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FRIENDS OF LYDIARD TREGOZ

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Report No. 36

The **FRIENDS OF LYDIARD TREGOZ** was formed in 1967 with the approval and full support of St.Mary's Church and the Borough of Swindon.

The objects of the society are to:

- Foster interest in the Church, the House, and the Parish as a whole.

- Hold one meeting in the House annually, usually in mid-May, with a guest speaker. The meeting is followed by tea in the dining room and Evensong in the Parish Church. (The meeting in 1997 was held at Battersea.)

- Produce annually *Report,* a magazine of articles which are concerned in the broadest way with the history of the parish, its buildings and people, the St.John family and their antecedents as well as more locally-based families, and the early years of the Sir Walter St.John School in Batter-sea. Copies of *Report* are deposited with librar-ies and institutions in England, Wales, and the United States of America. The offer of articles for inclusion is always welcomed by the Editor.

- Make occasional contributions from unexpended income towards the cost of projects in either the House or the Church.

FRIENDS OF LYDIARD TREGOZ

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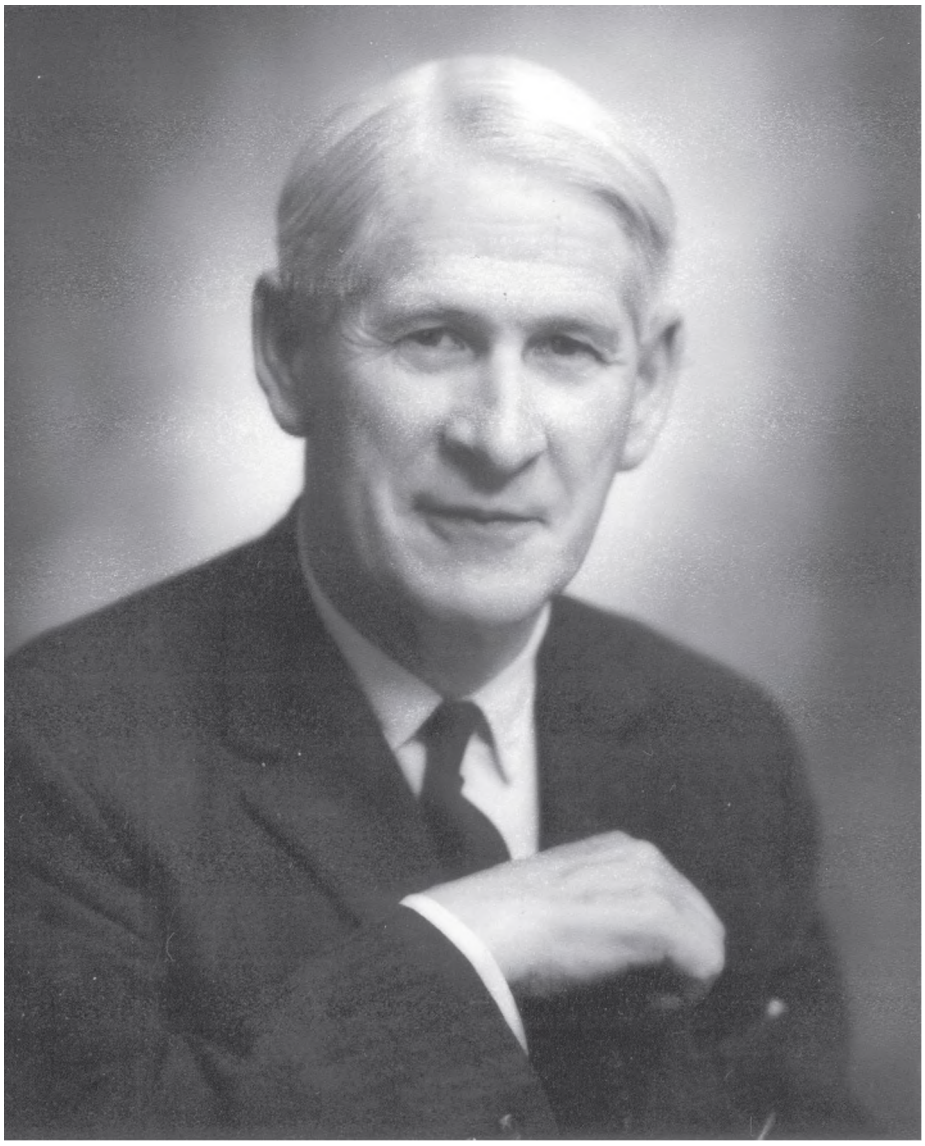
Editor's Note

Particular thanks are due to Mr D.R. Lane FRCVS for permission to consult his late wife's manuscripts and to reproduce her article on Lady Luxborough and her garden in this *Report.* The late Dr Joan Lane was a Senior T eaching Fellow at the University of Warwick. Over a number of years she researched the life and work of Henrietta, Lady Luxborough. She contributed the article on Henrietta for the new *Dictionary of National Biography* and was writing a book, to be called *Scandalous Ladies,* of which Henrietta was to be the subject of the second chapter. Her manuscripts are, at least for the immediate future, deposited as Box 33 in the Modem Records Centre of the University. Dr Lane spoke at a meeting of the Warwickshire Gardens Trust in 1991: the article followed that talk.

Friends will welcome this year the contributions of Mrs Nell Marshall, whose husband is a great-great-great-grandson of Robert Knight, Lord Luxborough and Earl of Catherlough; Léonie Seliger, of the Cathedral Studios at Canterbury, who was the speaker at our meeting last year; and Ellie Pridgeon, a Ph.D student at Bristol University. The article by Janet Lilly appeared ‘ some years before 1980 in *Home Owned*, but neither the original article nor the author have been traced: apologies are offered for any infringement of copyright.



Arnold Joseph Taylor 1911-2002

A MEMORIAL TRIBUTE TO DR. ARNOLD J. TAYLOR

At our annual meetings in recent years we have sent wannest greetings to Dr Arnold Taylor (1911-2002), sadly unable to be with us through increasing infirmity, and received greetings in return from him. He joined the Friends in its early days, served as our President 1983-86, and as one of our Vice-Presidents until his death on 24 October 2002 at the age of ninety-one. In scholarship his stature was that of a giant, but he never over-awed us lesser beings. Instead, his gentleness and kindness made him a true friend whose mission in life seemed to be to encourage and confirm others. His wife Pat, who supported him wonderfully in the frustration he latterly endured, and their children will grievously miss him, so will hosts of colleagues and friends, in whose company we are proud to be included.

In *Who 's Who, 2001* Arnold's entry runs to thirty-four lines, and lists the honours bestowed on him - C.B.E., an honorary D.Litt. from the University of Wales, and an honorary doctorate from the University of Caen, his many achievements in life, and a long list of his publications.

A grandfather, his father, and his brother were successively Headmasters of Sir Walter St.John's School in Battersea from 1873 to 1946, and he wasjustifiablyproudofthemandofthe school. After his education at Merchant Taylors' School and St.John's, Oxford, and a short period of teaching, he was appointed Assistant Inspector of Ancient Monuments to HM Office of Works and rose,in 1961 to become Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments in England, Scotland, and Wales. He brought together responsibility for both ancient remains and standing historic buildings as never before or since. He wrote many of the official guides as well as producing books and contributing many articles to learned journals.

The obituaiy in the *Times* testifies to his skill and methods of work:

> *Arnold T aylor ' s studies of the great castles of Edward I in North Wales unquestionably paved the way for their designation as World Heritage Sites. His brilliant research, as an expert Latinist and palaeographer, in the Public Record Office and the archives of Savoy led to the discovery that Caernarfon and Conwy, with their town walls, and other castles were the work of one of the great medieval mason-architects, Master James of St.George....*
>
> *[As a young man] his first assignment was Minster Lovel in Oxfordshire. Learning that there had been a priory near the hall dependent on Iviy Abbey, he took his bicycle to France and cycled off to study the Archives Departementales. This was to be his modus operandi for years to come: arriving at a town by train; steaming up the hill to study the castle; and then taking the next train on or back....*
>
> *While many in the Ancient Monuments Department were absorbed with excavation, Taylor's strength lay in looking up rather than below, explaining the standing building with the aid of close reading and penetrating analysis of the original documents. In this sense he was a key pioneer of the modem practice of building archaeology, the close study of construction, which today complements architectural history that developed more as a branch of art history....*
>
> *He was held in great affection by his staff, using his great knowledge to illuminate, not intimidate....*
>
> *Taylor's most visible memorial lies in the glorious walls of Conwy, where, through patient negotiation and diplomacy, he secured the removal of numerous sheds built against the outside of the walls, including the local fire station - so that they could be appreciated in their full medieval splendour. Hardly was the work complete when the whole grand effect was threatened by the construction of the new North Wales expressway, which was to be earned across the river below the castle on a bridge of*

grotesque ugliness. Taylor was not a man to be nobbled by his political or Civil Service masters, important as the road was held to be economically, and both before and after his retirement he put his full energy into ensuring that the road was set out sight in a tunnel, which was opened by the Queen.

In 1942 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and devoted a great deal of his time, particularly in retirement, to its affairs. He served successively as Secretary, Director, and President of the Society (1975-78), and received its Gold Medal in 1988. In 1972 he was elected to the Fellowship of the British Academy: a rare honour for someone outside university circles.In addition to being our President, he served as Vice-President of a number of organisations, including the English Place-Name Society and the Royal Archaeological Institution. He served as President of the Oxford University Archaeological Society during his time at the university, the Cambrian Archaeological Association, the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, the Society for Medieval Archaeology, the Sir Walter St.John's Old Boys' Association, and the Old Merchant Taylors' Society. For many years he was chairman of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Wales.

He took akeen interest in churches and cathedrals, and served on the Cathedrals Advisoiy Committee (1964-80), the Advisoiy Board for Redundant Churches, of which he was chairman in 1975-77, and on the Westminster Abbey Advisory Panel (1979-1992). He was a committed, strongly conservative member of the Church of England, and keenly interested in preserving its ancient buildings, its heritage and its liturgy.

Arnold included 'resisting iconoclasm' among his interests in *Who's Who.* 'Resisting iconoclasm' sums up the philosophy that informed his professional career.

He made valued contributions to our *Report.* Simon Patrick (1626-1707), domestic chaplain to Sir Walter St.John at Battersea from 1656, later became successively Bishop of Chichester and Bishop of Ely. While at Battersea he wrote *The Heart's Ease* (1659) and *Mens Mystica* (1660), both of which were dedicated to Sir Walter and Lady Johanna. The long dedication to the latter work was transcribed, with explanatory notes, for *Report* 13 (1980).

When the range of work on making Lydiard Tregoze church wind-and-weather tight was coming to an end, attention was given to the monuments, furnishings, and fittings in the church. Arnold regularly attended meetings of the committee which gave advice on these matters. At one of the meetings the suggestion was made that the Royal Arms should be taken from the chancel arch and placed at the west end of the church. It would have been uncharacteristic of Arnold just to say 'no'. For *Report*19 (1986) he contributed a transcription of Sir Stephen Glynne's description of Lydiard Tregoze church in 1870 and an illustrated article, 'The Positioning of Royal Arms in English Churches in the early Seventeenth Century', which concluded with the words, 'It is hoped that, by thus demonstrating something of the historic and artistic context within which the Lydiard example will always need to be judged, reasons will have been made available why any future proposal to change the *status quo* should receive the most careful and informed scrutiny. '

Sir Walter St.John's School was founded by Sir Walter in 1700, and the Foundation Deed was transcribed for *Report*22 (1989). Little was known about the progress of the school between 1700 and the 1820s until Arnold happened to discover by chance the will and inventoiy of Thomas Powell (d. 1750), ' schoolmaster of Battersea'. In *Report*23 (1990), 27 (1994), and 28 (1995) he presented the evidence to support his conviction that Thomas Powell was master of Sir Walter's school, gave information about Powell, his wife, and the accommodation in the schoolhouse, as well as giving information about many of the pupils for whom fees were due to Powell at the time of his death.

It was a great privilege to have Dr. T aylor as a friend and as a Friend of Lydiard Tregoz. He was a ready listener and wise counsellor, one who was no self-publicist but rather a great encourager of others.

HENRIETTA'S STORY

by Nell Marshall

The St Johns and the Knights

Henrietta St.John was bom on 15 July (St.Swithin's Day) 1699, probably at her parents' home in Berkeley Street, London.[1] She was the only daughter to survive infancy of the Hon. Henry St.John, created Viscount St.John in 1716. His was an ancient family, with royal connections and owning estates in Wiltshire and elsewhere. Henry was aged forty-seven when Henrietta was bom. He had already lived dangerously, and was to survive almost to the age of ninety. He had first married Lady Mary Rich, a daughter of the 3rd Earl of Warwick, in 1673, and they had a son, also called Henry, bom at Lydiard Tregoze in 1678. Sadly, Mary died only a few days after his birth.

In 1684 Henry, in a drunken brawl in the Globe Tavern near Shoe Lane in London, was involved in the killing of one of his companions. He and Colonel Edmund Richmond-Webb were jointly charged with murder and manslaughter. They were both found guilty on both charges, and on 14 December were sentenced to be hanged. But on 19 December Charles II issued warrants that the sentences should be quashed and that their forfeited estates should be restored to them. It was believed that a substantial sum of possibly £ 16,000 had been paid to obtain this reprieve. Both men felt it prudent to go abroad until matters had quietened down. Young Henry, aged only six, was left in the care ofhis grandparents.

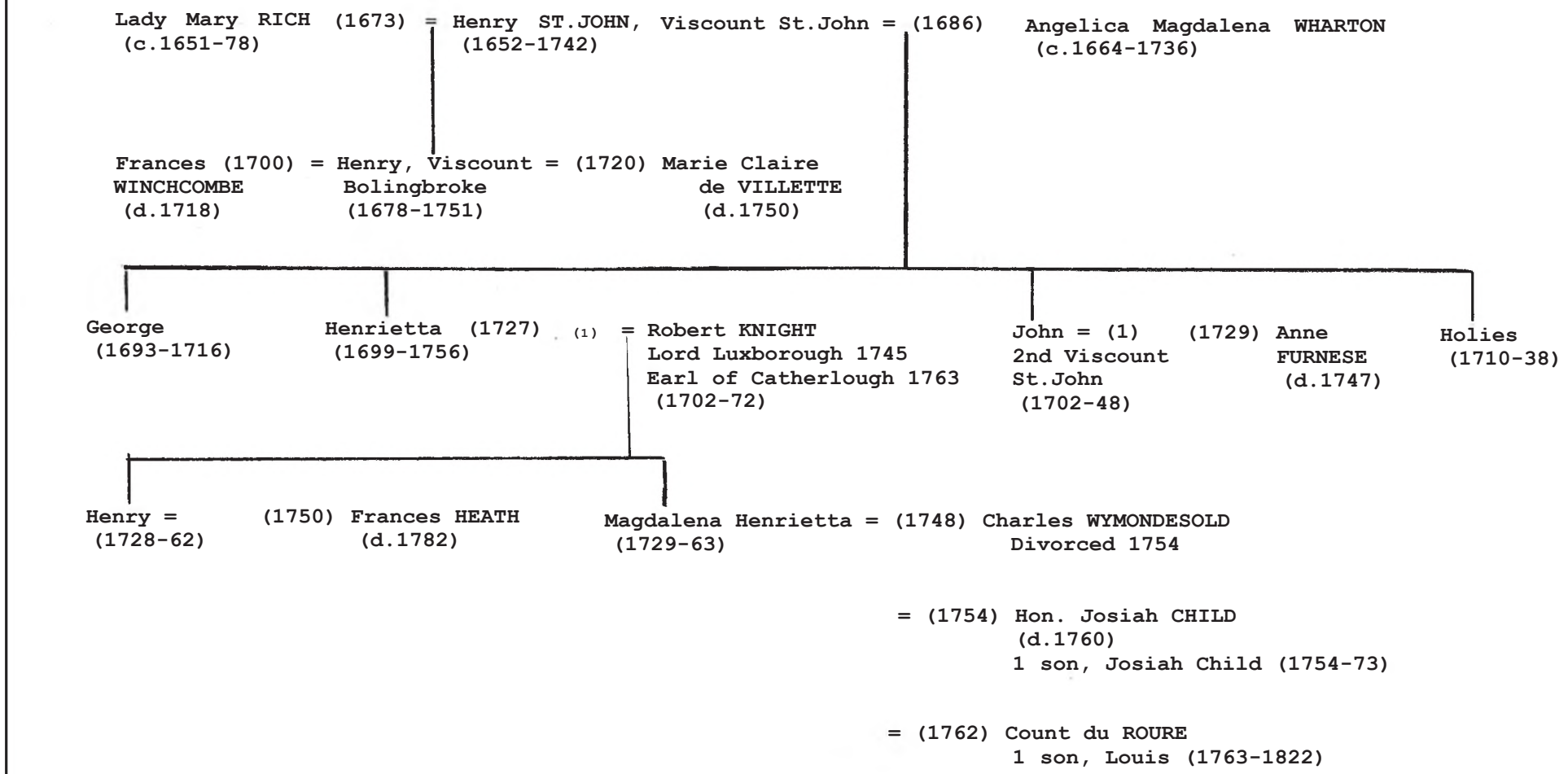
Henry met a young widow Angelica Magdalena Wharton, about twenty years old and some eighteen years his junior. Her father, George Pelissary, had been Treasurer-General of Marines and Superintendent of Ships and Galleys in France. In 1686 Henry and Angelica were married at St. Anne's, Soho, and settled in London. Of Angelica's twelve children only four survived infancy - George[2] bom 1693, Henriettabom 1699, John[3] bom 1702, and Holies[4] bom 1710.Henrietta was mostdevoted to her half-brother Henry, aged twenty when she was bom and soon to embark on the political career which, under-Queen Anne, was to raise him to the highest offices of state. He did not get on with his father and step-mother, but loved Henrietta dearly, remaining close to her all his life.[5]

A portrait of Henrietta, aged two, shows a vivacious and pretty little girl. She had a French governess, Mademoiselle Haille, and grewup bilingual. Y ears later, when she was grownup, Henrietta recounted in a letter the following story which sheds light, both on the St.John's social position and also on the facilities they enjoyed at home:

> *The late King George* [I] *was fond ofpeaches stewed in brandy in a particular manner, which he had tasted at my father's, and ever after until his death, my mamma furnished him with a sufficient quantity to last the year round (he eating two every night); this little present he took kindly but one season proved fatal to fruit trees, and she could present His Majesty but with half the usual quantity, desiring him to use economy, for they would scarce serve him the year at one each night. Being thus forced by necessity to retrench, he said he would then eat two every other night; and valued himself upon having mortified himself less than if he had yielded to their regulation of one each night, which I suppose may be called a compromise between economy and epicurism.*

As she grew older, Henrietta followed Henry's political career with loving interest. He entered Parliament in 1701, and attracted attention with his speeches which attacked the Whig Party - which his father supported - and its policies. When Queen Anne came to the throne in 1702, his rise began and he became Secretary at War in 1704. He worked hard to provide the Duke of Marlborough with troops and equipment for the War of the Spanish Succession against France. Differences of opinion about the conduct of the war led him to resign in 1708 and he failed to regain his seat in Parliament until

SELECT FAMILY TREE OF HENRIETTA KNIGHT, LADY LUXBOROUGH



1710, when he became Secretary of State for the North. He was created Viscount Bolingbroke in 1712, which was a disappointment to him as he had hoped for an earldom. He was involved in the final peace negotiations with France culminating in the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, and his rise to power seemed inevitable. However, he always wished to influence both sides in a power struggle and, fearing for the succession at Queen Anne's imminent death, secretly negotiated with the Pretender. Anne died in 1714, and was succeeded by the Hanoverian Prince who became George I. Bolingbroke was dismissed by the new king in September 1714, and, fearing impeachment because of his part in the Treaty of Utrecht and in the negotiations with the Jacobites, fled to France in March 1715. He was created Earl of Bolingbroke by Charles Stuart, but was rejected by him after the 1715 Jacobite Rising failed.

From France Bolingbroke conducted an affectionate correspondence with Henrietta. His marriage in 1700 to Frances Winchcombe had been unhappy, no doubt due to his many infidelities, but soon after he arrived in France he met Marie Claire de Villette, a widow with £50,000, with whom he had fallen genuinely in love, and Henrietta was one of the first to know of this new relationship. Frances died in 1718, leaving Bolingbroke and Marie Claire free to marry, which they did in 1720. They had lived together at La Source, an estate near Orleans, and from there Bolingbroke wrote to Henrietta,

> *Marie Claire is a person who, although she does not yet know you, loves you very much because of all I have told her about you, and the letters which have come from you.*

The next month Bolingbroke wrote,

> *I don fknow whether you will be half so pleased to have the stuff which is for you as the person who had ordered it will be in sending it to you. She expects your picture and hopes you may sit still that it may be well drawn. She begs me to assure you that she loves you extremely.*

Marie Claire sent Henrietta a gown for her first appearance at court, begging her to ask for anything she wished for in Paris.

