts of the two eagles are better defined than they are, for instance, in the east windows at Lydiard Tregoze and Battersea. The two curved pieces of yellow metal are slightly decorated and are held together at the top and at the bottom. The enclosed space is vertically divided, and coloured white on the left (dexter) and red on the right (sinister).
4. As the text of the grant states, John Anstis duly affixed the seal of his office at the foot of the document. It bears his official coat of arms - argent, a cross gules, on a chief azure a ducal coronet encircled with a Garter between a lion passant guardant on the dexter, and a fleur-de-lis on the sinister, all or - encircled by a legend indicating that it is Garter's official seal. The lower edge of the document was folded up and so doubled to carry the seal with its supporting cords and Garter's signature.

During the recent restoration the problems listed above were tackled:

1. Details of all three coats of arms had deteriorated, particularly those of King George and the Duke of Norfolk; the Garter Motto was almost illegible.
2. For some reason that is far from self-evident certain words in the text - "And whereas it is . . . Supporters" and "the Ancient . . . Tregoze" - had been made almost illegible.
3. At the foot of the document Garter's official seal was cracked and otherwise damaged, and some holes in the parchment indicated that the cords holding the seal had disappeared. The bottom edge, which had originally been folded up and over, had apparently been flattened out when the document was framed, and consequently Garter's signature was invisible.

These matters have now received expert attention. The charges are being met by the Friends of Battersea Parish Church.

G E O R G E R I C H A R D

3rd Viscount Bolingbroke,
- further notes on his family.
by the Rev. Brian Carne, B.Com.

A certain amount of biographical information has been given in previous issues of this journal about the third family of the 3rd Viscount Bolingbroke - the children borne to him by Isabella Antoinette, Baroness Hompesch - in Report no.6, pp. 91-114, and in Report no. 7, pp. 82-85. A certain amount of new information has been collected, and it is desirable to relate this to what is already known, thereby placing the present Viscount Bolingbroke - second cousin, of the half blood, twice removed, of the late Viscount - in the setting of his immediate family.

George Richard had at least fifteen children, the first three and the last three of whom were legitimate.

He married, firstly, in 1783, Charlotte, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Collins, of Winchester. By her he had two sons and one daughter: (She died in 1804.)

1. George, 1784-1803.
2. Mary, d. 1804.
3. Henry, 1786-1851, later 4th Viscount Bolingbroke.

About 1787 George Richard had a child by his half-sister, Mary Beauclerk. In all there were four sons of this alliance, known normally by the surname of Barton:

1. Charles, died before 1820.
2. George, residing in America in 1820, died before 1842.
3. Robert, died before 1820.
4. Edward, residing in America in 1820, still living in 1842.

As 'Mr Bellasis', George Richard courted and married Isabella Antoinette, Baroness Hompesch, about 1794. At first they lived in Wales, where their first child was born:

1. George Frederick, 1795-1867.

In 1796 or 1797 George Richard and Baroness Hompesch left for America. Five children were born there:

2. William James, c. 1797-1840.
3. Joseph Henry, c. 1799-1856.
4. Isabella Marianne, c. 1801-1822.
5. Antonia Diana, c. 1803-1826.

(On August 1, 1804, George Richard and Isabella Antoinette were married in Trinity Church, New York.)

6. Ferdinand, 1804-1865.

On June 6, 1806, George Richard, his wife, and family left America. Two more sons were born to them:

7. Charles Robert, 1807-1844.
8. John Dyson, 1810-1812.

George Richard died in Pisa on December 11, 1824. He was buried at Lydiard on January 24, 1825. Isabella Antoinette, 3rd Viscountess Bolingbroke,

died at Torquay, on July 12, 1848. She was buried at Lydiard on July 22, 1848.

At the risk of complicating matters mention must here be made of an entry in Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, which at first sight appears to refer to yet another child of George Richard. The entry refers to "The Hon. Robert Stephen St. John", who was admitted pensioner at Jesus College, Cambridge, on February 26, 1814. Venn states that he was born in Germany, that he was educated at Westminster School, and that he matriculated at Michaelmas 1814. The Archivist at Westminster School has very kindly searched the Record of the school, but has been unable to find any reference to him. This could be the missing child from the "seven lovely children" to whom Count Niemcewicz said that he bade farewell in 1806 as the family took ship from America. But it is more likely that he was the third of the four sons borne to George Richard by Mary Beauclerk. The only difficulty lies in the fact that 1814 seems rather late for him to have matriculated if he was Mary Beauclerk's child, for he must by then have been twenty-two.

Biographical notes.

