

Frontispiece.



THE GREAT PICTURE AT APPLEBY CASTLE.

From a photograph by Gray from the original.

LADY ANNE CLIFFORD
COUNTESS OF
DORSET, PEMBROKE & MONTGOMERY.
1590—1676.

HER LIFE, LETTERS AND WORK

EXTRACTED FROM ALL THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS
AVAILABLE, MANY OF WHICH ARE HERE
PRINTED FOR THE FIRST TIME

BY

DR. GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON.

KENDAL
TITUS WILSON AND SON

1922

PR

TO
SIR HENRY JAMES TUFTON
BARONET

Baron Hothfield

OF HOTHFIELD IN THE COUNTY
OF KENT

LORD LIEUTENANT AND CUSTOS ROTULORUM
FOR THE COUNTY OF WESTMORELAND

AND OWNER OF

LADY ANNE'S CASTLES

OF

APPLEBY, BROUGHAM, BROUGH,
PENDRAGON AND SKIPTON,

THIS BOOK

WHICH COULD NOT HAVE BEEN WRITTEN
WITHOUT HIS GENEROUS ASSISTANCE

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY HIS SINCERE AND GRATEFUL FRIEND
THE AUTHOR.

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PREFACE.

I HAVE been familiar with the story of Lady Anne Clifford all my life, although, unfortunately, the school-book containing the first reference to her that came under my notice, referred to her defence of Skipton Castle, a story which has no historical basis. It was not, however, until I visited Westmoreland, that I realised how important Lady Anne Clifford had been in that part of the world, or understood the mark she had left upon her own districts there and in Craven. She was, perhaps, the first great lady, not of royal birth, who can be said to occupy a conspicuous place in the history of English life and manners. She is, too, one of the few women land-owners whose memory amongst her own people has lasted fresh to the present day, and who is familiarly spoken of, in this twentieth century, as though she had died but recently, and there might be people still living who remembered her. The sight of her famous Diary at Appleby Castle quickened in me the desire to write a book about her, and the more I read of what others had written, the greater was my wish to set down, in something like consecutive order, the facts which constitute the story of her life. A casual search convinced me that, although much had been lost, there were many documents still remaining which would repay investigation, and that there might be others which ought to be sought for. The work has been very interesting, and I have been rewarded beyond my anticipation; so many important documents with no little bearing upon English history having come to light in my investigations. I am thus able to make good certain discrepancies in the story, and also to bring to light many new facts concerning Lady Anne. It has been my good fortune to elucidate the facts of the celebrated letter, the one story of Lady Anne that almost everyone knows;

and by means of the actual documents, to explode the popular idea, and to prick once and for all the bubble set afloat by Horace Walpole, in the pages of "The World."

In connection with this book, I owe the deepest gratitude to my friend Lord Hothfield, since without his permission and assistance, it could never have been written, and it is due to his ever-increasing enthusiasm for the subject that the volume has assumed its present shape. He has given me the utmost facilities for search, both in the muniment rooms of Appleby Castle and of Skipton Castle, has placed such materials as he possesses at my disposal and has permitted me to work wherever I pleased amongst his papers, and to photograph and copy to my heart's content. Supplemented as it has always been by the kindly assistance of Mr. R. B. Barrett, his agent, Lord Hothfield's encouragement has been most generous, and my gratitude to him can be expressed in no measured terms.

Next I offer most hearty thanks to the Duke of Bedford, to Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, to Lord and Lady Pembroke, and to Lord Sackville for generous assistance afforded me in connection with such documents and treasures as they possess bearing upon the history of one who was not only Countess of Dorset, but also Countess of Pembroke and Montgomery, and descended upon her mother's side from the House of Russell.

Similar assistance has been afforded me by the representatives of that branch of the house of Russell which now holds the title of De Clifford, and my warm thanks are due to Mrs. Arthur Stock, who on behalf of her son, Lord de Clifford, placed the jealously guarded family portraits, plate and jewels at my disposal; and to the Honourable Maud Russell, who lent me important books, manuscripts and illustrations, and took infinite pains to give me such material as I desired.

The descendants from the sixth Earl of Thanet, who represent Lady Anne's father, George, Earl of Cumberland, in direct line, have been no less considerate. Mrs. Leveson-Gower, to whom has come the books and family treasures that passed to Mary, Countess Gower, the fourth of Lord Thanet's five surviving daughters, and her cousin, Mr. Arthur F. G. Leveson-Gower, have assisted me most readily, and have placed at my entire disposal such manuscripts and books as they possess.

Thanks are also due in similar respects to Lady Burghclere, the Earl of Carlisle, Lady Gwendolen Cecil, the Earl of Craven, the Earl of Coventry, the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Donoughmore, Lord Ernle, Lord Hastings, Lord Jersey, and the Dowager Countess of Jersey, the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Lonsdale, Lady Loch, the Earl of Mayo, the Marquess of Northampton, the Duke of Portland (and his kindly Librarian, Mr. Goulding), the late Rt. Hon. G. W. E. Russell, the late Lord Ruthven, Lord St. John, the Earl of Verulam, and Lord Wharton.

For local information, I have had to trouble many people, and in obtaining it, have received the utmost kindness and, I may venture to say, made many new friends. Of the assistance rendered me by Mr. Curwen, whose book on Castles has been invaluable, and by Mr. D. Scott of the *Penrith Observer*, who has placed volumes and pamphlets galore at my disposal, and has poured out a wealth of local knowledge before me, I cannot speak too highly. I am also indebted to Mrs. Abercrombie, to Dr. Collins, to Mr. Carrick, to Dr. Lionel Cust, to Dr. Farrer, to Mr. Gray (Tullie House Librarian at Carlisle), to Mr. Crackenthorpe of Newbiggin, to the late Bishop of Carlisle, to Mr. Gabbitas, to Mr. Alex Heelis, then Mayor of Appleby, and to his brother the Rev. A. J. Heelis of Brougham, to Canon Hasell of Dalemain, to Miss Harford of Blaize Castle, Mrs. Locker-Lampson, Canon Matthews, Professor Moore-Smith, Lieut.-Col. Machell, Mr. Miller, the Rev. F. W. Ragg, Mr. W. Peart Robinson, of Dallam Tower, Mrs. Pennell, the late Duke of Polignano, Mr. Roper, Mr. G. L. Rives of New York, the Rev. W. B. Smith, the late Dr. Wheatley and Mr. Whiteside, for many letters, and for much information placed at my disposal.

In the Craven district, I have received kindly help, not alone from Mr. Barrett of Skipton Castle, who has been never-failing in his aid, but also from Miss Cowell of Clifton Castle, Bedale, who took infinite trouble on my behalf, and from Mrs. Tempest and Mrs. Dawson.

Regarding Barden Tower, thanks are due to Mrs. Lister, and in the case of Clifford Castle to the Honourable Mabel Bailey, Mrs. Leigh-Spencer and Mrs. Dawson; while as regards Knole, Mr. Phillips has assisted me many times, and in ample manner, from his great store of knowledge and material, and as to Sackville College, the present Warden, Mr. F. C. Hill, has not only given me such information as

he possessed, but has placed his own book on the College at my disposal, with liberty to quote from it in any way I might desire.

With regard to the investigation concerning the books Lady Anne perused, many of which are represented in her pictures, I am deeply thankful to my good friend Mr. Charles Sayle of Cambridge University for his assistance, and also to the late Mr. Lawler, and several other persons, who have aided me in this matter.

To the authorities of the British Museum, and notably to my good friends Mr. Ellis, Mr. Barclay Squire, Mr. Pollard, Mr. Campbell Dodgson, Mr. G. F. Hill, Mr. R. F. Sharp and Mr. Hogg, I owe hearty thanks, and many apologies for the amount of trouble I have given them, and the same debt I hasten to pay to Somerset Herald, who opened to me the invaluable records at the College of Arms and notably the Dugdale manuscripts. To those of the Record office, and notably to Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte, I return similar thanks for many favours shown me, and to Miss D. O. Shilton, who, with the utmost care and accuracy has copied many of the documents, I also express my sincere gratitude. To the same lady I am indebted for more than one discovery in the muniment room at Skipton which it was her pleasing task to arrange and classify. I must not forget the authorities and notably the Librarian, at Lincoln's Inn Library, nor those in the manuscript department of the British Museum, especially mentioning Mr. J. P. Gilson, and a special word of gratitude is due to Dr. Magrath the venerable Provost of Queen's College, Oxford.

A special word of thanks must be given to Miss B. G. Hardy. Soon after I had commenced my book, and had made some of the more important discoveries, I ascertained that she had prepared a volume on the same subject, which she was proposing to issue. With generous goodwill, she allowed me to take over this book in manuscript, and to make such use of it as I desired. I am thus indebted to her, not only for ready consent to this arrangement, but for many happy suggestions, and for the agreement to fulfil in this larger book her original desires.

The assistance so considerately given by Mrs. Paul Mason in photographing for me on many occasions must not be overlooked, and my readers who see her beautiful pictures will agree with me in gratitude, while to the professional workers, Mr. Gray, Messrs. Leonardson,

Mr. Hatton and Mr. Smith, who have all taken great pains in carrying out my wishes, I desire also to express my thanks.

To my son, and to Dr. Laing, late of Dundee, I express sincere and hearty thanks for having read, with much care and attention, all my proofs, and for many suggestions made in connection with them. Finally, I should be failing in my duty, if I were not to include in this long list of acknowledgments Lady Anne Clifford herself, whose illustrious memory has led me to read so many books of the highest interest, and has opened up before me a long vista of history.

While these pages have been passing through the press, a letter written by Lady Anne has come into the possession of Lord Hothfield, and it is perhaps the most interesting of any that she ever wrote. It is dated January 31st, 1598, and was written by Lady Anne when she was a girl of eight years old, on the day succeeding her own birthday. It is addressed to her father, Lord Cumberland, who had only recently, that is to say in the previous December, returned to London, and who was about to set out on his twelfth voyage; and it would appear to be likely that it was written in response to some letter she had from him, or to acknowledge some present which he had given her on her birthday.

It is an extraordinarily fine piece of calligraphy for a child of that age, and the signature is especially notable. The decoration round the letter is in water-colour; whether the sheet was purchased with this decoration upon it for the purpose of the letter, or whether it was the work of the little girl herself, cannot, of course, be stated. It is quite possible that the decoration may have been in outline, and that the child filled in the colours herself from her own paint-box. Such things happened in the days of Elizabeth, as they happen now. If that is the case, Anne Clifford must have had a very steady hand, and quite a nice sense of colour, as the decoration is prettily carried out. The meaning of the four similar monograms which occur on the corners of the letter is not clear. It looks as though the monogram was composed of two N's. Various suggestions have been made concerning its meaning, but neither of them are wholly satisfactory.

At the same time as the delightful letter was obtained, there came into Lord Hothfield's possession, from the same source, a lock of hair belonging to Lady Alethea Compton, together with an inscription in Lady Anne's writing, saying that it was her grand-daughter's hair, and giving certain details. Lady Alethea came in 1670, when she was about nine years old, to Pendragon Castle, and some allusion to her visit will be found in the pages of the book No. 245, 246 and 247. She was a young lady of great importance in her day, and eventually became

possessed of a large fortune, as her mother's share of the Clifford estates descended to her, but, as she died without issue, the estate and the armour and the silver that had been bequeathed to Lady Northampton by Lady Anne, came to the descendants of the other sister, Lady Thanet.

The wording of the letter is thus :—

I humbly intreate your blessing and ever comend my duety and sarvice
(*sic*) to your Lo : praying I may be made happy by your love I comend
my service (*sic*) and leave my trobling of your Lo : being your

Daughter in all
Obedient duety

ANNE CLIFFORD.

Jan. xxxj

1598.

and the letter is addressed in the manner following :—

“ To the Right honorable and my good Lo : father the Earle of Cumberland.” It is endorsed in another hand “ when her lappe was eight years old.”

The inscription on the piece of paper which holds the lock of hair, reads as follows :—“ A lock of my grand child La Alatheia Compton's haire and the measure of her height brought me by Mr. Robert Braithwait, 14 July 1674.”

This is in Lady Anne's hand, but in another hand is the following inscription :—

La Alatheia was then at the home of one Mr. Henry (?) Eakine of
Western near Castle Ashby [probably Ekin].

The packet is addressed :—

For the Right Hon^{ble}. the Countesse of Pembroke in Pendragon Castle
thees present.

N.B. Errors in printing :—257 should be Westminster ; 258 should be Medals.

By an exact and scrupulous diligence and observation, out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private records and evidences, fragments of stories, passages of books that concern not story and the like, industrious persons, do save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time.

*Francis Bacon Lord Verulam
on Advancement of Learning.*

*Preserve your loyalty
Defend your rights.*

Lady Anne's motto.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY.

LADY Anne Clifford, the subject of the following pages, was the only daughter, and eventually the only surviving child of George, third Earl of Cumberland, by his wife Margaret Russell. She was born in 1590, and lived till 1676. Her life therefore covered one of the most eventful periods of English History. As a child, she came under the personal notice of Queen Elizabeth, who had been present at her father and mother's wedding, as Henry VIII. had honoured the wedding of her grandfather's first wife. She was welcomed at the Court of James I., and took a considerable part in its festivities, becoming, not only a lady-in-waiting to Queen Anne of Denmark, but also one of the Queen's attached friends, and she attended the funeral of her Mistress and took a prominent part in the ceremonials. She was present at the coronation of Charles I., and was represented by deputy at the coronation of Charles II. She lived through the whole of the time of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, and came into conflict on more than one occasion with Oliver Cromwell. She recorded in her famous Diary, with great satisfaction, the event of the Restoration, and referred to the troubles of the reign of Charles II. both in war, in fire, and in plague, and she lived till nearly the end of his reign, dying only a few short years before James II. was to ascend the throne.

Lady Anne came of one of the noblest families in England, the Cliffords, and should have possessed, throughout the greater part of her life, their vast estates, many of which had been held since the time of King John. These estates were strictly entailed upon heirs, by deeds which were arranged in the time of Edward II., but Lady Anne's father, for reasons which will be more clearly set forth, bequeathed—illegally, there is but very little doubt—the estates to his

brother, and then to his nephew, who succeeded him in the Earldom ; only arranging that in the event of the failure of male heirs, they should all return to his daughter.

Lady Anne Clifford married twice, her first husband being the Earl of Dorset, and her second the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. During the greater part of her married life with her first husband, strenuously supported by her mother, she took every possible step to obtain possession of the estates which were rightfully hers. In this she was opposed by her husband, and by those at Court. King James was persuaded on more than one occasion to deal with the matter in judicial capacity, but Lady Anne refused to accept his decision, going so far, it is said, at one audience, as to tear up the papers that she was requested to sign. The King eventually made an award against her, and she was for a time forced to accept it. Similar struggles ensued during the early part of her married life with her second husband, but eventually her cousin, Henry, fifth and last Earl of Cumberland, died without male issue, and the whole of the estates fell into her hands.

The remaining part of her life was passed wholly in the North, where she reigned over a great part of the counties of Westmoreland and Yorkshire as a queen, demanding and receiving obedience and respect from her neighbours and tenants. Lady Anne was one of the great diarists of the day, and has left behind her numerous MSS. with details of her life, as well as a vast collection, prepared by her mother and herself, of records concerning the Clifford family, and respecting the marriages made by each person.

The account she gives in her earliest Diary of her life at Court is one of fascinating interest, because here are set forth all the important people of the time of Queen Elizabeth and of James I., and they are referred to in familiar fashion. This kind of Diary she continued to keep during her entire life. When Lady Anne came to the North, she found herself in possession of several great castles, more or less in ruins, Skipton, Appleby, Brougham, Brough, Pendragon and Barden Tower ; all of these she set herself to restore, and eventually put into good condition, at a cost of over £40,000, an enormous sum to spend on building in those days. Furthermore, she took in hand the restoration of seven churches on her estates, and Bishop Rainbow,

who preached her funeral sermon, was well advised in selecting for his text the words of the Preacher, "Every wise woman buildeth her house." She regarded herself as the "repairer of breaches and the restorer of paths, to dwell in." Her personal power and influence in the North were very great, so much so, that she was never styled either Countess of Dorset or Countess of Pembroke and Montgomery, but was always known as Lady Anne, and by that name she is still spoken of, in the Craven district of the West Riding, and in her own county of Westmoreland, by people so familiar with her history that it is difficult to believe she died so many generations ago.