In exile, Bolingbroke moved in aristocratic and scholarly circles, which included Voltaire. He wrote books with titles such as *Reflections upon Exile,* and *Reflections concerning Innate Moral Principles.* He vigorously petitioned the English Government for apardon, which was eventually granted in 1725. He and Marie Claire returned to live in England and, although his attainture was never fully reversed, he was allowed to buy a small estate at Dawley in Surrey. Due to the implacable hostility of Sir Robert Walpole, Bolingbroke was unable to reclaim his peerage and was therefore unable to re-take his seat in the House of Lords.

It was through her half-brother Bolingbroke that Henrietta met her future husband Robert Knight. Robert was two years younger than Henrietta, and his father, Robert Knight the Elder, was the notorious Cashier of the South Sea Company. After the company collapsed in 1720, Robert Knight fled to the Continent in January 1721, taking with him his eighteen-year-old son and as much of his ill-gotten gains as he could. He was aided in his escape by people in high places, who feared that, if he were questioned by the Committee of Inquiry that had been set up, their complicity in the whole affair of the Bubble would be revealed. A chartered ship was put at Robert Knight's disposal. A Royal Proclamation offered a reward of £2,000 for his capture, but, even when captured at Brabant, the authorities refused to give him up. He was allowed to escape from j ail, and he lived openly and in style, firstly at Brussels and then at La Planchette, his countiy residence near Paris. Here he renewed his acquaintance with his fellow-exile Bolingbroke, and the younger Robert Knight met Henrietta, who was staying with her half-brother.

There is no direct information about how the romance progressed, but on 10 June 1727 Henrietta and Robert were married in England, for by that time Bolingbroke and his wife were living at Dawley. A settlement of £34,000 was made on Robert by his father - no doubt from ill-gotten gains - at the time of the marriage. This meant that Robert and Henrietta could live comfortably.

Marriage

Henrietta at this time was remembered by Horace Walpole - who loathed Bolingbroke - as 'wearing her little wizen husband's picture in her great black bush of hair. ' This rather spiteful description should be considered alongside other evidence that shows Henrietta to have been a passionate, attractive, and intelligent young woman, sharing many of her half-brother's intellectual interests, and veiy much in love with her husband Robert. He is described at this time as 'a man of parts, a staunch friend of Bolingbroke, an energetic patriot, and an amiable companion. ' With Bolingbroke's encouragement he had embarked upon a political career, and became M.P. for Great Grimsby.

Shortly after the wedding Henrietta was summoned by her father-in-law to La Planchette, where she was expected to act as hostess for him, his second wife being an invalid. Robert visited Paris as much as his political duties would allow, but Henrietta found the absence from her own home irksome. Robert Knight the Elderlonged to return to England and, to this end, embarked on a programme of entertaining influential people, expecting Henrietta to support him in this. She found the round of entertaining these elderly friends very tedious.

Her first child, Henry, was bom on Christmas Day 1728, and her daughter Magdalena Henrietta followed shortly afterwards, in November 1729. When in England, the family lived grandly in Grosvenor Square in London. Robert purchased a country dwelling, called Barrel Is at Ullenhall in Warwickshire, from a cousin, but at this stage it was little more than a farmhouse and the family never visited it.

Henrietta continued her journeys to La Planchette to act as her father-in-law's hostess, but as a letter to her close friend Lady Hertford shows, she did not really enjoy this role.

> *Being now entered upon the hurrying life you have formerly heard me describe, I don f find many minutes to think, and fewer to write. The pleasures ofthe mind are denied me, and my body is whirled (whether I will or no) from one crowd to another, where I see nothing but eating and play, among people Fm not acquainted with, nor that are acquainted with one another. How different is my situation from thatlhad the happiness to be in last summer, when I saw you every day, and all day. ...*
>
> *As I find you expect I should describe to you my manner oflife, I begin by telling you that fisjust what the family pleases: I rise at nine, breakfast at ten in my own chamber, (for Mrs Knight* [her mother-in-law] *is not up in a great while after); then I go to her chamber where sometimes tradespeople come in, and we talk to them ofwhat we want; then we retire to dress, and by that means I have two hours to employ in dressing, writing, reading, hearing my children read, giving directions about them, etc.; in short that two is for everything that is necessary in life. Between 1 and 2 we dine with a multitude of English young men and their governors, several of whom we don* Y *know the names of; after that we have coffee, and then we sit down to cards, if they choose it, for we are not to leave them. At* 7 *we walk for about an hour in the garden, and then we return to cards or supper; others come in the evening. And so we get to our respective bedchambers about 2 in the morning. Two or three times a week Mr Knight* [the Elder] *goes to dine at Paris and carries his son* [Henrietta's husband]; *and I stay at home with Mrs Knight and her sister, but not alone, for the people come just the same, and we receive them.*
>
> *When we go out, it is to some invitation to dinner or supper; as for example yesterday we were at Mrs Hay's, and today we go to the Dutch Ambassador's, so that 'tis2 or 3 in the morning before we come home, and we live 3 miles from Paris. By this means, I cannot see the few people I am particularly acquainted with at Paris, nor write to those I particularly love at London as often as I would; neither shall I, perhaps, be able to inquire after the people you have a curiosity to hear of, for unless I could spend a day among the French people that are acquainted with those families, I shall not find out.*

With her home in Grosvenor Square, journeys to and from France, visits to her close friend Frances Hertford, her loving mother Angelica Magdalena nearby - though her father, known to his family as 'Old Frumps', could be difficult, two young children to whom she was devoted, her husband rising in the political world, Henrietta's world appeared secure and to be envied. However, her half-brother Bolingbroke, who loved her dearly, recognised a side to Henrietta which was perhaps foolish and easily led. He wrote to her, apprehensively, in 173 5, 'I rejoice at your amusements, and only wish your company better chosen. '

A Foolish Platonic Passion?

Disaster struck in the Winter of 1735-36. Henrietta had formed a close friendship with Lady Frances Hertford[6], a daughter of Henry Thynne, 2nd Viscount Weymouth, who had married Algernon Seymour (Lord Hertford) in 1715. Lady Hertford was appointed a Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Caroline and had intellectual aspirations. In her letters to Lady Hertford, Henrietta often wrote in French, and addressed her as my 'principessa'. Frances Hertford had two children, a son and heir Lord Beauchamp and a daughter Elizabeth, known as Lady Betty. While attending her father-in-law in Paris, Henrietta's children were often left in the care of Lady Hertford.

It was while staying with the Hertfords at their Wiltshire home, Percy Lodge near Marlborough, that Henrietta met a young poet John Dalton[7], ten years her junior, who was tutor to young Lord Beauchamp. John Dalton was not a good poet, but was very handsome. The great gossip and writer Horace Walpole wrote that both Lady Hertford and Henrietta were in love with Dalton. It is impossible to say now what really happened - a light-hearted but platonic flirtation as maintained by Henrietta or a full-blown love affair according to her husband. Certainly in her letters to Lady Hertford during 1735 and 1736 Henrietta mentions Dalton frequently. The matter came to a head when Robert Knight discovered the following letter in Henrietta's handwriting, which had been allowed to ' lye loose about ':

> *As soon as you were gone I employ'd myself (as it must ever be in something that suggests you) in reading over your letters, which I have resolved tobum, butcouldnot bring my heart or hand to execute what my reason told me was proper for I found after having made a large bonfire, that all remained which spoke of your passion, &none were consumed but those which necessity had made cool and indifferent, these innocent victims are sacrificed whilst the guilty ones remain as cherished proofs of what were better to forget at least if not punished. But what do I say? They are perhaps already forgot by you or repented of How different is your stile already even when security permits you to speak the dictates of your heart'.pardon this reproach - perhaps my fears belie you, but I can't help remembering the time when one hour or two brought me some publick or private letter of your passionate tender sentiments wrote in your own hand, in one of the latter I find these words which I will repeat & answer*
>
> > *'I love you still nay more, & must ever do so unless you pour into my wounded soul the dear balm of your Compassion & teach me by gentle means to conquer it. '*
>
> *Pardon the present answer those words suggest to me. I have poured that balm & it has worked its effect for your passion is conquered. I expect at least thanks for the cure & might in vain ask the same Remedy in return for my selffor alas tis not in your power to give since Vertue has not prevailed. Time alone can work the Cure.*

On the back of the letter Henrietta had written an explanation of it for her husband.

> *I have read this over which in my first surprise I did not do, & I am now sure more than ever, that I never wrote it as the dictates of my own heart, & little thinking that I should be thus accused, I was so imprudent as to translate & coppy out a large Bundle of such foolish letters 13 of which I bum 'd last week to make room for things I was placing, & before God I swear not one was other than coppys & translations, I yet flatter myself I shall find the original of this which I would have kept had I known it could ever be of*

consequence. I again repeat that the most I ever granted to the person I am suspected of was Compassion, which I have often accused my self of as a crime, tho ' I'm now accused of worse.

Great family consultations now took place, and the matter was discussed at length with both sets of parents, the St.Johns and the Knights, and with Henrietta's brothers. Letters flew to and fro, and the wretched Henrietta protested her innocence at anything more than a foolish but platonic passion. Robert took a very hard line, though he himself was certainly no saint in such matters. A contemporary writer observed that 'Robert Knight was unquestionably a man devoid of morals who roved from fair to fair, and was perhaps glad of an excuse to quiet his wife.'

All fashionable London was agog with gossip, fanned by such as Horace Walpole who hated Bolingbroke and spread the story that Henrietta was expecting a child of whom Robert denied paternity. There is some evidence that Henrietta's 'platonic' affair with John Dalton was not the first such incident. The diary[8] of the Earl of Egmont records, on 11 August 1736, 'I heard in town that Mr. Knight had separated from his wife (daur of my Lord St.John) finding her a bed with Dr. Peters[9], her physician, but allows her 5001. a year out of respect to her family.' It is possible that Robert took the opportunity to make Dalton the excuse for insisting on the separation rather than expose himself to the humiliation or political embarrassment of the liaison with the family doctor.

Robert issued a harsh choice to Henrietta. Her children were to be taken from her, and she was either to live as a prisoner in his house, confined to one floor so that they would never meet and deprived of pen, ink, and paper so that she would be unable to keep in touch with friends or to be banished to the family estate at Barrells, a lonely house in a bad state of repair, and live there on an income of £500 per annum, giving an undertaking never to go within twenty miles of London. Henrietta pleaded with him in letter after letter for a reconciliation, but to no avail.

Henrietta wrote to him:

My dearest Life for god sake consider what effect this parting will have, and try to bring yourself to be under the same roof as me for the sake of your Dear Children and what Mr. Knight & his Wife will say; Mama is so good as to wish it, you knowhow terrible the world's censures are, if you could pass over this you'd ever find me behave as you can desire or direct. I take my solemn oath thatthis silly but Platonickpassion is the only onelhave ever had, & yet I now despise my self'&the object ofit whose face I will never see more nor write to him - Try me for a little while & then if you have the least complaint Fll not so much as endeavour to excuse myself. I am in the most terrible affliction, incapable as yet of shedding tears, if you can be mollified for god's sake endeavour to hide what has passed to the world. Ifthis affair is made publick as you intend, think what tryumph it will be to Mrs. Knight and what affliction tomypoorpappa. Do for Heaven's sake don't speak of this & come again to your unfortunate but ever affectionate H.K I love you better than ever, indeed I do. I told Mama why I never would consent to what you suspect me guilty of.

Another letter on the same theme followed shortly:

...IfMr Knight had trusted to my promise and the behaviour his generosity would have engaged me to He would never have reason to repent & we should neither of us have been exposed to the remarks and the malicious words, butHechusesit, andlam doomed to misery. May he however enjoy all happiness in this world & the next. Mine can only be there, where probably my afflictions & confinement will soon send me, his affectionate & injured Wife, my Tears allow me to say no more.

I forgot to mention that before I had resol'd & declared that I wouldneversee theperson he isjealous of any more, because I was sencible it must cause a strong suspicion of what

I am charged with, & because that the compassion I had had for the violent passion He had forme was entirely ceas 'd, And as I am resolved never to consent to have an Intrigue with him I had brought my self to have him be indifferent to me, so that nothing need have been feared, But I am too unhappy to expect to be either believed or trusted.
As to what Mr. Knight designs to allow me is matter of great indifference to me, but wha teverPappa thinks properm ustever be approved of by his Dutiful da ugh ter & your unhappy wife
H. Knight
P.S. I have not asked nor do not design it, whether it is not in my power to force you to live with me; Nor whether it is in yours to lock me up upon a base suspicion, because I think nothing worth contending for, when one has lost the Heart & Esteem of the Person that one still loves better than anyone in the world.
I am very sorry upon your own account as well as mine - that you will not consent to conceal your unjust suspcions to the world as well as yourjust reasons of complaint.
Think how much that procedure would be approved by your best & wisest Friends, & what tears it would save your wretched wife. If I did not love you should I desire to live on with you after you had such suspicions as would ever make you jealous of me, & make me consequently your obsequious slave which I yet could be if you let me see you.
Adieu.

The close relationship between Henrietta and her older half-brother Bolingbroke was strained by these happenings, and, on 30 August 1736, he wrote to Robert Knight, the wronged husband

... the First intimation of the unfortunate affair you mention stunned me with Surprise.
I was willing to hope a mistake on one side, and an indiscretion on the other, had given occasion to it. that it might be made up or that it might be so conducted as to make no noise, nor cause any Shocking Reflections in the world, even when I received further and more particular accounts, and had a copy of the letter in my hands. I should not tell what to think, that a woman of quality should prostitute herself to such a low fellow, and that the dullest Poet in Christendom should turn her head, or warm her heart, seemd to me incredible. I thought it was no less so, that any woman engaged in such a criminal commerce, should suffer a little of this kind to lye loose about, for so I was informed it did. Such letters may be, and have been intercepted, but I never heard before of any that were layed about in the way to be found, as this was most regretfully, according to the infomiationlhavehad. this circumstance weighs with me on one side, ontheother, the letter has not the air of what it has been called, a jeu d'esprit. I confess it seems writ in good earnest, and on a particular occasion. But however all this may be - Such a letter under a woman 's own hand cannot be excused by any pretence. I should not excuse it myself. I cannot therefore plead that you should. I could only have wished that some way had been found, and some I think might have been found, to bring the Separation about in the five months time, and a little more gradually and plausibly. But those Reflexions are no longer in Season and therefore I shut up the subject by assuring you thatthis event has given me as sensible an affliction as I ever felt, ofwhich you cannot doubt if you call to mind that I was at the time concerting with your Father.

Although distressed by these events, Bolingbroke supported the action Robert Knight had taken, through regretting their spread and publicity. In December 173 6 he wrote sympathetically, but frankly, to Henrietta from France:

[Mr Knight, Henrietta's father-in-law] *has been here for about a week, and wehavehad a good deal of discussion concerning you and your present situation. He appears extremely moderate in hisjudgement on what has happened, speaks very civilly of you and pitys your condition. We spoke of your desire to see your daughter and he entered*

very clearly into the reasonableness of the thing, but he seemed to think, rightly enough, that it could only be for a night, whilstyou continue so far out of the world, andin a place where your child could not have the necessary improvements of education. We both agree in the opinion that you mention in your letter to me to be your own, and that is that to the best Service which can be done you att present, is for you and your friends to be quiet. Time will deaden reports, assuage resentment, and whatever measures may be thought best for your future ease and happiness you have the better grace and more strengthin taking those hereafter, for having submitted now. it is hard indeed that even your submission should be turned against you and the maxim that Innocence will not submit, is often false. I am sure I know it to be false. As to the noise, that burst out immediately, I am not at all surprised at it, for your late mother talked the wholematter over to servants, besides whispering it in theearsoftwentyotherpersons. inshort, child, you all conducted yourselves like people who wanted commonsence. But what is passed cannot be recalled, the sole use you can make of it, is to protect your future behaviour. Now as to that, there is a point that I ought to mention to you. Iknowithas been said tho ' not to me; and I know that those who wish you well believe that your Husband would not have taken that sudden resolution which he took when he went to your Father and Mother, if he had not been worked into a fit of passion by other provocation that you gave him. I touch this, the truth of which you can besttell, because I have a reason to think that he complains that since all this Eclat, you have insulted him more than ever: tho 'innocence will and must often submit in the course of human affairs, yet innocence will preserve a dignity in distress that guilt cannot assume, but then this dignity will not break out into injurious and insulting expressions, and especially towards those who think themselves wronged by us, and therefore justified in the hardship of their proceedings, that of the Father, in turning the Daughter out of doors, is such as no man, I hope for the honour ofhumanity, but he would have been guilty of.
Adieu. My Wife embraces you, and I am what you shall ever find me, your most affectionate Brother, Friend, and Servant

Henrietta's mother, Angelica Magdalena, had died on 5 August 1736, aged about seventy. Already worn out by her twelve pregnancies, Henrietta's indiscretions were no doubt the last straw. Her death surely added to Henrietta's misery. Her step-son Bolingbroke wrote of her as a ' silly' woman, and had little respect for her or indeed for his father with whom he had been on bad terms since he was aged seventeen. But she had supported Henrietta, if not wisely, and the children had been left in her charge. It has not been possible to discover that happened to the children over the next few years. Henrietta saw nothing of her daughter until she was grown-up and married.

Henrietta's duplicitous younger brother John St.John had little love and respect for her as his letters show. On 29 June 1736 he wrote to his brother-in-law Robert Knight with the express wish that the rest of the family should not know that the letter was from him. In it he wrote,

as to your unlucky affair, Entre Nous, I must tell you my notion; which is that ifI had been her husband, by God I would have dated my Ease & happiness from the hour she gavemeajustifiable cause to part with her for I know that my temper & hers wouldhave hitt so ill that I should literally have hanged myself if she would not have play'd the whore and given me the occassion of Separation she has done to you.
You 'll think me mad for this Notion, but by the Eternal god I think you now a happy man I've never thought you so before.

Just over a week later he wrote to Henrietta

... you relate your melancholy Story & desire me to pittyyou & to believe you guiltless.
For the first I do most heartily and sincerely, nor do I ever think of you but in that light.

For the latter Dear Sister, don 't be angry if at least I suspend myjudgement & for these reasons... I can assure you that neither Mrs St John nor I have ever listened willingly to reports till they came so thick, so well authorized, &so exactly agreeing that indeed they left no room for doubt even for the most partial of whom I was one. However I've that opinion of your parts & good sense, & of Mr. K's reasonable temper & Fm persuaded you 'll make your innocence appear tis a good friend in adversity & often confutes the grossest Malice. . . Tis most Unhappy and I feel for you, but what's Blameable willbeso, whatisnotneed fear no Reflection, I flatter myself still the latter will be your Lott, that it may be is the most sincere & hearty wish of your affectionate Brother & true friend

Banished to Barrells

Henrietta tried for a short time the alternative of living as a prisoner in her husband ' s house in London, butcouldnotcopewithit. AletterfromRobertto Henrietta, dated 13 July 1736, shows how implacable he had become in his desire for a permanent separation.

... I will not now say anything by way of Reproach for what is past the Power of Human Nature to remedy, but this much I will say in justice to my self, that had you always thought as you now seem to think, we might both have been happy-As to your wishing to see me at Barrells, I can give you no other reason but that not only your unfortunate Conduct in General is the publick discourse of town & Country, but even particular Circumstances & the mean Wretch's name is spoke of as the Cause of our unhappy Separation, & sometimes the other [?Dr. Peters] *is named. I mention not this to aggravate your afflictions but to convince you that it can never be proper that We should ever meet againin this World, butbe assured that I sincerely wish you happyness in thenextand that I shall willingly pay for any conveniences you are desirous of to make Barrells a comfortable habitation to you*

Robert Knight sold his London home, and moved to Warwickshire, but to a separate residence - Kingsclere - from Henrietta who was installed at Ban-ells. Her parents appear to have agreed with the arrangements under which she was never to see Robert Knight again, never to visit London, or to travel less than twenty miles from the Bath road, specifically towards the area where her great friends the Hertfords lived. The children, Henry and Henrietta, were to live with their grandparents Lord and Lady St.John. (As mentioned above, Magdalena died shortly after this arrangement was made.)

There are suggestions that Henrietta gave birth to a daughter in the Autumn of 173 6.[10] Certainly Horace Walpole spread this rumour, and in a letter from Marie Claire, Bolingbroke's wife, to the Countess of Denbigh in October 1736 she says, 'Nostre pauvre grosse Fanfan est en Warwickshire; elle me fait pitié; que tout cela est sot' - ('Our poor fat [?pregnant] Fanfan [- her nickname for Henrietta -] is in Warwickshire. I am soriy for her. How stupid all that is'). However, nothing is ever heard of this child in the reasonably-well documented account of Henrietta's subsequent life at Ban-ells. On the other-hand, Robert Knight, when commissioning the monuments for his two children Henry and Henrietta, who both predeceased him, went to some lengths to make clear that these were his only children by Henrietta. When he died in 1772, his will mentions a legacy of £ 100 per annum to a Henrietta Knight of Warwick. Was this his wife's love-child who would then be in her mid-thirties? The mystery of whether Henrietta had a third child remains unsolved.