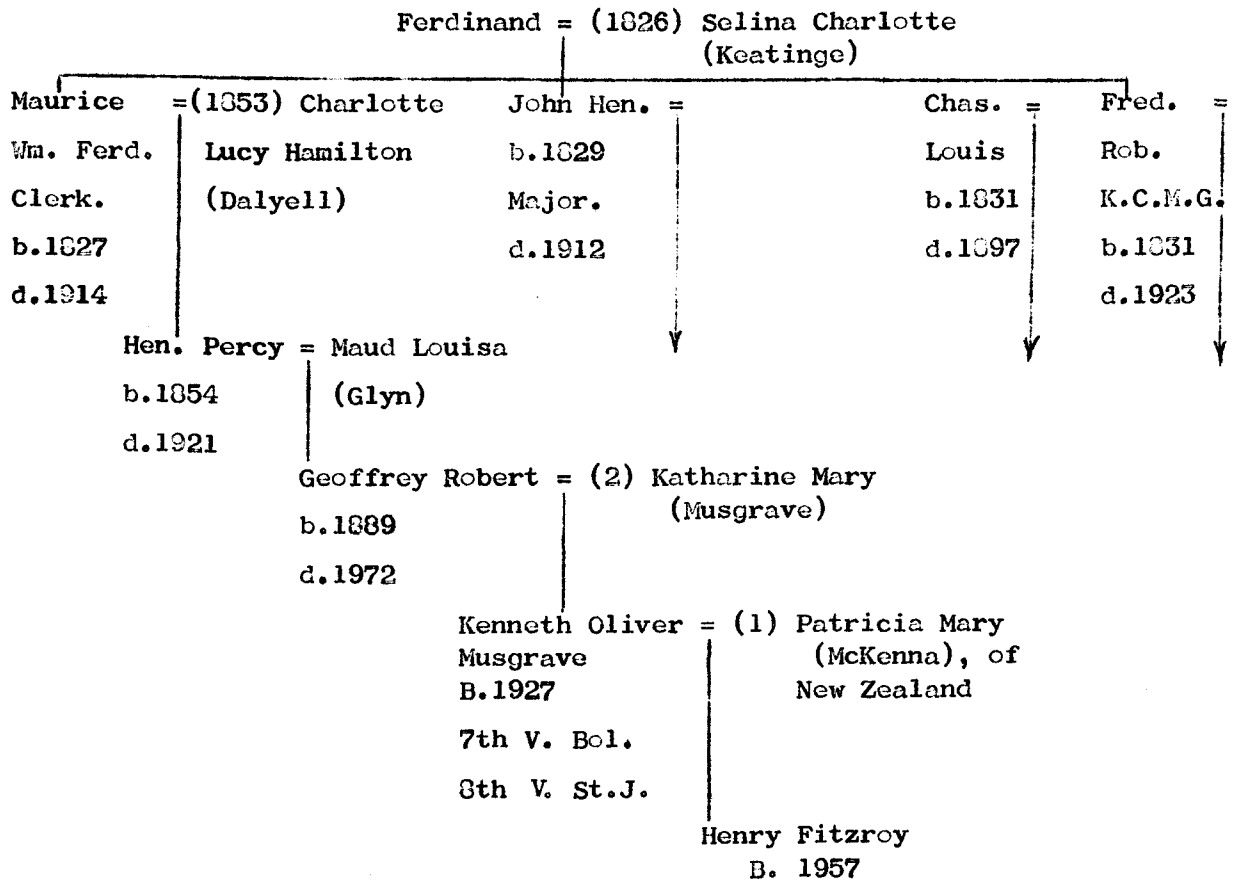
1. George Frederick. Born in Wales on May 29, 1795. At Eton College for some time between Autumn 1808 and his matriculation at Balliol College, on February 12, 1813. He was admitted pensioner at Jesus College, Cambridge, from Balliol, on December 25, 1815. Venn states that it is doubtful whether he resided in Cambridge. B.A. (Balliol), 1816; M.A. (Balliol), 1823. His father purchased the patronage of Manston church in Dorset, and presented him to the living in 1820, where he remained as vicar until his death on January 7, 1867. He was certainly married, but the identity of his wife is not known to the present writer. Of some artistic ability - see portrait no. 77 at Lydiard Park: the version in charcoal, dated 1830, of the portrait of Lady Diana Spencer by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Monumental inscription in Manston church. See Appendix 1 for two letters and Ten Days Abroad.
2. William James. Born in Greenwich Street, New York, possibly in 1797. Admitted to Westminster School 1810, left 1812. In 1820 he was a Cornet in the 13th Regiment of Light Dragoons. Married Anne Neville Pedley, daughter of John Pedley, esq., of Caddington Hall, Herts. Visited America in 1838. Died August 20, 1840. His only son, John Henry Herbert St. John, was a Captain in the 20th Regiment, and afterwards a Colonel in the New Zealand forces. He returned to this country after his service abroad, and died in 1876. He married Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. ... Maunsell. A great-granddaughter of John Henry Herbert St. John, Miss I.F. Langbein, of New Zealand, has kindly provided the Friends of Lydiard Tregoz with a copy of her family tree.
3. Joseph Henry. Born in America, probably at Elizabethville, about 1799. Joined the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards on November 25, 1814, and served at Waterloo in Colonel D'Oyley's Company of the 2nd Battalion, as an Ensign. He was still an Ensign, according to his father's will, in 1820. He exchanged to Lieutenant on half-pay in the 19th Lancers on January 3, 1822, retiring from the Army in 1832. On November 24, 1828 his name was entered on the Register of Admissions to Lincoln's Inn, but he does not appear to have been called to the Bar. In the Register he is correctly described, if one omits the four sons of Mary Beauclerk, as fifth son of the late Viscount Bolingbroke. He married Lady Isabella Frances FitzRoy, born c 1793, third daughter of the 4th Duke of Grafton. Lady Isabella was god-daughter of Horace Walpole; her mother, one of the "Ladies Waldegrave" in Sir Joshua Reynolds' picture, afterwards became Duchess of Gloucester by her marriage to a brother of King George III. Lady Isabella died in 1875, at the age of eighty-three, leaving an only daughter. Joseph St. John died in 1856. A Memorial Plaque was placed in the Guards' Chapel at Wellington Barracks, destroyed by enemy action in 1944. It is at present in the Regimental

Archives. Under the Arms of St. John is the motto NEC QUARERE, NEC SPERNERE HONOREM, and the inscription:

HENRY JOSEPH ST. JOHN
GRENADIER GUARDS 1814-22
"WATERLOO"
D.D. HIS DAUGHTER
ANTONIA ST. JOHN 1803.

The Regimental Archivist writes, "There appears to be some confusion regarding Joseph's Christian name. In the first mention of his joining the Regiment he is shown simply as Joseph St. John; in later entries he is shown as Joseph Henry St. John, yet his Memorial Plaque refers to him as Henry Joseph St. John. I can find no answer to this anomaly!"
(See Appendix 2 for letters.)

- 4. Isabella Marianne. Born in America, probably at Elizabethville, about 1801. Died unmarried, and was buried at Lydiard on May 1, 1822.
- 5. Antonia Diana. Born in America, probably at Elizabethville, about 1803. She died unmarried, prematurely at Lydiard, and was buried there on June, 7, 1826. In 1824 she was ill, and was taken by her father to Italy to recover her health. In December of that year George Richard died at Pisa.
- 6. The Hon. Ferdinand. Born October 16, 1804, probably at Elizabethville. In 1826 he married Selina Charlotte, daughter of Col. Maurice St. Leger Keatinge of Narraghmore, Co. Kildare. There were four sons of the marriage. (See table below.) In 1827 he was "in the Diplomatic Service at Florence (then the capital of Tuscany)", according to a press notice in the Gloucestershire Chronicle, February 21, 1914. On April 25, 1829, he fought a duel in Naples (See Appendix 3). In 1853 he published his only book, Rambles in Germany, France, Italy, and Russia, in search of sport. (See Appendix 4.) He died in 1865 at Pau.



6a. The eldest of the four sons of Ferdinand, Maurice William Ferdinand, was born in Florence on November 14, 1827. He took his degrees at University College, Durham, with a B.A. in 1850, an M.A. and a B.D. in 1864, and a D.D. in 1897. He was made deacon in 1851 to serve his title at Drigg, Cumberland, and was ordained priest by the bishop of Chester the following year. In 1853 he married Charlotte Lucy Hamilton, daughter of John Dalryell, of Lingo, Fife. From 1853 to 1880 he was vicar of Frampton-on-Severn. V.C.H. Gloucestershire, X, p.154, states that he was highly regarded in that parish, and initiated the restoration of the parish church. From 1880 to 1898 he was vicar of Keupsford. He was a diocesan inspector of schools from 1866 to 1872, rural dean of Fairford from 1895 to 98, and a proctor in Convocation for the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester from 1895 to 1906. In 1884 he became residentiary canon of Gloucester Cathedral, a post he retained until his death.

From 1851 - the year when Henry, 4th Viscount Bolingbroke died - Canon St. John was regarded as heir-presumptive to the Viscounties. He was so named in many editions of Debrett, and it was only after the death of the 5th Viscount, in 1899, that it became known that there was a direct heir, a son of the late viscount. See Horace Wyndham, Romances of the Peerage, pp. 63-84. Mr. Wyndham concludes his story with the results of the Case brought before the Committee for Privileges of the House of Lords by Vernon Henry St. John, in which he petitioned for a writ of summons to Parliament in the Peerage of Great Britain.