In dealing with her career, I have adopted throughout the book the Westmoreland form of speech, and have called the great Lady "Lady Anne," preferring to use the name by which she is generally known, rather than to speak of her as Lady Anne Clifford, and later as Lady Dorset, or as Lady Pembroke and Montgomery. There have been many references to her in other books, and perhaps the first which was of any importance, was contained in Ballard's *Memoirs of British Ladies*, published in 1752. Lady Anne was also the subject of one of Hartley Coleridge's essays on the *Northern Worthies*; a part of her diary was quoted by Seward, in 1798, in his *Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons*; and another part has in quite recent days been used by Mrs. Richardson in her *Famous Ladies of the English Court*. A few striking extracts from the journal of the last few months of her life which she kept were quoted some few years ago by Jackson in a paper which he read before the Whitehaven Scientific Society, and there have been many other allusions to her, notably those made by Craik in his *Romance of the Peerage*; by Costello, in the *Memoirs of Eminent Englishwomen*; by Kippis in the *Biographiæ Britannica*; and by many other writers. As a rule, however, the references made have been from copies of original documents. Unluckily, in some instances, these copies are the only material available, since several MSS. have been destroyed, but many important ones remain, and these fortunately have been supplemented by recently discovered letters and papers of great interest, notably the detailed account of the last few months of her life, from her day-by-day book, the greater part of which has unfortunately perished. All the original documents that could be discovered in the various muniment rooms of the houses with

which she was associated have been placed at my disposal, in very many instances for the first time, in order that an adequate representation of this great lady of the Stuart times might be prepared. Scarcely any other person in England has made a deeper impression upon an estate. Lady Anne's restorations were on so vast a scale, and her personality was one of such interest, that the charities she founded, the churches and castles she restored, the gifts she made to her great officials and tenantry, all still unite to set forth her praise, and it has been thought fitting that the details available concerning her long and interesting life, should be gathered up and set out in clear and satisfactory fashion. It is hardly possible, in dealing with a memoir of this sort, to avoid some of the dry bones of genealogical and heraldic detail, but, although dwelt upon as briefly as possible, they are yet necessary for a proper understanding of her position, while her own story has been told as far as possible in her own words, and supplemented by the numerous letters and documents of interest which have been the fruit of recent researches.

CHAPTER II.

THE CLIFFORD FAMILY.

IN these days, when close investigation is being made into the history of the oldest families of the kingdom, it is pleasant to have, in describing the Cliffords, to deal with an illustrious house as to the importance of which there can be no question, and to have before us a series of records of almost unparalleled completeness and accuracy, the integrity of which has never been impugned. The investigations of antiquaries of the present day have resulted in sweeping away much of the tradition, which has gathered round the early chronicles of many great houses, and in some instances, their iconoclastic zeal has resulted in definite proof that the family in question can not boast of the long pedigree and wealth of story to which its name has hitherto been attached.¹

With regard to the Cliffords, however, we are on firm ground, thanks to the efforts made by Lady Anne and her mother to investigate the long story of the family, and to copy with extreme accuracy all deeds and documents that could be discovered. The result is, that the account of the Cliffords can be carried back quite easily to the thirteenth century, and that of the Veteriponts, from whom they derived their large possessions, a little earlier still.

The importance of the Cliffords started from a marriage of Roger de Clifford in 1269 with Isabella de Veteripont, who was one of the two co-heiresses of Robert de Veteripont, who had followed the fortunes of Simon de Montfort, and had married a great heiress, Isabella Fitzpiers, or Fitzpeter, or Fitzgeoffrey, for each of these names is given to her in the pedigrees. She was the daughter of a Lord Chief Justice of England and Ireland, who was called the Baron of Berk-

¹ See for example *Peerage and Pedigree* by Dr. J. Horace Round.

hampstead, and is generally known as John Fitzpeter, alias Fitz-Geoffrey.

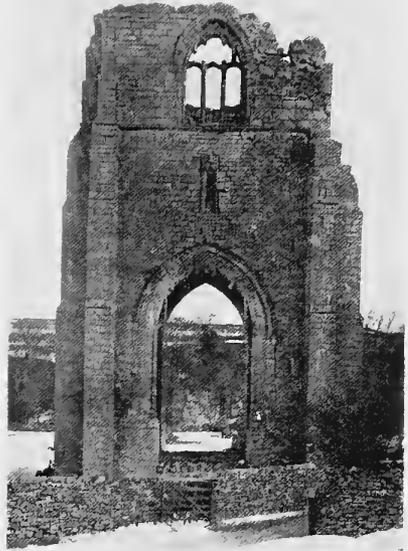
We can carry the story of the Veteriponts back through three more generations. It starts with a certain William de Veteripont, who married a Cumberland lady, Maud, the daughter of Hugh de Morevill or Morsville of Kirkoswald, and in this respect, it is interesting to know that a part of the Kirkoswald estate still remains in this twentieth century, in the hands of a direct descendant of Maud the heiress.

There is another example of the persistence of English place-names connected with this estate, for Maud, in her widowhood, lived upon a small part of the land which was her jointure, and which was then known as Meaburn, but, either during her tenure or after her decease, it was called Maud's Meaburn, and that name or Mauld's Meaburn it bears to the present day, commemorating the residence of the thirteenth century lady in whose jointure the lands were included.

William and Maud had a son Robert, who married Idonea, another heiress, the daughter of John de Busley alias Burley, and with this Robert de Veteripont, we find in use for the first time the well-known coat of arms of the six golden annulets on a red ground, arranged three, two and one, which in different tinctures forms the arms of other Cumberland families, as for example, the Musgraves and the Lowthers. Robert de Veteripont died in Henry III.'s time in about 1228, and he appears to have had at least two children, a girl named Christian, who married Thomas Fitz-Ralph, the owner of Graystock Castle, and John, who succeeded him, and who was buried in Shap Abbey, the old Veteripont burying place, in the 26th year of Henry III. John married Sibilla, the daughter of William, Lord Ferrers, and brought the horse-shoes into the heraldic achievement. He was the father of Robert de Veteripont, whose eldest daughter Isabella, already mentioned, became the wife of Roger de Clifford. Isabella had a sister, Idonea, who was co-heiress with her, and between them the two sisters owned the castles of Appleby and Brougham, and a very large portion of the county of Cumberland. Idonea married twice, and when she died, without issue, she left to the grandchild of her sister Isabella, Robert, Lord Clifford, all her estates. The whole of the vast property which had belonged to the Veteriponts, fell therefore to the Cliffords, and with it the Hereditary Sherifffdom of West-



ELEANOR BRANDON,
COUNTESS OF CUMBERLAND.
By permission of the Walpole Society
(see pages 20 and 347).

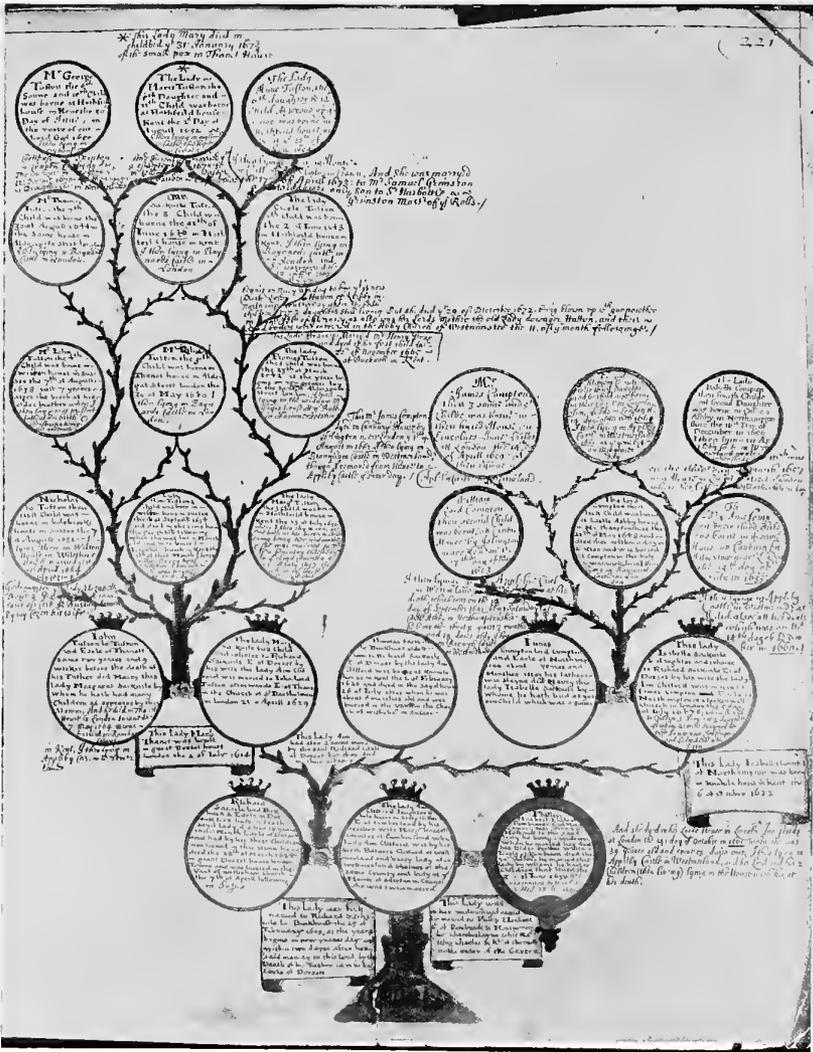


Curwen—Photo.
SHAP ABBEY
(see page 8).



CLIFFORD CASTLE
(see page 7).

Mrs. Leigh Spencer—Photo.



A PEDIGREE FROM THE THREE GREAT VOLUMES
GIVING LADY ANNE'S DESCENDANTS

(see page 360).

moreland, to which we make special reference in a separate chapter.

It is hardly necessary to trace the Cliffords themselves back to the time of the Conquest, although several books of reference do so. They are said to have been descended from a soldier Richard FitzPune or Payne, or De Pons, a grandson of Richard, Duke of Normandy, and it is stated that his son married the heiress who was in possession of the castle and lands of Clifford² in Herefordshire, and assumed the name of De Clifford, dropping his old Norman patronymic. It is also stated that his son, the second Clifford, was the father of Fair Rosamond (*ob.* 1176). These statements, however, are more or less conjecture, and we prefer to commence our narrative at the later period, where there are documents to support it.

There is no need to go in detail through all the history of the various Cliffords who succeeded the fortunate Roger who married Isabella the heiress. Sir Matthew Hale, in his *Memoirs of the Cliffords*, prepared in view of the great claim Lady Anne made for the estates, goes into the whole matter in considerable detail, and to his pages, and to the long extracts from them which Whitaker makes in his *History of Craven*.³ and to which he adds various documents, corroborating Hale, and to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, we refer those who are anxious to have the complete story of the various Cliffords, Lords of Skipton.

Lady Anne's books describe their marriages, and their children, and in most instances, give a summary of the important details of their career. They were warriors, and frequently to be heard of in what the chronicle quaintly calls "the parts beyond the seas." They were of great assistance to their successive sovereigns, raising men and arms, well accoutred knights, esquires and archers, to serve the King in his wars, but, at the same time, they were great landlords, and appear to have been thoughtful for the interest of their tenantry, even in times when little of such thought was chronicled.

The death of Idonea de Veteripont had added to the Cumberland estates the extensive property in Craven, and consequently, from the time of the third Lord of Skipton, Robert de Clifford (1305-1344), we

² Now a complete ruin :—

The ruined arch and fall'n parapet

With weeds o'er run, there only mark the place.

Which echoed once with princely revelry

Clifford, long since hath lost its ancient race.

³ Whitaker's *History of Craven*, 1878 ; see B.M. 2065e.

find that they were not only holders of the ancient Honour of Skipton, but were actually possessors of Skipton Castle, and of all the estate that went with it. John, the seventh Lord, was the first of the family who became a Knight of the Order of the Garter, having been installed in that great position in 1412.

Roger who married the heiress will best be remembered as having been the builder of Brougham Castle, and his name still appears above the doorway, carved on the stone which bears the three words "Thys made Roger." (See plate). He it was who brought the Skipton Castle estates into the family, but not entirely through an heiress. Henry III. had granted to him certain valuable possessions in Scotland and in Monmouthshire, but they were exchanged with Edward II. (Sept. 7, 1311) for the Skipton Castle estates, then held by Lady Latimer but leased to the Cliffords by the next succeeding Lord, and so commenced the connection between the Clifford family and their estates in Craven.

Robert, First Lord (1273-1314), who succeeded him in 1285, was the re-builder of a great part of Skipton Castle and was responsible for its famous round towers. He had been fiercely engaged in the Scottish wars, and was slain in 1314, at Bannockburn, and was buried either at Shap or at Bolton Abbey.

Following him, came his eldest son, another Roger, Second Lord (*ob. circa 1327*), who took up arms against Edward II. in conjunction with various other great nobles of the time. In the contest, his party was overthrown, several of his colleagues were beheaded, but Roger himself, being desperately wounded, was regarded as practically a dead man, and was spared from the scaffold. He was, however, accused of high treason, and his estate, including his London House, Clifford's Inn, was seized, but afterwards restored to him. He it was who had a fair mistress whom he lodged in a house which, after her name, was called "Julian's Bower," or probably more accurately "Gillian's Bower," and this property, which stood within the boundaries of Whinfell Forest, is frequently referred to by Lady Anne. In Hodgson's description of the County of Westmoreland, we learn that it was a little house hard by Whinfell Park, the foundations of which were in his time (1807) still visible, but he tells us that in the time of Lady Anne Clifford, the house, which was a sort of shooting box, was

a spacious and interesting building—the hall, wainscotted with oak, and hung round with trophies of the field, antlers and stag's heads, and that one at least of the rooms was "adorned with very elegant tapestry." It was then, clearly, a place of some importance, because the diary makes many references to it, and it was one of the sights of the neighbourhood, to which Lady Anne sent her guests. There are frequent allusions to the visits to Julian's Bower of Mr. John Tufton or Lord Wharton or Lady Thanet, who were at that time residing with the old lady at either of her castles at Appleby or Brougham. It has long since been destroyed. There were not much more than the foundations of the hall itself, to be seen in 1807, but some of the smaller buildings connected with it have been turned into a farmhouse, which is still known as Julian's Bower, and so perpetuates the old story of the fourteenth century.

Roger, Second Lord, was thirty years old when he died, and he was succeeded by his younger brother Robert, Third Lord (1305-1344), who was a great hunter. It was to him that in 1333 came Edward Balliol, King of Scotland, on a visit to Brougham Castle, and on that occasion the famous stag hunt took place, in which it is said that a hound called Hercules pursued a fine hart from Whinfell to the borders of Scotland, and back again to Whinfell.⁴ It must not be forgotten, in reference to this statement, that the borders of Scotland extended much further south than they do at present, and that most of Northumberland, and a great part of Cumberland and Westmoreland, were at one time regarded as forming part of the kingdom of Scotland. The place to which the deer went is spoken of as Redkirks, and a Westmoreland antiquary has suggested that this word was a mistake for Ninekirks in the parish of Brougham, but if it was so, the run would not appear to have been of any special importance, since Ninekirks is merely another name for the church of Brougham, which is on the outskirts of the forest of Whinfell. It is said that the hart, giving its last desperate leap over a wall in the forest, cleared it and fell dead, while the hound failed to leap the wall, and fell dead on the other side. This is stated to have taken place near Hornby Hall

⁴ See *Nicholson & Burn's History*, I., p. 399.

close to the Eamont river, and not very far from Ninekirks church. The old folk rhyme concerning the exploit was :—

Hercules killed Hart a-grees
Hart a-grees killed Hercules.

The exploit was evidently a somewhat remarkable one, so the distance is likely to have been longer than might be supposed from the names of the places mentioned. The horns of the stag were nailed to a tree close by, and in course of time became embedded in the growing wood, and were practically almost overgrown. The tree was known as the Hart's Horn Tree, and Lady Anne makes particular reference to its destruction in 1658 by some mischievous people. "This summer," she says, "by some few mischievous people secretly in the night, was there broken off and taken downe from thatt Tree near the Paile of Whinfeld Parke (which, for that cause was called the *Hart's Horne Tree*) one of those old Hartes Hornes which (as is mentioned in the *Summerie of my Ancestors, Robert Lord Clifford's life,*) was sett upp in the year 1333, att a generall huntinge when Edward Ballioll, then King of Scottes, came into England by permission of King Edward the third, and lay for a while in the said Robert, Lord Clifford's castle in Westmoreland, where the said King hunted a great Stag which was killed nere the sayd Oake Tree. In memory whereof the Hornes were nayled upp in it, growing as it were naturally in the Tree, and have remayned there ever since, till thatt in the year 1648, one of those Hornes was broken downe by some of the Army, and the other was broken downe (as aforesaid) this year. So, as now, there is no part thereof remayneing, the Tree itselfe being now so decayed, and the Barke of it so peeled off that it cannot last long. Whereby" she adds, "wee may see that tyme brings to forgettfulness many memorable things in this world, bee they never soe carefully preserved, ffor this Tree, with the Hartes horne in it, was a Thing of much note in these parts."