Barrells, or Ban-ells Hall, the place to which Henrietta had been banished, lay between the hamlet of Ullenhall and the small town of Henley-in-Arden, 130 miles and several days' journey from London. The property had belonged to the Knight family from 1554, and an inventory dated 1652 shows that it was then an ordinary farmhouse. By 1730, when Robert Knight purchased it fromhis cousin, it had

developed into an unpretentious country residence, with the farmyard which is still in evidence, the whole estate being about 400 acres. When Henrietta moved there in 173 6 it was in a bad state of repair, and the estate had been neglected. Even three years later, a letter in January 1739 from Henrietta's cousin Seymour Cholmondley to Lady Hertford describes Henrietta's situation -

> *' Her health is bad, and that damn'd wet ditch she's throwninto, must make it so: that she lives is a miracle, for when she was sent, there were not half the windows up, no doors to the house, and the roof uncovered. '*

Henrietta was to be allowed an annual income of £500 *"in full for all expenses'*, and Robert Knight was free with his advice on how she should renovate the house.

> *I think the alterations of the Wainscot in the Great Parlor may be deferred till another year, for these reasons that till the farm yard is laid out into a Kitchen garden it will not be pleasan t to look out upon i t, & likewise i tmay be done at any time & there are so many otherthings to be done. As you require my advice withregard to the number of Servants I shall give it to you very readily to the best of myjudgement. It appears that Smith, the Cook, the Laundry Maid & the Country House Maid will be necessary, I mention her because she will serve in the House & milk one, two, or even three cows, which is the most you can want, the others of them you may spare, they may be sent to Stratford on the Chaise & thence go up in Newcombs Waggons who has convenient Place for Passengers. James I take it for granted you will keep & also John who is able to drive a Coach and the Chaise in the french manner very well which will be useful to you-The Coachman will not stay but till Winter, therefore you may discharge him on orbefore Michaelmas & I will endeavour to get him into a Place - As to Pherryhis wages are ten pounds a year & the feeding one cow, butnotto eat in the house, you may discharge him ifyou think fitbutconsultwithmycousinKnight. Ishould think you might find a servant who would be Gardener & take care of the grounds about the House, then your family would consist of 4 Women Servants, James and John, and this gardener, in all seven which will be necessary and I believe as far as I can judge sufficient.*

Henrietta, in spite of the reasons for her banishment to Barrells, seems to have made the best ofher life there. In 1745 Robert Knight was raised to the peerage as Lord Luxborough, and naturally, though separated, Henrietta used the title, and always signed herself thereafter as Henrietta Luxborough. She made herself the centre of a literary set, and was visited by local poets such as William Shenstone, William Somerville, Richard Jago, and Richard Graves. William Shenstone kept every letter he received from Henrietta and, in 1775, after Shenstone ' s death, they were published. His executors had found the letters bundled together with a note, written by Shenstone, which said, ' *Letters from the Right Honourable Lady Luxborough written with abundant ease, politeness, and vivacity, in which she was scarce equalled by any woman ofher time.'* This was an exaggeration, and certainly the few poems that have survived of Henrietta's are nothing out of the ordinary. The letters give apicture of Henrietta's life at Barrells, which, although melancholy at times, was not without its excitements and interest.

Family and Financial Matters

Henrietta's brother Bolingbroke remained closely in touch with her in the years that followed. He made efforts, on several occasions, to use his friendship with and influence on her husband to bring about a rapprochement between them. In August 1738, two years after she had been banished, he wrote to her,

> *... I will have the best advice of chancery lawyers taken and when I have that in my pocket will begin by detemiining your father-in-law, who is a good-natured man, inyour favour, if I can, after which I shall be ablejointly with him to detemiine your Husband*

to be somewhat more reasonable than seems to be promised by his present disposition. One thing I can assure you of, that all I can do shall be done to mend the unfortunate circumstances in which your own family has helped to pin you down

Henrietta's brother Holies died in October 1738, leaving a considerable sum as well as family jewels to Henrietta. 'Old Frumps', as Henrietta's father Viscount St.John was known, was by now a cantankerous old man of eighty-six, hated by his oldest son Bolingbroke. Bolingbroke, foreseeing the problems that might arise for Henrietta on the death ofher father, wrote to her in October 1736, when the old man was ill and expected to die,

I shall always rejoice at every circumstance of good fortune that happens to you, my Dear Sister, as I would endeavour with sincere affection, and the true seal of friendship to retrieve all your mis fortunes, and to promote your happiness, since Holly is dead, I am glad thatyou are the better for it. there is another death from which you may likewise expect, when it happens, some advantage... your Husband, I hear gives you no trouble on the present occasion andpromises to leave you mistress of whatever may come to you onthe other but I apprehend thatyou will find it difficulttoactas an executrix to my Lord St.John, if he dyes, whilst you are in the country, and as difficult att least to come to London, without great difficulties, losses, and other disagreeable circumstances from Mr Knight.

Bolingbroke ' s warning to Henrietta, not to put herself in the wrong by rushing up to London when her father died, turned out to be unnecessary, for the old man recovered. In November 1738 Bolingbroke wrote again:

You must excuse me if I have not been punctual in answering yr letter, dear Sister, but I have had such sorry people and such disagreable business to deal with of late that a better head than mine would be embarassed with one or the other. Besides which the letter required no immediate answer, my Lord St.John being, I hear, much better, you are in the right to think of it, I wish you perfectly well, and do sincerely rejoyce att every circumstances of good fortune that befalls you. you needed not give yrself any trouble to convince me that you never once thought of beeing yr Father's Executrix, nor interceded with anyone to make you so. ifyouhad, I should have no reason to complain of you, since you may be sure I neither expect any good, nor desire any favour from a man, from whom in more than forty years and from the age of seventeen to this hour, as I have lately told him, I never found paternal affection, truth, justice, or common humanity.

your Executaship in case of yr Father's death will be a more extended and more complicated matter than thatofHollys will. What service you may require of me, shall not be refused you either on that occasion or on any other, if Lord St.John dyes, it will I believe, be proper to speak with yr husband on the head you mention and on others, sooner, I think it unnecessary, unless I get back into France, whilst he is there with his Father, and that I can scarce promis my self, in general be assured I will never neglect any real occasion of doing you Service, fori am heartily affectionally yours.

Lord St.John eventually died on 8 April 1742, and a fortnight later Robert wrote to Henrietta from Golden Square, his London home:

The great change in your circumstances, since our separation (the unhappy cause whereof I shall not now mention) gives me the occasion of writing to you; You was then wholly unprovided for, and the future was but £210.1 was willing to allow you £500 a year, which considerably exceeded what your Father at first asked for you; Youknow this allowance has ever since been regularly paid, but comparing your present circumstances with mine, I think and persuade myself that you will think too that the future

payment of it since it is by no means necessary would be unreasonable, you have to provide for but yourself I must maintain and give portions to my Son and Daughter, and if proper opportunities offer, ofpromoting these happenings by advancing them during my life. I should be sorry to want or be straightened in the power of doing it. Out of regard for their Interest only (for you must see, that mine personally is not concerned in it) I must make you the following proposal; That Articles of Separation be executed with such provisions for securing me against debts of your contracting as are usual in such Cases, and thatyou relinquish the jointure or rent charge which by the Marriage Articles you will be entitled to for your Life in case you survive me; if you agree to this, I will agree that you shall have at present, the interest of £8000 part of the Settlement, the income of your brother Hollis St.John's Estate, and of his share of the [Covent Garden] *Theatre, secured for your life, which 3 Articles depend upon my consent, and make together £40 7 a year, which I take it to be a full equivalent for the jointure, as it depends upon your surviving me, and I likewise confirm what your Father has settled upon orgivenyou by his Will, in such manner as shall be reasonably desired. I compute your annual income, supposing you accept the proposal, will be as follows:*

of the £8,000 at 3'A per cent	*£280*
of Mr Hollis St.John's Estate	*100*
of the share of the Theatre	*17*
of the £10,000 by your Father s 'will	*280*
of the Residue of his Estate estimated but at £5,000	*175*
of the House in Albemarle Street	*100*
	1082

My Income including the Int. of the £8,000 which you are to have if this proposal is accepted, you know is barely:

	£1800
Excluding the	*280*
	1520

I think upon a Comparasson of your and my Income (supposing this proposal to be complyed with) and our circumstances and obligations observed, you must be convinced thatyou will be better provided for than myself.

Bolingbroke, as he had promised Henrietta, involved himself in the negotiations that followed and although he was unable to reconcile Henrietta and Robert on a personal level, a financial agreement was reached between them. Bolingbroke was also unsuccessful in changing the mind of his old friend Robert Knight the Elder, former Cashier of the South Sea Company who had lived in France for many years. Henrietta had been a great favourite with him, and he had been veiy demanding ofher time when she was first married, expecting her to spend long periods of time at his home La Planchette, near Paris, helping with the entertainment of those he wished to influence. He had at long last, in August 1742, gained the pardon he had sought, and returned safely to England. (He had also to repay £ 10,000 to the Directors ofthe South Sea Company.) Henrietta wrote to him immediately, inviting him to Barrel Is and begging him to use it as his own. She received a very snubbing reply, saying, *'Ihave received your letter, but your conduct to my son has been such that it does not admit of any correspondence between us)*

Henrietta continued with improvements to her house, developing her garden with Shenstone ' s help and advice, and entertaining friends at Barrells. She was unable to live on the income agreed in 1742, and her debts mounted. She wrote to Robert with a plan to solve her financial problems.

...Ino ways complain of my income, but as your money is settled out of my power, and as before I knowhow that would be, I laid out a great deal of money upon Barrells, I

find it necessary in order to owe no money, nor injure no one, that I should lessen my income an hundredpr annum by selling the value of my life in it for a present Sum. it is a thing done so often that it will be easily computed, and perhaps several persons would be glad of the offer, but I thought that as you by agreement pay me half yearly £200 pr annum in money it would be more worth your purchase than a stranger, I therefore make you the first offer, and am willing to live so for the future as not to fear running into Debt, which will be better for us all; and I do not see that by this proposal of mine I injure any body but my self.

Robert Knight's answer to his wife was prompt, scathing and veiy frank, and written in the third person:

... TheresidueofherFather'sestate... amountedto£l 700. It is to be presumed that sum fully paid her debts & in reason should have been a warning to her to have taken care to contract no more. But it was far from having this salutary effect, that from April 1742 to ditto 1745, being three years her income was£l 000per annum, amounting in 3 years to £3000, yet she contracted debts in that small space of time, which obliged her to sell £200per annum in her life estate to raise £1600. By which it appears she spent more than after the rate of£l500per annum during those three years. This one would reasonably imagine might have been a second warning, but it has not proved so, for from 1745 to the present time it does not appear that she has paid any servants wages, unless to those who have been discharged, and yet from Lady Day 1745 to ditto 1751 her income has been £800per annum which in the gross amounts to £4800.

The jewels left to her by Mr Hollis St.John, which she promised to keep to give to one ofher children at her death, Lord L. has been informed are sold as also her silver Plate and Dishes (but this he is unwilling to believe), were it to be true it would add to what she has expended... By this account it appears that£l 1400 has been expended in nine years, deduct from thence £1500 the sum Lady L. says she has expended for her diversion in improvements on Barrells, then the remaining Sum amounts to exactly £1000per annum for the current expenses... If therefore she seriously reflects on her past conduct & on her present circumstances she has too good an Understanding to believe herself, or to think Lord L. can be brought to believe, that a few expensive dinners in a year can make the difference of£400 or £500per annum or even more than the difference of £50 at the end of the year -

From these considerations, which are most weighty, LordL. recommends to LadyL. to reduce immediately the number ofher Servants & Horses one half.

Can it be said for the Credit of any Person to drive with a Coach & six Horses, when the wages of the Servants who attend that Equipage are unpaid! Can it be for the credit of any Person to entertain their neighbours with an elegant dinner, and the Butchers Bill unpaid! When this is so, the Butchers and the Servants give the entertainment, not the Lady at the upper end of the table, who assumes the false credit of it - Lord L. would enlarge on this subject but that he wishes to avoid saying any more than whatmay induce Lady L. to suffer her own judgement to govern her future, as her Passions have too evidently governed her past conduct.

Henrietta's Children

Henrietta did not see her children while they were growing up, but after her eighteen-year-old daughter Henrietta married Charles Wymondesold in 1748, she began to see her again. Relations with her son Henry do not seem to have been resumed. In June 1749 Henrietta became almost overwhelmed at the prospect of a visit from her daughter and son-in-law.

I have been obliged to Put off the visit designed me by Mrs Meredith[11] and 2 of her daughters next week, because I expect my own daughter and Mr. Wymondesold her

husband and do not know what but their attendant may be numerous: and my house is not adapted to receive numbers ofpeople. It is true, one might be supposed to make free with a daughter, but my case is peculiar. She is now nineteen years old, and I never lay under the same roof with her since she was only 6: and her husband I never saw in my life, and have only heard that he is an exceedingly good natured man, andhaveseen that he writes very sensible letters tome; but further to his character I do not know. He is used to very fine seats etc of his fathers, andherehe will meet a cottage in comparison. What stay they will make I know not.

Henrietta's understandable apprehension about his visit from her daughter seems to have been unnecessary, for there are regular references over the next few years to visits from Mr and Mrs Wymondesold. When Henrietta made her only visit to London, in December 1751, after the death of her step-brother Bolingbroke, she stayed with her daughter for over three weeks.[12] But Henrietta's happiness was not to last. Disaster struck in 175 3. Henrietta Wymondesold, then aged twenty-four and having been married for four years, left her rich, serious-minded husband and ran off with the Hon. Josiah Child, a good-looking, impecunious lieutenant, a younger brother of Lord Tylney. A son, Josiah, was bom in January 1754. Mr Wymondesold brought a successful action for divorce from his wife, and the Hon. Josiah Child married her in May 1754 in Lord Albemarle's Chapel. The scandal was considerable, and poor Henrietta wrote to Shenstone, ' My spirits are not only depressed with what affects yours, as solitude, winter storms, and more heavy winter evening but also by my daughter's folly and imprudence (to call it no worse a name), which has raised a storm not only in her family but in the world.' She did not even get sympathetic support from Lady Hertford - by now the Duchess of Somerset, for she explains to Shenstone that 'as it is a kind of sermon, I will spare you so serious an epistle, which will be more useful when your spirits are too much enlivened if they are ever so than at this languid season.' The young couple fled to the continent, and lived in poverty in France and Belgium. The letters that Henrietta wrote to her father Lord Luxborough show that all attempts to obtain financial support from Lord Tylney failed. Lord Luxborough does not seem to have provided much either. Their son Josiah was sent to England when he was aged two, to be brought up by his two grandfathers - a separation which Henrietta lamented.

The Hon. Josiah Child died in January 1760. Henrietta died on 1 March 1763 in Marseilles, at the early age of thirty-four, after giving birth to a son on 6 February, and Lord Luxborough brought her body back to England for burial at Ullenhall. Little is known about a possible marriage between Henrietta and the boy's father, fourteen years her junior, Louis-Alexandre de Grimoard de Beauvoir, Comte du Roure, who became an admiral in the French Navy and is reputed to have been guillotined in 1794. What is certain is that the boy was brought to England, and seems to have been accepted by Lord Luxborough. He died in 1822, and was buried at Ullenhall.

Lady Luxborough was spared the sad end ofher daughter, for she died in 1756. She had seen less of her son Henry than she did ofher daughter. In 1748 she wrote, 'I return thanks for your compliments about my Son, who is as dear to me as he is dutiful, and I flatter myself deserving. He is returned from Italy to Spa, and is going to pay his duty to the King at Hanover.' Hemy married Frances Heath, but had no children. He died in 1762, and is also buried at Ullenhall.

HENRIETTA'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH LADYHERTFORD

Lady Hertford's daughter, Lady Betty, who had married Sir Hugh Smithson in 1740, took the lead in re-establishing contact with Henrietta after six years of silence between them by writing to her in 1742. Lady Hertford wrote to Henrietta, and on 26 June 1742 Henrietta replied:

... You may ...be assured that nothing could exceed the pleasure I felt at receiving the obliging letter your Ladyship favored me with, and had not my house been full of company (a thing unusual!) I should have troubledyou with a second letter before now.

Mr. Meredith and two of his sons and two of his daughters have been with me some time, but have left me now; Sir Peter and Lady Soame[13] and their son are still here; my cottage was never so full. Yousayyou wish toseemeinit, andlcannot forbear hoping for that honor being so near a neighbor to Lord Brooke ...I found it without doors or windows, but 'tis now very habitable. The prospect is a very near one being surrounded withhills, but is diversified and pretty enough, and I have made a garden which I am filling with all the flowering shrubs I can get. I have also made an aviary, and filled it with a variety of singing birds, and am now making a fountain in the middle of it, and a grotto to sit and hear them sing in, is contiguous to it. This, as it is seen from every window in the house, affords me some amusement. Andin a coppice a little farther I have made a very lovely cave shaded by trees.

In the house I have turned a dairy into a library, which I chiefly inhabit; the ceilings I can almost touch, so much of a cottage [is] *it, but they are just high enough for your Ladyship 'spictures, which I hang as near me as possible, thatlmayhave the satis faction of seeing them constantly; Lord Brooke's and Lady Betty's are in the same room. I ha ve also made a little summer house that is stuccoed and adorned with the busts of my Brother Bolingbroke, Pope, Dryden, Milton, Shakespeare, Newton, and Locke. I keep about three score pounds a year in my hands that I may see a few cows, sheep etc. near me; and in these amusements I have now passed six years, and am grown used to it so much that I should be out of my element at a Court, or in a city. The neighborhood of Mr. Somerville was very agreeable to me, because he was not only very obliging, but very entertaining, and was continually making some song or other piece of poetry; but he is now very ill, and I much fear that if he lives he 'll not be the same man, as to his understanding, he being much broke, and near seventy. But why do I tire you with such insignificant descriptions? I believe it is self-interest, hoping to hear* [of] *your own improvement at your bergerie...*

This letter gives a vivid picture ofHenrietta's life since her banishment - the enjoyment of visitors, the improvements to the house, the garden, and all its adornments, and her friendship with Somerville, now so near death. Lady Hertford replied promptly and at great length with descriptions ofher *bergerie* and also informed Henrietta that she had grown very fond of reading Italian, and asked to know what Henrietta's favourite studies were, and whether she drew sometimes. Henrietta replied on 19 July 1742

The different anxieties I have undergone on account of my own affairs, and the hurry I have been in by having my cottage filled with company these last 2 months, is now succeeded by the loss of the best friend and neighbor anyone could have, which is poor Mr. Somerville, who is now dead or expiring. Thus have I been hindered from writing to you, and now am almost incapable ofit; for though I saw him going, 'tis still a shock to hear he is gone. His age was very near to 70, but till a few months he retained all the vivacity of youth in his conversation; and as he was humane as well as agreeable, he ought to be, as he will be, lamented. Pardon this, I should say to some correspondents, but it would be needless to you who will not only pardon but approve my feeling the loss of a good natured neighbor....

You expect an account of my studies, which (to my shame be it spoken) is not worth giving; so well you know I loved reading and drawing. I have abandoned the latter; and as to the former, I read only what new things come that happen to be recommended to me. The time was thatyou well know Ipreferred reading to all the gaieties of the town, the stage, and often of the Court, consequently you 'd have thought it would have been my greatest comfort in solitude, but I have fatally experienced that my anxious thoughts have been so far from relieved by it, that I could not settle to it, or know what I have read.

I have begun history and poetry in the different languages I know, and have sought the same pleasure they used to give me when you and I have read the same books together,

but they have been sought in vain; for some ungrateful friend or low-minded enemy has generally furnished me with disagreeable reflections, which other more agreeable ones could not put out of my mind. For what one meets with in books, though pleasing to the imagination, are not realities, which the mortifications of life are; and if one happens to meet with (in a book) anything resembling what happens to one's self, that one can attend to, but fisa prejudicial though a soothing opiate; in short, I have found that books are of least use when most wanted; but as I hope shortly to be more easy by the agreement of my Brother Bolingbroke has made for me, I shall then gladly fly to my former amusements, and shall beg your Ladyship's recommendations of what appears an agreeable study to you. The thing in life I am least accustomed to, the thing I ha ve most detested, has filled a great part of my time. Imagine me letting leases, receiving rents, paying parish dues, and anxious lest a shower of rain should spoil my hay. I fear I shall have given you such a description as would make you ashamed to correspond with me, if you had a heart capable of being ashamed ofa Most affectionate and faithful friend, As you 'll always find H.K.

Sadly, the hopes raised by Bolingbroke ' s efforts to bring Henrietta and Robert together again came to nothing. The despair felt by Henrietta at the thought of the wrongs she was suffering were perhaps expressed more openly in this letter to Lady Hertford than to anyone else. Amongst her own coterie of poets, and with her frequent visitors she did her best to maintain a cheerful front, and her activities in both house and garden were a way of fending off the despair she felt.

In August 1743 she paid an unexpected self-invited visit to the Hertfords at their home, Percy Lodge near Marlborough. A letter, dated 12 August, to her son Lord Beauchamp from Lady Hertford raises the question of what Henrietta's state of mind really was.