Something of the story is told elsewhere by Sir Harold Morris, Q.C., in Back View, pp. 133-136. Sir Harold appeared before the Committee for Privileges on behalf of Vernon Henry St. John. In his account, Sir Harold includes the following, perhaps imaginary, account of the circumstances in which Canon St. John was disillusioned:

As soon as his [the fifth Viscount Bolingbroke's] death was announced, the heir presumptive went to Lydiard Tregoze to claim his heritage, and the door of the mansion-house was opened to him by a comely woman of about forty, who said, "Who are you?" When he replied, "I am the sixth Viscount Bolingbroke," she said, "No, you are not. I am Viscountess Bolingbroke and my son Vernon Henry is the heir to the title and he will be the sixth Viscount," and further to convince the heir presumptive she showed him the certificates of her marriage and of her son's birth.

Whatever were the circumstances, the disclosure about the legitimate heir was an abiding cause for disappointment in the family of Canon St. John, who had high hopes of paying off the very considerable mortgage on the estate and of making it economically viable. The marriage of the fifth Viscount was one of those seemingly private and personal matters that have far-reaching consequences throughout a community and for all time.

Canon St. John died on February 18, 1914, and was buried at Frampton-on-Severn.

6b. The second of the sons of the Hon. Ferdinand, John Henry was born in 1829. He held the rank of Major in the 92nd Regiment, serving in the Crimea and in the Indian Mutiny. He married Margaret, daughter of Major-General Sir Charles Warren, K.C.B., in 1854.

6c. The other two sons of the Hon. Ferdinand were born as twins, on

6d. March 2, 1831. The charcoal drawing, number 76, at Lydiard Park, signed by J.J. Wilkins and dated 1845, is not a portrait of Charles Louis. (Side whiskers are not usually a feature of a

fourteen-year old boy) All that is known about him by the present writer is what is provided by Burke that he was consul for the States of New Orleans, that he married Aglae, daughter of Alexander de Jora, of Jassy, Roumania, and that he died on June 8, 1897. His twin brother, Sir Frederick Robert St. John, married, in 1882 Isabella, daughter of Captain the Hon. James Terence Fitzmaurice, R.N. Sir Frederick entered the diplomatic service in 1855, and received his K.C.M.G. on his retirement in 1901. His career as a diplomat took him to Turkey, Central America, Colombia, Venezuela, Servia, and Switzerland.

7. The Hon Charles Robert. Born November 21, 1807, presumably at Lydiard, for he was baptized there on November 27. He was again baptized, according to the registers - this time publicly - with his youngest brother on March 3, 1811. He entered Harrow School sometime between September 1820 and midsummer 1821, and left in 1823. He was admitted a pensioner at Christ's College, Cambridge, on October 21, 1824, receiving his M.A. there in 1826. He served in the 95th Regiment. On April 20, 1841, he married Jane, daughter of Thomas Gibson. He died at Mudeford, Hants, on January 21, 1844. In 1843 his widow married Sir Percy F. Shelley, 3rd bt., and son of the poet. Monumental inscription to Charles Robert at Manston. Pace Burke, Charles Robert had a son, also named Charles Robert.
8. The Hon. John Dyson. Born on September 28, 1810, and baptized privately at Lydiard Park on October 21. Together with Charles Robert, he was baptized publicly on March 3, 1811. He was buried at Lydiard on June 19, 1812. The choice of the name Dyson is interesting. Jeremiah Dyson, sometime M.P., married Elizabeth Collins, younger sister of Charlotte, first wife of George Richard, 3rd Bolingbroke; and it was through his marriage that he became involved in St. John family affairs as a trustee for George Richard's widow and surviving children, whoever they might be.

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SOURCES

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Kelly's Handbook to the Titled, Landed, and Official Classes, 1921.
Crockford, Clerical Directory, 1912.
Burke, Peerage and Baronetage, 1970.
Burke, History of the Commoners.
Sir Harold Morris, Q.C., Back View, 1960
Horace Wyndham, Romances of the Peerage, 1930.
Friends of Lydiard Tregoz, Report no. 6 and Report No. 7.

Thanks are due to:

The Archivist at Westminster School.
The Librarian, The Vaughan Library, Harrow School.
The Keeper of the College Library and Collections, Eton College.
The Librarian, Lincoln's Inn.
Major Cordle and the Regimental Archivist, First or Grenadier Regiment of Foot Guards.
The Director of State Archives at Naples.

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APPENDIX 1. Matters relating to the Rev. George Frederick eldest son of George Richard and Baroness Hompesch.

Among the papers of the late Viscount Bolingbroke were two concerning the Rev. George Frederick St. John. They are reproduced here by kind permission of his Executor. The first one, dated October 26, 1837, is very curious. The letter is printed and evidently formed part of what must have been circulated for debate in public. It is signed "J. Bolingbroke." The "J" must be the initial letter of Isabella who, when the letter was written, had been a widow (Dowager Viscountess) for nearly 13 years. This surmise is corroborated by the fact that there is a hand-written note on the printed sheet, "Step Mothers and Mothers in law make very flattering representations *ecce signum* not however worth much notice." The MS. footnote was doubtless written by Isabella's step-son, Henry, 4th Viscount Bolingbroke - the "H" referred to in the letter. (It is interesting that George Frederick was not on bad terms with his half-brother Henry, but Isabella had a bad opinion of Henry.) The theme of the letter is money, a theme that will be taken up in the third item in this appendix - the printed pamphlet Ten Days Abroad

The printed letter.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I need not say I was sorry for you and myself to receive your letter. The money could not well be spared: however, I have written to Messrs. Fryen and Andrews and sent them a check on Herries to pay for you £14 16s. It is very melancholy for you to be kept in constant hot water. Your only security would be to prevent the possibility of being made answerable for your wife's debts, and then return in the possession of some comfort at last. Having the opportunity of a frank, I send you £5 for your journey on the 30th. I am glad that you are not on bad terms with H: but to expect any good whatsoever from so coldhearted and selfish a man, would be quite in vain. He will make use of you to your cost, and be the first to turn his back on and deride you. Not one farthing would I ever again lay out for his sake. I will tell you more when you arrive. - Ever dearest G., yours affectionately,

J. BOLINGBROKE

The second letter was written by the Rev. George Frederick St. John. This time "Henry" is presumably the Hon. Henry Mildmay St. John, son of the "H" mentioned in the first letter and later 5th Viscount Bolingbroke, then a young man of twenty-four. It was written from Manston, and is dated October 23, 1844.