The actual tree itself had not disappeared so late as 1670, because, on the 14th of October, when Lady Anne was removing from Appleby to Brougham, she says she rode through the town of Appleby, and through Crackenthorpe, Temple Sowerby and Woodside, and "by the Hartshorne Tree, which I looked upon a while." It is interesting

that there should be stories connected with these two successive rulers of the fourteenth century, intimately concerned with the diary of 300 years later, to which we are about to refer, and it is certainly extraordinary that three centuries after this wonderful feat on the part of a Hart and a Hound had been performed, the horns should have been still in existence, and the tree to which they were fastened be known as the Hart's Horn tree. A part of the trunk of the tree existed even down to 1790, while its roots was still in situ in 1807, and of this root Lord Hothfield has a part on his writing table at the present day.

Roger, the home-loving, country gentleman, the great builder and repairer of his castles (notably of Skipton to which he added one of the round towers) and the lover of the chase, was succeeded by his eldest son Robert, Fourth Lord (*ob. circa 1362*), a man of a very different type, a soldier under Edward III. and the Black Prince, who took part in the Battle of Cressy when sixteen, was at the Battle of Poitiers when twenty-five, and is said to have perished in the French wars in the year 1362, when only about thirty-two years of age.

He was succeeded by another Roger, his brother, Fifth Lord (1333-1389), also a soldier, but at the same time a man who took considerable interest in his estates and obtained the charter for the Kirkby Stephen market, and permission to enclose a park at Skipton. He also rebuilt a great part of Brougham Castle and added still further to Skipton Castle. He was furthermore responsible for a pool of water which used to exist on the west side of the castle, an artificial canal from the river Lowther, joining the river Eamont. It had an island in its centre, and formed part of the pleasure grounds attached to the castle. He called it "Maud's Pool" after his wife, who was Maud Beauchamp, and a small piece of water, near Brougham, still bears that name.

Roger, a wise and prudent man, had a wild son Thomas, Sixth Lord (1365-1391), who was a soldier, fighting on the side of the French at "Spruce in Germany" against the infidels, when he was slain in 1391 or 1393, when only about twenty-eight.

This sixth Lord's wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Roos of Ham-lake was buried at Bongate Church, near Appleby, and was the only member of the Clifford family who was interred in that building. The parish church, St. Laurence, was then in ruins, having been burned

down. Elizabeth had acted as Sheriff of Westmoreland during her son's minority, and she is represented on her tomb having a shield of the Veteriponts upon her shoulder, in order, it is believed, to mark the special position which she held.

His son John, Seventh Lord (1389-1422, K.G. 1421), built the gatehouse at Appleby Castle. He was killed at the siege of Meaux. Like the rest of the Cliffords, John married an heiress, in his case, a rather considerable one, Elizabeth the daughter of Henry, Lord Percy (son and heir of Henry, Earl of Northumberland) usually known as Hotspur and a descendant from Edward III. About this lady there is an interesting note in Lady Anne's records where she says " This Elizabeth Percy was one of the greatest women of her tyme, both for her Birth and both her Marriages . . . But the misfortunes of the warre so followed her that in her tyme her Grandfather the Earle of Northumberland was beheaded, and his sonne her ffather, slayn in Battell. (Her first husband was slain in France). And after her decease, her sonne Thomas Lord Clifford, her son Johnne, Lord Neville were also slain in Battell, and so was her Grandchild, John, Lord Clifford."

Thomas, the son who has just been referred to, and Eighth Lord (1414-1455) took part with Henry VI. against Richard, Duke of York. He was killed at the battle of St. Albans, and was buried in the monastery close by. He was responsible for building part of Appleby Castle and the Chapel attached to it. He is perhaps better remembered in history for the ingenious stratagem by which he and the men under his command took the town of Pontoise. It was in the depth of winter, and the ground and the buildings in all directions were covered with snow. The Commander and his men robed themselves in white sheets, and so were able to pass without notice across the snowy landscape, and surprise and take the town.⁵ His wife was Joan (or Jane), the daughter of Thomas Lord Dacre of Gillesland, and by her he had four sons, John his successor, Sir Roger, Sir Thomas, and Robert who took part in Perkin Warbeck's rebellion.

Then we come to John, Ninth Lord Clifford (1435?-1461), who has the greatest notoriety of any member of the family, and is said to

⁵ Exactly the same stratagem was employed in 1916 in Italy by the brave Alpini.

have been responsible for the cold-blooded murder of the Earl of Rutland, the story which Shakespeare thus describes in the Third Part of King Henry VI., Scene III. :—

Rutland : O let me pray before I take my death !
To thee I pray ; sweet Clifford, pity me !

Clifford : Such pity as my rapier's point affords.

Rutland : I never did thee harm : why wilt thou slay me ?

Clifford : Thy father hath.

Rutland : But 'twas ere I was born,
Thou hast one son, for his sake pity me ;
Lest in revenge thereof—sith God is just—
He be as miserably slain as I.
Ah, let me live in prison all my days ;
And when I give occasion of offence,
Then let me die, for now thou hast no cause.

Clifford : No Cause ?
Thy father slew my father, therefore die !

Lady Anne, in the summary she gives of her ancestor's life, does her best to disprove the claim of malignity, and declares definitely that the boy was a soldier and killed in open battle, that he was *not* stabbed after the battle of Wakefield by Lord Clifford, and that Lord Clifford did *not* cry out when the poor youth begged on his knees for mercy, " Thy father slew mine, and I will slay thee." There is, of course, grave doubt as to whether the story has any foundation in fact. Hall and Holinshed are the first to refer to it, the former writing, it must be remembered, nearly ninety years after the battle of Wakefield, and his statement is somewhat confused.

It is natural that Lady Anne should have striven to disprove the story, but we are afraid that, as Clifford is frequently spoken of as " The Black-faced Clifford," and " The Butcher," there must have been some accounting for such unenviable pseudonyms, even though this picturesque story may not itself be true.

Lady Anne's own words are as follows :—
" For the great Aspersion layd upon this John, Lord Clifford, for killing Edmund Plantagenett, Earle of Rutland, though it cannot be denied. But that this Lord Clifford killed the Earle of Rutland at the Battell of Sandall Castle by Wakefield town, yett, most certaine it is that

the said Earle was then seventeene yeares ould, for the next Childe that his mother had was King Edward the fourth, which King was then eighteen years ould. Soe that this Earle being the next born after him, must needs be seventeene years old at this tyme, When this Lord Clifford killed him, at which age it is probable that he was in the Battle as a soldier, and not as the chronicles report him to be, a child of twelve years old, and under the command of a Tutor, which likely is very false as many written hand Bookes do testify, And in the great Book of the Nobility of this Kingdom, page 622 and 623 is mentioned all the ages of the said Richard Duke of York's children, which were twelve in Number, and were borne within a little tyme one of another, And there it is expressed that this Earle of Rutland was borne next to King Edward the fourth Soe he must have needes be sixteene or seventeene years ould when he was slayne by this John, Lord Clifford in Battell."

Clifford was killed the day after the battle of Ferrybridge, in a little valley close by the field of Towton, known as Dittingdale. On that occasion the Lancastrian cause was crushed, and the House of York came into possession of the Crown. Clifford was attainted in 1461, and his honours and estates became forfeit, while the Lordship of Skipton was first of all granted to a member of the Stanley family, and then later to Richard, Duke of Gloucester. Henry VII., however, reversed the attainder (in 1485), at the time that he restored to favour the other adherents of the house of Lancaster, and the estates of the family came back again to Henry, tenth Lord Clifford.

This John, Lord Clifford, was not only important in the family history on account of his evil deeds but because, by his marriage, he brought another title into the family, one which was claimed persistently by Lady Anne, and which she used in almost all the inscriptions she put up over her restored Castles. Lord Clifford had married Margaret, the only daughter of Sir Henry Bromflete, whose father, Sir Thomas, had claimed to be Lord Vescy, the title having come through his wife, who was Margaret St. John, the daughter of Lord St. John. Sir Henry was created Baron of Vescy in 1449 by writ with a limitation (unique in English Writs) to his heirs *male*.⁶ He died

⁶ See Holinshed for a long account of the Vesies and for an interesting anecdote concerning their family claim to great antiquity.

"The Peerage of De Vessy had, however, become extinct, having been expressly limited

in the life-time of his mother, and the title was assumed, in ignorance of the special limitation or in defiance of it, by his daughter Margaret, who brought with it, to Lord Clifford, the Londesborough estates. After the death of the ninth Lord she married a notable person in Cumberland, Sir Lancelot Threlkeld of Yanwath, and she died in 1493.

When the Yorkists succeeded to power, they not only had Lord Clifford attainted, and his possessions seized, but they sought for his children, and did their best to find them, in order that they also should be destroyed. Now comes into the family history the interesting romance connected with the Shepherd Lord, Henry de Clifford (1455?-1523). It is always stated that, until the accession of Henry VII., he had been concealed in the fells of Cumberland, living the life of a shepherd. For a while, the story tells us, he was at Londesborough amongst the shepherds there, brought up as one of their children, and then, when his mother's second marriage took place, he was brought near to his stepfather's estate of Threlkeld.

There are the remains of a great room or hiding place at Yanwath where it is stated that in his boyhood the Shepherd Lord was often hidden away. Wordsworth thus refers to his step-father, Sir Lancelot :

Give Sir Lancelot Threlkeld praise :
Hear it, good man, old in days !
Thou tree of covert and of rest
For this young bird that is distrest,
Among thy branches safe he lay
And he was free to sport and play,
When falcons were abroad for prey.

Later on, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, a man of cruel and implacable

to the heirs male of the body of the grantee by the writ of the 24th January, 1448-9, under which it originated, a singular (and indeed in England unique) instance of such limitation in a barony created by writ. Nevertheless, this John, Lord Clifford, and Henry, his son, are each called in the Patent Roll (3 Henry VIII., Part 1, M. 12) Lord Clifford, Westmoreland, and Vescy, though they were only hereditary Sheriffs of Westmoreland, and neither was Baron of Vessy, or Vescy."—*The Complete Peerage*. New Edition, by Gibb, vol. III., 294.

"Sir Henry de Bromflete, in the 27th of Henry VI., was summoned to Parliament by a special writ, dated 24th January, 1449, as Henrico Bromflete de Vesci, Chevalier, in remainder to the heirs male of his body, being the first and only writ with such a limitation. Lord Vescy died this January, 1468, without male issue, when the barony expired, according to the terms of the writ. The principal part of the property devolved upon his only daughter Margaret de Bromflete, who married, first, John, Lord Clifford, and, secondly, Sir Lancelot Threlkeld."—*Burke's Extinct Peerage*, page 75.

nature, came to reside on the estates which were temporarily in his possession, and the boy was moved away nearer to the borders of Scotland. He is said to have been wholly ignorant of his own identity, and he was not taught either to read or write,⁷ lest by any accident his position should be revealed. For twenty years, he appears to have led this quiet, retired life, while meantime the House of York became gradually extinct. Then Henry VII. succeeded to the throne, uniting both Houses, the Lancastrians came again into power, and Henry Clifford was brought away from the fells of Cumberland and presented to his Sovereign as the true and lawful heir to the estates, the only remaining son of John de Clifford and Tenth Lord of the Honour of Skipton. The King restored Henry, in blood and honours, in 1485, and summoned him to Parliament, where he sat till 1497, but his interest was neither in statecraft, nor in soldiering. We are bound, however, to mention, that in the year 1513, when over sixty years of age, he did take part, at the command of his King, in the battle of Flodden Field, and was appointed to an important position in the army. In the old metrical history of Flodden Field (said to have been written by a schoolmaster of Ingleton in Craven), his tenantry are referred to as "they [who] with the lusty Clifford came," and then, further on, in the same rhyme, we get the lines,

All such as Horton Fells had fed
On Clifford's banner did attend.

Lady Anne tells us he never travelled out of England, but she says, "He did exceedingly delight in Astronomy and the contemplation of the Course of the stars, which it is likely he was seasoned in, during the course of his shepherd's life." He built a great part of "Barden Tower . . . where he lived much," because in that place he had furnished himself with instruments for that study.⁸ "There was a tradition," Lady Anne states, in one of the documents she copied, "that

⁷ To the end of his life he was unable to sign his name, although he learned to read in later years. Of his signature Clifford, the C alone is said to be in his handwriting, the "lyfforde" being added by an amanuensis.

⁸ As further evidence of the literary instincts of Henry, the Shepherd Lord, Whitaker records that, amongst the Thoresby MSS. he found a Treatise of Natural Philosophy in old French, which had been presented to the Priory of Bolton by Lord Clifford, and which bore information in it to that effect. After the dissolution of the Priory, it had passed into other hands, from whence it reached the place where Whitaker found it.

by his skill in astronomy [for which one should perhaps read astrology], he, on the behalf of a grandson, read the stars, and foretold that his grandson should have two sons, between whom and their posterity there should be great suits at law, and that the heirs male of the line should end with those two sons, or soon after them, and this actually came to pass." She adds to the summary which she gives of her ancestor's life these words " He was a plain man, and lived for the most part a country life, and came seldom to Court, or to London. But when he was called thither to sit in them a peer of the realm . . . he behaved himself wisely and nobly and like a good English Manne."

Henry, Tenth Lord (1455?-1523) married twice, first Anne, the daughter of Sir John St. John, a distant cousin to Henry VII., and second, Florence, the daughter of Henry Pudsey of Barfoot, Yorkshire, who had been previously married to Sir Thomas Talbot of Bashall, and who, after Lord Clifford's death, married for the third time Richard, a son of the Marquis of Dorset. Whitaker draws attention to the manner in which this lady went up steadily in social position. Her father was an esquire, her first husband a knight, her second a baron, her last, the grandson of a Queen. He also reminds us that she survived her father-in-law, who was slain at Towton Field, for ninety-seven years, and if she retained her memory, she must have been a person of extraordinary interest to her descendants, because, in her time, she must have conversed with many of the principal persons who took part in the war between the rival houses of York and Lancaster. She had a daughter, Dorothy, who married first, Sir Hugh Lowther, and secondly, Lord Grey, the son of her mother's third husband.

Amongst the records at Lowther there is an interesting document dated the 16th year of Henry VIII., 1524, referring to Lord Grey and other persons acting on his behalf and on that of his wife Florence, and acknowledging the receipt of certain rentals coming to £75 which was due to him through Sir Thomas Clifford, brother to Henry, Lord Clifford. The rent was evidently a part of Lady Florence's portion. Lady Anne has endorsed this statement, drawing attention to the fact that the Lord Clifford mentioned in it was a little while afterwards created Earl of Cumberland.

In connection with this marriage there is still preserved at Lowther Castle the receipt or acquittance dated 22 Henry VIII., 1560, in which Sir John Lowther states that he had received from the hands of the Right Reverend Father in God, Richard, the Abbot of Shap Abbey £50, which was in full payment of 300 marks which Henry, Earl of Cumberland had to pay to him, in connection with the marriage of Hugh Lowther his son, to Dorothy Clifford, the Earl's sister. The document is one of rather special interest, as it is one of the latest in which the proper dignity was given to the Abbots of Shap Abbey, for soon after they were dispossessed not only of dignity but of possession.

Henry's son, Henry, Eleventh Lord (1493-1542), who succeeded him, and eventually became the first Earl of Cumberland, was his child by the first wife, and he, when a boy, was a personal friend of Henry VIII, and hence, in due course, obtained from the King the new title of Earl of Cumberland. The King also made him President over the Northern parts of England, Lord Warden of the Marches, and K.G. in 1537. His London house was Derby Place, adjoining St. Benet's, and practically on the site on which the present Herald's College stands. He was a soldier, actively employed in defending the English borders against the Scots, and, when attacked in Skipton Castle by Robert Aske and his fellow rebels of the Pilgrimage of Grace, bravely defended it against them all. Froude, in his *History of England*, refers to an act of romantic heroism in connection with this defence of Skipton Castle in 1536. Robert Aske, he tells us, had two brothers, Christopher⁹ and John, who, instead of taking part in the rebellion, made their way to their cousin the Earl of Cumberland, and assisted him in the defence of Skipton. Lady Eleanor Clifford,¹⁰ his son's young wife, "with their three small children," and many ladies,

⁹ Christopher lived with Lord Cumberland for a time, and his will, dated 1538 and quoted by Miss Madeleine and Miss Ruth Dodds in their wonderful book on the *Pilgrimage of Grace* (p. 51), "gives a pleasant picture of the easy bachelor life of a cultured gentleman." "His room," they add, "in Skipton Castle was well furnished with books on genealogy and the noble art of hunting, as well as French romances, while in his room at the 'new lodge,' the building of which he was superintending for the Earl, was his 'cloth of the great *mappa mundi*,' and a tapestry embroidered with the history of St. Eustace."