My Lord has told you of Mrs. Knight's most unexpected visit, which I own to you did not give me the pleasure which it was natural to expect I should have received from seeing an old friend who has been so long a prisoner, and I am convinced upon a false accusation. But I should have thought her misfortunes would have rectified everything that seemed too light and giddy in her behavior, since they have certainly been in a great measure occasioned by it. Yet they have not had that effect; she is the same person she was ten, nay twenty, years ago, her dress as French, her manner as thoughtless. She inquired very kindly after you and seems to preserve the same kindness for us still that she always professed and in which I dare say she is sincere.

These seem very damning comments from Henrietta's closest friend. Had she really learned nothing from her experiences? Was she still as flighty as even her devoted step-brother Bolingbroke believed she was in the days when he expressed his concern about her behaviour in Paris? Was this what made Robert so implacable in insisting on a separation, not only from himself but from her children too? Or was Henrietta very nervous about his visit, because she had obviously invited herself, that she over-reacted in putting on a bold and cheerful front?

Between 1743 and 1748 there appears to be no record remaining of any letters between Henrietta and her two main correspondents, Lady Hertford and Shenstone, but from 1748 she was again in frequent correspondence with them both.

Life at Barrells

Henrietta lived at Barrells for twenty years, from her banishment in 173 6 until her death in 175 6. During this time, although forbidden by her husband to travel within twenty miles of the Bath road, she did visit the Hertfords at their home near Marlborough in August 1743. According to one source, in the Summer of 1747 she visited Bolingbroke and his wife Marie Claire at Battersea. On 12 December 1751

Bolingbroke died, and subsequently, she spent three weeks in London at her daughter's house. Following the visit to London, she set out on a two-day journey for Bath, to take the waters, with four-servants and in a coach ' *with a coronet*, arriving there on 27 January 1752 and only leaving there early in April. To travel about forty miles a day in her unsprung coach was as much as Henrietta was prepared to do.

She made short trips locally to stay with friends, especially William Shenstone who lived, about twenty miles north of Barrells, at Halesowen on the outskirts of Birmingham. Here he was developing his gardens, The Leasowes, which became famous as one of the first attempts at landscape gardening in England. He was a great friend of a near-neighbour of Henrietta's, the poet William Somerville, who lived only a few miles from her at Edstone. Henrietta was devoted to Somerville, and when he died in 1742 she decided to place an um in her garden to his memory.

The proposed um became the subj ect ofher letters to Shenstone for many months. Somerville had been known as the hunting poet, and Henrietta eventually chose a design incorporating laurels and ahunting hom.

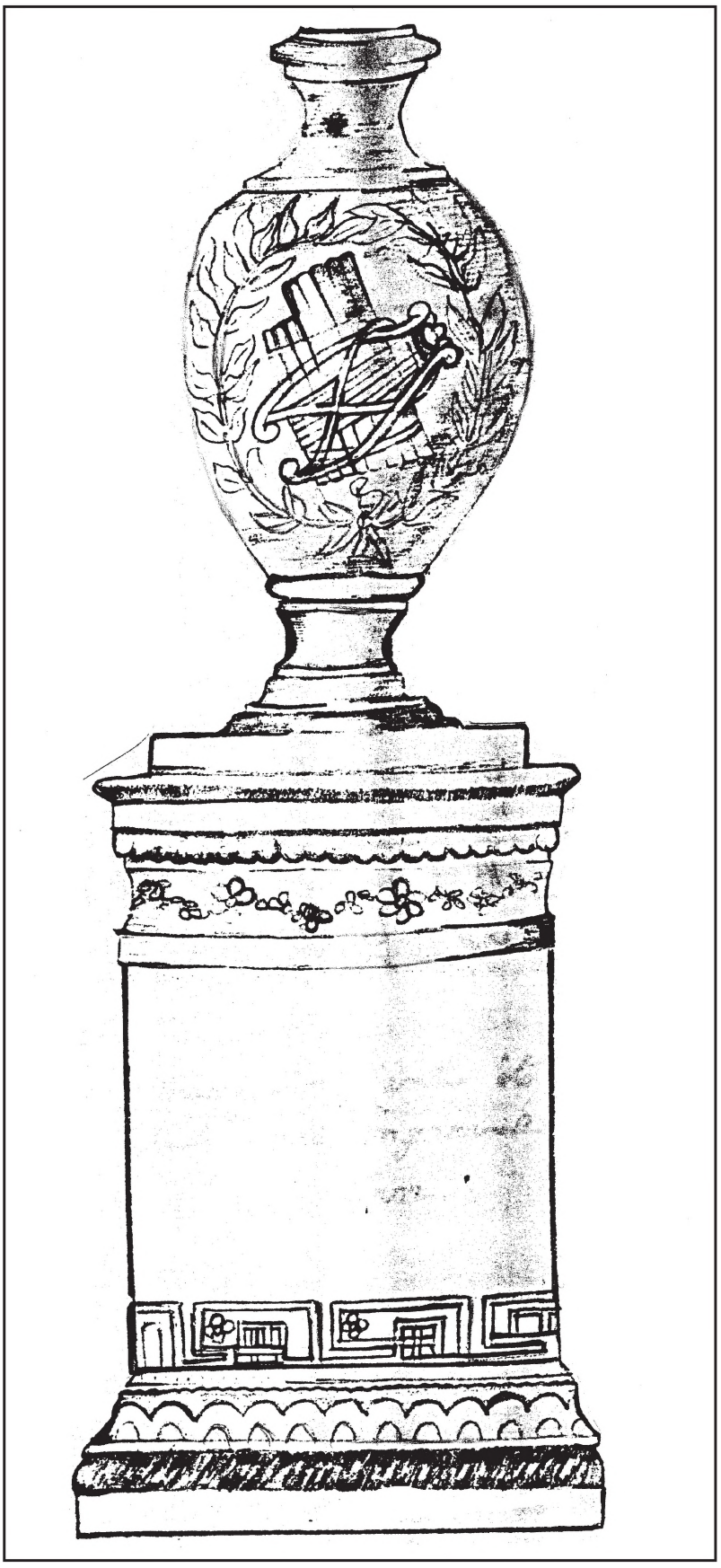
> *I have now looked over the urns you kindly sketched out forme, and like them well. I think the proportion ofthe large one (No. 5) seems to be veryjust, and I believe the lesser size is big enough for my small coppice. I cannot admire the foliage at the necks of the urns, either at the bottom or on the cover. I think those fluted thus are better, - and it is full ornamental enough if they must not be quite plain. As to the place of the Poetical Attributes either on the um or the pedestal, or on both, you have given variety of agreeable specimens. I confess, what pleases my eye most is the fistula andpipe on the fifth um, and the oval wreath on the secondpedestal. The lyre erect as it is shewn on the second pedestal, I cannot admire, nor do I like the surrounding festoons No 1, 3 4, so well as the slight festoons in themiddle; so that I have fixed upon having the pipe etc on the um, and the wreath on the pedestal, and was considering what should be on the otherside, when I recollected, that is the um is placed, as I last proposed, underthegreat Double Oak, here will only be one side seen perfect, viz that which will front the new entrance at the comer of the Pit; the opposite side will be hid by trees, and the same on the other side; There fore if you think that something ornamental should be seen through the trees, we must have a surrounding festoon of natural flowers tied with knots as in No. 3. But (ifyou have no objection) I should rather like to have a plain um, all but on one side.*

The making of the um - fashioned by the best carver in Warwick at a cost of £4, was another saga, as was its delivery, when it was damaged on the terrible roads and had to be repaired when it arrived at Barrells.

Henrietta loved her garden, and in this shewas encouraged and advised by William Shenstone. Having spent so much time in France, she was familiar with the idea of separating the farm and its animals from the more decorative garden by means of a ditch which kept the animals out without impeding the view. She was the possibly the first in England to have a ha-ha dug, the remains of which can still be seen today.

She planted a lime walk, an avenue of elms, and a serpentine walk. She was fond of statuary, including a crouching Venus and a piping Faun, and had many urns besides the one to Somerville. June 1749 was wet and cold, and Henrietta wrote to Shenstone from '*her Chinmey Comer':*

> *The bowling-green begins to look tolerably green since thelaterain whichlhope will join the turfs perfectly. TheAbele Walk and that which was gravel will be filled in the planting season, and the Serpentine altered to lead to the Coppice; but the manner of it I shall leave to your direction, hoping to see you long before that time here, especially*



One of the designs for the um in memory of William Somerville, from Arthur E. Carden, *The Knights of Barrells* (1993), p. 72. An oil painting of the um, installed in the garden at Barrells, is at Lydiard Park.

as Mr. Dolman does me the favour to propose making me a visit whilst my Shrubbery is in beauty, which ought to be now; but it is still winter here! It is true there are various shrubs well blown, but it is so cold and wet one cannot walk to see them; and on dry days the winds are so high that it is equally disagreeable, and the flowers droop towards the ground when scarcely full blown. You seem destined never to see the embroidery nature bestows upon my Coppice in Spring; where we had even this year great variety of cowslips, primroses, in Spring ragged robins, wild hyacinths, both white and blue, violets &c &c. In the Shrubbery I think the finest ornaments is the large bushes of Whitsun roses, which are still in blow and give one an idea of snow balls in this cold weather. The lilac is already over, and has given place to the syringa, of which I have enough to perfume the place with the help of the sweet briar, and several of my roses are in full blow. My Ha!Ha! is digging.

A year later she is still busy with plans for additions and improvements.

I thank you sincerely for your advice with respect to my improvements here and am sensible all the things you mention are wanting. I had already mentioned to a carpenter my intention of having some garden screens made which will be deferred no longer than till the wood is thought to be sufficiently seasoned. The day after you left me, I finished the apartment of the um, all but turfing, that shall be done when the sky pleases to pour forth showers to moisten the earth, but for that I must not pray till my hay is in. I have turned the path in the Coppice towards the Bank, where a seat is proposed above the Pit, and have filled up the place where we did turn in before with trees, and have put a white bench, which did stand on the Bank, into the comer from whence one has a viewofSkilts and the Um also looked wellfromit. I have also made another opening in the Long Walk, and am thinning the branches of the trees that lead to the Old Orchard, so that I now discover three little edifices, besides Oldborough Church, through the trees.

Letters were Henrietta's life-line to the outer world, and her correspondence with Bolingbroke, Shenstone, Lady Hertford, and others were of the utmost importance to her. We hear much about the vagaries of the post. Although there was a Post Office in Birmingham from which there was a regular service to London, for local deliveries Henrietta depended upon tradesmen and fanners to act as her messengers, and often starts a letter by saying that she is writing then to seize the opportunity presented by a convenient messenger. Her letter to Shenstone in March 1748 reveals some of the problems she had to face.

The apprehension that the famier who carried Inigo Jones 's designs and a letter in the book from me to you may have delivered them to a wrong person in Bimiingham is the occasion of my troubling you with this, to let you know that I did not fail to send it on the very first market day after I received the favour of yours; and he says he delivered it to a man at the post-house, but the post-mistress, (who, they tell me, is not the mildest nor the most obliging dame) assured Parson Holyoakshe received no such thing, and upon his asking her, if she happened to have any letter since directed for me, she said No! Neither did she know me, orwould trouble herself about it. Which I mention that in case you write, you will be pleased to send yours to Master Frank Holyoak, at Mr. Bolton's, wholesale toymaker, upon Snow Hill, in Bimiingham.

Not only was the post a source of anxiety, but travelling by road was also troublesome. In August 1747 she had visited Shenstone at The Leasowes, and on her return to Ban'ells wrote to him:

I got home safely, but had one downfall, a little beyond Bimiingham, which however did no hurt to Mr Outing [her factotum] *nor me; nor was it any dishonour to mypostillion, as the night was very dark, and themoon down, or at least clouded over, but we met with very inhospitable treatment at Shirley Street, where they refused to receive us at the*

Saracen 'sffead though it was but eleven o 'clock, and we saw a good fire in the kitchen, and a maid who was sitting by it took her candle and went to bed whilst we were at the door intreating, knocking, and at last threatening, but all in vain. The stars tookpityon us, and appearedjust as our hostess disappeared, and guided us in a friendly manner to Barrells, where we arrived at past one o 'clock.

Henrietta was well-read, and fluent in French. In her letters to the poet Shenstone she discusses his poetiy and that of the other poets, Jago and Somerville. She read avidly and always seems short of good material. She mentions reading Fielding's *Tom Jones*- which she found disappointing after all the good reports she had had of it, Hogarth's *The Analysis of Beauty,* a new translation of *The Conquest of Mexico,* Madame Maintenon's *Letters* in the original French, and Virgil's *Aeneid.* She was especially interested to read Bolingbroke ' s *Letters* and Voltaire ' s *Defence ofBolingbroke 's Letters.* She enj oyed Swift's writing, and wrote of him, 'the fertility of his imagination cannot tire. '

She loved having visitors to stay, and the same names appear regularly in her letters to Shenstone - the Merediths, Mr and Mrs Davies (when Mrs Davies is widowed Henrietta does her utmost to cheer her), Mrs Outing the wife ofher factotum Outing, Miss Dolman, Mrs Reynalds and her husband 'Jackie', Mr Holyoak the surgeon, Dr Wall, Lord Archer, and her cousin Sir Peter Soame. Sometimes her house seems to have been full of visitors, and she relied on them to bring her news of the outside world, and especially from London. She was veiy excited to be sent a Pantin by Miss Patsy Meredith. Pantins were puppets made of paper or pasteboard, and were all the fashion in 1748.

At last I am in fashion, and have got a Pantin. Miss Patsy Meredith writesme word that she sends me a Pantin of the newest sort, and that the woman who sold it assured her it wasjust arrived in England, andisreckoned to make as genteel a curtsy as any Monsieur Pantin in Europe. Although this invention must be owned to be a great improvement to the diversion of the town, there is another oflater date that is worthy ofadmiration; for there is a party of gentlemen and ladies of fashion who entertain the company at Vauxhall with the most chamiinghamiony: the ladies crow like cocks, and if any gentlemen ofthe party are within hearing, they answer them by braying like an ass.

The Last Years - Ill-Health and Death

In her youth Henrietta seems to have been fit and energetic, with her frequent visits to France and, in her first years at Barrel Is, the making of the garden and doing up the house with great enthusiasm. But as time went on she seems to have suffered more from various ailments and, especially and not surprisingly, from low spirits and nervous fevers.

The depression of spirits my letter discovered to you, turned into a dangerous bilious fever, and the bile which has by proper medicines been discharged, proved to be as black as my last illness (when you sent to enquire so kindly after me, and when it was supposed I would not live)

She was accident-prone, but wrote in a good-humoured manner about her disasters:

I had a fall in my chamber in getting out of bed, which by the circumstances of it, must have proved fatal, had f not been reserved by Fate for some other end, which I am as yet a stranger to - the goodness of my constitution prevented any humour falling to the parts affected, andfhad very little fever. YoungMr. ffolyoak the surgeon has proceeded in so skilful and yet so precipitate a manner that myplaisters are already reduced from eight or nine to two only: one over my eye, which perhaps will be scarred, and onejust above my knee, where the loss of substance (as they call it) makes it longer in curing. New flesh must grow there and new skin onmyface: but he has treatedmein the French way and used no lenitives [soothing mixtures] *nor kept my eye bound up longer than till it could open.*

She had the misfortune to be stung by a wasp or a hornet on a tendon - '*... the Surgeon feared it would imposthumate: a fever succeeded which has continued. Bleeding etc etc relieved me.* ' She was also subject to what must have been arthritis - ' *My paralytic fingers will not obey the dictates of my heart. My fingers shall make an effort to write to you.'* In another letter she wrote:

> *I was seized with exquisite pain in my right foot, which for three days continued raging, and would make me rave. I did not think it Justice Divine.*
> *I find your neighbours and mine echo each other, Air and Exercise! Air and Exercise! and we no sooner obey but we get cold and become incapable ofeven taking the air and exercise which the house and garden afford. I am sure I find it so for though I am better in health, I have such a violent pain in my face and teeth that I can get no sleep nor apply myself to anything. This added to my lowness of spirits...*

In 1750 Marie Claire, Bolingbroke's beloved wife, died, and he was heartbroken. There was some suggestion that he should come and live at Barrells with Henrietta, and that they would be hermits together. This never came about because Bolingbroke developed a cancer of the jaw, and was soon mortally ill himself. After his death, Henrietta must have felt veiy bereft. The next year came the blow ofher daughter's desertion ofher husband and elopement with the Hon. Josiah Child to France. Henrietta must have felt her world crumbling around her. She also felt insecure with regards to her husband's designs on Barrells. Even in September 1750 she had written

> *Do not take it unkind that I do not go to The Leasowes immediately: my reason for choosing not to stir as yet, you would approve;*
> *for I have information that Lord Luxborough and his Son and Daughter-in-law are coming toEdstone; and I shall be curious to know how the two latter will behave by me; and beside, I would keep garrison at Barrells, fori believe they have all three a longing eye toward it.*

Henrietta's instincts were right, for her son and daughter-in-law did not come to see her, even though they were as close at Edstone, and when she did die, Lord Luxborough wasted no time in coming to take over Barrells himself.

The death of Lady Hertford - by then the Duchess of Somerset - in 1754 was another break with the past, and Henrietta's letters to Shenstone became more sparse. The last one she wrote herself was in May 1755, though she dictated one in June, planning a one-day visit to The Leasowes.

Henrietta's final illness began in February the next year with a cold and hoarseness. Her old friend Mr Holyoak recommended to her that, as she had been unable to get to church very lately, he should administer the sacrament to her, which she received with great devotion. Mrs Holyoak, Mrs Davies, and Mrs Outing remained with her, caring for her until she died on 26 March. She was aged fifty-six. Lord Luxborough was swiftly on the scene to make the funeral arrangements, and indeed to move into Barrells himself.

Towards the end ofher life, Henrietta said of herself, *'I have an unlucky hand as the Gamesters say, but I can brag of a sincere heart.'* She appears to have had a foolish side to her character, recognised by her beloved half-brother Bolingbroke and her dearest friend Frances Hertford, so that some ofher misfortunes were self-inflicted. Yet she was very unfortunate in the implacable and unforgiving hostility ofher husband, Robert Knight, himself no saint. However, she made what we today would call a 'go' of being banished to Barrells, and left it in such a desirable state that, on her death, Lord Luxborough could hardly wait to take it over. She had a gift for friendship, and faced her hardships with courage and, often, with humour. She did indeed have a sincere heart.

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Notes by the Editor

In the preparation of the following notes, apart from what has already appeared in previous *Reports,* I have drawn heavily on the copious files on Henrietta that were compiled by the late Dr Joan Lane.

1 It is not known where Henrietta was bom. Dr Lane in her *D.N.B.* article on Henrietta wrote that ' *Lady L uxborough was bom at Lydiard Park,·* and that, *'She spent her early life at the St.John's house at Battersea after Bolingbroke's attainder and flight to France in 17151* Neither of these statements appears to be true. Her parents lived, first of all, in Bury Street. It is recorded that her father was assessed for rates in Berkeley Street from 1692 until 1700, and then in Albemarle Street, from at least 1704, where he eventually died. He was put in possession of the Lydiard estate on the occasion ofhis first marriage, in 1673, and stayedthere regularly during his first and secondmarriages. [See, *Report* **33.** p. 3 2.] It would not appear that any of the children of the second marriage were bom at Lydiard as there is no record of any of them being baptised there. The baptisms of eight of their children have been traced: their eldest child was baptised at St.Anne's, Soho, where they had been married, and the other seven were baptised at St.Martin's-in-the-Fields. A good indication of where Henrietta was bom will come when the record ofher baptism has been traced.

2 The Hon. George (1693-1716) was appointed British ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Italian states - undoubtedly through the influence ofhis half-brother Lord Bolingbroke - until his replacement in May 1714. (HMC, *Portland Papers,* V, p. 443.) He was at Utrecht during the negotiations for the Treaty, which he brought back to London. George returned to Venice and was taken ill with fever and died there, unmarried, in 1716. He was buried on the Lido '*being accompanied by Lord Hairold, the Resident and ah the Gent of the Nation. As they passed, the English ships that were in port fired their guims, and put up their flags, and evry thing was done wt great order and decencie by order of the Resident.* [John Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701 -1800* (Y ale U.P., 1997).] Countess Cowper wrote inher diary that his mother was ' *the most melancholy and afflicted Woman for the Loss of her Son tha 11 ever saw in my Life*'.

3 The Hon. John (1702-1748) was the longest surviving son of the second marriage. In 173 8 he was put into possession of Lydiard Park - the house but not the estates. He was responsible for the remodelling of the house. Became 2nd Viscount St.John on the death ofhis father, in 1742.