Dear Henry,

I paid I. White carpenter for you by sale of deals to him £1. 9. 0 being his work at dog kennell. So as I had a sovereign of you I have 9/ against you - you can pay Seymour yourself when you come - Dogs are all well. I took them out twice but no deaths -

We drew the carrot bed and Fish said when Fan pricked her ears "rabbits is fond of carrots" - this dark saying put us all on the key veeve - we threw the pack gallantly & fearlessly into a Red beet bed and Crowdy having leaped on the top & off again of a large beet (while Baronet and Crowdy rushed through the down hanging : on : each side = leaves) he chanced to leap on the rabbits back & then sat giving tongue but not conscious of his proximity to the noble beast he was hunting for

[Illustration]

one of the puppies saw something & sitting down to Contemplate what the abstract idea of a rabbit was whether it was a fallen don [?gift] in the pleroma [fulness of time] or not was suddenly laid prostrate on his back by aforesaid rabbi[t] rushing forward without so much as saying by your leave - capsizing poor Crowdy in the midst of a howl in K major with seven sharps - to describe the confusion was beyond my powers so I too Contemplated the scene of both hounds topsyturvy

[Illustration]

and the rabbi[t] rushing for a caven however a sharp tallyho brought the gallant pack to their senses they were harangued by Crowdy as Nicias harangued the Athenian fleet in the harbour of Syracuse and they all vowed to conquer or to die. they bow wowed in chorus which echoed all across the next bed of potatoes & frightened a Robin so much that he couldnt pick up his crumbs that evening at the parlour window.

Well sir away we went over furrow over ridge down a drain up a bank disdaining danger rather I should say courting it. after a gallant burst of four minutes 2" by a chronometer we lost the noble beast under a hamper with a hole in it out of which it is shrewdly suspected he made his escape from that signal chastisement to which he was by the fates not ordained to submit this time for having nibbled 2 carnations without having the fear of the gardner before his eyes - you shall see further particulars in Nimrods next - so farewell for the present

your whipper in in haste

G.

my regards to W & Mrs C Smith

Ten Days Abroad.

Ten Days Abroad is the title of an anonymous, thirty-eight page pamphlet, some 7" by 4½", published in 1846, and printed by C.B.Strutt, of Oxford Street, London. Its paper cover is yellow and bears a picture of a large three-masted sailing ship. A copy is in the Bodleian Library, and it was through the kindness of Mr Hallam, of the Department of Catalogues, that the existence of the pamphlet was made known to the present writer. The Bodleian copy has been through the post, and the post mark is "Sherborne Au 17 1848". Unfortunately there is no mark on it of either the name of the sender or the name of the addressee. The flyleaf has an inscription in ink that immediately arouses the interest of the reader, - "The Publication of this shamed [Isabella] Lady Bolingbroke into relieving her son" [the Rev. George Frederick St.John] - without doubt an important reason for its publication.

In the Bodleian copy two printer's errors in the first sentence have been altered in ink. The opening sentences now read:

On Tuesday, August the 4th [1846], the Honourable H S-- and the writer left P--k-street, at half-past two in the afternoon of the most oppressively warm day known in this country for many previous years. We were soon followed by G. S--, and all our luggage . . .

The ~~velling~~ of the names hides the identity of only one person - the writer herself. In the pamphlet the writer speaks of G's mother as Lady B, of a brother Ferdinand who is an outlaw, of another brother who had married Lady I.Fitzroy, and of yet another brother called William. The involvement of "the Honourable H. S--" in the story shows that he is the Hon. Henry Mildmay St.John, later 5th Viscount Bolingbroke. The autobiographical references included by the writer, who is undoubtedly female, arouse curiosity but never satisfy it. There is no hint of her identity. Earlier in this Appendix Lady Bolingbroke's reference to the wife of the Rev. George Frederick St.John as the one who is the cause of all his financial troubles would seem to be the

key. The unknown writer of Ten Days Abroad devotes six-and-a-half pages to a violent and vitriolic attack on Lady Bolingbroke, who is herself named as the cause of the financial troubles of her son! The present writer, therefore, takes it as certain that the writer of the pamphlet is the wife of the Rev. George Frederick St. John, but has not been able to discover her name.

The first nineteen pages of the pamphlet take the three travellers from London to Paris, thence to Amiens and Brussels. There is a generous recording of the small-talk among themselves and their fellow-travellers. Having arrived in Paris,

The next morning G. set off in an open carriage to drive all over Paris, and inspect the alterations that had taken place since he had been there last, and I discovered, with surprise, that I was in what used to be called the Hotel du Congres, where I had lived formerly for so long a time, and where I had first met Mr. St. J-- and his family. (pages 7,8)

The writer states on page 18 that she lived with French people in Paris for seven years. They drew a blank in seeking out old friends in Paris, so they set out for Amiens, where they met, unexpectedly, Mr D-- and his family from Charborough Park - situated about fifteen miles from Manston, in Dorset!

Whilst travelling from Amiens to Brussels by train, they shared a carriage with several people, including

an American Gentleman and his wife, delightful people. These, with H. G. and I, filled the carriage. G. whispered to me, that although he had not seen the gentleman for twenty-five years before, he was certain he was General Armstrong, Governor of Massachusetts, at that period . . . we all became very talkative and sociable. (page 13)

In Brussels the three of them settled down to an extended discussion. It is reported in full on pages 22-28:

"Before we left England, H. expressed to me very great surprise at a transaction that he said had recently taken place between G. and Ldy Bolingbroke, and asked me why I did not interfere to prevent it. I told him truly, all transactions of a pecuniary kind were kept profoundly secret between these two parties, and all I saw or knew of them was their ruinous effects upon our circumstances, and that I much wished him to speak to G. on the subject before me, that I might hear what explanation he could give on this occasion. The circumstances related by H., was that G. was entitled by his father's will to a third of a sum of money, (vested in land, in Wiltshire,) when Lady B. died, but in which she had a life interest, that she had induced G. and her son Ferdinand (an outlaw) to renounce all claim to this bequest on receiving one thousand pounds from her in ready-money and had thereupon sold the land which adjoined the family seat of Lyddiard for twenty-two thousand pounds, and would apply this sum intended by her husband for his sons to her own benefit solely. This evening accordingly H. inquired of G. in my presence why he had allowed himself to be so taken in as to relinquish something more than seven thousand pounds at the death of a woman near eighty, for so little as one thousand pounds in ready money, as any Jew would have given him more, and who was "chuckling," H. said, at having extorted it from him. G. became extremely agitated: he said it was perfectly true that Lady B. had taken advantage of his necessities to drive this cruelly-hard bargain with him. That when his father's will was read, her fury passed all bounds at finding he had been so well provided for, that she clenched her hands, stamped, and coming close up to him, grinned in his face, and swore he never should have the benefit of one of the bequests contained in it. Here he came close up to Henry, and imitating his mother's infernal grin, contracted and convulsed his features into an expression so demoniac, that it can never again be absent, I fear, from my "mind's eye." In that hideous grin were concentrated the malignity of a fiend, the ferocity of a wild beast, and all the bad passions of human nature. It was the metamorphosis of Milton exemplified in Lady B. the toad springing up into the fiend. G's voice, in general so pleasing, was first hollow, then sepulchral, and at last became a