¹⁰ Froude has gone astray in the names; Clifford did not marry Lady Eleanor Brandon till Midsummer, 1537, and she never had more than one child! He evidently means the younger daughters of Lord Cumberland, Eleanor and Anne, who very likely were at Bolton with their mother, Margaret, Lady Cumberland,

he says, were staying at the time of the insurrection at Bolton Abbey, ten miles from the fortifications of Skipton, and on the third day of the siege, notice was sent to Lord Cumberland that they should be held as hostages for his submission. The following day it was threatened that they should be brought up in front of the storming party, and every possible indignity should be done to them. Christopher Aske, however, in the middle of the night, accompanied, it is said, by the Vicar of Skipton, a groom and a boy, stole through the camp of the besiegers, crossed the moors by unfrequented paths, conducted the ladies through the commons in safety, and brought them into the castle.¹¹ The same person, it is said, a little later on, flung open the gates of the castle, dropped the drawbridge, and rode down through the rebels in full armour to the market cross at Skipton, and there read out the King's proclamation to the crowd, and in disdainful fashion rode back again to the castle.

The eleventh Lord Clifford, first Earl of Cumberland, like his predecessor, married twice. His first wife, was Margaret, daughter of George Talbot, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, his second, a great heiress, Margaret, daughter of Henry Percy, fifth Earl of Northumberland. She, like her predecessor, lies at Skipton. She had brought many lands in Craven to add to the Clifford inheritance, some of which are still known as the Percy Fee.

The Shepherd Lord (Henry, Tenth Lord) had many other children; one of them, who was knighted, became the Governor of Berwick Castle; another, Dorothy, married successively Sir Hugh Lowther of Lowther and Lord Grey, the eldest son of the Marquis of Dorset; and four of his daughters, by his first wife, married neighbours of importance and of influence, Mabel marrying William FitzWilliam, Earl of Southampton; Eleanor, Sir N. Markenfield; Anne, Sir Christopher Metcalfe of Nappa; and Joan, Sir Ralph Bowes.

The Eleventh Lord Clifford was responsible for the great gallery in the tower at Skipton Castle, and he is said to have erected this part of the castle especially for the accommodation of his high-born daughter-in-law, Lady Eleanor Brandon, who was his son's first wife. As a reward for his courage and loyalty to the crown, he received as

¹¹ L. & P. of Henry VIII, XII (1), 11806.

a grant, the priory of Bolton and the land belonging to it, and he also had assigned to him a great part of the lands which had belonged to the dissolved priory of Marton. By these means, and by the addition of the great Craven estate that came to him from Lady Margaret Percy, he enormously increased the extent of his possessions and became the ruler over practically the whole of the Craven district. By his will, he left a considerable sum of money to be spent on the highways in and about Craven, and also on those on his Westmoreland estate. Furthermore he bequeathed money to the church of Skipton, and to the Canons of the Priory of Bolton, making special arrangements as to requiems and dirges that should be sung for the benefit of his soul in every parish church over his vast estates.

Following him came the Twelfth Lord, who was also second Earl of Cumberland (1517-1570), and was notable for the importance of his first marriage, because he married the lady who is generally known to the Chroniclers as "Lady Eleanor Brandon, Her Grace," and who was the daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, Queen Dowager of France, daughter of Henry VII.¹² The marriage was one of extreme magnificence, Henry VIII. her uncle, being actually present, and the bride and groom came down to Skipton to occupy the apartment which had been built on by his father to that house, and which had been begun and completed in the short space of only three months. The Lady Eleanor Brandon, however, only lived for ten years, but the expenses of this semi-royal alliance had been so serious that Lord Cumberland had to dispose of one of his great manors, that of Temedbury, in Herefordshire, the last piece of land held by the family that had belonged to the original Clifford estates, and which had come to the Cliffords of Clifford Castle from their first marriage

¹² With reference to the marriage of Eleanor Brandon, Lady Anne has not been quite as careful as usual, but as she has fortunately stated in the entry in her diary that the marriage took place in the 27th year of Henry VIII., which was counted from the 22nd April, 1535, to the 21st April, 1536, it is clear that the marriage which she says took place at midsummer, 1537, actually occurred in June, 1535. A confirmation of this may be obtained from the fact that in the letters and papers of Henry VIII. (see vol. x., no. 243 (8)), amongst the Acts passed by Parliament, 4th February, 1536, was one concerning Lady Eleanor Clifford's jointure. It is therefore clear that the child who is referred to in this entry is the infant who was born before October, 1536, and died soon afterwards, and the two girls named in it must have been the younger daughters of Lord Cumberland, Eleanor and Anne, children of Margaret, Countess of Cumberland.

31 to an heiress in Norman times.¹³ After the death of his wife, however, it is said that he retired into the country, and then again became rich. He had been made a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn in 1533, but when he left London, and settled down in the north, he gave up his time to studying alchemy and chemistry, devoting special attention to trying to discover the philosopher's stone. Lady Anne tells us that he was "a great distiller of waters and maker of chemical extracts, very studious in all manner of learning," and she adds that he had "an excellent library of books, both hand-written books and printed, to which he was addicted exceedingly, especially towards his latter end."¹⁴ These studies appear to have been carried on at Brougham Castle.

Previous to all this time, he went through a remarkable experience, which Lady Anne describes with much care. "After the death of his first wife," she says, "hee fell into an extreame sickness, of which he was at the length laid out for a dead Man, upon a Table, and covered over with a Hearse of Velvet. But some of his Men, That were then very carefull about him, perceiving some little signs of Life on him, did apply hot cordials inwardly and outwardly unto him, which brought him to life againe. And soe after he was layne in his bedd againe Hee was fayn for fower or five weekes after to suck the milk out of a woman's breast, and only to live on thatt food. And after to drink Asses milk, and live on that for three or fower months longer Yett after that, before the year was ended, he became a strong able man, and so continued to bee till a Little before his death."

There are exceedingly few papers or letters in existence connected with his first wife the Lady Eleanor Brandon (Her Grace), but, amongst the Appleby documents is one letter entirely in her hand-

¹³ We have discovered at Skipton Castle an interesting fragment of manuscript which probably belonged to this second Earl, but which might even have been prepared for Henry, the Shepherd Earl, in connection with his studies of alchemy, as the handwriting belongs to a period very late in the fifteenth or very early sixteenth century. Thanks largely to the kindly assistance of Mr. J. P. Gilson, the Keeper of the Manuscripts Department of the British Museum, it has been identified as part of the treatise called the Compound of Alchemy which George Ripley an Augustinian Canon of Bridlington (*ob. circa 1490*) wrote and dedicated to Edward IV. It illustrates as has been well said "the growing interest in alchemy which the relaxation of the laws against multiplying gold encouraged" and "it shows traces of Platonist influences." This treatise was first printed in 1591 and then set forth in full by Ashmole in his *Theatrum Chemicum*, 1652.

¹⁴ They had possessed it for 326 years !

writing, which is here illustrated. It is addressed to her husband, whom she styles "Dere Hart," and it describes in somewhat frank style the symptoms of her illness at that time, which she thought were those either of jaundice or of ague. It is written from Carleton, and in it she asks her husband to send a physician to her, because the symptoms had increased since they had commenced at Brougham Castle, and she suggests a certain Dr. Stephens, who, she states, understands her constitution. She refers to her sister, Anne the wife of Edward Grey, third Lord Powys, calling her Powis, and saying that she was desirous of seeing Lord Cumberland, and had come to stay with her, while the letter is addressed "To my moste Lovynge Lorde and Husband, the Erle of Combreland."

In 1552 or 1553, he married in Kirkoswald Church, as his second wife, Anne, the daughter of William, Lord Dacre of Gillesland, the second marriage of a Clifford to the daughter of a Lord Dacre, as Thomas, the eighth Lord had made a similar marriage. She was a woman of a very domestic taste, who was never either at or near London in the whole of her life, and so attached was Lord Cumberland to her, that he passed over to her, under the Great Seal of England, all his lands in Westmoreland as her jointure. She was a person who, according to Lady Anne, employed herself only in domestic and home affairs, whilst she was maid, wife and widow, and she was his wife for seventeen or eighteen years, and his widow for eleven years. She died at Skipton Castle, and was buried in Skipton church.

After the death of his first wife, her husband only went three times up to Court, once to the Coronation of Queen Mary (1553), then to be present at the marriage of his daughter Margaret (1540-1595), his only surviving child by his first wife, with Lord Strange, afterwards Earl of Derby, February 7th, 1555, and finally to "see Queen Elizabeth, and present his duty to her, a little after she became Queen."

By his second wife, he had three children: George, (1558-1605), who succeeded him and became third Earl of Cumberland, the father of Lady Anne; Francis, Lord Clifford (1559-1640), a Knight of the Bath, eventually Fourth Earl of Cumberland, who in his brother's lifetime was in possession of the Skipton estates, and who died at Skipton in 1640/1 (he had married Grissel, the widow of Lord Abergavenny), and Frances, (*ob.* 1592), who became Lady Wharton.

We have just mentioned that he had but one child by his first wife, Eleanor Brandon, and she was regarded by many persons as the legal heir to the English throne, and therefore a young lady of considerable importance. The Duke of Northumberland had arranged to set aside the will of Henry VIII. in so far as it affected the succession of Mary and Elizabeth, on the ground that their father had determined their illegitimacy in Acts of Parliament which had never been repealed, and he had also persuaded Edward VI. to settle the Crown on the heirs of the Duchess of Suffolk, younger sister of Henry VIII., who were Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, and Eleanor, who had been Countess of Cumberland. Furthermore he arranged, somehow or other, that the Duchess of Suffolk's elder daughter, Lady Jane Grey, should be the chosen heir to the throne, and then he married her to his eldest unmarried son, Lord Guilford Dudley.

Mrs. C. C. Stopes, working amongst the uncalendared Proceedings of the Court of Requests of Elizabeth, has found out, however, that Northumberland's far-reaching vision went even further, for he arranged the betrothal of his brother, Andrew Dudley, who was Admiral of the Fleet, with this only daughter and heir of Eleanor, Countess of Cumberland. The girl appears to have been about thirteen when betrothed, or possibly a year or two older, and there is a warrant in existence to Sir Andrew Dudley as Master of the Wardrobe that he may take for the Lady Margaret Clifford, daughter to the Earl of Cumberland, and himself, for their wedding apparel, sundry silks and jewels. This is dated the 8th June, 1553. It was arranged that Sir Andrew and his bride were to live for some time at Skipton, and inventories were carefully prepared of all the various things in the way of jewels, cloth, plate and furniture which were to belong to Lady Margaret and to her husband, and these were signed in her presence, and witnessed by several of her neighbours. Events, however, moved very rapidly. The young King died before the will had been ratified by Parliament, and before Sir Andrew had married the lady. Immediately upon the proclamation of Queen Mary, the Earl of Cumberland threw in his allegiance with the new Queen, took the keys of her treasures from his daughter, the keys of the rooms from Dudley's servants with the inventories, and possession of all the property in the name of Queen Mary. A little later on, he came up

to London, handed over his Garter jewel to the Queen, with other jewels, and it was then agreed that Sir Andrew, being in the Tower, the Earl of Cumberland should keep the rest of Sir Andrew's goods, on paying five hundred pounds into the Exchequer.

Queen Mary appears to have then arranged that the young girl should marry Henry, Lord Strange, son and heir of the Earl of Derby. She presented the bride with a brooch of thirteen diamonds, and all the household linen and robes which had belonged to Sir Andrew Dudley, so that, as Mrs. Stopes points out, it seems to be probable, that Lady Margaret Clifford wore at her marriage to Lord Strange on the 7th of February, 1554, the very robes of gold and silver tinsel which Sir Andrew had withdrawn from the Royal wardrobe for his own intended wedding in June, 1553.

Mrs. Stopes refers at some length to the legal proceedings which the Dudleys instituted against Lord Cumberland for all the wonderful jewels and plate which had been prepared for the wedding, and much of which was still at Skipton, but none of it appears to have ever come again into the possession of the Dudleys, and Sir Andrew lost both his bride and his property, as well as all his Court influence.

The story is set out in full detail in Mrs. Stopes's work on *Shakespeare's Environment*, and it includes the deposition and examination of Lady Margaret Clifford herself, then Lady Margaret Strange, who testifies to the accuracy of this strange and romantic story.

CHAPTER III.

THE FATHER AND MOTHER OF LADY ANNE.

IN this brief historical survey of the various members of the Clifford family, we now come to the third Earl of Cumberland, who was the father of Lady Anne, and who, possessing a very strange and complex character, was a mass of curious contradictions. He succeeded to the earldom when he was only eleven years old, on the death of his father, Henry the second Earl; was brought up with his guardian, Francis, second Earl of Bedford, K.G., and spent his youthful years either at Chenies or at Woburn. In the course of time he went to the University, and was entered as a nobleman at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his degree, and then he is said to have migrated to Oxford for a few months, in order to give special attention to mathematics and to geography, the last-named science being one in which he was peculiarly interested all his life. In 1577, when nineteen, he married Margaret, the daughter of his guardian, the marriage having been arranged when he was a boy by their respective parents. For a while, nothing could have been more satisfactory, and the young couple appear to have been attached to one another, and exceedingly happy. It is remarkable, in going through a series of letters from Lord Cumberland to his wife, during the years of their married life, to notice the deep affection with which he addresses his wife. The letters as a rule commence "My sweet Meg," or "Sweet and dear Meg," "My Deare Love," or "Dear pledge," or "To my very loving wife," or "To my only beloved wife," while the conclusion of the letters are similar in their marks of affection, but still more variable in their actual phraseology, "Thyne till death, whatsoever happens, my little Meg," "Yours only, in all fortunes," "Thyne ever, as I have promised," "Yours ever, as I have voed," "Thine as holly as ever man was woman's," "Yours from all others," "Committing

thee to thy hart's contentment, and myselfe to thy love," " Wishing to God that you may doe in all this, and in all other things, what is pleasantest for you," " Thyne only, now and for ever," " Thyne as thou wilt." Even when he started on his wanderings, he kept up a correspondence with Lady Cumberland, and writes to her in an equally affectionate style, so much so, that it is difficult to believe, even when we must, that the phrases are merely those dictated by courtesy. Later on, unfortunately, things became different. The earlier letters are delightful to read. Take one for example, dated 6th of February, 1589,¹ a letter which Lady Anne endorses as the " letter my ffather writt to my mother presently after my Berthe when hee then laye at Bedford House at London." In this he says :—

My SWEET MEG,

The happy news of thy safe delivery more gladded me than anything I heard or saw since I saw thee, and sweet Meg, as it hath pleased God thus to please thee with the long desired wish (which is more welcome to me than anything else in the world could have been) so with merry heart and thoughts comfort thyself, as thou mayest the sooner recover thy former strength to His praise and my chiefest comfort. I stayed this bearer some days, in hope myself should have delivered this, but the not coming of my ship, which is yet stayed by contrary winds, will not suffer me, as this bearer can let you know, who has a little son. The humour of the men I have to deal with all I know. It is troublesome now for thee to write, wherefore, with hearty prayers to God for thy well-doing, His blessing and mine to our little ones, and lovingest commendation to thyself, I commit thee to God's holy tuition.

This 6th of February, 1589,

Thine only, as most bound,

(Signed) GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

Even, however, in the early days of their married life, Lord Cumberland was given to extravagance and wastefulness, and was gradually losing part of his great inheritance, and reducing his estate. Then, the desire seized him to wander, and to become an adventurer, a navigator, partly with the idea of adding other territories to the English crown, and increasing its power and dignity, and partly with the feeling that, by such voyages he would be able to restore again to his fortune, money which in the days past he had wasted. He must have been a handsome and a distinguished

¹ Rendered, for easier perusal, into modern spelling.



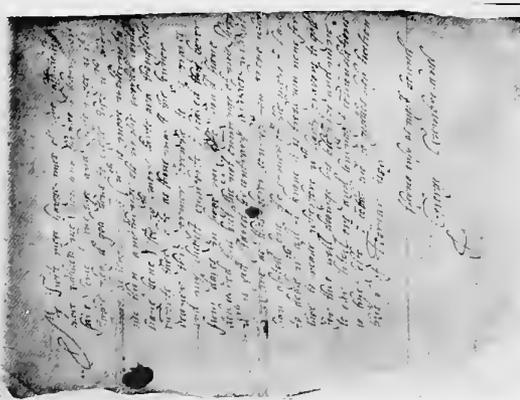
LADY ANNE'S SILVER MEDAL
from the very rare original
(see pages 258-259).