[4] The Hon. Holies (1710-1738) was named presumably after the wealthy Whig leader. His father was fifty-eight and his mother was forty-six when he was bom. Eight of their twelve children had already died, and it is probable that they spoiled this their last child. He appears to have been rather ill-natured, and grew to be very fat before he died at the age of twenty-seven. He seems to have enjoyed dressing-up, if the evidence of the extraordinary costume he wore for his portrait to be painted is any guide. Also, the fact that he had shares in the Covent Garden Theatre may well mean that he was a keen theatre-goer. It is surprising that he had ' *familyjewels'* in his possession when he died. His half-brother Lord Bolingbroke disliked him, and wrote in 1735 - [Sichel, *op. cit.* p. 539] - '*Holies, I hear, is att Paris fencing, dancing, learning languages, and preparing to ride the great horse. If he rides a tt all, he m ust ride a great one, till elephants come into use. He would make no bad figure looking over the battlements of a wooden castle, and raised on the back of one of those enormous animals.' The Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1736 reported that he had been made Fourth Equerry to Queen Caroline. On 28 January 1737 Bolingbroke wrote to Robert Knight, ' *Should I outlive my Lord St.John, I should expect, like you, all manner of ill proceedings from Hollis. His temper will lead him to them, and there are those who will push him to them.'* (BL Luxborough MS f. 118, from Argeville.) On 12 September 1737 Henrietta wrote to her father, '7 *hope my Brother Holies not so lame as He has been.'*

In his will, dated 1 November 1736, Holies left Henrietta - whom he appointed as sole executor - a freehold farm, Freren Court at Peckham Rye in the parish of Camberwell, the residue ofhis estate, and £50 to erect a monument to his memory in the church where he was buried. He left £200 each to Sir Peter Soame andhis sister Jane Sarah Soame, and bequeathed his diamond ring, given him by his father, to his half-brother Bolingbroke. The rental of the farm amounted to £ 110 per annum, and the residue ofhis estate included shares in Covent Garden Theatre which brought in £ 17 per annum. The wall monument was erected in Battersea church, where he was buried as were all his siblings who died young.

[5] Dr Lane's manuscript text, headed 'Chapter 1 : Family and Childhood', has a pertinent section on the influence of Henrietta's half-brother Henry St.John had on her. After referring to ' *the disgrace the family suffered when her half-brother was attainted for treason during her teenage years'*, Dr Lane added:

> *'Henry St.John's career and life-style were far from being a suitable model for his young half-sister, over whom he obviously had considerable influence and with whom he remained in contact all her life. St.John was financially dishonest and willing to him his political views to suit circumstances, as in personal terms he was untruthful and sexually voracious, with little regard for others ' feelings. However, he was a charming, coloiufiil character, with friends in very high places and his lifestyle must have been very appealing to his young half-sister.'*

Dr Lane wrote in her *D.N.B.* article, '*scandal touched her name for the first time in 1719.'* Elsewhere she wrote, '*Bolingbroke wrote to her in December 1719 about 'your public misfortunes ','* and wondered if these related to difficulties in her marriage to Robert.

[6] Frances Thynne (d. 1754) married Algernon Seymour (1684-1750), Earl of Hertford, on 5 July 1715. (Lord Hertford succeeded his father as 7th Duke of Somerset in 1748.) She was bom on 10 May 1699, the daughter of Henry Thynne (d. 1708) and a granddaughter of Thomas Thynne (d. 1714), 1 st Viscount Weymouth. She was thus two months older than Henrietta. On their marriage the Hertfords took a small house in Albemarle Street, where Henrietta's family also lived. It is not surprising that Lady Hertford became acquainted with Henrietta. H.S. Hughes, *The Gentle Hertford,* p. 121, implies that their friendship arose from rather than just developing through their relative closeness in Wiltshire: 'Her [Henrietta's] acquaintance with Lady Hertford began early (at least as early as Lady Betty's infancy) when Henrietta was seventeen, perhaps, and her friend a year or two her senior. From her home at Lydiards, in North Wiltshire, she came often to Marlborough, where the two young sentimentalists read English, French, and Italian poetry, especially Tasso, and their particular favourite, Guarini's *il Pastor Fido.'*

[1] John Dalton (1709-63) was a son of the Rev. John Dalton, rector of Dean, Cumberland. He was entered at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1725: he received his M.A. in 1730, andhis B.D. andD.D. in 1750. By April 1734 he was tutor to George Seymour (1723-44), Viscount Beauchamp, only son of the Earl of Hertford. Lord Beauchamp died at Bologna whilst on a Grand Tour of Europe with another tutor, William Sturrock, Dalton not being well enough to accompany them. In 1748 Dalton was appointed Canon of the 5th Stall at Worcester Cathedral and rector of St.Mary-at-Hill, London. He died at Worcester, and a monument to his memory is at the west end of the south aisle of the Cathedral.

Dalton wrote a quantity of poetry, some addressed to Henrietta. Whether theirs was a flirtation or something more serious cannot be finally ascertained. Bolingbroke was unimpressed with Dalton, 'the dullest Poet in Christendom' he called him. He also found it unbelievable that Henrietta, if she were guilty of adultery, would have left incriminating evidence for her husband to see. Bolingbroke, himself a master of deception, could not accept 'that any woman engaged in such criminal commerc, should suffer a letter of this kind to lye loose about.'

Before Robert Knight married Henrietta, articles were agreed whereby Henrietta brought with her £6,000 to her husband, with a further £2,000, secured by her father's bond, to be paid three months after his death. It was agreed

that, with the addition of £34,000 from Robert Knight senior, £40,000 should be laid out in lands, to be settled on Robert Knight for life, and that Henrietta should receive £800 per annum, paid quarterly.

After the Dalton ' affair' there were no formal articles of separation between Henrietta and her husband. On 2 8 January 1735/6 a Memorandum of Agreement was signed after discussion between Robert Knight and Viscount St.John, Henrietta's father. The Agreement stipulated that Henrietta should have £500 per annum, paid quarterly, to begin when she went to Barrells 'in full for all expenses'. It was agreed that she could take a coach and a pair of horses and be at liberty to depart from Barrells and live wherever she pleased, provided that it was not out of England nor within twenty miles either of London or the Bath road.

In addition to the journeys mentioned in the main text, Henrietta is known to have visited her aunt Cholmondley. On 12 September 1737 she wrote to her father, 'Whenever I move from hence for any time it shall be to go where Duty calls me (next to waiting on your Lordp) that is to see my aunt Cholmondley for 6 weeks or two months, she longing to see me before she dies.'

[8] HMC Series 63 *Egmont Diary,* **II,** p. 294

[9] Dr Charles Peters (1695-1746) was admitted to Christ Church, Oxford, received his M. A. in 1724 and his M.B. and M.D. in 1732. He was elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians in 1739, having been appointed physician-extraordinary to the King in 1733. In 1739 he succeeded Dr Hollings as physician-general to the army, and was physician at St.George's Hospital, London, from 1735.

[10] Dr Lane wrote in her *D.N.B.* article, 'She appears to have given birth in 1736'. Horace Walpole (1717-97) wrote to Lady Ossory on 3 August 1775 - almost forty years after the event - '.. then she fell in love with Parson Dalton for his poetry, and they rhymed together till they chimed.' (Walpole's *Letters,* **32,** p. 244.)

[11] Amos Meredith (d. 1744) of Henbury, Bristol, married a first cousin of Henrietta's, Johanna Cholmondley, the daughter of Thomas Cholmondley of Vale Royal, Cheshire, and his wife Anne, daughter of Sir Walter St.John. Johanna Cholmondley had at least three brothers, St.John, Seymour, and Charles who married Essex Pitt. Amos and Johanna had a son William (d. 1790) who became a baronet and a daughter Mary (d. 1807) who married twice, first to Lawrence, 4th Earl Ferrers, and second, to Lord Frederick Campbell. Henrietta refers to two sons and two daughters, and elsewhere to 'Miss Patsy Meredith'.

[12] Later in the text the suggestion is reported that she may have visited London in 1747. It does not appear that she visited Westminster for the granting of probate on Holies' will. The Probate Certificate, dated 17 October 1738, states that Henrietta as Executrix had been sworn 'by Commission'.

[13] Sir Peter Soame (1707-98) was second cousin to Henrietta, and the great-grandson of Sir Walter St.John by his daughter Johanna who married George Chute. He became 4th Baronet at the age of two, and married Althea Philips. Their only son, Peter (d. unmarried 1790), predeceased his father, and the baronetcy became extinct in 1798.

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LADY LUXBOROUGH AND HER GARDEN

by the late Dr Joan Lane

> *I am as pleased as you are to see people of taste see my improvements here, and take a pleasure in hearing them commended and am glad when Chance sends such persons here.* (Lady Luxborough to William Shenstone, 1750.)

Noticed after her death only because William Shenstone, a minor poet, published her correspondence in 1775,' during her lifetime (1699-1756) Henrietta Luxborough was a figure of scandal and disrepute, rejected by her husband and condemned to a solitary existence in remote Warwickshire for twenty years. Exiled, however, she became friendly with Shenstone and developed a keen interest in horticulture and garden design. Although influenced by the Leasowes, his Worcestershire *ferme omée,* and eager to follow Shenstone's suggestions, she devised for herself a garden that attracted many visitors of taste. Cultural activities were difficult so far from London, and Lady Luxborough was often short of money, but gardening fdled her life for two decades and fortunately her correspondence records her progress, ambitions, and disappointments at Barrells, near Henley-in-Arden. She was forced to live this isolated existence because her husband, Robert Knight (ennobled in 1745), accused her of adultery with the Reverend John Dalton, tutor in a great household, and she was suspected of bearing his child. Under the terms of aprivate separation in 1736, Henrietta was not allowed to see their two children, travel abroad, or go within twenty miles of London or the Bath road, for thus she might meet Dalton again. She remained, however, Robert Knight's legal wife, and he allowed her £5 00 a year to live on at Barrells, an estate owned by his family. This was a substantial income in the 1730s and, although Robert Knight was not responsible for her debts, Henrietta should have been able to live comfortably if quietly in Warwickshire. However, she regularly overspent, keeping an imposing coach, entertaining visitors, and undertaking substantial landscaping schemes.

Henrietta Luxborough's interest in gardening can be traced back to her Wiltshire childhood, for her home was the St.John family seat, Lydiard Park, near Swindon, a grand H-shaped medieval house, many of its garden features to be echoed at Barrells; she wrote later wistfully of the 'dear woods' at Lydiard. Her network of acquaintance and indeed her own personal haufeurundoubtedly sprang from being half-sister to Henry St.John, Viscount Bolingbroke, even though his political enemies caused him to be exiled for a decade in France. Henrietta Luxborough must have seemed exotic to the local Warwickshire gentry. Two surviving portraits show her as a beautiful, if petulant, young woman, her dark, foreign appearance inherited from her French mother, but with a striking resemblance to the notorious Countess Castlemaine, an ancestress *[sic., recte* second cousin once removed], Horace Walpole ' s vivid description ofher as ' *lusty* and high-coloured, with a *'great black bush ofhaif*, is both spiteful and accurate.[2]

In her youth Henrietta St.John had shared her romantic views of nature with Lady Hertford, her childhood friend, and they exchanged opinions of gardens seen on their Ravels; Henrietta, for example, was very critical of French horticulture when she lived at La Planchette, three miles from Paris, in the early years ofher marriage. After the Dalton scandal, however, Henrietta Knight arrived at Barrells, an estate of 56 acres, in 1736 to find 'there were not half the windows up, no doors to the house, and the roof uncovered ' 7 Bolingbroke wrote to commiserate with her in March 1737, *'lam rejoyced to hear that yr books and your gardens can do you so well in yr Solitude*', but she continued to hope for a reconciliation with her husband. However, Knight was adamant, and she was forced to settle in a county that Bolingbroke remembered as ' *dirty* except in the dry season.[4]

Its poor state of repair forced Robert Knight to make Barrels habitable; he stressed that '*it can never be proper that we should ever meet again in this World'* but that he wished her happiness in the next![5] She had London-made furniture sent to Warwickshire and wanted to alter old-fashioned walnut wainscot in the great parlour. She laid out the farm-yard as a kitchen garden and hired seven servants, one of whom was a gardener. The size of the estate was modest at 56 acres; 27 acres were let and theoretically brought her income, but Henrietta, calling herself a 'farmeress', often bemoaned the tenants' reluctance to pay their rent.

The manor of Barrells, set in the heavy clay of Shakespeare's Arden, had Redditch in Worcestershire as its nearest town and the area was a remote one, with poor roads leading only to small local markets. However, Henrietta used services and shops in Warwick, Stratford-on-Avon, and even Birmingham, frequently with friends or craftsmen as couriers. She had no close neighbours of equivalent social status with whom to exchange visits, and it is apparent that, when she arrived in Warwickshire, she was shunned by county society. Her obvious loneliness undoubtedly encouraged her relationship with Shenstone, who in happier circumstances would not have been a suitable friend. He, on the other hand, typified the contemporary urge for patronage, although a subtle change in their roles can be seen as she became ill and his fame grew. They had met late in 1739, introduced by the Reverend Richard Jago, and during fourteen years 83 letters from Shenstone and 122 from Henrietta have survived from then correspondence with each other. Fortunately, such enthusiastic letter-writers also wrote to other friends and relations, so that, even after 250 years, we know a surprising amount about their thoughts and activities.

The Midlands was an area of great estates in the mid-eighteenth century, and Henrietta Luxborough eventually became friendly with some of the grandest local landowners, Lord Archer of Umberslade Hall, Lord Plymouth of Hewell Grange, the Lyttletons of Hagley Hall, Lord Dudley at Halesowen Grange, and James West at Alscot Park. However, for moral or political reasons she was never accepted in certain aristocratic houses (Ragley Hall, Warwick Castle) and was bitter when snubbed, although she herself was capable of extremely shaip comment about those of whom she disapproved.

Once the house was habitable, Henrietta turned her attention to the gardens and soon after meeting Shenstone commissioned him to buy a statue of a piping faun from the London sculptor, Benjamin Rackstrow of Fleet Street. However, she complained that, though 'genteel', it was ' *too small to set out of doors'*, the first of many times she was to be dissatisfied in matters of taste. She sought privacy first of all in the garden, building a wall and seat to screen her from a nearby cottage, followed by a small pavilion, appropriately 'with a shrine for the statue of Venus to terminate a row of trees on a green fronting the door of my house, and next month I shall plant round it a kind of shrubbery, and enlarge that I have already made.'[5] She described her achievements to Lady Hertford:

> *The prospect is a very near one, being surrounded with hills, but is diversified and pretty enough and I have made a garden which I am filling with all the flowering shrubs I can get. I have also made an aviary, and filled it with a variety of singing birds, and am now making a fountain in the middle of it, andagrotto to sit and hear them sing, contiguous to it. This, as it is seen from every window of the house, affords me some amusement. And in a coppice a little farther I have made a very lovely cave shaded by trees.*[7]

She regretted the lack of water on the estate, however, but admitted ' *this I murmur at, and this perhaps my purse may rejoice at'*. Ayear later, in 1743, she wrote to her father-in-law, her unyielding enemy in the separation proceedings, about ' *the pains & expence I have been at, in making it a pleasing summer-Retreat' f* By July 1748 she had changed her mind. She pulled the pavilion down and awaited Shenstone's opinion ofher efforts, bewailing that hers was a *ferme negligeé,* her roses faded, the shrubbery ugly, and the gardens neglected because of the harvest.[9]

Her maj or developments at Barrel Is were earned out in 1749-5 0. She planted a lane j oining the coppice with abele (white poplars) which were sent her as a gift, laid out a gravelled straight walk, a summer house, a ha-ha, and a lime avenue. By March 1749 she described '*the beauties of childhood*' - snowdrops, primroses, polyanthuses, and violets - at Barrells, and by May she had finished her lower garden, extending a lawn area and widening the gravel path from 5' 6" to 12' 6". She was also building walls, pillars, a thatched hermitage, setting a sundial, and having gates made in the 'court', as well as a bowling-green and 'pit '; seats were built at strategic points to enj oy the various prospects, as far away as Oldberrow church and Skilts, two miles away. As a well-read, educated woman, Henrietta Luxborough decided to commemorate the death of the poet William Somerville in the design ofher garden. Somerville had died in July 1742 at Edstone Hall, near Barrells. He was one of the Warwickshire *Coterie* and a friend of Shenstone: Henrietta admired his work. She therefore planned to set an um in his memory, suitably inscribed, at the double oak in her coppice. The whole discussion about the um, its size, cost, material, shape, inscription, and plinth, occupied many pages of the Luxborough-Shenstone correspondence.[10] They exchanged eight different designs, and Henrietta herself referred to the 'inexhaustible' topic of urns. She employed the Warwick mason, Job Collins (1711-1800), and could not resist telling Shenstone that he had worked at Warwick Castle and for Henry Wise. She was understandably delighted to gain the approval of Thomas Smith of Derby for her garden when he visited Barrells in 1750.

Her garden schemes continued, and she discussed most ofher plans with Shenstone, borrowing his *Book ofSerpentines* and Hogarth ' s newly-published *Analysis of Beauty.* It is clear that she never drew designs in advance, but walked round the estate and, presumably, instructed workmen as she went, certainly changing her mind about siting, materials, and planting, almost at whim. Her letters indicate the importance of the garden when she was unhappy; after guests left and she felt lonely she welcomed a man who had come to fell trees as 'a *tutelar angel sent to my assistance .... (I) walked, under his protection, all over my grounds.* '[11] A year later, she decided to change the tree lay-out, interspersing hornbeams between the limes in an existing avenue.

At various seasons she recorded plants thriving and flowers in bloom. She had a marked preference for wild flowers and had lilac, woodbine, syringa, and sweet briar in the shrubbery, but she thought ' *the finest ornament is the large bushes ofWhitsun-roses, which ....give one an impression ofsnow-balls this cold weather*' (4 June 1749). Although Autumn was her favourite season, she wrote poetically about '*the embroidery Nature bestows upon my Coppice in Spring .... great variety of cowslips, primroses, ragged-robins, wild hyacinths both white and blue, violets, &c.*'[vi] She gathered seeds from Passion flowers, the Star of Bethlehem, even from melons, for Shenstone to plant at the Leasowes.[13] Her half-brother, Bolingbroke, sent seeds of melons and lettuce from Battersea Manor for her walled garden, which she actually called ' *the melon ground'*.[14] A difficulty about the coppice at Barrells was its proximity to the public foot-path to Henley: Henrietta complained that the estate fence had been breached forty times and, to prevent further intruders, she had the course of the road changed.[15]

Although by contemporary standards she was, at fifty, elderly and her letters often indicate poor health, she worked hard in the garden, although frequently bemoaning the harsh weather. Thus, late in November 1749, she had 'stood from Eleven to Five each day, in the lower part of my Long Walk, planting and displacing, opening views, &c.'[16] Even near the end ofher life she 'walked my usual round of Gardens and Coppice .... and have shredded my avenue, I hope, to some advantage.'[17] We know that she employed a gardener, a 'learned' Scot named Hume, whose 'indefatigable' efforts she valued. Hume was a more adventurous horticulturist than his mistress, for he planned to raise Spanish Broom from seed, and Shenstone was to arrange for Hume to visit Lord Dudley ' s greenhouse and hot-house at Halesowen.[18] A local cleric, the Reverend Hall, obtained for her 'a water-engine, made of Lignum-vitae, which will water my garden with much ease' and, with Hume's help, she acquired more

exotic plants to grow.[19] Thus, in 1751, she was given 'asnowdrop .... as double as a yellow rose', and she was promised a cornel tree in September 1753.[20] The most unusual horticultural gift of all came from Mr Hall in March 1751:

> *the greatest curiosity of a flower which the world produced, if I can but raise it. The merchant shewed him one pod only, which is as big as a pine-apple, and perfumes a room even now it is not in flower.*[21]

There is some evidence that Henrietta Luxborough learned about gardens from standard textbooks of the period. Thus, from Shenstone she borrowed Batty Langley's *New Principles of Gardening* (first published in 1728), which expounded the 'art-natural' theory of design.[22] She also obviously consulted Philip Miller's standard work, *The Gardener's Dictionary,* first published in 1731, for Bolingbroke, in a letter to her in 1745, commented that the culture of mushrooms was particularly easy, 'you *will soon know more of gardening with Millar s̊ help than any of the gardeners know.* '[23] Shenstone did not buy a copy until 1749, adding that he would only dip into it, as Henrietta did, occasionally, since clearly the use of gardening books reduced any claims to innovation that Shenstone or Henrietta might have had. She noted growing anemones, double hyacinths, and cucumbers at various times, for which she presumably needed advice.