howl, such as one would imagine could be uttered only by a tortured spirit, as indeed he was at that moment as he related the process by which Lady B. had followed up this heinous vow. She began, he told us, by threatening that his father having left him the family living of Lyddiard, worth twelve hundred a-year, under the designation of his "eldest son in orders," that she would prove in Court that he was not legally entitled to the name of son, having been born during the lifetime of his father's first wife. G. said he had not nerve sufficient for this public exposure of his parent's crimes, and his own consequent fate and therefore allowed her to deprive him of it, sell and pocket great part of the produce, and divide the rest with his brothers. I had previously heard this from the present incumbent, the Rev. Mr. Daubigne, who spoke of the transaction with horror and indignation. Secondly, there was to have been a sum divided amongst the sons of the late Lord B. by his will, on the youngest becoming of age, when this period arrived, one of them, now married to Lady I. Fitzroy, was almost inextricably involved with the Jews in money matters, and Lady B. by her tears, entreaties, supplications, promises, and artifices of all sorts again took advantage of G.'s soft and affectionate nature, and got from him this sum also. I understand from her relation Mr H. Acton, it was nine thousand pounds, but do not pledge myself for the amount. Her disposition is so well known to her own family, they do not attempt to conceal it, and very lately, Captain D--gb--y brought a message to G. from Count H--m--h, Lady B.'s nearest relative, to say her rapacity made it impossible he could hold any intercourse with her again. The third and last bequest, is the one just mentioned, his share of the sale of the Lyddiard woods. I should have hesitated at the probable risk I undergo of having my veracity questioned by repeating this conversation, had it not taken place in the presence of (and indeed been addressed to) one who I believe to be as justly entitled by his nature, as he is by his birth. to be styled "Honourable." There are a few considerations that might make it advisable not to have repeated it, at least in print, but as the effect of these transactions have been too well known to admit of concealment in the county in which we reside, I have, after consideration determined to make known as far as possible the cause. I am also conscientiously of opinion, that every act undertaken in cold blood, having for its object the destruction of a fellow creature, should be brought to light; although, when (as in this instance,) it is committed and persevered in during a long course of years by a parent against an un-offending son, it becomes a crime that has no name, and for which no punishment that could be inflicted in this [life] would be at all adequate. (There is hereby also a fair opportunity given for a reply.) The consequences to G. have been, that he was arrested at least three times every fortnight during a period of not less than seven years, that we had not during that period, an article of furniture in the house (not even a bed) we slept on the floor till (from want of repair, I suppose,) it became so full of huge rats from the churchyard and river adjoining we could no longer do so in safety, and Mr. Hibbert, of Chalfont, sent G. an old sofa to lie on, and a kind neighbour, Mrs Baldwin lent me a bedstead and bed. When Lord B. (the present) came with his daughter, intending to stay with G. a day or two, - two chairs were brought from the poor-house of the parish for them to sit on, and a farmer gave them beds; of food, there was not sufficient, and it consisted of merely potatoes, bread and cheese and water; there was not so much as a poker in the house. An old gipsy-woman used to come and cook the little provision we had. Still this was not the worst; the house was constantly surrounded by bailiffs, G. was imprisoned during five months of a hot summer, I by allowing money to be raised to release him, on a property that was in trust, involved myself in an interminable chancery suit with the celebrated Dr. Elliottson. Had I not done so, he would have remained there and lost his residence. He did not dare, after this, to go out, even to bury the dead. He dreaded to have a fire in the coldest weather, lest the smoke should betray that he was in the house; was obliged to keep the window shutters closed, and barricaded day and night, winter and summer, and this state of circumstances lasted nearer ten than seven years altogether. At last becoming desperate, he kept a gun or pistol constantly within reach, and swore he would shoot dead upon the spot, any man who attempted to touch him; and this becoming generally known in a neighbourhood where he

was known to be an unerring shot, had the effect of inspiring such terror, that no one ventured to approach the house for hostile purposes without giving him notice and time for escape; but this was not without risk, his life was endangered frequently in his escapes, he thought himself less exposed when alone in the house, and by his wish, I remained a great deal in town, separated from the only being I wished to see. We both suffered in health, in character, in every way that human beings can suffer, and why? Because Lady B., from sheer malignity, had formed a resolution to deprive her son of all benefit from the bequests of his dying father. From sheer malignity of nature, I repeat, for though she brought no dowry into the family she illicitly entered, her jointure, considerably more than a thousand a year, is paid with the utmost regularity by the present Lord, and is amply sufficient to enable her to purchase admission (forfeited otherwise by a false step in early life) to the society of a remote watering-place, where she resides, and where people are willing (for the time being) to "swallow anything" accompanied by a sufficient quantity of good champagne; and for the adornment of a form that appears to have been expressly bestowed on her by Providence to warn the beholders not to expect the usual feelings and sympathies of human nature in its wearer. In this unnatural resolution she had persevered, insensible to the sufferings, privations, mortifications of her son, and to the disgrace his profession exposed him peculiarly to in these circumstances, and above all insensible to his all enduring and child-like confidence in her. The nurse of Romulus and Remus, or any of its descendants to the present day, would have been moved to pity sooner. I was not without a vain hope the lesson given to Lady B., at the death of her son C., two years ago, when on his death-bed, he ordered her with every expression of loathing and abhorrence to quit his sight and his house; would have prevented his [sic, should be 'her'] risking the possibility of such another occurrence, and that she would, from that time have endeavoured (though late) to improve a disposition that had brought upon her the curses of her parents in her youth, and of her own offspring in her old age. Very vain indeed this hope was, when in so short a period, she is, as H. expressed it, "chuckling" over her accomplishment of the ruin of another son, and thereby, in all probability, bringing him, broken-hearted or deranged in intellect, to an untimely end. Can any one feel a doubt as to what is likely to be the future fate of this monster mother? As G. declared to us, how often he had been tempted to destroy himself and curse her, his whole appearance and voice underwent a transformation so wonderful, it struck me with amazement and terror, and I called out, 'oh! let me leave the room, I can't bear to hear more.' A paroxysm of "tic douloureux" seized me that continued all night, and has returned at intervals ever since. I felt as if transported out of this world, and amongst the condemned spirits. I have heard the Duke of Rutland said something about G. that inspired him with awe formerly; what would he have thought had he seen him on this occasion. Lest it should be thought I have exaggerated the state to which Lady B.'s rapacity and cruelty reduced us, I at once will mention two gentlemen amongst great numbers who witnessed it repeatedly with their own eyes: Sir Edward Baker, of Rainston, and the Rev. Mr. Blennerhasset, of Iwerne, in Dorset; and I hope they will kindly excuse my having done so without having previously asked their permission. Should any relation or acquaintance of the family, who happens to read this feel curiosity or interest sufficient to induce them to enquire into the transactions I have mentioned, concerning the will of the late Lord B., I have no doubt but that Mr. Wickens, of Cavendish-square, whose father made it, (and who is agent to the present, and was to the last lord,) will give any information that might be required, to confirm the truth of this statement. Having as yet, I hope, a character to maintain in this world, and also a soul to be saved in the next, I have been careful not to risk either by stating herein any fact that rests solely on my own authority, though fully acquainted with many acts not less unnaturally cruel, and disgracefully dishonest than those I have stated, committed by the same disgrace to human nature in general, and to her own sex in particular: I shall only mention two instances. When Sir R. Glynn, on my marriage, paid by my desire a large sum of ready money into G.'s hands, to defray a debt of his to a solicitor,