PORTRAIT OF GEORGE, EARL OF CUMBERLAND,
from a unique Silver Plaque in the
British Museum

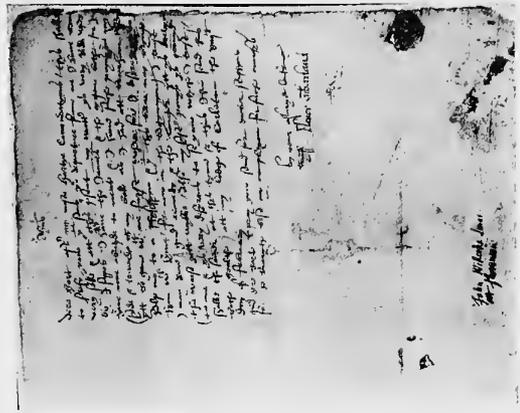


LADY ANNE'S SILVER MEDAL,
from the very rare original
(see pages 258-259).



Hollyfield papers.

A LETTER FROM LORD CUMBERLAND TO HIS
WIFE, 6th FEBRUARY, 1689,
concerning the birth of Lady Anne (see page 26).



Hollyfield Papers.

A LETTER FROM ELEANOR, COUNTESS OF
CUMBERLAND, TO HER HUSBAND,
14th FEBRUARY, 1640 (see page 20).

To face page 27.



National Portrait Gallery.

Emery Walker—Photo.

MARGARET, COUNTESS OF CUMBERLAND,
Lady Anne's Mother at the age of 25 (see page 26).

looking man. His daughter speaks of him as "a man of many naturall perfections, of a great witt and judgment, of a strong body, and full of agillity, of a noble mind, not subject to prid or arogancy," and adds that he was a man "generally beloved in this kingdom." It is clear that he was an attractive, fascinating man, of unimpeachable courage, and one who spared his body no more than his purse, while all accounts tell us that he was accomplished in knightly exercises, full of romantic ideas, and splendid and magnificent in his costume.² All this made him attractive to Queen Elizabeth, and when, if there is any truth in the popular story, she once dropped her glove in coquettish fashion, when he was before her at Court, and he picked it up, kissed it, and presented it on his knees to his Queen, she was quite ready, flattered by the attention that this handsome man paid her, to grant him a special measure of her favour. The story goes that she returned the glove to him, permitting him as a great privilege to retain it, and that he had it mounted with his jewels and set it in the upper part of his helmet, where, in the miniature painted of him by Hilliard, now to be seen in the collection owned by the Duke of Buccleuch, and in his portrait in oil in the Bodleian Library, it may be clearly discerned; and that he constituted himself from that moment³ her special champion, and vowed that he would serve her all his life. She actually appointed him her official champion in 1590 when old Sir Henry Lee resigned the office. When this romantic episode happened we cannot tell. It has been said that the presentation took place on his return from one of his voyages, but that seems to be unlikely, since the glove is represented in a portrait of him dated 1588, and it was not until that year that Lord Cumberland commenced his really important voyage, for the two cruises previous to that were of slight moment, and not attended with much success. It may have been, however, that he first attracted

² There is a portrait of Lord Cumberland in gilt armour which belonged to Mr. John Leveson-Gower. It was exhibited at the Tudor Exhibition in 1890 (445, p. 133). The same owner exhibited a miniature of Lady Anne (1115, page 214) and there is a miniature of Lord Cumberland in armour in the Sotheby Collection (1112, page 214).

³ There is an interesting portrait of Lord Cumberland engraved in Holland's *Herwologia* (1620) said to have been obtained from a shop in the Strand, according to the B. M. copy. He also appears on the title page of Samuel Purchas his *Pilgrimes*, (second col. from left), third effigy from the top.

the attention of Queen Elizabeth after he had returned from these two early voyages.

It was in 1586 that he first started out, and he was back again in September, 1587, his cruise having extended to the mouth of the river Plate, but in 1588 he was put in command of the "Elizabeth Bonaventure," a ship of the Royal Navy of six hundred tons, in which he set out against the Spanish Armada, and after the decisive action off Gravelines, he is said to have carried the news of the victory to the Queen in the camp at Tilbury. Then commenced his more serious voyages. The Queen lent him the "Golden Lion," with which to undertake another expedition. He equipped it at his own expense, gathered up other ships to accompany it, and started off, but had to return, after a fruitless endeavour, on account of the bad weather. In the next year, the Queen placed another ship at his disposal, the "Victory," and under similar arrangements to the last, he providing all the expenses of the equipment of that ship and six others. He set sail from Plymouth. With him was Edward Wright, the mathematician and hydrographer, who wrote an account of the voyage. He met Sir Francis Drake's vessels returning from Cadiz, was able to relieve them in their extremity, and then in the Channel captured three French ships, and several others off the coast of Portugal. In the Azores, he made still further captures, taking and dismantling Fayal, called by Lady Anne "Fiall in the Zorrou Islands," and a little later, he and those who sailed with him, were actually successful in capturing an important ship, forming part of the Spanish West India fleet, richly laden with money and goods to great value. At Graciosa, he is said to have had still greater success, but there he was attacked, several of his men were slain, he himself wounded, and so they turned homeward, but the homeward voyage was not fortunate, and the West Indiaman that had been captured was wrecked off the Cornish coast and utterly lost. Food and water ran short, but in all this time, so Lady Anne tells us, "the Earl maintained his own equal temper and good presence of mind, avoiding no part of the distress that others, even the meanest seaman, endured." One of his followers, Francis Seal, also wrote concerning him, "I would that every man that hath no cause to the contrary would be so ready to reward the painful soldier and seafaring man as that noble Earl of

Cumberland." Not satisfied by any means with the result of this voyage, he set out again in 1591. This time the ship lent him by the Queen was the "Garland," and he made several captures off the coast of Portugal, but returned, as the ship was not a comfortable one, and he did not feel easy in navigating it. Then in the next year he sent out five ships, under the command of Captain Norton, and this expedition was more successful, as a large richly laden vessel was captured, but some legal trouble ensued with respect to it, and the decision went against Lord Cumberland, to whom, however, as a matter of special compensation, Queen Elizabeth is said to have allotted a sum of £36,000.

At that time, he was in high favour at Court, and was in 1592 created a Knight of the Garter. In 1593, he made a further expedition, going out himself with nine ships to the Azores, but he was seized with illness, and his friend, Captain Monson, who was acting as Vice-Admiral, fearing for his life, sent Lord Cumberland back to England. The expedition was, however, exceedingly successful, and another great West Indiaman was captured, on this occasion. Finally in 1595, Lord Cumberland determined to have a ship for himself really suitable for his purpose, and he built a powerful vessel then called "Malice Scourge," but afterwards known as "The Dragon."

After one or two abortive attempts with this vessel, he sailed out on an important expedition in January, 1597-8, plundering various ships at the Canaries and Azores, going on to Dominica and thence to Porto Rico, where for a while he was very successful. The Spanish and Portuguese were, however, on the alert for him, and this expedition, from which he had to return, sooner than he had intended, was to a great extent a failure, because, although Lord Cumberland made a considerable gain, the cost of the expedition exceeded it. When he came back to London, his estate was in a most unsatisfactory condition. What with mortgages and sales and prodigality, he had reduced it to very small proportions. The land itself he was not able to sell, but it was heavily mortgaged, and everything that was available in the way of the ready money of the day appears to have been spent, so much so, that we are told that he was heavily in debt at the time of his death, although his landed estates were so strictly tied up that they were not seriously interfered with.

Some of the letters which he wrote to his wife when on these various expeditions are in existence. In 1586, he tells her about Sir Francis Drake having taken one of the chief towns in the Indies "cauled Santo Domyngo," and having found in it three hundred thousand ducats and infinite other wealth, and refers to his anxiety to do similar work. In 1589-90, on January 5, he writes from London to Lady Cumberland, announcing his safe arrival, passing lightly, as was the manner of an Englishman, over the difficulties and trials of the voyage, and saying that he had never, in any journey, "lost fewer men," and was never in better health. He adds that he would gladly come and deliver the news of his return to her himself, but had so many men to see to that he could not any way stir from London. Then from the "Lion" on another occasion, he writes to tell his wife of the capture of a Dunkirk ship bound for St. Lucas in Spain, and informs her that he had sent it to be unloaded in Portsmouth, and that all his share in the plunder was to be sent down to his wife, that she might do as she liked with it, and he adds that, if she finds "anything fit to give the Lord Chamberlain," it would be a benefit to him that such a presentation be made.

We have interesting proof of the way in which, during all these various voyages he was encouraged and flattered by his Sovereign, in the existence amongst the Appleby muniments of an important letter from Queen Elizabeth, which is illustrated in this book.

In it the Queen says, "It may seem strange to you that we should once vouchsafe to trouble our thoughts with any care for any person of roguish condition ("that is to say, of wandering habits, and also, perhaps, of amusing manner") being always disposed rather to command others to chasten men of that profession. But such is our pleasure," continues the Queen, "at this time (by the opportunity of this messenger now repairing towards you, to let you know that we remember you) as we are well content to take occasion by our letters to express our great desire to hear of your well-doing, whereof we were right glad by the last reports to understand, as then we did, hoping well of good success in the action now you have in hand. If God do bless yourself with good and perfect health, which we principally desire." Then, however, with that extraordinary craft that marked the correspondence of this great Sovereign,

Queen Elizabeth goes on to say, "Provided always you do not requite this our good meaning with betraying our extraordinary care of you to our Knight Marshal here, who may, by this our partiality to you abroad, grow bold hereafter in favouring them at home, whom we would not have him suffer to pass uncorrected for divers their misdemeanours. And so do we for this time (with this aforesaid caution)" concludes the letter, "make an end, assuring you of our most princely care for your safety, and daily wishes of your safe return, whereof we shall be right glad as any friend you have. Dated at our Court at Bishop's Waltham, whither we return from our progress, where we have spent some part of this summer in viewing our fortifications at Portsmouth, and other our principal towns along the sea coast." The letter is dated the 9th of September, 1591, addresses Lord Cumberland as "Right trusty and well-beloved Cousin," and is signed "Your very loving Sovereign, Elizabeth R."⁴

Unfortunately the gay attractions of the Court, the confidence⁵ of the Queen, and the romantic adventures consequent upon these various voyages, spoiled Lord Cumberland's character, and he became not only a spendthrift, but a gambler, and eventually a faithless husband, so much so, that at last he and his wife had to separate, and there are comparatively few references to him in the later pages of his daughter's diary. In referring to the last time on which she saw him, she says that it was "in the open air, ffor then I tooke my leave of him on Greenwich Heath in Kent, as hee had brought mee so farre on my way towards Sutton-in-Kentt, where my Mother then lay, after I had bene and stayed the space of a month in the ould Howse at Grafton in Northamptonshire, where my ffather then lived, by reason of some unhappie unkindnesses towards my Mother. And where hee entertayned King James and Queene Anne with Magnificence. Which was a tyme of great sorrow to my Saintlyke Mother, till I returned back againe to her from my Father, the sayd first daie of September."

Lord Cumberland outlived his Sovereign, as he threatened to outlive his income, and the fruits of his carelessness with regard to money

⁴ The spelling is modernised and the frequent capital letters are omitted.

⁵ Lord Cumberland was one of the Commissioners whom Elizabeth instructed to try Mary Queen of Scots, and he was present at her execution.

affairs are still to be seen in the documents which Whitaker more particularly examined in the muniment rooms at Skipton and at Appleby. "He sold much land," says his daughter, "and consumed his estate in continual building of ships, voyages, horse-racing, Tilting, Shooting, Bowling Matches and all such expensive sports." Why he actually separated from his wife cannot now be declared, but the reason is always stated to have been a low intrigue, and Whitaker says that there are families still in Craven who are said to derive their origin from his amours at that time. Then, as we have seen in the entry just quoted, he entertained with magnificence the new king and queen, but his constitution was worn out, and a very little while afterwards he died, at the age of forty-seven.

There is, however, an important letter amongst the archives which must be given to this very period, and which it seems probable was written from Grafton to be sent down to his wife. It is endorsed (not in Lady Anne's writing, but in that of one of her secretaries), "A very kind letter of his Lordship, written in the tyme of great sickness, wherein he offereth satisfaction for wrongs, comforteth her Ladyship agaynst his death, intreateth her to think well of his will, and requesteth her to conceyve rightlie off his brother, etc." The letter which is illustrated, reads thus:—

SWEET AND DEAR MEG,

Bear with, I pray thee, the short and unapt setting together of these my last lines, a token of true kindness, which I protest cometh out of an unfeigned heart of love to thee, for whose content, and to make satisfaction for the wrongs done to thee, I have, since I saw thee, more desired to return than for any other earthly cause, but being so low brought as that, without God's miraculous favour, there is no great likelihood of it, I, by this, if so it please God that I shall not in earnestness make my last requests, which, as ever thou lovest me, lying so, I pray thee perform for me, being dead first. In greedy earnestness I desire thee not to offend God in grieving too much at this His disposing of me, but let thy assured hope that He hath done it for the saving of my soul rather comfort thee, considering that we ought most to rejoice when we see a thing, that is either for the good of our souls, or of our friends, and further I beg of thee that thou wilt take, as I have meant, in kindness, the course I have set down for the disposing of my estate, and things left behind which truly, if I have not dealt most kindly with thee in, I am mistaken, and, as ever thou lovest (which I know thou hast done faithfully and truly) sweet Meg, let either old conceit, new opinion, nor false lying tale make

thee fall to hard opinion nor suit with my brother. For this I protest now, when I tremble to speak, that which upon any just colour may be turned to a lie thou hast conceived wrong of him, for his nature is sweet, and though wrong conceit might well have urged him, yet hath he never, to my knowledge, said or done anything to harm thee or thine, but with tears hath often bemoaned himself to me that he could not devise how to make thee conceive rightly of him, and lastly, before the presence of God, I command thee, and in the nearest love of my heart I desire thee, to take great care that sweet Nan, whom God bless, may be carefully brought up in the fear of God, not to delight in worldly vanities, which I too well know be the baits to draw her out of the Heavenly Kingdom, and I pray thee, thank thy kind uncle and aunt for her and their many kindnesses to me. Thus out of the bitter and greedy desire of a repentant heart, begging thy pardon for any wrong that ever in my life I did thee, I commend these my requests to thy wonted and undeserved kind wifely and lovely consideration, my body to God's disposing, and my love to His merciful commiseration.

Thine as wholly as ever man was woman's,
(Signed) GEORGE CUMBERLAND.

This most pathetic epistle bears a delightful superscription in Lord Cumberland's own handwriting as follows:—"To my dear wife, Countess of Cumberland, give this, of whom, from the bottom of my heart, in the presence of God, I ask forgiveness for all the wrongs I have done her." It is clear, therefore, that whatever may have been his mistakes in the past, he endeavoured, as far as affection could go, to atone for them at the end of his life. Lady Anne tells us, in the inscription on the great picture, that "he died penitently, willingly, and Christianly." In the diary, she records his death in this phrase, saying that "My noble and Brave father died in the Duchy house by the Savoy at London nere the River of Thames when hee was about three months past fortie seven yeares ould. My Mother and I being present with him at his death, I being then just fiftene yeares and nyne Months ould the same date. When a little before his death Hee expressed with much affection to my mother and mee. And a great Beliefe that hee had that his Brother's sonne would dye without issue male, and thereby all his Landes would come to bee myne, which, accordingly," adds Lady Anne, "befell about thirty-eight yeares after, ffor his Brother's son, Henereye, Earle of Cumberland, dyed without Heires male in the Citie of York, the eleventh of December, 1643."