T owards the end ofher life it is apparent that increasingly people of taste visited Ban-ells, admired what they saw, and were prepared to admit Lady Luxborough at least partially back into society. She wrote that Sir Henry Gough of Edgbaston Hall praised her gardens, and she was particularly flattered to be asked her opinion of Lord Archer's striking new obelisk and of Lord Lyttleton's garden building at Hagley.[24] She could not resist boasting in November 1748 to Lady Hertford that Banells had had a particularly distinguished guest:

> *Mr West of the Treasury has bought an estate 7 or 8 miles from me. He and his Lady have done my little Hermitage the honour to come to see it. I shall visit her next sunwier. He is doing fine things there, as I'm told, andhavinga vast command ofwaterandariver at hand may do them to advantage. I'm also told he has a portable Chinese summer-house.*[25]

This valued visitor was James West, who had bought Alscot Park, near Stratford-on-Avon, in 1747, and was rebuilding it in the Gothic style. Interestingly, West's financial accounts record the purchase of a Chinese temple from Kemble Whatley of London for £ 18 two months before the Ban-ells visit.[26] West's regard for Henrietta's work was emphasised in 1753, when she noted that ' *the great Mr West of the Treasury sent his gardener to-day to view my small Garden and my Walks; which I wonder at, as he himself had seen them before.* '[27]

As well as gardening, Henrietta Luxborough was interested in keeping poultry; farm animals clearly concerned her little, except as a source of food and income. She bred turkeys, guinea hens, geese, ducks, and pheasants, sometimes sending birds or eggs as gifts, and she was distraught when a polecat attacked her 37 turkeys. She admitted to Shenstone that, although she would have appreciated a hot-house because she was fond of pineapples, she would have liked a menagerie even more.[28] In this respect, she is virtually the model for Clarissa Harlowe (1747-8), an equally unhappy victim of the eighteenth-century marriage market, who had a poultry yard with bantams, pheasants, and pea-hens, an appropriately genteel interest for a country lady.

Although Henrietta Luxborough occasionally remarked that some purchases were expensive, she seems to have had little financial skill. At her father's death in 1742 she used the £ 1700 he left her to clear her debts, having already spent a £ 1000 bequest fromher brother Holies for the same purpose four-years before.[29] Shenstone was clearly impressed by her expenditure on the estate, exclaiming, ' *What*

an immense deal it must have cost to fit up an House in the manner you have done at Barrells'[30], adding *' your Ladyship's fortune has enabled you to gratify your taste for elegance more than mine has done. '* She had also sold off plate, jewellery, silver, and a London house she owned. When her income was increased to £800 a year she was still obliged to ask her husband for more money; she claimed that she had spent £1500 a year improving Barrells during theperiod 1745-52.[31] Lord Luxboroughresistedher appeal, and obliged her to reduce expenditure on horses and servants, whom she had not paid for many years.[32] She continued, however, to plan garden alterations - a root house, an Aeolian harp - but by the last years ofher life became increasingly house-bound, reading and correspondence her only real activities. She died on 26 March 1756, her final years saddened by Bolingbroke's death (1751) and the scandal ofher married daughter's elopement. The occupation of Barrells reverted to Lord Luxborough, who lived there with a local girl, Jane Davies, who bore him five children; after his death in 1772 it was sold.

Henrietta Luxborough, though notorious in the mid-eighteenth centuiy, is now all but forgotten. However, her horticultural interests suggest she was more than just a disciple of Shenstone, and that, as an early woman gardener and designer, she deserves reappraisal, her taste for the natural being well ahead ofher time. One contemporary wrote that she had had *'so great troubles and afflictions in this life*', while another dedicated a pastoral elegy to her work at Barrells.[33] Her garden remained a commitment and interest for twenty years. Although banished to remote Warwickshire for her alleged promiscuity, she ended her life there in greater contentment than she herself would have thought possible. That she was finally able to write, 'I had rather now deck a rural bower than glitter on a birthnight at court',[34] was substantially due to the Warwickshire garden she had created.

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THE ELEGANT MR SHENSTONE

by Janet Lilly

‘ *The man is curst who writes verses and lives in the country*, wrote the Worcestershire poet William Shenstone in one ofhis winter fits of melancholy. Poor Shenstone does seem to have been ‘curst’, for his poetry is now little admired, and the landscaping of The Leasowes, his greatest achievement, was mined within fifty years ofhis death by a succession of well-meaning ‘improvers’.

William Shenstone was bom in November 1714. There had been Shenstones at Halesowen for over two hundred years, practical men, unlikely forebears for the sensitive, indolent poet who was to make his home, The Leasowes, aplace of pilgrimage for men of taste. William was no fanner. He preferred to choose his cows for the beauty of their spots - little wonder he was never quite free from money worries. Most ofhis income of £300 a year was spent on the grounds rather than the house, though he did have occasional inspirations such as improving the proportions of the hall by lowering the floor some three feet.

Both ofhis parents having died, Shenstone, a plain, plumpish young man already suffering periodic bouts of gloom, took over The Leasowes immediately on coming of age. Round him grew a circle of friends which became known as ‘The Warwickshire Coterie’, since most of them lived in that neighbouring county. In a waspish age, Shenstone was remarkable for his ability to retain the affection of loyal friends. The bonds that held the Warwickshire group were loosed only by death, which robbed him one by one of fellowpoets William Somerville and James Thomson, Anthony Whistler, and finally his most faithful correspondent, Lady Luxborough. His two oldest friends, Richard Jago and Richard Graves, who were also minor poets, outlived him. Disagreements were rare, but when they did occur, humour came quickly to the rescue. Graves and Shenstone did once fall out, whereupon Graves inscribed a telling classical tag on a convenient wall. Shenstone replied in kind, and the two continued to cap each other’s quotations with gusto until the wall was full and laughter could be restrained no longer.

His acquaintance with Henrietta, Lady Luxborough, living apart from her husband at Barrel Is, Henley-in-Arden, was a significant one. She too was a gardener with the soul of a poet, and beneath their j oint enthusiasm, the grounds of The Leasowes began to take shape. With superb artistry, Shenstone created within his small property the illusion of imposing avenues, wide vistas and infinitely varied ‘landskips’. From a source of the River Stour which rose in the grounds, he formed romantic cascades and lakes that became the talk of society. Many of the miniature glades, each with its own character, held urns or seats dedicated to his friends. Virgil’s Grove commemorated James Thomson, and the Lover’s Walk a sweetheart ofhis youth, Maria Dolman. There was a ‘Gothic ’ alcove, and a ‘ruinated Priory’, which was, behind the antique fagade, a modem dwelling for one ofhis tenants.

As the fame of The Leasowes spread, Shenstone was invited to design the grounds of other landowners. He became, in fact, a leader of the taste for natural landscaping which ousted the formal patterns previously in vogue. Lord Lyttleton of Hagley Hall was an admirer, and brought his guests to marvel at Shenstone’s achievement. But his host, who had planned the vistas with such care, was rather hurt when His Lordship carelessly approached them from the wrong end, foreshortening all his artfully contrived perspectives. He suffered the irritation with patience.

Shenstone was the kindest of men, in an age not noted for its humanity. When he was finally forced to stop opening the grounds freely to all, after his flowers were picked and his hedges and trees vandalised, he still allowed a consumptive village woman to roam wherever and whenever she wished. Nor was his benevolence confined to the ‘deserving’ poor. He was once robbed at pistol-point in his

own walks, but discovering that the culprit was an honest man driven to desperation by the needs of his family, Shenstone visited him and offered the startled thief employment. His trust was fully vindicated, and the man remained in his service for the rest ofhis life. On another occasion he refused to prosecute a man caught stealing fish from the ornamental lake, expressing the opinion that *'half a Crown, and a little wholesome admonition . . . might go as far towards mending his Morals, as an Acquaintance with the Inside of a Prison. '*

It is ironic that almost the only snatch of verse still quoted from the works of this man of goodwill is one written in a rare moment of bitterness:

> ' *Whoe'er has travell'd life's dull round,*
> *Where 'er his stages may have been,*
> *May sigh to think he still has found*
> *The warmest welcome, at an Inn. '*
> *[At an Inn at Henley]*

Shenstone died in 1763, in his late forties, unmarried, but mourned far beyond his immediate circle. The Leasowes passed from tenant to tenant - a buttonmaker with a liking for regular patterns, a sea captain with Oriental tastes - and the unique quality it had possessed was lost for ever. It has in recent years been occupied by Halesowen Golf Club, the scene of rather more energetic activity than the musing strolls through Virgil ' s Grove of a group of poets. But surely Shenstone's ghost, walking there, would be happy, busily planning the layout of the perfect course!

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THE SAINT CHRISTOPHER WALL PAINTING

by Elbe Pridgeon

[Ms Pridgeon of the University of Bristol is writing her Ph.D. thesis on medieval wall-paintings in churches, and has most generously made available one section ofher thesis for inclusion in this *Report.]*

There has been some doubt, even in recent times, as to the identity of what is veiy obviously a Saint Christopher painting on the first full spandrel from the west on the north side of the nave of Lydiard Tregoze church. In 1912, eleven years after the discovery of the painting, C.E. Ponting did little more than describe the composition as a number of buildings and what he considered to be a pilgrim or watchman carrying a staff or lantern.[1] In 1988, John Edwards concluded that the painting was most likely to be an allegory of the Virgin. He linked the walled castle or town with the description of the Virgin as an enclosed garden in the *Song of Songs.* He then went on to suggest that the spire in the background of the picture representedherrole as the Church on earthpersonified.[2] But the whole article is riddled with inaccuracies and assumptions, and it is very obvious that this painting is indeed a large Saint Christopher from, probably, the late-fifteenth century. Unfortunately, the figure itself is no longer visible, being covered by an eighteenth-centuiy memorial plaque. But, to the left, it is possible to make out the figure of a hermit holding a lantern. Above the plaque is a large tower with a spire, and, to the far right of the painting, a series of buildings that Edwards identified as a walled town. A number of prominent trees adorn the background, and the entire scheme is surrounded by a substantial border. Sadly, all the paintings in the church are in a poor state of repair, and much of the Saint Christopher painting has been damaged irretrievably by the later addition of the plaque. The painting seems to have deteriorated and faded since the time of Ponting, who was able to describe the buildings to the east of the painting in far greater detail than is visible today. If we are to believe his descriptions, there were once openings in the form of crosses with circular ends in the wall of the highest central building to the east of the painting. In the wall surrounding the town or castle he described a triple window with semicircular arches, a gable over, and a single-light window, flanked by two circular ones.[3]

In an address to the Friends of Lydiard Tregoz at their Annual Meeting in 1974, E. Clive Rouse referred to the wall painting as ‘possibly an unusual interpretation of Saint Christopher.[4] There does appear to be a general feeling among commentators that this painting takes a rather unusual form. But it is not the form that is uncharacteristic. Indeed, it is the hermit with his lantern, the trees, and the buildings that give the identity of the subj ect matter away. Rather, it is the style of the painting that is rather unusual. Wall paintings in rural churches are veiy often created using rounded forms and shapes, created by the use of flexible and curved lines. At Lydiard Tregoze, however, there is a marked shaipness about the shapes of the buildings to the left of the painting. The spire also takes rather an unusual form, being rather short and squat and crowned with a ball-like shape. The trees are probably the most striking feature of the painting in its present state. They are very large and rise above the buildings, quite unlike the unobtrusive trees that are most usually found in the background of Saint Christopher paintings. The considerable curvature of the thick trunk of the central tree is most unusual. The foliage is created by using a series of overlapping globular shapes, a form that is generally uncharacteristic of English wall painting. It is quite possible that the Lydiard Tregoze painting was influenced by styles that were not usual in English wall painting. The foliage is reminiscent of Italian depictions in works such as Gherado Stamina’s *Thebaicf* or even Paulo Uccello ’ s *Saint George and the Dragon.*[6] This does not necessarily mean that the painter was Italian. He might simply have had access to extraneous sources for his work. It is probably significant that Lydiard Tregoze was held, during the second half of the fifteenth century,

by trustees on behalf of Margaret Beauchamp, successively Lady St.John, Duchess of Somerset, and Viscountess Welles. (It was during the same period that the chancel was remodelled, the tower and south porch added, and the aisles refenestrated.) It is therefore not surprising that the paintings in the church are of an unusual style, for Margaret Beauchamp ' s wealth and influence must have meant that she was able to draw upon a wider range of painters and sources. Yet what is surprising is that most of the paintings in the church do not appear to have been of a particularly high standard. Some of the figures appear to be rather crudely drawn. The 'Weighing of Souls' in the south aisle, for example, depicts a fifteenth-century figure with fairly broad and ill-defined legs, on to which are painted large stripes. The yellows and orange colours are not what one expects to find in a rural church. The Saint Christopher painting itself, although once undoubtedly detailed, is formed frombasic shapes anduses the usual rather unrefined greens and dark reds that are to be found in so many churches in England.

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5 The Uffizi, Florence

6 The National Gallery, London

7 The Ashmolean, Oxford

8 *Victoria County Histoiy for the County of Wiltshire 9* (London, 1970), p. 79

A PIERS PLOWMAN MANUSCRIPT AND THE ST JOHN 'FALCON RISING' CREST

Stella Pates

The ' *eagle standing ...on a green mound'* '[1] which adorns three folios of the Piers Plowman manuscript belonging to Newnham College, Cambridge (donated by Henry Yates Thompson and bequeathed to him by his maternal grandfather Joseph Brooks Y ates, the Liverpool merchant and antiquaiy) is said by Professor Ralph Hanna III of Oxford University to be 'a *badge or rebus... potentially identifiable and presumably pointing to an armigerous owner.'*[2] Although the drawing is faint and possibly the work of an amateur - even the owner of the manuscript - it is easily recognisable in the later falcon crest of the ancient family of St.John of Bletsoe and Lydiard Tregoze, recently seen by many people in the Channel 4 television programme about Lydiard Tregoze church. The manuscript is variously dated by experts as 'c.1420', 'c.1450', 'first half 15th-century', and 'second quarter 15th-century', so it antedates the foundation of the College of Arms (1484) and the earliest recorded use of their crest by the St.John family on the tomb in Bletsoe church of Sir John St.John, who died in 15 5 8. Unfortunately, therefore, the College of Arms is unable to confirm whether the crest was used by the St.John family at the date of the manuscript.[3] Furthermore, it is notoriously difficult at such an early date to distinguish, in some positions, the heraldic eagle from the heraldic falcon.

The official description of the St.John crest is *'On a wreath of the Colours A Falcon rising Or ducally gorged Gules belled OrfNotitia St.Johanniana(c.* 1713) records the tradition that the falcon crest came from the de Haya family in the twelfth centuiy, when Roger St.John married the daughter and heir of Robert de Haya.[4] The ' ducal ' augmentation (' *ducally gorged Gules'*) must surely refer to the second marriage ' *in 1439 ore. 1442'* of Margaret St.John, nee Beauchamp, to John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, created duke of Somerset in 1443.[5] By her first marriage, to Sir Oliver St.John who died in 1437, Margaret had six children, so she presumably married in about 1425.

With Margaret the Newnham College manuscript and its date come into view: she was the daughter and heiress of John, 3rd Baron Beauchamp of Bletsoe, and with her first marriage to Sir Oliver St.John the manors of Bletsoe and Lydiard Tregoze were brought into the ownership ofhis family. Her ancestry was a distinguished one, and it is possible that she brought the eagle device by her descent from Mabel Grandison, who became the wife of Roger, 1st Baron Beauchamp of Bletsoe (by writ of summons, 1363). The Grandison family were closely associated, by service and marriage, with the royal House of Savoy, whose heraldic Eagle displayed survives in Henry III ' s decorative scheme in the north nave ofWestminster Abbey.[6] and on the tomb ofPeter of Savoy (1268) in the Collegiate church of Aquabella (Aiguebelle), Savoy.[7] The Grandisons also bore Eagles displayed on their shield of arms. William Grandison, Mabel ' s father, came to England in the service of Edmund of Lancaster, brother of Edward I, and the Eagle as a badge seems to have been associated with the House of Lancaster throughout the Middle Ages. It appears in the margin of the Bedford Book of Hours (MS British Library Add. MS 18850), which John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford (brother of Hemy V) and his wife Anne of Burgundy gave to the nine-year-old Hemy VI on Christmas Eve 1430,[8] exactly as in the Newnham College manuscript and in the later St.John falcon crest.

This same eagle appears again as the crest of St. John's College, Cambridge, founded by Lady Margaret Beaufort, daughter of the former Margaret St.John and her second husband John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset. Lady Margaret Beaufort also founded Christ's College, Cambridge, married Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, and became the mother of Henry VII.

To return from all these Eagles, royal grandeur and tortuous descents through the female line to the homelier (though still magnificent) surroundings of Lydiard Tregoze and the St.John family, it is suggested that the Eagle in the Newnham College Piers Plowman manuscript is the canting badge of

the St.Johns, based on apunning association of their name with St.John the Evangelist andhis emblem the Eagle. A similar Eagle in mirror image is on the ivory diptych of John Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter and brother of Mabel (ancestress of the St.Johns), which portrays his name saint the Evangelist writing the Gospel with the Eagle perched on his desk. The original is now in the Louvre, but a cast of it is displayed in the British Museum. John Grandisson's association with Piers Plowman was described in a book Review in *Report* 35 of the Friends of Lydiard Tregoz last year.[9]

Eagles in this particular position are so closely identified with the St.John of Lydiard Tregoze and Bletsoe, their ancestors the Grandissons, their patrons, benefactions, and royal connections as to suggest (in the absence of any other identification) that the Eagle on MS Newnham College 4 of Piers Plowman is the canting badge of the St.John family, that the manuscript belonged to Oliver St.John and his wife Margaret, who survived him by many years, and that the red Lombardic L on the Eagle's breast stands for Lydiard and perhaps also for the monogram LT, Lydiard Tregoze.

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Notes

1 David Beacon and Lynne S. Blanchfield, *The Manuscripts of Piers Plowman: the B Version,* (D.S. Brewer, 1997), pp. 50-54

2 Ralph Hanna III, *William Langland* (Variorum, Aldershot, 1993), p. 34

3 Letter, dated 24 February 2003, from Windsor Herald at the College of Arms to the present writer

4 Letter, dated 11 June 2002, from Canon Brian Came of the Friends of Lydiard Tregoz to the present writer

5 Alison Weir, *Britain's Royal Families: The Complete Genealogy* (Pimlico, 2002), pp. 104-5

6 Thomas Woodcock and John Martin Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry,* (OUP, 1988), p. 173

7 Joseph Foster, *The Dictionary of Heraldry,* (Studio Editions, London, 1994), p.166

8 Reproduction folio in an Exhibition of medieval manuscripts at Tewkesbury Abbey, 2002. Frances Lincoln (in association with The British Library), *A Medieval Christmas,* (Frances Lincoln Ltd., 1996), first entry in the Index of Manuscripts at the end of the book

9 Friends of Lydiard Tregoz, *Report,* **35,** pp. 69-70, and Stella Pates. *The Rock and the Plough,* (Fairford Press, 2000)

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THE RESTORATION OF THE VAN LINGE WINDOW

by Léonie Seliger

[Léonie Seliger of the Cathedral Studios at Canterbury was the speaker at the 2001 meeting of the Friends of Lydiard Tregoz. She was principal conservator of the east window in St.Mary's church, which had been twice vandalised. At our meeting she presented the stoiy of the restoration of the window in a series of quite excellent slides, the text ofher talkbeing the commentary on those slides. Léonie has kindly allowed the text, with slight editorial changes, to be included in this year's *Report*.]

This is what the east window of St.Mary's church looked like in December 1997, shortly after it was attacked by vandals. The damaged areas had been boarded up, and the lengthy process of applying for faculty and grants was going ahead, when more stones were thrown. It ' s a sad fact that broken windows attract vandalism.

A close inspection of the whole window showed that, quite apart from the veiy obvious vandal damage, the window was in serious need of attention to ensure its long-term survival. Large areas of the glass were covered with nasty things like lichens and algae. The lovely legs of the Baptist sported a particularly fetching green slime. The reason for this microbial infestation lay in the very high levels of condensation on the glass. The window was simply dripping with water, and some of the painted decoration was suffering the effects.

Glass paint is nothing other than veiy finely ground glass, mixed with dark metal oxides and fused to the individual pieces in a kiln. Depending on the chemical composition of glass and paint, both can deteriorate in damp conditions. Y ou will be pleased to hear that the glass of the east window is relatively unaffected by corrosion, but the glass paint is a different stoiy. In the case of the Evangelist's yellow robe, for instance, practically all the painted detail had disappeared over the years. The folds you now see have been painted on to clear backing glass, probably sometime after World War Two.

In order to stop this deterioration of the glass paint, it was decided to put the window behind protective glazing in a system known as isothermal glazing. This involves replacing the original glass with clear glazing - in this case with kiln-distorted glass to lessen the external effect of reflection on the modem glass. The original stained-glass panels are then framed in phosphor-bronze frames and set internally in front of the protective glazing. Gaps at the bottom and at the top of the frames ensure a continuous flow of air, thus keeping both sides of the historic glass atroom temperature. Under these circumstances condensation cannot occur on the stained glass. Y ou may have also noticed wire guards on the outside. They are there to stop the vandals.

Protective glazing has other advantages, too. By retiring the stained glass from its structural role as a weather shield, it is possible to retain elements of the window which have reached the end of then-working lives, but are nonetheless important parts of the histoiy of the window. In the case of the east window, the leadwork was in some places too fragile to safely withstand another storm or two. While we did have to replace some lead, the majority is still perfectly capable of carrying the weight of the glass.

One thing I enjoy in old windows is their battle scars. Trying to understand the histoiy of their repairs can be something of a detective story, and in this case the lead was auseful informant. There were three types of lead present in the window, all of different ages. The tracery was leaded consistently with a

veiy narrow elegant lead. This turned out to be van Linge's original lead. In fact, the tracery panels seem never to have been moved at all. They were still set into soft lime mortar mixed with cow hair, the traditional building material up until the nineteenth century. Comparing this tracery lead with lead from van Linge's window in Messing church, Essex, again from the tracery, confirmed their origin. They are identical in section and have the same milling marks, in fact I am convinced they were made with the same mill.