named Chitty, at Shaftesbury, that amounted to seven thousand five hundred pounds (which Lady B. had when residing with her son, helped him to contract), she contrived to obtain the greater part of it from him, with a full knowledge that giving, as he was then forced to do, a sequestration on his living for that sum would deprive him of the actual means of existing (out of debt). She then advised and assisted her son William and his wife to abscond to Boulogne, with upwards of two thousand pounds I had lent them, and there remain to take the benefit of the Limitation Act, which they did. As to innumerable "petty larcenies" committed in the same quarter, I shall not recapitulate them here, as I am only writing a journal, and not a supplement to the Newgate Calendar. Adlington, the attorney employed by Lady B. to aid and abet her in terrifying G. into compliance with these extortions, having gone "to his reward," I applied to his surviving partners, Messrs. Gregory and Falkner, to know whether they could offer any contradiction or explanation of what I have stated, but have received none from them. My trustee, Mr. John Clayton, of Lancaster Place, wrote to tell me he would for his own satisfaction investigate them, and acquaint me with any extenuating circumstances that might occur in the course of doing so, but he has not communicated to me a single one; and I concluded he found none; for as he volunteered to make an inquiry, he no doubt has done so. I write in a profound conviction that every word I state is true as "Holy Writ," and abide by the consequences. When the tortures of the "tic douloureux," brought on by the foregoing disclosures subsided a little, and enabled me to reflect, I convinced myself that I was not yet transported to the world of spirits, (good and bad,) and that the tobacco fumes wafted from the other end of the apartment were no more "blasts from hell than they were airs from heaven." H. came into my room early the next day to inquire how I was, and talk over the conversation of the preceding night; he said that when he called last year on Lady B. he was astonished at her putting her back to the drawing-room door and screaming violently when he attempted to open it, and on enquiring the reason, she said she thought I was come to kill her. I who for twenty years had uniformly shunned her as a black plague spot, and had not seen her once! Such are the terrors of an evil conscience. H. and I agreed that though she might be entitled to sixty-four quarters elsewhere, she deserved none from us, and that since the mother of "Savage" there has not been so savage a mother."

(The reference to "Savage" in the concluding lines needs some explanation. Richard Savage, 1697?-1743, was a friend of Samuel Johnson during the latter's early years. In his Lives of the Poets Johnson gave Savage nearly as much space or more than he gave to Milton, Dryden, or Pope, though most minor poets got much shorter treatment. (published in 1779-81.) Johnson is now the most easily accessible source, and he could have been used by our author. She may have relied on one (or more) of the four accounts that appeared during the life-time of Savage - 1718, 1724, 1727, 1728 - the last one by Savage himself. The Cambridge History of English Literature says, "The famous romance of his birth and maltreatment [by his mother] seems now to be almost unanimously disbelieved by historical critics." J.W.Cousin: A Short Biographical Dictionary of English Literature writes, "Johnson has given his story as set forth by himself, which is, if true, a singular record of maternal cruelty. There are strong reasons, however, for doubting whether it was anything but a tissue of falsehoods mingled with gross exaggerations of fact.")

Only one further item of biographical interest appears in the pamphlet. On page 30 we read, "H. when a boy, lived four years at the Bellevue [in Brussels] with his mother and sisters, and recollected perfectly all that passed at the Revolution." (He was ten-years old at the time!)

The writer and G. returned to London on August 26 - since when she had not seen him as "having unavoidably become involved (by the transactions previously related) to nearly the ~~same~~ amount with others, that has been extorted from himself by Lady Bolingbroke, his person is not in safety, and he cannot keep any furniture in his house: he has requested me not to go there for the present."

Comment on Ten Days Abroad must await next year's Report. In Report no. 6, page 104, it is stated that

All we have for the moment is the description of the life of the family [between 1806 and 1824] that is contained in the last paragraph of Julia Lawrence's letter. The idyllic scene at Lydiard Park, if it is the whole truth, would suggest that George Richard and Isabella were remarkable parents in being able, so successfully, to contain the tensions that were inherent in their legal relationships.

The pamphlet indicates just how bad those relationships became. It is not perhaps surprising that when the three went to inspect the field of Waterloo there was apparently no mention of Joseph Henry! (See below.)

APPENDIX 2. Letters written by Joseph Henry St. John.

In the biographical notes above it is stated that Joseph Henry joined the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards on November 25, 1814, and served at Waterloo in Colonel D'Oyley's Company of the 2nd Battalion, as an Ensign. He was at this time aged sixteen. He wrote letters to his father at Lydiard Park, and several of these have survived. They passed into the ownership of Lieut. Colonel Ferdinand John St. John, the younger son of Canon St. John, and therefore a grand-nephew of Joseph Henry. In 1925 Colonel St. John released the text of one letter and summarized the contents of others. The one appeared, first, in The Sir Walter St. John's Magazine of March 1925, and later, on Saturday, June 20, 1925, in The Times. The Magazine article is enhanced by diagrams of the battle of Waterloo and foot notes supplied by the late Major John F. Nichols. Colonel St. John commented "The story of the battle as told by a son to his parents somehow appeals to one more and gives more personal atmosphere than a mere historic account." Concerning the other letters The Times wrote:

The first half dozen tell of the journey to Brussels, of the stay there, of how the people talked of Napoleon and his "getting loose" from Elba, of hunting, and of such other gossip and diversions as would attract an officer of his age - that is to say, an officer in whom the impulses of boy-hood are ever struggling with a newly-gained dignity.

In one of the letters Joseph wrote with humour and not a little pride in his regiment:

I dined with General Maitland, who commands the Brigade of Guards, in fact they know now better than to put anyone else but a Guardsman at the head of us. Even in Spain, Sir William Stewart, who had the command of our division, could not manage them, so at last he gave up the command of us and Lord Wellington said to him, "Why Stewart, you could not manage those gentlemen's sons." And he said that even when he had us himself a long time ago he could not do it.

The letter that is reproduced was written from Bavay, just within the French frontier, on June 22, 1815. The version in The Sir Walter St. John's Magazine is slightly fuller than that which appears in The Times:

Viscount Bolingbroke,
Lydiard Park,
Swindon, Wilts.
Bavay, 22nd June, 1815.

My dear Father,

I wrote the other day (the evening of the battle) a line to say I was safe.

I will now give you an account of all that has happened. On the evening of Thursday the 15th, we heard that the French had attacked the Prussians under Blucher and the next morning we left Enghien at 3 o'clock and we marched from that time till 5 o'clock in the evening, we (the Guards) came up to a wood [Bossu wood] on the side of a road where the French were, we entered

the wood, at the end of the wood next the road, having open country to the left of the road and drove the French clean through it, but as we had no cavalry or artillery up we could not stay in the open country so the French Cavalry drove us into the wood again.