It would have been well for the estates if Lord Cumberland had not made the unfortunate will which was the subject of so much litigation after his decease, and by which he illegally broke the entail made in the reign of Edward II, and Lady Anne seems to imply, by this statement, that he was beginning to regret having made it, when perchance there was not any time for its alteration. He was evidently deeply attached to his brother, Francis, whom he so earnestly commends in the letter to his wife, and he appears to have believed, very likely with good reason, that the great estates of the Cliffords could not be alienated from the male line, and must necessarily go to his brother after his death. On the other hand, it has been suggested that as Sir Francis Clifford, who afterwards became fourth Earl of Cumberland, was a man of considerable property in his own right, Lord Cumberland may have thought that perhaps, by means of his brother's money, some of the mortgages would be cleared, and a portion of the estate which he had so deeply involved, liberated; but in any case, whether for one reason or another, he left the whole of the estates to his brother and to his successor, and by such means, kept his only child from obtaining them for nearly thirty-eight years, during a great part of which time her mother was fighting valiantly for them on her behalf. Lady Anne herself confesses that it was for the love Lord Cumberland bore to his brother and for the sake of the advancement of the heirs male of his house, that he left the estates in this way. He knew that his daughter could not succeed to his Earldom, but did not appear to realise, nor did Lady Anne at first understand, that the Barony of Clifford could come down to her, and that the estates were already entailed on her. He did, however, make a definite proviso that all his castles and lands and honours should return to her, his only daughter and heir, if the heirs male failed, and, with a sort of chuckle, Lady Anne records this, and adds "which they afterwards did." In speaking of his decease, she reminds us that he was the last heir male of the Cliffords who had *rightfully* enjoyed the lands and honours which had been given to the family by King John and by King Edward II. She says he was the seventeenth in descent from the first Robert de Vipont that *rightfully* possessed the Westmorland estate, and the thirteenth from the first Robert de Clifford that *rightfully* possessed the Craven estates, and goes on to make

clear how the lands had descended from father to son, except on two occasions in the reign of Edward III., when they had gone from brother to brother. She emphasizes in this passage and elsewhere in the diary the fact that her father was the last male who *rightfully* enjoyed the estates, for, to the last hour of her life she declined to admit that her uncle and her cousin had any claim whatever upon the property.

Lord Cumberland's will was dated April 27th, 1605, and proved at York, 8th January, 1606, administration being granted to his brother, Francis Earl of Cumberland, as the other executor, Robert Earl of Salisbury, renounced probate. He had, however, made another will in the previous October, for, in this final one, he cancels the previous will, and says that he had great and good reason to alter the previous disposition of his property, seeing that his debts had become much greater since he had made his first will. He is careful at the outset to secure the portion to his daughter Lady Anne, £15,000, and for that he makes over certain lands and leases, together with a very valuable and important license which he held from the King, for the exportation of undressed cloths, to his two executors, and to Lord Wotton, Sir Francis Clifford, and John Taylor his servant, who were from that estate to pay his debts, and to pay over to Lady Anne her portion. He then goes on to leave to his wife the furniture which was in his house at Clerkenwell. He bequeathes to Lord Salisbury a pointed diamond ring which he was in the habit of wearing, with a basin and ewer of silver, and three horses, to his friends Lord Wotton, Lord Wharton, and Sir William Ingleby, the first named having his "bald jennet," the second the gelding which he used for his own saddle, named Grey Smithfield, and the third a gelding named Grey Lambert.

The only other legacies are four thousand pounds each to his brother's two daughters Margaret and Frances Clifford, and to his lawyer, Richard Hutton,⁶ a hundred angels, and at the conclusion of the will; he gives most hearty thanks to God for giving him time for repentance and to settle his estates. The important clause as to the land refers to a previous arrangement which he had made in the 33rd year of

⁶ Second son of Arthur Hutton of Penrith. He was, later on, Serjeant Hunter, and in 1617 knighted and made a puisne judge of the common pleas. He died 28th February, 1638-9. F.

Elizabeth, where by a fine he had barred his father's entail, and settled his lands. It also referred back to a deed of settlement in the third year of King James, and now, by this will, he confirmed all these arrangements, settling the estate upon his brother, Sir Francis Clifford, but declaring that after his death without male issue all was to come to Lady Anne.

There is, however, an interesting statement in the will respecting some of the lands in Cumberland, which apparently were not then in the Earl's own hands. Whether he had mortgaged them to the Crown is not very clear, or whether they were held by the Crown, under some particular demand; but he says "I desire my trustees to present this my laste requeste to my most gracious Sovereign, that it will please his Majesty to grante unto my said brother those lands in Cumberland for which I have bene a suitor longe unto his Majesty, when I had noe doubt but to have prevaled, accordinge to his Majesty's princelie word and promisse, if it had pleased God to have spared me life."

As regards Lady Anne's mother, we have already mentioned that the marriage was arranged when the two parties were quite children, in fact, Lord Cumberland was not twelve years old, when his father died, and the Earl of Bedford, knowing of the existence of this arrangement, wrote to Queen Elizabeth, January 3rd, 1570, a very respectful letter, asking that he might be the suitor to the Queen for the wardship of this young boy. He was fully aware of the importance of having the young Earl of Cumberland under his control. "I beseech God," says he, "to send unto your Majesty a most prosperous and helthful raigne, to God's glory and your heart's desire." Queen Elizabeth, in granting Lord Bedford's request, speaks of him as a man dearly loved by her and all her kingdom, and so it was that young Cumberland was transferred to the care of his guardian, and spent the years of his boyhood with Lord Bedford's three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret. Of the youngest, who was to be his bride, her father's seventh and youngest child, we learn that she was born at Exeter on the seventh of July, 1560, her mother dying two years afterwards of smallpox. For some seven years, Margaret was sent away to live with her aunt, Mrs. Elmes, at Lillford, Northamptonshire, where she lived an open-air country life, and grew up healthy and robust.



OIL PORTRAIT OF MARGARET, COUNTESS OF CUMBERLAND,
by an unknown artist.

At Hothfield Place (see page 36).

To face page 36.

So happy was she that years afterwards she sent her own daughter to the same spot to spend some of her early years, "which," says Lady Anne, "caused this Mother and Daughter ever after to love a Country life the better, they being both there Seasoned with the ground of goodness and religion." When she was eight years old, Margaret came back to Woburn, because her father had married a second time, and although there is no reason to suppose that her stepmother was not kind to her, yet it was Margaret's elder sister Anne, who had married Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, brother to the famous Lord Leicester, of whom she always spoke as as her tenderest friend and protectress through life, and of whom her own daughter afterwards wrote saying that "she was a mother in affection to her younger brothers and sisters, and to their children, especially to the Lady Anne Clifford" that is to say, to the person who was writing the diary herself. Lady Warwick, for whom Lady Anne always entertained the deepest affection, does, in fact, appear to have been a good and charming woman, and never was spoken of, either in the diary, or in her contemporary records, save in terms of high praise. Lady Anne herself, in one place, tells us that Lady Warwick, who came to serve Queen Elizabeth when very young, and served the queen when maid, wife, and widow, almost from the beginning of her reign to her death, was "more beloved and in greater favour with the Queen than any other woman in the kingdom, and no less in the whole Court and the Queen's dominions which she deserved. She was a great friend," continues the record, "to virtue, and a helper to many petitioners and others in distress." A Sonnet written by Henry Constable (1562-1613) is specially addressed to the two sisters, Margaret, Countess of Cumberland and Anne, Countess of Warwick, and speaks of these two ladies in high terms, praising their learning and their virtue.

She was seventeen, and her husband only nineteen, when the marriage which had been arranged for so many years took place on June 24th, 1577. It was at St. Mary Overie's near London (now the cathedral church of Southwark) that the ceremony was performed, and Queen Elizabeth honoured it with her presence. It must not be forgotten that Lord Cumberland's father had married a royal wife, and it may have been for that reason that Queen Elizabeth decided to be present, but the marriage was one of more than ordinary im-

portance, because at the same time, Lord Cumberland's sister Lady Frances was married to Lord Wharton, and the festivities and rejoicings were for the double marriage. The bride and groom, as has been well said, were curiously ill-suited to one another and possessed at first of but slender means. "She was pensive and delicate, he adventurous and fond of display." As regards her character, everything proves that she was a woman of a light heart, but of constancy and great determination. Her daughter says even more than that about her, and allowing for the natural affection which Lady Anne felt for her mother, we may be quite sure that a good many of the statements which she makes were justified by fact. "She was naturally of a high spirit," said her daughter, "though she tempered it by grace, having a very well favoured face, with sweet and quick grey eyes, and of a comely personage. She was of a graceful behaviour," continues the daughter, "which she increased the more by being civil and courteous to all sorts of people. She had a discerning spirit, both in the dispositions of human creatures and natural causes, and into the affairs of the world. She had a great, sharp, natural wit, so as there was few things worthy of knowledge but that she had some insight into them, for, though she had no language but her own, there are few books of worth translated into English, but she read them." Finally, she says that her mother was "deeply interested in alchemy, and she found out many excellent medicines that did good to many people, and that she distilled waters and chemical extractions, delighting in the work, for she had a good deal of knowledge of minerals, of herbs, of flowers, and of plants." In later days "the chiefest of all her worldly desires and the idea of her heart was that her Daughter should inherit the Landes." "Her Spirit," adds Lady Anne, "never yielded to ill fortune or opposition."

It is pleasant to know that, despite all the indifference, prodigality, and folly of her talented husband, and the fact that for a few years she had to live away from him, they were able to return to one another at the last, and that his wife and his little girl were there present at his decease, while the death of her father seems to have made a great impression upon the child. May we not trace part of this happy issue to the pathetic wording of the letter which Lord Cumberland sent so shortly before his death to the wife whom it is evident he

loved all his life, and who was always to him his "sweet and dear Meg."

Lady Cumberland's will was dated April 27th, 1616, and commences with the ordinary religious phraseology, which is, in her case, rather fuller than usual, and in which she clearly states that at that time she was very ill. She desires that her debts may be paid, and she says that they had grown without any fault in her, partly through the want of the means which her late lord should have paid her, and that by special order and commandment both from the king and queen and partly because of the necessary charges in law that she had sustained for the preservation of her daughter's inheritance and her own jointure, but she is most definite that these debts are all to be paid first, to the full contentment of her creditors. She then goes on to refer to the almshouse she had commenced, which was to be completed, and she leaves her nephews the Earl of Bedford and Lord Russell as the trustees for all her land, which she bequeathes to her daughter, with remainder to Lady Margaret her granddaughter, then to Lord Fitzwarren⁷ and his heirs, then to her nephew Lord Francis Russell and his heirs, and then to whoever may be her heirs at the time. In respect to her jointure lands, she has an interesting clause, showing the kindly feeling which she exercised towards her tenants. "If I shall happen shortly to depart this lyfe," she says, "my tenants will be driven to fine again, and that, happilye before they have recovered their charge sustained that way. If I dye within a year," she adds, "they are to have a third of their fine spaired them, and if within two years, having received their whole fines, a third is to be given back." She directs that her good friend Sir Christopher Pickering⁸ should take command over all her servants and her establishment, and he was to have under his control the safe keeping of her goods, and she arranges that, if she dies in Westmorland, her body may be buried in the parish church where her brother, Francis Lord Russell, had already been interred. To that part of the will, she makes a special codicil, adding that, as her brother, Francis Lord Russell, was buried at Alnwick in Northumberland, she agrees that

⁷ Sir Edward Bouchier, K.B. Afterwards Earl of Bath. His mother was Elizabeth daughter of Francis, Earl of Bedford.

⁸ Knighted July 5th, 1607. He had a "bastard daughter," who married John Dudley, M.P. for Carlisle in 1601.—F.

she should be buried wherever her "dear and noble sole daughter and heire" Anne Countess of Dorset, should think fit. To the will, however, is appended a very long schedule, in which it would appear that she mentions almost all her friends, leaving to each of them some interesting bequest as a memorial of her. Lord Shrewsbury receives a gilt bowl, and his wife a ring with seven diamonds, the Earl of Bedford a cabinet with drawers, and his wife a satin canopy, embroidered, with the stool belonging to it, her nephew, Lord Fitzwarren, is to receive her best horse, or else £20, her niece, Lady Herbert, "Du Plessis" [Philippe de Mornay, 1549-1623] a book on the Sacrament of the Mass, and her son John a gilt porringer with a cover. Lady Howard of Effingham is to have a ring with five diamonds, Lady Hastings a dozen of pearl buttons with true lover's knots on them, and Lady Barrowghes a dozen of the same, while Lady Bowes⁹ gets a dozen buttons set in garnets. Lord Francis Russell, her nephew, was to receive a gold ring with five diamonds, and his wife a jewel with three pearls, while to both of them jointly were to be given two pieces of cloth of gold, embroidered with great pearls and seed pearls. Lady Chandoues was to have a case of glasses with silver tops, Lady Dudley a colt and two horses, and her daughter, £10. Mr. Henry Vincent, who was connected with the estate, was to have three of the lesser silver dishes, Dr. Layfield¹⁰ two greater silver dishes, and Mr. Oldworth, her lawyer, a basin and ewer, and his wife a silver bowl, Sir Philip Tyrwitt half a dozen silver plates, his wife a cloth of gold mantle, and their daughter "Mrs. Matte," a ring with four little diamonds. Her cousin, Elizabeth Apsley, was to have a petticoat of cloth of silver, embroidered with hops, another cousin, Hall, a bowl worth £6, and his wife a velvet gown, Sir Edward Yorke was to have £10, and his wife a length of cloth of gold, a Mr. and Mrs. Cole were given two cabinets of glass, Mr. Shuté, a preacher, a Bible, and her worthy friend Sir Christopher Pickering, who has already been mentioned, her best gilt cup. Then follow the legacies to her servants. One was left a silk grosgrain

⁹ Perhaps Margaret, third wife of Sir Francis Bowes of Thornton, and daughter of Robert Delaval.—F.

¹⁰ John Layfield, D.D., Scholar of Trin. Coll., Cam., 1578, and Fellow 1585; Reader in Greek, 1593; Rector of St. Clements Danes, 1601, till his decease. He was one of the revisers of the Bible in 1601.

gown and £10, another, £10, and a third £20. A neighbour, Mrs. Crackenthorpe, was to have two gold coins of King James [“two Jacobus pieces in gold”], another servant was to receive one of her best mares and her foal, and her manager two pieces of tapestry, representing the story of Deborah.

With the idea that her body was to be buried in Northumberland, she bequeathed £6 13s. 4d. to the poor of that place, and the same amount to the poor in Brougham and the poor in Appleby. She also declared that threescore poor men and women were to have presented to them for her funeral a gown each. Finally, she implies that the parson of Brougham has, on her account, got into some trouble, for she said “I desire my honourable daughter to respecte, favor and countenance Mr. Bradley, parson of Brougham, that he sustain noe wronge as she should doe for myselfe seeinge he hath many enimies for my sake, and will find opportunities for speaking the truth.” It seems to be possible from an indirect reference to this man in another place that he was one of the persons who took her side, in an action she brought against some difficult tenants, and perhaps, therefore, for that reason, he had got into some local trouble.

Lady Cumberland had made a previous will on the 18th of December, 1613, and this will is still to be found in the Appleby muniment room. In that she says that she was to be buried near to wherever she died and she makes some strong statements about the executors of her husband, because they had left a great part of her jointure unpaid, and that therefore, to her annoyance, she had to incur serious debts in Westmorland.

The finest portrait of Lady Cumberland is the full length one which now hangs at Hothfield Place, and which came originally from the North. It is, in all probability, the very portrait which hung in Lady Anne's room in Brougham Castle, and to which she alludes. There is another excellent portrait of Lady Cumberland, also at Hothfield, an oval one, head and shoulders only, which came from Skipton Castle, and the costume, which is adorned with ivy leaves, and is of an unusually rich character, is very much the same in each of the two portraits. It is not known who is responsible for either of them, but the full-length must have been painted by an artist of the first rank. It is a skilful representation of a remarkable personage.

Both have been specially photographed for these pages.

At Bill Hill, Wokingham, the seat of Mrs. Leveson-Gower, is a replica or a copy of the oval portrait, also quite an important one of Margaret's husband, the Earl of Cumberland, a fine strong piece of work ; and a portrait of Lady Anne, resembling one of those at Appleby. These have descended from Lady Mary, the last surviving daughter of Thomas the sixth Earl of Thanet, who, as her second husband, married John, Earl Gower.

While these pages have been passing through the press an interesting letter has been discovered at Althorp amongst the family papers belonging to Earl Spencer, K.G., addressed to a certain Mr. Henry Arthington, from Wakefield, to Lord Cumberland, on the last day of August, 1602, and conveying a present of some citron, oranges and lemons to Lord Cumberland, and in return asking for a buck from his forest. As the letter possesses some quaint interest of its own, it has been thought well to insert it at this place. It reads thus :

The Lorde direct and prosper }
 your honor in all your wayes } Amen.

My moste honorable good Lorde, havinge bene Lately at London, To take further order with my Creditors (for Mr. Saviles dett,) and meetinge ther &c, with such Noveltis as weare fitt for noble personages I thought it no Less then my bounden dutie to present your Lo: with part (or rather the principall therof vidz: A Lardge pounce Citeron, Two fayre oringes and halfe a dosen Limmons the best I coulede gett: humblie intreatinge your good Lo: to accept of them, as an excuse for not cominge myselfe to see your honor: beinge so weared with my Long Journey, As I am not well able to travell further. Your best beloved Lady and sole daughter, weare both in health, when I came from London; And so I take my leave of your Lordshipe with humble request, that your Lordshipe would bestowe a bucke of me (for my fathers sake) to make mery with my Neybors, now at my returene, So shall I have greater cawse (As I have much alreedy) To pray for the noble Earle of Cüberlande whos Lyfe, God prolonge wth much increase of honor, Wakefield this Last day of Auguste, 1602.