Milling marks are left by the wheels that transport the rough cast through the lead mill, and they tend to be typical for an era. Here we see a picture of a piece of eighteenth-century lead from Wroxton Abbey, and unusually the wheel was dated. It shows the rather wider spacing of teeth typical for the eighteenth century. The lead also tended to be wider than in the seventeenth century. The same eighteenth-century-type lead is present throughout the main lights of your east window, where no original lead survives. We do, however, have a clue as to the size of the original lead. This slide shows a piece of glass with two lines of corrosion. The lower line follows the edge of the eighteenth-century lead, but the upper one follows the line of what must have been the original narrower lead. It is clear that the main lights were completely releaded in the eighteenth century, after either vandalism or storm damage.

The tracery lights, being higher up but of smaller size, were always less likely to be blown out by a storm. The few repairs that were necessary had been done in situ, by stopping holes with unpainted glass of more orless the right colour. Since there was really very little guesswork involved, we decided to repair the broken wing of one of the angels and replace other missing bits, using examples from the other panels.

A missing head is, of course, quite a different story. For ahead the angel on our far right hadjust apiece of dirty clear glass, and we felt that we couldn't leave this glaring white hole the way it was. Simply dulling down the glass with paint doesn't work either. The original glass is rather sparingly painted, and retains much of its transparency. An evenly matted piece would stand out like a sort thumb, and you can see that effect in the east window of Gloucester Cathedral, where seven heads were replaced by matted glass.

So, we decided to find a solution which would be both honest and unobtrusive. The first thing was to determine which way the original head of the angel was looking. All the other angels look towards the south. Y ou would rather expect them to be facing each other. The tomb of the man who commissioned the window, Sir John St.John, happens to be south of the window, and although the window was made during his lifetime, Sir John may already have picked his final resting-place then. I have the sneaking suspicion that he liked the idea of angels watching over his tomb.

The three surviving angels' heads are all original, and served as examples for the new head, which was turned south like the rest. While it certainly bears a family resemblance to the originals, the painting style is deliberately cruder, and it is signed and dated to eliminate any doubt as to its origin. An art historian armed with a pair of binoculars cannot be deceived, but the general public is spared the obtrusive white blob.

Interestingly, the restorers in the eighteenth century may have been working along the same lines, although whether this was done out of ethical considerations or simply because they couldn't do any better is anybody's guess. You can see here the photograph ofapieceof van Linge ' s original landscape and, alongside it, the eighteenth-century replacements that try to fill the gap of the missing paintwork. The tree has a distinctly 'Watteau' feel to it. Sadly, the glass paint they used in the eighteenth century is simply disastrous quality. Not only was their glass paint bad, but the soft cool blue of the original sky was repaired with glass of a much wanner hue.

Compare, also, these photographs of the Evangelist and the Baptist. Both of these panels had been releaded again in the twentieth century, and that makes it impossible to date the heads of the two figures. Had they still been surrounded by undisturbed eighteenth-centuiy lead, the case would be clear. They are clearly not by van Linge - compare the remaining locks of hair with the replacements - but the amount of patina makes them certainly older than the twentieth century. They may also be of the eighteenth century, but I find them slightly too sentimental for that. My bet would be on the first half of the nineteenth centuiy.

Let us return to the vandal damage. Thankfully most of the glass fragments had been picked up and kept, and that made repairing nasty holes so much easier. The central light, however, which had been particularly badly hit, presentedus with the problem of headless beasts. These couldbelong to anything from a pig to a prize bull, and we had no idea which way the dog's head was turned. Such tiny detail simply doesn't show up in photographs of the whole window. Fortunately, Michael Archer came to our rescue with a close-up shot of precisely the area before the damage. So I was able to paint in the missing bits.

I also removed some of the repair leads which had been used to mend broken glass in the past. You can now see that the man is carrying a long stick. (Actually, I had been hoping to find something more interesting under the lead, like a gun or a fishing rod.) In another area, the removal of additional leads certainly improved the view of the baptism of Christ. I have nothing against repair leads, they used to be the only safe way of retaining broken glass. But today we have a wide variety of conservation-grade adhesives, and the provision of protective glazing allows us to use them to their best advantage. Repair leads also tend to mount up over time, slowly obliterating the artist ' s original vision, and often making it impossible to read a window. On this picture you can see the leadwork of the central panel before restoration and, alongside, the leadwork as it is now. Compare this to what would probably have been van Linge's original matrix, and you can see that we have managed to get somewhat closer to the original idea.

The slides you have seen today are part of the written report that deals with eveiy panel of the window, detailing its condition as found, signs of previous repairs, and our own interventions. Hopefully, with the window safe and diy behind its external protection, it will be a very long time before future conservators have reason to look at those reports and unravel the histoiy of the window again.

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CREECHES FARM, HOOK, AND SOME OF ITS INHABITANTS

by Olga M.I. Fry

> ‘ *The last member of a very old local family has been removed by the death of Mr. Owen Hale. He was the youngest and last surviving son of Mr. Charles Hale and Mrs. Martha Hale (nee Philmore) who lived for many years at Creeches Fami, and he himself at the same holding until his retirement from famiing pursuits. Mr. Hale was a frequent contributorto theNorth Wiltshire Herald. He first married Miss Clark of Langley Burrell and is survived by his second wife, Julie, who was a daughter of Mr. J. Ward of Swindon. He passed away atBourton, Berks, where he had recently been living. The funeral took place at HookJ [North Wiltshire Herald,* 4th December 1925.]

Creeches Farm is situated on the bend of Hook Street, just past the Old School House and almost opposite Hook Cemeteiy. Thefaimwasjusttenacresupto 1892, afterwhich it was increased to twenty acres. How long there had been a dwelling on this plot of land is not easy to ascertain, but it was, of course, common in these early days for dwellings to be remodelled or even rebuilt every 100 years or so. The existing building, however, is around 200 years old, and was the home of least two generations of Philmores before becoming the family home of Martha (nee Philmore) and Charles Hale.

From the Parish Records we discover that Peter Philmore (bom in Purton c. 1646 to Peter and Margaret) was married to Jane Harrison at Lydiard Tregoze on 2 April 1668. They had seven children, and the family appears on the Tax Censuses for Lydiard Tregoze for the years 1697-1701. From Peter’s will, dated 14 May 1702, we can assume that he was a farmer - albeit on a very small scale, the inventory to his will listing among other things six cows and two pigs.

By the early 1700s the Philmores were becoming established in the village, and Peter’s son, also named Peter (1670-1723) was appointed an Overseer of the Poor in 1719. He died in 1723, leaving two sons, John and Thomas. Between 1756 and 1759 John, like his father before him, was an Overseer of the Poor and was also responsible for the Church accounts. [WRO 674/1.] John’s brother, Thomas, bom 1715, the one through whom the line comes down to present times, died young and was buried on 8 September 1747 together with his daughter Martha, aged two years. He left a widow and two sons, Philip and John, who was bom three months before his father’s death.

From the late 1700s the Philmore family can be definitely linked to this plot of land, as there are numerous references in the Land Tax records to land being occupied by Mr Philmore, the earliest being 1780 when (Philip) Philmore, Thomas’s eldest son, was occupying land owned by the earl of Clarendon. Almost certainly the present farmhouse was built around this time. The farm had various names during its life: in 1805 itwas ‘Cruises’, 1828 ‘Cruches’. and finally ‘Creeches’ in 1888. [WRO 675/9-12.]

Philip Philmore (1743-1825) married Maiy Butler on 27 December 1770, and their only surviving son Thomas took over the farm at the time ofhis father’s death. He married Elizabeth Dix on 13 October 1808, and they had seven children. Two years later a Thomas Heal from Brinkworth, bom at Little Somerford in 1780 the son of John Hele - note the variations of spelling - and Ann West, married Hannah Richens at Lydiard Tregoze on 30 April 1810. They had nine children, all of whom survived. Thomas Heal’s second son, Charles, married Thomas Philmore’s second daughter, Martha. Towards the end ofher mother’s life, Martha and Charles took over the running of the farm, at the same time caring for her parents until their deaths - Elizabeth in 1855 and Thomas in 1864.

In 1866, which was during the tenancy of Charles and Martha, the Clarendon - Midgehall - estate, which included Creeches, was sold to Sir Hemy Meux. It had been noted, as early as 1820, that the

estate was in a very bad state of repair, and it seems that, even with a new owner, veiy little was done to rectify the sorry state that some of the buildings had got into.

Charles and Martha had six children, and all except the youngest, Owen, left the village to find employment elsewhere. Thomas, bom 1837, went to London, followed by Jane the youngest daughter, who was married at St.George the Martyr, Southwark, in 1868. Sadly, she contracted T.B. and died at Lydiard Tregoze in 1874 at the age of twenty-four. She is buried in the churchyard, and was joined by her father who died two years later. The headstone is well preserved, and is to the right of the main entrance to the churchyard. The next to go to London was Charles. He had served an apprenticeship as a watch- and clock-maker, and married in Swansea in 1869. His first daughter was bom there, and then he, too, followed his brother to London. On the way, he appears to have left his pregnant wife and young daughter with his parents, no doubt while he found suitable accommodation and work, and his second daughter, Maiy Philmore Hale, was bom at Creeches on 1 May 1876. The family, in due course, followed him to London, but four years later, in October 1876, and six months after his father's death, Charles contracted smallpox and died, aged twenty-nine. By this time they had had a son, also named Charles. His wife was left with three children under five years of age.

Owen Hale, the only one of the family to be bom at Creeches, was left, at the age of eighteen, to run the farm with his mother. He was a direct descendant of Peter Philmore and Jane Harrison, who were married in 1668, and of William Heale and Elizabeth Nickalls, who were married at Brinkworth on 9 June 1701. By all accounts he was a character, and in his youth was the instigator of a number of practical jokes which were not always appreciated, either by his family or the villagers. But, with the responsibility of running the farm and then his marriage in 1884 to Susannah Clark, he finally settled down. Sadly, he and Susannah had no children.

In *Report* 35, p.35, reference is made to the birth and early death of Mildred Spencer. In fact she did not die when only a few months old. On 23 December 1890 Elizabeth Spencer, whose husband James worked at Wick Farm, gave birth to her ninth child, a little girl called Mildred. A few weeks later Elizabeth died and on 17 January 1891 James had Mildred privately baptised. The Parish Register reads, *'Name: Mildred. Parents: James Spencer and Elizabeth (deceased).'* Elizabeth was buried at Brinkworth on 20 January. Owen and Susannah Hale had, by now, been married for nearly seven years, and so, when Elizabeth died, they offered to 'adopt' Mildred. There was, of course, no way of legally adopting a child at this time. On 31 January 1891 James Spencer registered his daughter's birth: the certificate states, '*Bom 23. 12. 1890 at Brook Cottages: Name: Mildred Hale: Father: James Spencer: Mother: Elizabeth nee Reeves (deceased).* '

And so, Owen and Susannah 'adopted' Mildred, bringing her up as their own child - in fact, the story goes that Susannah ' *took to beef* for three months in order to convince the villagers that she really was their child. Mildred is recorded on the 1891 Census at Creeches as *"Mildred, age 3 months, daughter.* '

Not much is known about Mildred's life, although there are a few snippets to be gleaned from Elliott Woolford's diaries. During the 1914-1918 War she was taking the Sunday School at Hook, whether on a regular basis or not is not known. Later, she became a sister in the Church Army, working in Birmingham, and when Owen died in 1925 she was the sole executrix and beneficiary ofhis will. She died in 1951, aged sixty: her death certificate records that her father was ' — *Hale (farmer).* '

To return to Owen, his mother, Martha, left the farm about 1888 and went to live with her eldest daughter, Ann, who lived in Swindon with her husband ZechariaPeskett. Martha died in January 1890 and was buried in Swindon owing to the closure of the Lydiard churchyard - the same reason, no doubt, why Elizabeth Spencer was buried at Brinkworth, where she and her husband originated from. In 1893 Owen was able to increase the acreage of the farm to twenty acres. At this time he is recorded as a farmer/butcher. Although he does not ever seem to have been prominent in the affairs of the village, he later became a regular writer in the *North Wiltshire Herald,* not just on fanning matters but anything

else he could air an opinion on.

A few years later, in 1899, we discover from Elliott Woolford' s diaries that he and his brother Rowland spent boxing Day with Owen and Susannah:

> *went up to Mr Owen Hale, Creeches Farm, shooting. Rowl shot two sparrows all told; could not find a rabbit. Startled two blackbirds - these escaped unhurt, with the exception of a little fright andpalpitations. We spent the evening with them, viewing photos of the family and indulging in a few games with the children 's playthings. The party broke up at 11.15p.m. - all perfectly sober. Very quiet Xmas generally, no doubt owing to the war.*

In April 1900, Mildred spent the night at Elliott's house as *'Mr. and Mrs. Hale had to get up and be off to Wroughton by 4.00 a.m. '* A day or two earlier, Elliott and Rowland had asked Owen to take two bull calves to Swindon Market for them. He sold one for 35s. and the other for 30s., ' *which was more than I had expected for them.'* In July 1900 Elliott's diary records, [i]*PaidMr. Owen Hale 2/-for 11 qts of Gooseberries, '* and '*Paid 7/6 for 3 dozlbs of red currants at 2/6per doz to Mr. Owen Hale. '* At this time too, there were a number of visits to take tea with one another.

1906 saw the sale of the land known as the Meux Estate. Creeches was sold to Lady Bolingbroke for £995. 9s. 8d. Owen was still fanning the twenty acres of land for which he paid £40 p.a. - this included sporting rights on an adjoining piece of land.

In 1907, Owen's niece Maiy Philmore Chambers (nee Hale), who was bom at Creeches in 1872, came to live at Hook Villa. As a child she had been very delicate and, after her father's death in 1876, spent much ofher early life with her grandmother at Creeches. In fact, over a period of two years, from 1877 to 1879, she was in attendance at Hook School for a total of fifteen months. In 1896 she married Captain Francis William Chambers and by 1907 had two children, a son, also Francis William, aged nine, and a daughter Mary, not yet a year old. In 1908 she gave birth to twins, Dorothy and Irene (my mother). The following year, in 1909, they moved to Wootton Bassett to be nearer to her mother and half-sister, who were living at Brinkworth.

In 1917, the 6th Viscount Bolingbroke celebrated his twenty-first birthday, and Owen helped Elliott Woolford with the collection he had organised on behalf of the tenantiy. The Viscount was presented with a Silver Rose Bowl and an illuminated book containing the names of the ninety-one subscribers. (See *Report* **34,** p.47 for a photograph of the occasion, which includes both Elliott Woolford and Owen Hale. The Rose Bowl and the book can be seen at Lydiard Park.)

In September 1921, Owen's wife, Susannah, died. By now he was becoming somewhat eccentric, and on the occasion ofher funeral, dressed up in his wedding suit and led the funeral procession to Hook cemetery. Two years later, Owen married Julie Ward from Swindon, Mildred being a witness to the marriage, but his days at Creeches, the place where he was bom, were drawing to a close. Owing to an accident, he was forced to give up on Lady Day 1924. An extract from the auction announcement reads:

Walter C. Loveday has been favoured with instructions from

Mr Owen Hale (who is relinquishing farming pursuits owing to a recent accident) to

SELL by AUCTION on the premises on THURSDAY, March 24th, 1924, the following

LIVE and DEAD FARMING STOCK and HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE

Comprising

6 CHOICE DAIRY COWS in milk and in calf, SPRINGING COW, BARREN STERK

[North Wiltshire Herald, 14 March 1924.]

Elliott Woolford attended the auction, and bought a hen house.

> *Went to Mr. Owen Hale 's sale at Creeches farm this afternoon. Bought a foulhouse 25/-, and boxes 1/6. A large company attended, considering such a small sale, only 6 cows and a yearling and dead stock and a quantity of furniture. All of it realised fair prices. Mr. Hale was bom there is now 66years old.*

On 24 March Owen and his wife went to live at Bourton, Shrivenham. He died there on 25 November 1925, and was buried with his first wife at Hook cemeteiy on 4 December 1925. And so ended nearly 150 years of Philmore/Hale occupation of Creeches and 250 years of Philmores in the community.

Creeches itself is still standing, a shadow of its former self, roofless and battered; but the front of the building, which is better preserved, still boasts the O.H. and S.H. inscribed on either side of the front door. From 1920 to 1943, with the declining fortunes of Lady Bolingbroke, there were various attempts to sell the farm, but it was not until 1943, when the residue of the estate was sold, that it finally changed hands - this time to Amy Woolford (Elliott's widow) for the sum of £1,405.

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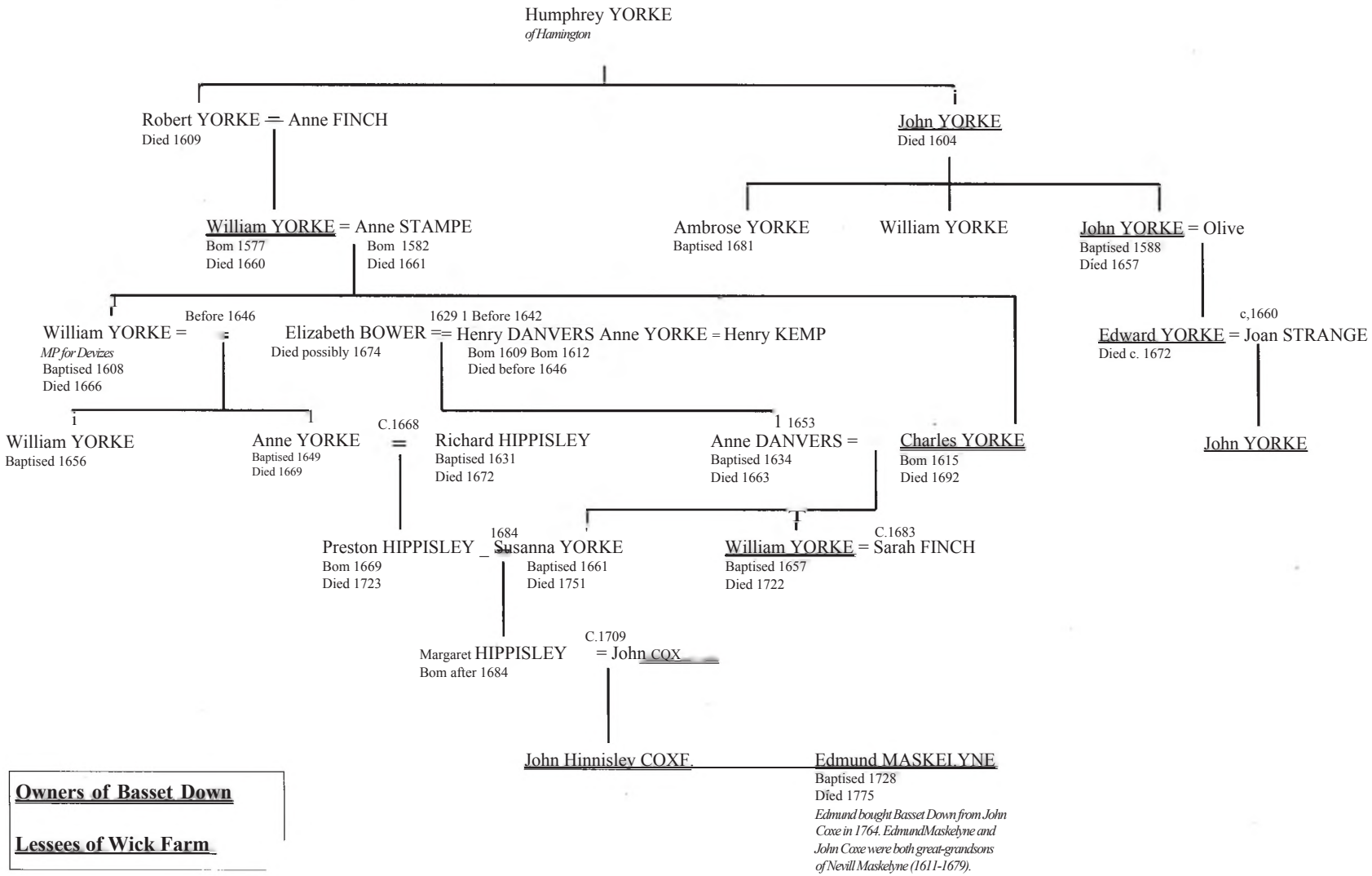
Acknowledgements are due to Mr and Mrs James Woolford for their kind permission in allowing access to Elliott's diaries.

A Select Family Tree of the Yorkes of Lydiard Tregoze—Owners of Basset Down—Lessees of Wick Farm



THE YORKES OF BASSET DOWN AND WICK FARM

[This article draws almost entirely on the results of the family-history researches of Peter Yardley, which he has generously made available to his fellow-Friends. He has identified twenty-two Yorke family groupings in twelve Wiltshire parishes in the first half of the seventeenth century.]