This sort of work went on till dark when we left the wood and bivouacked all night, we lost about four officers and 500 men in our brigade (the 2nd brigade was not engaged) everybody said that they had never been under such a hot fire for so long a time. A sergeant of the French came up with his bayonet fixed to one of our officers who is a very little fellow and told him that he must surrender himself prisoner, "No" says our officer "you forget that you are a frenchman [sic] and I an Englishman so you are my prisoner," "Eh bien" says the Frenchman, "chacun son lot, et je me rends votre prisonnier." That night the french attacked the Prussians and licked them taking 18 or 20 pieces of cannon and the Prussians losing a good many men killed and wounded so when Lord Wellington sent over to the Prussian Headquarters they were all gone and we had to retreat towards Brussels immediately. Our army took up a position on the right of the road leading from Nivelles to Brussels some part of it crossing the road, that evening [the 17th] the French came up and there was some cannonading and some slight affair between our cavalry and theirs. We bivouacked that night and the next morning about 9 o'clock there was a great deal of manoeuvring without any fighting - at last they say Lord Wellington looking at one of their movements said "can they be such fools" and immediately he gave orders for the army to be drawn up and the French attacked us, and then began a battle in which battle I flatter myself that the 1st Division (composed only of the 3 regiments of Guards) distinguished themselves not a little. We were drawn up, I speak of our division, as I saw none others move, in squares and we were then under a most tremendous shelling for two hours, then the thing that we expected happened, the french Cavalry charged our squares, it was pretty work, they charged us and we beat them off the whole squares firing at them (The Brunswick infantry are some of the finest troops that ever were, they were next us) from us they charged them, they beat them off and so did all, then they opened another tremendous cannonade for some time we then heard musket balls whizzing over our heads and one Division alone took ground to the left just on the ridge of a hill [the writer supplies a diagram] where the french Imperial Guards were . . . We were then ordered to lay down till the Imperial Guards came up close. The prisoners of them all say that Buonaparte came up to them and said his last hope was in them and that if they broke our point the plunder of Brussels should be their reward. When we laid down the Imperial Guards thought we were gone and they came up very fast, the moment they came near we jumped up and poured in such a volley upon them that they could not stand it and from that time there was a complete defeat of the french, it was a second Leipsic with slaughter -. Our second brigade behaved uncommonly well at a house in a wood. You will most likely see the accounts in the despatches. Lord Wellington said to General Byng who commanded our Division towards the latter end of the day "Well, my dear Byng I have observed the Guards through the whole day and I am more pleased with them than you can conceive." Yesterday he said to him "I have not forgotten the Guards in my dispatches I do . . . believe that they gained the battle." A very pleasant thing to have said of us by a man who seldom praised us much.

Well now my fingers are tired.

It is almost up with Boney here at least. Give my love to all and tell them that I often think of them and hope soon to see them at Lydiard if things go on well. We entered France yesterday.

Good-bye, as I am sleepy and hungry after a long march and can't get to supper because the man of the house is bothering, saying how fond they are of the English. Barclay is safe. I remain, your dutiful and affectionate son,
J. H. ST. JOHN.

APPENDIX 3. The duel fought by the Hon. Ferdinand on April 25, 1829.

Ten Days' Abroad, page 14, reported the interesting fact that "Governor Armstrong's courier told G. that he had lived with his brother Ferdinand, and was present when he shot the Neapolitan nobleman in a duel." Like so many incidents from the past only part of this story can be told.

Mr. Smallwood writes, "The following transcript was made by me in April 1975 from a typescript made by the late Geoffrey St. John in July 1966 from a newspaper cutting in his possession. I had seen the newspaper cutting several years before in his residence, and I think that there was no evidence of the date of the cutting or of the newspaper from which it was taken."

Extract from the Augsburg Gazette (Circa 1830)

The fatal duel at Rome - (Further particulars) -

We stated yesterday, from the Augsburg Gazette, the melancholy death of Prince Cottrafiano Count d'Arragon, in a duel. The following particulars of this fatal event have reached us from a correspondent at Naples:- "A duel took place on Saturday evening, the 25th inst., at Moli di Gaeta, between the Hon. Ferdinand St. John, attended by the Count de Poillie and Mr. Touchet, and Count Giovanni d'Arragon, attended by il Duca di Lieto and il Cavalier di Matino. They were placed at 30 paces, with the right of walking to ten paces, and firing when they pleased. After aiming at each other for some minutes, each wishing to reserve his fire, Mr St. John cried 'Il faut en finir', fired, and the Count fell dead, the ball having passed through his heart. The parties were at Rome during Holy Week, and the quarrel is said to have occurred at an assembly at Torloni's, where the daughter of an English General (Sir H.C.) had 'turned both their heads.' The fate of Count Arragon is greatly lamented, as he was of an amiable disposition, and so much in English society that he was known from his brothers by the appellation of English Arragon. The parties got their passports at Rome to visit Mola di Gaeta and return. The ground chosen was about a hundred yards from the Villa di Ciceroni Hotel, and leaving the body as it fell, the parties hastened to recross the frontier. The police were immediately on the alert, caught St. John at Terracina, pursued the others as far as Torretreponta, made them prisoners, and I hear that the King has ordered them here in levy, to undergo a trial, although the duel was selon les regles; but whenever death ensues, the parties implicated undergo severe punishment - Galignani.

Mr. Smallwood also supplies the information that two brothers Galignani published in Paris, from 1821, an English newspaper - Galignani's Messenger - founded by their father in 1814. Unfortunately, the British Library has no copies of this publication between February 1829 and May 1831, so the story cannot be completed. "Circa 1830" must mean 1829, for the Saturday after Easter in that year fell on April 25. In 1830 no Saturday was the 25th until September; in 1831 the first Saturday the 25th after Easter was in June. Mola di Gaeta is now called Formia di Gaeta. It is on the Appian Road, on the Gulf of Gaeta. It is therefore about 40 miles north-west of Naples. Terracina is on the coast about 20 miles west of Formia and sixty miles south-east of Rome. In 1829 Naples and Sicily were 'the Kingdom of the two Sicilies' under King Ferdinand II. Rome was within the Papal States. Apparently the six men got passports in Rome to enter Naples territory and tried, after the duel, to get back across the frontier into Roman territory. They nearly succeeded, but not quite, and the King of the two Sicilies ordered a trial. But unfortunately the State Archives at Naples cannot find any record of the trial.

APPENDIX 4. Rambles in Germany, France, Italy, and Russia in search of sport.
by the Hon. Ferdinand St. John. Published in London, 1853.
244 pp. Preface by the author, written in Baden, 1853.

This was his only published book. Whilst telling the main story of his 'rambles in search of sport' he provides the reader with some details about himself and his family. The book makes interesting reading. It is episodic in character, but unfortunately lacking in many of the dates that the reader looks for in trying to connect the biographical details that are incidentally included.

There is no mention of the duel. On p. 82 he writes,

With the exception of the birds of passage, it is seldom that any game worth mentioning is to be met with in Italy. Had this been otherwise, nothing would have induced me to quit a country where I had passed the happiest years of my life. When indeed, my thoughts wander back to those delightful days of my youth . . . No! no! if once I allow myself to be carried away by reminiscences of sport in the "salons" of Florence, Rome, or Naples, there is no knowing where I shall get to.