Your Right honorable Lordships in all duetifullness

HENRY ARTHINGTON.

If Mr. farrand deceased, had bene capable of his speach when I last see him I had delt wth him for the ould matter.

Endorsed—To the Right honorab^{le} the Earle of Cumberlande his singular good Lorde. This &c.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TWO LITTLE BOYS.

WHEN Lord and Lady Cumberland were married, they went off at once to Skipton Castle, where, at that time, Anne Dacre, Dowager Countess, was residing,¹ and for the first few years of their married life, they lived in that place, paying, at intervals, some short visits to Brougham Castle, Wharton Hall, or to Buxton. The young Lady Cumberland soon became very popular with her neighbours. "She was dearly loved by all worthy and good folk," says Lady Anne, and she was a favourite with the Dowager Countess who "had a high estimation of her goodness." Her health, however, was not satisfactory, perhaps owing to the extreme cold of Yorkshire and Westmoreland, and gradually "she grew extreme sickly and discontented, and soe continued for five or six yeares together, till at last she fell into a kind of consumption soe as many thought she would never have had any children." The journeys to Buxton occurred at more frequent intervals, and apparently the restorative air of that place worked wonders. She gradually got much better, and then ensued the happy time between her and her husband, which lasted down till about 1602, and most of the letters which we possess, and from which we have hitherto quoted, relate to that period, although some of them are of a later date. "After this tedious tyme of sickness was past," says Lady Anne, "it pleased God to bless this virtuous lady with the extreme love and affection of her husband, which lasted about nyne or tenne yeares towards her, and but little more." During this time, her two little boys were born, about whom the sister writes in agreeable fashion.

The elder, Francis, was born at Skipton in 1584, his father being

¹ There is a tapestry covered chair still at Skipton with her arms embroidered upon it.

at that time in the Castle, and there it was that he died, at the age of five years and eight months, when he was buried in the vault of Skipton Church, amongst many of his ancestors. His tomb is still to be seen, and is illustrated in this book, although, curiously enough, the original inscription on it stated that he was of the age of six years and eight months when he died, whereas Lady Anne, both in her diary and in the inscription on her picture, declares that his age was only five years and eight months. That on the brass declared him to be "an infant of most rare towardness in all the appearances that might promise wisdom and magnanimity," but the actual brass containing this inscription, and a long Latin verse and the wrong age was stolen from the tomb some years ago, and was replaced later on by another smaller and simpler brass, which declares that he died about the 11th of December, 1589, being of the age of five years and eight months.

Lady Anne, in her account of him, speaks thus "He was a child that promised as much goodnesse as could possibly bee in such tender years, and was even willing to depart out of this world to his Maker," and again "he was admired by all those who knew him for his goodness and devotion even to wonder considering his childish yeares." When he died, she says that his father, Lord Cumberland, was away, and his mother had to bear the burden of his loss all by herself, while the inscription on the picture adds to this statement that the "sayd Father was then beyond the seas in Munster in Ireland, wheather he was driven on land by extremity of tempest and great hazard of life, 10 days before the death of his sayd sonne when that Earle was then on his returne from the Ile Azores in the West Indies."

The other boy, Robert, was born at North Hall in Hertfordshire where Lord and Lady Cumberland were staying at the time. His birth occurred on the 21st September, 1585, and by the death of his elder brother, Lord Francis, he came to be Lord Clifford in 1589, but, as Lady Anne tells us in pathetic language, "as theare was neere a year and six moneths betweene their births, soe was theare neere a yeare and six moneths betweene their deaths." They both, as it happened, died when they came to the age of five years and eight months, and each in the same house in which he had been born.

Her record of Robert says that he was "a child of a rare witt and

spiritt, and of a very sweete nature, and had many affections in him far above his years, which made his loss farre more bitter to his parents, especially to hiss deare mother, who mourned most bitterly for him while shee lived, though she died not, as she expected, till on that day five and twenty years after his death." To his decease Lady Anne also alludes in her diary, saying "When I was about a year and fower months ould, died my second Brother Robert, then Lord Clifford, in North hall in Hartfordshire the fower and twentieth of May in one thowsand five hundred and nyntie-one," while in the inscription on the great picture she goes on further to state "He was a child endowed with many perfections of nature for so few years, and likely to have made a gallant man. His sorrowful Mother and hir then little daughter and onely child, the Lady Anne, was in the house at Northall when he died, which Lady Anne Clifford was then but a yeare and 4 moneths old, whoe by the death of hir said brother Lord Robert Clifford, came to be sole heire to both hir Parents." In this instance also Lady Cumberland had to bear her burden alone, because her husband at the time of Lord Robert's death was on one of his voyages over the seas towards Spain and the West Indies. She had also been plunged in grief on the occasion of his birth, for he was born just at the moment when she had lost in one day her father and brother, and the earldom of Bedford had passed away to her nephew.

In the record concerning the two children, Lady Anne tells us that, according to the curious custom of the day, some of the "inward parts" of her brother's body were buried in the church at North Hall where he died, but the body itself was taken to Chenies in Buckinghamshire, and there laid amongst his mother's ancestors. The record of the little boy's burial there is still to be found, but there has never been, so far as we know, any tomb erected to his memory.

Lady Anne then goes on in the conclusion of her sentence to tell us about her own birth, and is particular to state that by birthright, being the only surviving child of her parents, she was "Baroness Clifford, Westmoreland and Vescy, High Sheriffess of that county, Lady of the Honour of Skipton-in-Craven, of whom more shall be said hereafter in the records of her time."

The deep affection which she states existed between her father

and mother, and which lasted for ten years, had been broken off, as has been seen in the last chapter, in about 1603, when husband and wife were no longer on speaking terms, but it is quite clear from some of the letters, dated many years afterwards, that at least some measure of affection was kept up, and it is certain from the long letter already quoted that towards the end of his life Lord Cumberland repented of what he had done to his wife, made it up with her, so that she and her little girl were both present when he died.

While the two brothers were living, and when the younger one seemed to be growing weaker day by day, their mother, according to Lady Anne, "had a strange kind of Divining Dream or Vision, which appeared to her in a fearful manner in Barden Tower." It told her that her two boys should pass away, that her expected child should be a daughter, should live to be her only child, and should inherit all the vast estates of her ancestors. Lady Cumberland is said to have dwelt much on this vision at the time when her daughter's rights were being severely contested, and when there seemed to be little chance of her winning the day. Lady Anne, in referring to it, says of her mother, "Undoubtedly while she lived here in this world, her spirit had more conversation with Heaven and heavenly contemplations than with terrene and earthly matters."

CHAPTER V.

THE TWO LAST EARLS OF CUMBERLAND.

ON the death of Lady Anne's father, the title passed to his brother, and with it, by his unfortunate will, the greater part of the estates, the Appleby and Brougham property alone continuing in the possession of Lady Cumberland, as it formed her jointure. Lady Anne tells us that the explanation, as far as she understood it, was that her father, for "the love hee bare to his Brother, and the Advancement of the heires male of his howse," left to his brother Francis, who succeeded him in his Earldom of Cumberland, and to his heirs male, "all his Castles, Landes and honors," with the proviso that they were to return to her if he died without heirs male. Before we deal with the ensuing contest concerning the estates, which commenced during the time of Lady Anne's first marriage, it would be well to give some reference to her uncle, who now became fourth Earl of Cumberland, and to his son Henry, who succeeded him. She herself gives us some information in her great volume of records, but, true to her determined feeling that he had no right to the estates, she deals with the career of uncle and nephew in a very different fashion from the way in which she has recorded information concerning other of her ancestors and relations, and particularly notes that all which she says about Francis, fourth Earl and his son, is "by way of digression," and that her statements do not follow on in natural sequence from what has preceded them. She always regarded them as interlopers, and lost no opportunity of making this perfectly clear. She tells us that he (Francis) was born in Skipton Castle in October 1559, and that he was forty-five years old when he came, by the death of his elder brother, to be fourth Earl. She goes on to set down that he was knighted when very young by

Queen Elizabeth, and by King James installed as a Knight of the Bath at the same time as that monarch's son Charles was created Duke of York, and that this ceremony took place in the hall at Whitehall. He married, she says, "Mistress Grizzill Hughes," the daughter of Mr. Thomas Hughes of Uxbridge in Middlesex, who was widow of Edward Nevill, Lord Abergavenny, and by her he had four children. The eldest, George, was born at Uxbridge and died before he was a year old, in his mother's jointure house in Somersetshire, left to her by her first husband. Henry, the second child, was born at Londesborough in Yorkshire in 1592, and he lived to be fifth Earl of Cumberland, but left no male issue. Margaret, the third child, was also born at Londesborough in 1594. She married, after her father became Earl of Cumberland; Sir Thomas Wentworth, who, many years after her decease, was created Earl of Strafford, and was beheaded on Tower Hill in London, on May 12th, 1641. His wife had predeceased him, dying at the great house at Stepney, she tells us, of "a burning fever," leaving no children behind her. Her husband married again, and by his second wife had a son who eventually succeeded him as Earl of Strafford. The fourth child was Frances, born in 1596, also in Londesborough, and she married, after the death of her mother in Skipton Castle, Sir Gervase Clifton, as his second wife, and by him had a son called Clifford, and many daughters. Lady Anne says that she was a "very witty and a very good woman."

This Sir Gervase Clifton, one of the first Baronets, was a remarkable man as regards his family life. He had no fewer than seven wives, and married the seventh when he was seventy years old. His first wife was Penelope, the daughter of the first Earl of Warwick, and by her he had a son who succeeded him, also named Gervase, who died in 1613. His second wife we have just referred to, and besides his son by her, Sir Clifford Clifton, he had, as Lady Anne tells us, "divers daughters," but the names of only two of them, Anne and Lettice, are recorded, and therefore, in all probability, they were the only two who grew up. His third wife was a widow, Mary Egioke (Lady Leke), his fourth also a widow, Isabel Meek (Mrs. Hodges), and his fifth was Anne, daughter of Sir F. South; all these died without issue in the years 1630, 1637, and 1639, respectively. His sixth wife was Jane Eyre, who had at least four children, Robert, James, Elizabeth and

Mary, and died in 1655, and then his seventh wife was Alice, the elder daughter of Henry, fifth Earl of Huntingdon. She outlived him, and this much-married baronet died himself in 1666 at the age of eighty.

With regard to Lord Cumberland's wife, Lady Anne speaks thus, "This Grizzel Hughes, Lady of Abergavenny, lived Countess of Cumberland seven years, seven months, and sixteen days, and when that time was expired, died at her husband's house at Lonsborrow in Yorkshire, and was buried in the church there. She was a prudent and a wise lady. It is to be noted, though she lived so many years Countess of Cumberland, yet was she never in Skipton Castle in Craven, nor in Westmoreland, for she loved peace, and the great suits-at-law that were between her husband and his sister-in-law, Margaret, Countess Dowager of Cumberland, for the maintenance of the right of her only daughter, made her unwilling to come into either of those places while they were in controversy." Then, with regard to the husband, Lady Anne tells us that he was never out of England, and he was evidently a quiet, serious old gentleman,¹ a complete contrast in every way to his brother. He does not appear to have done anything of extraordinary importance throughout his entire life, but to have carried out the duties of a large landowner in a quiet and satisfactory fashion, while it is implied that out of his own means he liberated some of the lands from the burdens there were upon them. He lived to the age of eighty-two, and then died at Skipton, in the very same room in which he had been born. His only son was absent on the occasion of his death, but his daughter-in-law was there, and appears to have attended the funeral in Skipton, when he was buried in the great family vault under the church. Lady Anne was at that time at her first husband's house at Ramsbury in Wiltshire, and she records the fact of her uncle's death in these words, "The one and twentieth of Januarie one thousand six hundred and fortie-one, died my Unckle Francis, Earle of Cumberland, when hee was nere fowerscore and two yeares ould and his onelie Child Henerie Lord Clifford, who succeeded him in the Earldome lived but two

¹ Not always however! See an entry in his household books, 1618. "Paid for a pair of carnation silk stockings and a pair of ash coloured taffeta garters and roses edged with silver lace given by my lord to Mrs. Douglas Sheffield she drawing my lord for her Valentine, £3 ros. od."

years tenne moneths and some twenty dayes after him." In the record concerning the uncle and nephew she says " This Earl Francis² was an honourable gentleman, and of a good, noble, sweet and courteous nature."

He was succeeded by his son Henry, who was evidently a person of quite different disposition, because Lady Anne says that for twenty years before Francis, Earl of Cumberland, died " His son Henry, Lord Clifford, did absolutely govern both him and estate," but she gleefully repeats the fact that he only lived a little more than two years after his father's death. Henry, last Earl of Cumberland, married in Kensington House, Lady Frances Cecil, daughter to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, Lord High Treasurer of England, and " the greatest man of power then in the Kingdom." The peace which had reigned to a certain extent during the time of his father was quickly broken by the son. His marriage, she says, was purposely made for maintaining his suits of law more powerfully than ever, for the fifth Earl was evidently dissatisfied, during the last few years of his father's life, with the way in which the lawsuits were being managed, and was determined to force the matter to a bitter issue, endeavouring to make some arrangement by which he could bequeath the estates to his own daughter. His family consisted of five, three sons and two daughters, but all died young, except the elder daughter, Elizabeth, who was born at Skipton, and who married Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork. She was the sole daughter and heir to her parents. Of Henry Clifford, Lady Anne says " Hee was endowed with a good natural Wit. Hee was also a tall and proper Man, a good Courtier, a brave horseman, an excellent Huntsman, and well skilled in architecture and mathematics," adding that he was much favoured, both by King James and King Charles. He had travelled for some years in France, and appears from what Lady Anne says, to have been well acquainted with the French language. In conjunction with his father, he entertained the King at Brougham in 1617 in magnificent fashion, when James returned from his last journey out of Scotland, and stayed two nights together at Brougham

² He was Governor of York Castle for Charles I. and built what is still known as Clifford's Tower, and put the Castle into a state of defence at the beginning of the Civil wars. Over the portal of the Tower can be seen the Clifford Arms.

Castle, sleeping in the room, Lady Anne tells us, where her mother, Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, had died the previous May, and where the third Earl had been born.

Edward Lord Wotton, elder brother of Sir Henry Wotton, was one of the executors of the will of George, Earl of Cumberland, and well acquainted with all the affairs of the family. He wrote a charming letter to Henry the last Earl of Cumberland, condoling with him on the death of his infant son, a death which Lord Clifford felt keenly,³ inasmuch as the continuance of the estates in his line depended upon his male issue. The letter was written before he succeeded his father in the Earldom and when he was still Lord Clifford. It reads thus—

HONOURABLE LORD,

How sorrowful we were for the doleful news your Lordship may truly guess by our love to your house. We may not repine at God's doings, who doeth everything for the best, though to flesh and blood sometimes, through weakness; it may seem otherwise. Be of good comfort, sweet Lord, and let wisdom work that effect in you which length of time doth in all, I mean diminution of grief, so shall the time of your Lady's greatness be the less irksome to her, and I doubt not, will bring comfort to you and your house by bringing you many sons. Of this no more. One thing I wish, that my Lord your father would now take occasion to lessen his expenses of housekeeping, whereof, as your Lordship knoweth, there is some need, and that your Lordship in your sports will draw as little company as you may, wherein you shall both keep decorum and ease your charges.

So, wishing to my Lord your father, yourself and your Lady the comfort which this world can afford, and I rest your Lordship's to do you service,

E. WOTTON.

Quite unexpectedly, in 1643, the last Earl of Cumberland died of a burning fever in one of the Prebend's houses in York. His body was brought to Skipton to be buried, and Lady Anne strives to point out, as a sort of moral to the lesson she was never tired of reiterating, that this uncle and nephew had no right to the estates; that, in her opinion, there was considerable difficulty in burying the last Earl in the vault, and that there was no more room in that vault, but only

³ The tomb recording the death of Henry Earl of Cumberland's three infant sons bears a touching inscription marking the father's deep anguish at the loss of his boys. IMMENSI DOLORIS MONUMENTVM AVGVSTVM HENRICVS PATER DEFLET FRANCIS CVM CAROLVM HENRICVM MDCXXXI.

just enough to receive him. In another place in her diary, she says that she did not think that he *could* have been buried in there, because there was so little room. It would almost appear that she would have been better pleased if she had heard that the body of the usurper did *not* lie with his ancestors. The burial did, however, take place in Skipton, and we are inclined to think that Lady Anne exaggerated the difficulties, for Dr. Whitaker, who examined the vault some years afterwards said that he was quite sure that there had not only been plenty of room to bury the last Earl there, but there was still space for other burials, if it was ever desirable that they should take place.