The Yorke family members who were tenants of Wick Farm and occupiers of Salthrop and Basset Down were closely related. (See the select family tree.) Genealogies of the family tentatively go back to a John Y orke, who died c. 1404, and include the elder line which acquired the earldom of Hardwick. On three occasions members of the Y orke family served as sheriffs ofWiltshire - John Y orke (1492), John Yorke (1501), and Thomas Yorke (1530). (Rev. J.E. Jackson, *Sheriffs of Wiltshire,* p. 208.)

William Yorke (d.c.1558) of Kempsford and Eastleach, Glos., married Jane, daughter of Thomas Stephens of Burderop, Wilts, and his wife Jane Prater. Their second son, Humphrey, was settled at Hannington, Wilts.

The Yorkes of Basset Down

William Yorke 1(1576/7-1660) was a man of substance and some standing. He was the eldest son of Robert Yorke (d.1609) of Hannington and his wife Anne Finch of Chipping Norton, Oxon., and the grandson of Humphrey Yorke of Hannington. William Yorke I was, therefore, a nephew of John Y orke of Wick Farm. He married Anne (d. 1661), the daughter of Simon Stampe of Oxfordshire. The inscription on William's grave slab in the nave aisle of Lydiard Tregoze church describes him as '*generosus*' and as descended from a knightly family in the county of York. His arms are: on a saltire an escallop, impaling, for Stampe, a fess ermine between three horses passant; for crest, a monkey's head erased. (See, *Report* 12, pp. 10-11 for the transcription.)

In 1648 William Yorke and his son-in-law Hemy Kempe purchased Studley Grange. (See, VCH, *Wiltshire*IX, p. 82.) The Studley estate was divided between them, Henry Kempe taking Studley and the northern part and William Yorke taking the southern part, later the Basset Down estate. It is likely that William Y orke had been a tenant at least of Basset Down for some years before it was purchased. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714,* in recording the academic career ofhis son William, M.P., states that his father was 'ofE/comhe' in 1627 and,later, ' *ofSalthrop'm* the pari sh of W roughton. When William Y orke compounded for a knighthood in 1631 for the sum of £ 11.13 s. 4d, he was ' *of Salthrop*'. William Yorke may have improved Basset Down, for at one time there was an iron-plate fire-back with the date 1658 in relief. (See, *Wiltshire Notes and Queriesl,* pp. 54,477.). William Yorke I died in 1660, at the age of eighty-three.

The baptism of the eldest son of William I, William II, was at Lydiard Tregoze church on 13 March 1607/8. William I and Anne had at least seven other children: Edward, Bachelor of Sacred Theology, who married Hester Thompson and died without issue; Charles, who died in his cradle in c. 1615; Anne, who married Henry Kempe of the Middle Temple and had twin sons William and Henry (1642-8) whose memorial in brass is in the nave aisle of Lydiard Tregoze church; Charles (1615-91/2) of whom more later; Jane, who married John Blind, Gentleman; Mary; and Susanna who was buried, unmarried, in Lydiard Tregoze church on 10 July 1648 - see her memorial in brass in the nave aisle.

William II matriculated from Pembroke College on 25 May 1627, and took his B. A. in January 1629/30, and entered the Inner Temple the same year. He was called to the Bar in 1637, and became a bencher in 1652. He was made recorder of Devizes in 1661. He had a distinguished career in parliament - see B.D. Henning, *The House of Commons 1660-90* (Seeker & Warburg, 1983), pp. 790-1. He represented the county in 1654 and the borough of Devizes from 1661 until his death.

William II was a noted antiquary. He was present at the meeting of the Justices at Devizes in 1659/60 - see *R eport* 35, p. 53 - when the choice was being made ofthe county representatives in the Convention Parliament of 1660. John Aubrey described him as ' *Counsellor at Lawe'*. The proposal was suggested at that meeting that a topographical survey should be made of Wiltshire, William Y orke ' *a Lover of this kind of Learning'* being responsible for the middle division of the county. Unfortunately for his part in the project, William died six years later.

William II married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of William Bower of West Lavington, and widow of Hemy Danvers of Bainton, Oxfordshire. The date of their wedding has not been traced, but on 27 October 1646 Elizabeth Yorke abas Danvers was involved in the administration of the effects ofher late husband. (*Memorials ofthe Danvers Family,* p. 537 n. 2.) They had one son, William III, who died during the lifetime ofhis father. It is possible that they lived at the wife's family home at West Lavington. An Anne Yorke, daughter of William Yorke, was baptised at West Lavington on 21 May 1649. She may well have been their daughter, and is probably the Anne who was the first wife of Richard Hippisley of Ston Easton, Somerset. William II died in 1666, and was buried in the Temple church, London.

The fourth son of William I was Charles (1615-91/2). His grave slab is in the nave aisle of Lydiard Tregoze church. He married three times: memorials to his first and second wives are also in the nave aisle. His first wife was Joyce, daughter of John Barnard of Rissington, co. Gloucester. She died on 25 May 1650. There were no children of the first marriage.

Charles married, secondly, Anne daughter of Henry Danvers of Bainton and his wife Elizabeth Bower of West Lavington on 20 September 1653. (Charles' s sister-in-law, the wife ofhis brother William II, was therefore also his mother-in-law.) Ofhis children by his second wife he had one son William baptised at Lydiard Tregoze on 22 May 1657, Anne, baptised at West Lavington on 31 January 1654/ 5, who married Virgil Parker, Elizabeth who was baptised at Lydiard Tregoze on 9 June 1659, and Susanna, baptised at Lydiard Tregoze on 27 June 1661, who married Preston Hippisley - see below - of Ston Easton, and died at the age of ninety. Charles's second wife died on 4 August 1663.

Charles's third wife was Mary née Fettiplace - arms, gules, two chevrons argent - whose first husband was Walter Parker (1624-64) of Lushill. She had at least six children by her former marriage, whom she presumably brought with her to live at Basset Down. (Her second son was the Virgil Parker, rector of Farley Hungerford, who married Anne Y orke, daughter of Charles. Virgil was a son of Anne's step-mother.) There were no children of this third marriage. Miriam outlived Charles. Her will is dated 1709 and was proved in November 1711. She was buried at Castle Eaton.

Charles appears to have inherited Basset Down from his father, William I. In 1668 Charles paid, in church rates, 10s. Od for Basset Down and Studley Farm and a further 6s. Od for Can Court. Basset Down passed at his death in 1691/2 to his son William, who followed his uncle William II in a career in the Law. He matriculated from St.Alban's Hall in March 1674/5. By the time that his marriage licence was issued in 1683 he was of the Inner Temple. He married Sarah, daughter of John Finch of White Waltham, Berks., at St.Clement Dane's, London.

William Yorke of the Inner Temple was one of the six Wiltshiremen who were present in the Globe Tavern in London on 14 November 1684 when Sir William Estcourt was killed by Hemy St.John (later created Viscount St.John) and Colonel Edmund Richmond-Webb. (See, *Report5 (1972), p.* 32.) Mary Amold-Forster wrote in her Bassett Down (Country Life), p. 15, '/n *about 1694 William Yorke, who was an architect, rebuilt the north and east parts of the house, to its great benefit.* ' The *Poll Tax on Bachelors* shows that in 1699, 1700, and 1701 William, his wife Sarah, and his sister Elizabeth were resident in the parish of Lydiard Tregoze, without specifying their location. In 1709 William Y orke sold Basset Down to John Cox, of The Leigh, Ashton Keynes, and moved to Oxford. He died in 1722 without issue.

John Cox married Margaret Hippisley (1692-1738), one of the daughters of Preston Hippisley and his wife Susanna Yorke, who was the sister of William Yorke (d.1722.)

Cox and Hippisley

Preston Hippisley (1669-1723) was the only son of Richard Hippisley (1631-72) and his first wife, Anne Yorke (1649-69). Their marriage licence (1668) stated that Anne was aged nineteen and of Lydiard Tregoze. As stated above, Anne Yorke was probably a daughter ofWilliamll Yorke (d. 1666) and his wife Elizabeth Danvers (nee Bower). Preston ' s mother died shortly after his birth, and his father died before he was three. Charles Y orke, his great-uncle, became his guardian and he grewup at Basset Down. When Preston was aged fourteen he married Susanna Yorke (1661-1751), then aged about twenty-three, a daughter ofhis guardian. In an action for trespass on waste land at Ston Easton, brought in 1710, Preston was described as ' *being exceeding fat and unable to travel.* ' He died at Ston Easton on 17 December 1723.

The purchase of Basset Down in 1709 was part of a settlement that was made by Preston Hippisley and his wife Susanna in connection with the marriage of their daughter Margaret to John Cox. (See, W.A.S. Library, Storey-Maskelyne papers.) Preston Hippisley settled £20,000 on his daughter and her fiance, from whom William Yorke received £4,000 for Basset Down, which then contained about 200 acres.

John Cox's son John Hippisley Coxe of Ston Easton sold Basset Down in 1764 to his third cousin Captain Edmund Maskelyne (d. 1775).

The Yorkes of Wick Farm

On p.35 of *Report* 35 Mark and Lorraine Child referred to a Yorke tenancy of Wick Farm in the seventeenth century, and quoted the payment of £ 1. 14 s. Od in ship money by *'Jo. Yorke for Sir John St.John's lands'* in 1635 and the payment of Is.by *'Edw. Yorke of Wick Farm'* for church rates in 1668. The parish registers also show that Edward Yorke was churchwarden in 1670 and, in 1681, Thomas Strange served as churchwarden *'for John Yorke's living - Weeks farm.'*

John Yorke, who made his will on 14 January 1603/4 - PRO PROB 11/103 - appears to have been the first of the Yorke lessees of Wick Farm. It is almost certain that he was a son - probably the third son - of Humphrey Y orke of Hannington. In his will John Y orke stated that he was living at that time at WickFarm which he had leased from Sir John St.John (d. 1594). His will provides, with almost equal sums, for the poor of both Lydiard parishes, which indicates his interest in both areas. His previous residence in Lydiard Millicent parish is made more likely with the record of the baptism ofhis two youngest children, Mary in 1582 and John in 1588, in Lydiard Millicent church. The opening pages of the Lydiard Millicent register are very badly stained with damp. T om Daish transcribed the register in about 1963, and for three baptismal entries he guessed the surname as Turke - Margerie (8 January 1585/6),Richard(21 December 1581),andJohn (20 December 15 84)-adding a question mark before Turke on the first two of these entries. It is likely that in all these cases the surname ought to be read as Y orke. The duplication of the name John is not exceptional in days when there was a high incidence of infant mortality coupled with the desire to perpetuate a particular Christian name. If this surmise is correct, then five of the youngest children of John Yorke were baptised at Lydiard Millicent church, between 1581 and 1588.

It is likely that John's eldest son, Ambrose (d. 1647), who described himself as of Shaw in the parish of Lydiard Millicent in his will - PRO PROB. 11/202 - inherited his father's property in that parish. Six of Ambrose's children and one grandchild are recorded as having been baptised in Lydiard Millicent church. Ambrose declared his wish to be buried near his son John, deceased, in Lydiard Millicent church.

It is assumed that the Shaw property was freehold, and that John (d. 1602/3) made separate provision for Ambrose to take possession of it. It would appear that, at the time ofhis widowed father's will, Ambrose was unmarried, for the wish was there expressed that Ambrose and his two younger brothers, William and John, and their unmarried sister Mary should keep house together at Wick Farm. The unexpired lease on Wick Farm was bequeathed to the second son, William, on condition that he did not sell it, and William was made responsible for his younger brother John ' s education until he reached the age of nineteen.

The several provisions of John ' s will give some idea ofhis activities as a fanner. The stock that is listed consists of 220 ewes and 'all the ewes that I have to come' at Wick Farm, eleven lambs, four rams, eleven cows, two calves, and a black mare.

It is not clear when William Yorke died, but the lease of Wick Farm passed to his younger brother, John, who was baptised at Lydiard Millicent on 16 October 1588. John appears to have taken on the lease by 1625, for in that year he is named with Sir John St.John, rector Thomas Marler, and others as an executor in the will of William Edes. It was John who paid the ship money in 163 5. John died in 165 7, his wife Olive surviving him. He described himself as 'Gentleman' in his will, unlike his father who was content to describe himself as 'yeoman'. His executor was his son Edward, who was to marry Joan, daughter of John Strange of Milbome, in 1660.

The lease of Wick Farm was inherited by Edward, who paid church rates of Is. in 1668 and served as churchwarden in 1670. Edward also received, under the provisions ofhis father's will, 'my *Messuage called Rudgeway in Purton and a pasture ground called Kingeway and a meadow called Dolemead in Purton*' on which an annuity of £20 was to be paid annually to his mother. The Lydiard Tregoze registers record the baptism of three of Edward Y orke ' s children - Susanna on 29 May 1666, Olive on 23 May 1669, and Anna-Maria on 30 July 1672, the last-named being buried on 11 June 1675. An Edward Yorke was buried at Lydiard Tregoze on 23 March 1672/3. In 1680 Thomas Stonge served as churchwarden *'for John Yorke 's living- Weeks farm.'* (Lydiard Tregoze fanners were liable to serve as churchwardens in succession according to an agreed rota.) John Yorke, possibly the son of Edward, may have been a minor in 1680.

The succession of lessees ofWickFarm are thus: John (d. 1602/3), his sons, in succession, William and John (d. 1657), John's son Edward (d.? 1672/3), and possibly Edward's son John. (The continuation of the story, until Jonas Clark took the tenancy of Wick Farm in 1839, is yet to be investigated.)

Conclusion

It wouldbe gratifying to add documentary evidence of the relationship that existed between the Y orkes of Wick Farm and their close relatives at Basset Down. Further research may bring such evidence to light. But it maybe significant that, by his will in 1647, Ambrose Y orke of Shaw appointed as overseers his brother John of Wick Farm, his cousin John Yorke, and another cousin William Yorke - presumably William Y orke I of Basset Down. In 1657 John Y orke ofWick Farm appointed overseers for his will which included Mr Charles Yorke.

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Happily 2002 has been a year of progress; the principal achievement being the production of a Restoration Plan for Lydiard Park. The plan, which has been formulated by leading historic landscape consultants Nicholas Pearson Associates, lays the foundation for a maj or £6 million parkland restoration proj ect.

Many Friends will have already read about the restoration proposals and been involved in the ongoing public consultation process as well as enj oying the events and activities which took place over Heritage Open Weekend in September. Project activities will continue throughout 2003, when a decision on funding is expected from The Heritage Lotteiy organisation. In the meantime we are very encouraged and grateful for an initial commitment of £70,000 to theprojectbylnnogyplc, which matches a similar sum set aside by Swindon Borough Council.

Lydiard House has noticeably benefited from all the excitement surrounding the park proj ect and has attracted a new group of volunteer supporters. Kennet NADF AS are now poised to undertake a range of duties including stewarding in the house, gardening, and embroidery. They join Upper Thames NADF AS volunteers who this year spent a week spring-cleaning the Library and cataloguing the entire book collection.

The Library has been the focus of much attention. In October master craftsman Adam Arbeid was commissioned to restore the ornate overmantel above the fireplace by re-graining the carving to simulate a polished wood effect. Recreating this early-19th-century decorative technique has brought a new warmth and richness to the room. Donations by Miss Nora Hardwick, which include a fine 18th-century hearth stool and coalscuttle, have added to interest in the room.

Every year the Lydiard collections grow, due to the generous donations and loan of furnishings from institutions, members of the public, and Friends. Some obj ects are a complete surprise - such as the gift of a flag bearing the picture of Edward VII from Mrs Margaret North and a huge Wilton mg from Sara Fields.

Our Treasure Forever conservation programme has continued to attract support including an anonymous and much appreciated contribution of £500 from a member of the Friends of Lydiard Tregoz and a bumper £1,000 from Mrs Pamela Parker, which allowed us to repair and clear the St. John's 18th-century bracket clock to good effect. Thanks also to a substantial 100% grant from The Leche Trust, we have been able to conserve the portrait of John, 2nd Viscount St.John, which hangs over the mantelpiece in the Drawing Room. The cleaning process had dramatically improved the picture, which had suffered years of accumulated grime and smoke deposits.

New information has also come to light about several of our paintings, thanks to an informal visit by Sir Oliver Millar, Surveyor Emeritus of the Queen's Pictures. For example, paintings of Sir Walter and Lady Johanna St.John, previously thought to be by Maiy Beale, are now understood to be by Kneller. A full inventoiy of Lydiard oil paintings, incorporating all the updated information, is now held by The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art.

2002 has also been a year of change when we said a fond goodbye to Janet Porter, who retired after ten years as Museum Assistant at Lydiard House. Janet set and maintained the standards which, over the years, have attracted compliments from so many visitors about the care and presentation of the State Rooms. Our new team of three Museum Assistants - Jenny Barnes, Maria Bastin, and Trudy Evans - have taken up the challenge with gusto and great efficiency.

2003 is set to be equally busy, and as ever I look forward to seeing many Friends of Lydiard Tregoz at Lydiard during the year. However, we will sadly miss Alice Smith, a long-standing member of the

Friends who died this year, who was well into her nineties. Alice always took a keen delight in the Society and the AGMs: she was a true friend of Lydiard and it was a pleasure to have known her.

Both as an organisation and individually The Friends of Lydiard Tregoz do provide considerable support for Lydiard Park. I am especially grateful to the President of the Society, Gerard Leighton, for his solidarity during this eventful year.

All good wishes,

Sarah Finch-Crisp
Keeper of Lydiard House &
Lydiard Park Project Officer

P. S. Those of you who have collected the ***Reports*** *of* ***The Friends of Lydiard Tregoz*** *will be aware of their importance in contributing to the knowledge of Lydiard Park and the people connected with it. All unwanted back copies are always welcome here as there is a steady public demand for them.*

THE FRIENDS OF LYDIARD TREGOZ

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Mr Robert Hook

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[redacted]

Obituaries

Although no longer a member at the time ofhis death, it is entirely appropriate for us to express our appreciation for the contribution that the late **Cecil Farthing** OBE, FS A (1909-2001) made to Lydiard Tregoze. In 1941 he transferred from the Courtauld Institute with their vast collection of photographs of English architecture, of which he was librarian, to the newly-established National Buildings Record, of which he became Director in 1960. He was a regular attender at our meetings for a number of years, his presence giving great pleasure to fellow-Old-Sinjuns.

General Richard (Dick) Stjohn C.D. (ret'd) of Ottawa died in July 2001. He was not a member of the Friends, but he put at our disposal the results ofhis researches into the St.John family, which he had built into a data base of6,000 persons with the surname St.John. In his retirement, after distinguished military service, he tried to trace his forebears, only succeeding in getting back to a Nathaniel St.John who married Sara Barnes at Brading, Isle of Wight, in 1672. He visited the Family Histoiy Center in Ottawa so often that he was asked to become a volunteer librarian, which enabled him to call up extra information for us from Salt Lake City. In May 1997 he called to see the Editor at English Bicknor on

what proved to be the last ofhis many visits over the years to The Speech House nearby, of which his grandfather, George St.John, was lessee from 1901 to 1916.

George Judd (1914-2002), F.C.A., died six weeks after attending last year's meeting. It is very sad to realise that we will not be seeing his smiling face again. Reg. Bottomley has kindly provided the following note about George:

' Indisputably a dapper English gentleman, a person of tremendous energy, and a member of numerous organisations, George was a man who went about doing good. A clever mathematician, he was educated at Sir Walter St. John's School at Battersea and left to be articled to a City firm of Chartered Accountants, of which, in course of time, he became the principal until his retirement. He was elected a Freeman of the City of London, serving as Auditor to the Candlewick Ward for many years until his death. His skill and eagerness to assist were evident in his becoming honorary auditor to a number of voluntary organisations. He was an active member of the Wimbledon branch of The National Trust, of the Upper Norwood Athenaeum, and of the Old Sinjuns Masonic Lodge. George was proud to be elected President of the Old Sinjun's Association: never in its history has a former pupil served two terms of office.

'George was a devout Christian and regularly attended Holy Trinity, Copse Hill, West Wimbledon, where he was a sidesman and lesson-reader. He was a staunch member of the Conservative Party. His untimely death, due to a tumour on the lung, has left an irreplaceable gap in his large circle of friends. His wife Edna passed away after a lingering illness ten years ago. There were no children. Unfortunately these days there are veiy few George Judds around. God bless him.'

Members of the Friends will be particularly sorry to hear of the deaths of Mrs Alice Smith, who j oined in 1968, and her friend Mrs P. Head. TheyrarelymissedtheMaymeetings: we will miss their friendly greetings, their consistent support of the Friends, and their joy in all things relating to Lydiard Park.

New Members

[redacted]

Copies of *Report* are deposited with:
The British Library
Bodleian Library
Cambridge University Library
Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William & Mary, Williamsburg, USA
The College of Arms
The Society of Antiquaries of London
The Society of Genealogists
The Council for the Care of Churches
The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England
Battersea Library
Wiltshire Archaeological & Natural History Society
Glamorgan Record Office
Wiltshire Record Office
Wootton Bassett Historical Society
Swindon Public Library
Swindon Museum
The Lydiard Park archive

Friends of Lydiard Tregoz
10 May 2003