On the following page he comments on the fact that wild geese have an annoying habit of remaining near the road-side when the traveller passes that way without a gun, and adds,

tl This I particularly remarked once, when I had occasion to ride post from Naples to Rome, to attend a ball at Lady C- -'s; returning after supper on horse-back to Naples, in time to lead the cotillon on the following night at Lady Dr- -d's.

The following extracts refer to his travels also:

Previously to leaving Italy, in 1834, I was fortunate enough to be at Castellamare during the great eruption of Vesuvius. (p. 86)

He returned to England and, after a short season of fox-hunting, decided to purchase a race horse for the bargain price of £300. He raced it in Brussels, Turin, and in Milan. Then they went to Hungary, where Ferdinand was well-known, having himself ridden many races there in his younger days on the race course at Pesth. In Prague the horse won first prize - £1,300, but one of the conditions of the race was the right of the promoters of the race to claim the winners - so the horse passed out of Ferdinand's ownership.

At the close of the shooting season I went to Paris, for the remainder of the winter; and, after the spring races at Chantilly, repaired, as usual, to Baden Baden. (p. 141.)

Among a crowd of visitors of all nations passing the season at Baden, was a Prince D- -, with whose family we were on a very intimate footing. On meeting one evening at dinner, he announced to me that important business would force him to start immediately for his estate, situated some distance beyond Moscow. (p. 205.)

Within twenty-four hours they had set out for Russia; they crossed Poland, called in at Moscow and then went on to St. Petersburg. The return journey took eleven days, via Riga, Mietau, Tilsit, Konigsberg, and Berlin.

A very few years since, it took a courier eight days and nights to go from Vienna to London, a journey which I have several times performed when entrusted with despatches. On one occasion, I remember, after shooting in the neighbourhood of Presburg in the morning, to have been sent off the same night with despatches from Vienna to London. I changed carriages at every post-house, and mostly found myself obliged to put up with a Styrian cart without springs; and, although knocked about the Channel between Calais and Dover for twelve hours at night, in a small open fishing-boat, I drove up to the Foreign Office within seven days and a half, and, proceeding that night by mail into Wiltshire, arrived in time for a day's

pheasant shooting, without having been in bed since my day's shooting on the frontiers of Hungary. (p. 233.)

Elsewhere, he describes the river Elbe in winter with great blocks of ice carried down by the current. . .

Travelling from Florence to Vienna in the winter of 18-- with an Infant of Spain and his retinue, we were detained by the same cause, passing three days in the palace of the Cardinal Legate at Ferrara. This was the severest winter that had been known for many years, and we experienced the same difficulty in crossing the Pô, as I since met with on the Elbe. (p. 236.)

As a good shot, he was always welcome at the 'great battues':

I passed the week at Duke Maximilian's of Bavaria. We were six guns, and bagged one hundred and two roebuck, five hundred hares, and twenty-five foxes. . . During the months of August and September, I shot, to my own rifle, three chamois, twenty-eight stags, and seventeen fallow buck; and, in the course of November and December of the same year, sixteen wild boar. (pp. 77-78.)

He gives interesting accounts of his stalking of capercaillie, blackcock, and chamois. He describes fly fishing for trout, and the use of hawks to catch herons.

Of himself there is not a great deal of information. He tells us that he weighs fourteen stone, and that he speaks fluent French, German, and Italian. A little of his earlier days is recalled at the end of the book. He attended a magnificent lottery in Vienna at the Redouten Saal:

Adjoining this immense room are other apartments, of somewhat smaller dimensions. These, during the carnival, are all thrown open on the nights of the masked balls; and although the Viennese do not boast of a "galop monstre," yet I retain most agreeable reminiscences of a more remote period than the one of which I have been speaking: *cio è*, when at the age of eighteen I was a constant attendant at those never-to-be-forgotten Vienna Redoutes! (p. 243.)

He has a little more to say about his family. On p. 60 he tells us that he had almost unlimited permission to shoot in the King of Bavaria's preserves because of

the King's former esteem for two of my maternal uncles, one of whom, until his death, had been minister of finance in Bavaria, and the other, a general in the English service, had passed the latter part of his life in Munich.

He was accompanied abroad by his wife and their four children. One of the sons is singled out for praise. On one occasion they were boar hunting:

I remember on one occasion when, mounted myself on a fat old cob, and one of my sons on a very clever little Irish horse, the boar was brought to bay in a small coppice. At the urgent request of my son, the piqueur made over to him his "couteau de chasse", and held his horse, whilst he advanced to give his "coup de grace."

The boar breaks loose, 'son' remounted, and gave chase. He

jumping from his horse, ran up and received him on his long hunting-knife, running him through the heart, in sight, although not within reach, of the rest of the party. (pp. 147-8.)

After this incident they left France and, in 1846, took a lease of a chateau in Baden at the foot of the Kaiser-Stuhl mountain. These were days of great interest for the boys. They were invited to every shooting party that took place within twenty miles of their home, and most interesting of all, they saw at first hand the local manifestations of the 1848 revolution.

The Society.

The Officers of the Friends of Lydiard Tregoz for 1975-76 were:

- President: Mr. Frank T. Smallwood, M.A., F.S.A.
 Vice-President: Mr. A.R.Dufty, C.B.E., V-P.S.A., A.R.I.D.A.
 Secretary and Treasurer: Mr. A.Jones,
 Committee: Mr. Douglas Perry.
 Mr. Arthur W. Flack, A.R.I.B.A., A.M.P.T.I.
 The Rev. J.M.Free, A.K.C., B.D.
 Miss Thelma Vernon.
 Editor of Report: The Rev. Brian G. Carne,

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New members.

Mr and Mrs. Thomas Cox, U.S.A.
 (Mr. Cox is a descendant of Mathias St.John, second son of Oliver St.John and Sarah Bulkley. Mathias emigrated to America during the 1630's - possibly at the same time as the Rev. Samuel Whiting. Both families eventually settled in Conecticut.)
 Mr. B.F.J.Pardoe,
 Mr S.C.Sherlock,

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Statement of account as at 31st March, 1976.

	£. p.		£. p.
Receipts		Expenses	
Balance brought forward	116.47	Research costs and production of Report no. 8	46.10
Subscriptions and donations	71.27	Mr. D.M.Archer, expenses	7.00
Bank Interest	7.47	Duplicating notices - A.G.M.	2.30
		Catering - A.G.M.	6.50
		Analysis book	1.45
		Postages and stationery	
		- Secretary	8.30
		Gratuities	6.00
		Transferred to Monuments Fund	80.00
		Balance carried forward	37.56
	<u>195.21</u>		<u>195.21</u>

Audited and found correct. M.Sharp. 10th April, 1976.

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Postscript. The thanks of all are due to the Borough of Thamesdown for their continued generosity in providing materials for the duplication of this publication, and to the typist for what is often very tedious work. Above all, thanks are due to our President for his constant interest in the society. He is indefatigable in research, and an unfailing provider of information. Last year's magnificent talk is not included because the substance appears in the January 1975 edition of Apollo. It is hoped that a monograph on the subject will shortly be printed.

The Friends of Lydiard Tregoz.

May 8th, 1976.

Free to members.