His wife Frances, Countess of Cumberland, survived him but two months and four or five days, and then she died in the same house in York as did her husband. Her body was not taken to Skipton, for she was buried in York Cathedral. "She was a lady," so says the diarist, "of a noble and rich mind, very bountiful to the poor, kind and loving to her friends and kindred," but of her husband, Lady Anne cannot refrain from saying, "by the death of this Cozen German of myne, Henerie Clifford, Earle of Cumberland, without heires male, the Landes of myne Inheritance in Craven and Westmorland, returned unto mee without Question or Controversy, after that his father, Francis, Earl of Cumberland and this Earle Henerie, his sonne, had unjustlie detayned from mee the auntient Landes in Craven from the Death of my ffather, and the Landes in Westmorland from the death of my Mother, till this time, yet," she adds, "had I little or no profit from that estate for some yeares after, by reason of them, and of the Civill Wars." As a rule, Lady Anne was scrupulously fair in the remarks she made concerning the character of her relatives, but in this particular instance, she does indulge in a little vindictive feeling, natural, perhaps, when it is remembered how long she waited for the estates, and how earnestly she had contested the rights of her uncle and cousin to them. In other places she speaks more kindly of this cousin, who undoubtedly had complete legal warrant for all that he did. He does not appear to have been a man of any marked individuality, but conscientious, strict, and most particular concerning all his rights. He was, it is clear, much attached to his wife and to his daughters, and if by legal method, he could have altered the devolution of the estates, so that

he could have bequeathed them to Lady Cork, he would have done so. His suit, that he himself put in hand, during the last few years of his father's life, was entirely with that object. He tried to make a claim that, as he had succeeded to the estates as Earl of Cumberland, he had the right to deal with them as he would, and that the clause in his uncle's will, saying that they were to revert to Lady Anne in the case of the failure of male heirs, was an unjust one and could not be sustained. Fortunately for her, however, the courts dismissed his action, and probably the steps the Earl took to turn away part of her inheritance from her were the cause of her vindictive remarks.

The only other fact that we have regarding Henry, last Earl of Cumberland, was that after his decease, a small book was published, entitled "Poetical Translations of some Psalms and the Song of Solomon, by that noble and religious soul, now sainted in Heaven, Henry Earl of Cumberland." It is believed that the publication of his book was due to the affection for his memory sustained by his only daughter.

An interesting document is still in existence relative to his funeral, in which are detailed certain of the expenses. York Minster bell was rung at the time of his decease, and 28/- was paid to the verger for ringing it, while considerable expense was incurred for black velvet and black cloth for the servants who took the body from York, and for fitting up a kind of mortuary coach in which it was forwarded to Skipton, over £100 being charged for these items alone. In addition to that, there was a charge of nearly £40 for black velvet to make a pall to cover the corpse; the surgeon had £10 for embalming, and the heraldic painter £6 for painting the hatchment. Special expenses were incurred in altering the coach in order that it might carry the coffin, and four stones' weight of tow was bought to put between the coffin and the chariot to keep it from shaking. The physician who attended Lord Cumberland was an Italian from Padua, then residing in England, and he had £5 for his attendance. About £28 was spent in the journey between York and Skipton for the servants' meals, for the fodder, for fees given to the soldiers by the way, both foot and horse, who guarded the corpse, and for the disbursements, according to custom, to the poor of every parish through which it passed, and then, on arrival at Skipton, £10 was distributed amongst the soldiers and the gunners of the garrison.

To this document there is attached another one, regarding certain fees that had been paid for Henry, Earl of Cumberland, when he took his seat as an Earl in the House of Lords. The Usher of the Black Rod had £4 10s., the upper clerk the same. The Yeoman Usher had 26/-, and his clerk had 20/-. There are also recorded the expenses for his journey to the Tower, when he went to take leave of Lord Strafford the day before he was executed. He had already been present in the House at the time of the sentence, and there are fees noted down which he gave to the door keepers on these occasions. His cousin, Sir Gervase Clifton, seems to have gone with him to bid farewell to Lord Strafford, and the charges are duly recorded, not only for the boat hire to and fro, but also for wine for himself and Sir Gervase, and beer for the servants.

Lady Cumberland's journey from Londesborough to London just before she died, was recorded as costing £68 18s. 4d., being for a journey of eleven days with thirty-two horses.

Lord Clarendon declared that this last Earl was a man of great honour and integrity, and said that he lived amongst his neighbours with very much acceptance and affection. He also mentions that he was a particularly firm and resolute man, and hence ensued some of the difficulties with regard to the estates.

The Earl's coffin was examined by Dr. Whitaker when he inspected the Clifford vault. He tells us that it contained the ordinary skeleton of a tall man, while near by lay that of his father, Earl Francis, which was of unusual length, and who, it was clear, had been a man of extraordinarily great stature.

An interesting book of accounts has been discovered at Skipton, which gives information concerning the number of guests who dined day by day at my Lord's table during the time that Francis, Earl of Cumberland was ruling in Craven, and it also records the prices paid for some of the items of the food. On many occasions the party sat down to table thirty to thirty-five in number, and the food provided was on a very lavish scale. It included sufficient provision for at least seventeen servants, a large proportion of whom seem to have waited at table. Not very much is said about meat, beef is hardly mentioned, and perhaps it was not purchased from anyone in the neighbourhood, but came in from the estate, and therefore it was not

thought necessary to record it. There are, however, very frequent references to wild fowl, widgeon, mallards, and teal. Large quantities of ducks, pigeons, partridges, and rabbits appear in the pantry lists, and in the way of fish there are references to what is specifically called "sea-fish," and there are also frequent allusions to ling, turbot, cod, lamprey, as well as to eels. "Calf-meat" is referred to, calves' feet and heads, goatflesh and pullets, and at almost every dinner there are a number of apple tarts mentioned. In one part of the book there are references to the fact that one tenant on the estate held his farm by virtue of providing sufficient apples throughout the whole of the year for the tarts for my Lord's table, and if the accounts are at all accurate, he must have had to provide a large quantity of apples, for it was no uncommon thing to read of ten or twelve apple tarts being on the table at one time. Not much is said about vegetables, cabbages and gherkins being the only ones specifically mentioned. Amongst the sweets, are tarts, pastries, custards, puddings, pies, and made dishes, and there are many allusions to pasties, both of venison and of game.

Of liquids, we have references to ale and old ale; and to beer and strong beer; tansy, currant wine, and sack posset, and to French claret which cost 3/- a barrel. Salt, by the way, was one of the most expensive items for the table.

There are a few references to tobacco, on one occasion it is said that it cost 1s. 4d. for "a very little."

The accounts are kept in systematic way, and on some pages are averaged against the number of persons present, so as to show what proportion of food was consumed by each. If the reckonings were anything like correct, the consumption of food at these dinners must have been enormous. There are also special references to the food consumed at the stables, and for the rougher servants, who appear to have been given oaten bread, instead of "good bread," the latter being provided for the guests at my Lord's table. A great deal of oil appears to have been used, there are constant references to it in the accounts, and to hundreds of eggs. Many of the tenants had to send in day by day two or three score of eggs to the castle as part of their rental.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EARLY DAYS OF LADY ANNE.

FOR the story of Lady Anne, we must rely mainly upon her own diary and records, but with regard to her early years, these can be supplemented by other documents, mainly from a book of accounts to which Whitaker refers, and from a lost diary, a copy of which is now in the Library at Knole. A part of it only has been quoted, more or less incorrectly, by Seward.¹ Lady Anne herself, with a frankness characteristic of the period in which she lived, starts her own diary a little before her birth, giving us special information that she can only have derived from her mother, and then she goes on to tell us that she was born on the 30th of January in 1589, "when my blessed mother brought me forth, in one of my father's chief houses, called Skipton Castle in Craven." It was at the time that Lord Cumberland was absent on one of his voyages, "being in great perrill at Sea," she says, and Lady Cumberland, with her two little boys, had come down to Skipton. Quaintly Lady Anne adds with respect to her father, that "it was tenne thowsand to one but hee had bene cast away from the Seas by Tempeste and Contrarie wynds. Yet it pleased God to preserve him, soe as hee lived to see my Birth, and a good while after, ffor I was fifteen yeares and nyne months ould when hee dyed." She was christened at Skipton church, on the 22nd day of February, 1590, by the name of Anne, Lady Derby and Lady Warwick being her Godmothers, and Lord Wharton, her aunt's husband, her godfather. He was present in person, but for her godmothers she tells us, the deputies were "Mrs. Mary Percy, wife to Slingsby of Scriven, sister to the Earl of Northumberland and Mrs. Tempest of Bracewell."² By this time her father was in

¹ Seward's *Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons*, 1793, vol. I.

² Anne, daughter of Bartholomew Pigott of Asten Rowan, Oxfordshire, wife to Robert Tempest (living in 1585 or 1600) of Bracewell and of Bolling and Waddington.

England, but not at Skipton. He had landed on the 29th of December ; before she was born, but she says, " by reason of his great Buiseness of giveing account to the Queen of his Sea Voyages " he could not come down, and was staying at Bedford House in the Strand, where, as it happened, Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, husband to her mother's eldest sister, died the very day before she was christened. Towards the end of March, however, Lord Cumberland did go to Skipton, and for the first time saw his little girl, then about eight weeks old, and on the 2nd of April, carrying with them her brother Robert, and herself, they all went away from Skipton up to London. She never came into Skipton Castle after that time, she says, until the 18th of July, 1649, when her second lord was then living, while about six months before this second visit had been paid, the castle had been dismantled and the principal buildings pulled down by order of the parliament in the time of the Civil Wars. She was only ten weeks old when she first arrived in London, and, although she did not go again to the North till after the death of her father, she visited other parts of England, sojourning at different times in Northamptonshire, Kent, Berkshire and Surrey. Her little elder brother had died at Skipton, and had been buried in the parish church there, before she and her parents and little Lord Robert had left the place.

When she was about fourteen months old, the second brother Robert, then Lord Clifford, died at North Hall in Hertfordshire, and " ever after that time," she says, " I continewd to bee the onely Childe of my parents, nor had they any other Daughter but myself." She was sixty-three years old when she was writing or dictating this diary, but thinking back upon her early life, was able to state, " I was verie happie in my first Constitution, both in my mynd and Bodye. Both for internall and externall Endowments, ffor never was there Childe more equallie resembleing both Father and Mother than myself. The Collour of myne eyes was Black lyke my ffather's and the forme and aspect of them was quick and Lively, like my Mother's. The Haire of myne head," she goes on to state " was Browne and thick, and so long as that it reached to the Calfe of my Legges when I stood upright, with a peake of Haire on my forehead and a Dimple in my Chynne lyke my Father, full Cheekes and round faced lyke my mother, and an exquisite shape of Bodie resembling my Father." Then,

pondering on the way in which all these bodily perfections had passed away, she begins to refer to her mental power, where she says, "I had a Strong and Copious memorie, a sound Judgement and a discerning spiritt, and so much of a strong imagination in mee as that many tymes even my Dreames and apprehensions before hand, proved to be true. So as ould Master John Denham, a greate astronomer, that sometimes lived in my Father's howse, would often say Thatt I had much in mee in nature to shew that the sweete Influences of the Pleiades and the Bands of Orion mentioned in the book of Job, were powerfull both at my Conception and Nativity."

Lady Anne tells us that she was brought up exceedingly well by her mother, and praises this good mother for almost everything she had done for her. She says that in her infancy, youth, and a great part of her life she had escaped many dangers both by fire and water, by passage in coaches and falls from horses, by burning fevers (she had a terrible fever when just at the age at which her brothers died, five years and eight months), and excessive extremity of bleedings, many times to the great hazard of her life. She then refers to the cunning and wicked devices of her enemies which she had also escaped and passed through miraculously "even," she says, "the better for them," and attributes all her preservation from these troubles to the "prayers of my devout Mother, who incessantlie begged of God for my safety, and preservation."

From the little account book, now no longer in existence, but which Whitaker was fortunate enough to find at Skipton, and which dealt with the expenses of the young girl's education, we are able to form some sort of idea of her childhood. The book was prefaced by a prayer and some verses which he thought were in the handwriting of Samuel Daniel, her tutor, and if that was so, Daniel must have commenced his tuition when Lady Anne was barely eleven years old. The entire account which is entered up in this book between August, 1600, and August, 1602, amounted to £38 12s. 1d., and she had spent out of it £35 13s. 3d., a very large proportion of which went in presents and gifts. Whoever was responsible for writing it, noted down from time to time what the little girl gave away. A "golden picture" was lost on one occasion, probably her miniature, and the person who found it was rewarded with a gift of two shillings. Soon after

that, her looking-glass was lost, and the man who found that had six shillings given to him—it was evidently a very precious glass. To the man who brought her a present of twelve little glasses of a sweetmeat, from Lady Audley, two shillings were presented, and to a man who brought her some Indian clothes, a gift from a Captain Davis,³ sixpence was given, while almost immediately following that, comes the entry of a gift of two shillings to a man who brought a present from Lady Derby,⁴ of a pair of writing tables, probably ivory or polished ass's skin tablets. Then, amongst the purchases, are the entries of the buying of an ivory box to put a picture in, which cost twelvecence, a wire frame for a ruff, which cost seven shillings, a pair of Jersey stockings, which cost four shillings, two pairs of shoes of Spanish leather, and one pair of calf leather, which together cost 14d., while for making her handkerchiefs and her clothes, fine holland was bought at a cost of 2s. 8d. per ell, and some "lawne" was purchased at "the sign of the Holy Lamb in St. Martin's."

When she went away to stay with her aunt at Chenies, there was a gift of three shillings to the woman who attended to her breakfast and washed her linen, and 2s. 6d. to the groom who made the fires and attended to the room, while on one occasion, when some musicians came to play at her chamber door, they received 2s. 6d. as a gift, but when she had a little party of her own, and they were there probably the whole evening, they were paid 10s. 0d. Someone at Lillford, probably her great-aunt Mrs. Elmes, sent her a brace of pheasants, and the carriers who brought them were presented with a gratuity of elevenpence. Her dancing master was a man named Stephens, and he had 20s. 0d. per month for his fee, while the artist who drew her portrait received 3s. 0d., but his name unluckily is not given in the book of accounts. Some bunches of feathers for her hair cost sixpence, some green worsted stockings 4s. 3d., a headdress 5s. 0d., a ring and jewel 9s. 3d., while some glass flowers, and some pendants of gold and pearls, which were probably adornments, cost 7s. 0d. in the one case, and 12s. 0d. in the other. She herself bought an hour-glass,

³ Probably John Davys, the navigator, as his name is often spelled Davis. He sailed with Cavendish, but was in England just at this time. He died in 1605. He was the inventor of the double quadrant, and one of his instruments, recovered from the Royal George (1782), is in the Naval Museum at Greenwich.

⁴ The wife of William, 6th Earl and daughter of the 17th Earl of Oxford.

which cost fourpence, and also a mask, perhaps to use at her own party, which cost two shillings, and for two paper books, one in which these accounts were kept, and the other in which she could write out her Catechism, a shilling was paid.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the extracts, and the one that most reveals her as a child, is the 5s. od. paid for "litel silkworms," and the next entry to it is the largest in the book of accounts, 33s. od. for slea (or unravelled) silk, perhaps to use in embroidery. It is curious to remember that Bishop Rainbow, in her funeral sermon, speaking of Lady Anne's wisdom, said that she could discourse well "on all subjects from predestination to slea silk." It would therefore appear to be likely, that, as she began as a child to interest herself with silk and silkworms, so she continued to take pleasure in the use of silk, and in her Great Picture she has by her side her embroidery and many skeins of richly coloured silk. From other entries in the book we hear that she was taught French and music in addition to dancing, that she used to go and see her various aunts in their coaches, and that she made a present to the groom who looked after her at each of the houses, that she often had presents from relatives of gold, of trinkets, venison (once a whole stag at a time, a curious gift for a girl of eleven), fish and fruit, and of little barrels (or boxes) of groats or fourpences, while invariably, to the person who brought her a gift, she made a suitable gratuity.

All this deals with the lighter and more frivolous side of the young girl's life, but we must now consider its more solid aspect. She tells us on the Great Picture, that she was "blessed by the education and tender care of a most affectionate dear and excellent mother, who brought her up in as much goodness and knowledge as her secrets and years were capable of." The education must certainly have been of a serious character and Lady Anne a precocious and highly-developed scholar in her early years, if she was able to use the books which surround her in the representation in the left wing of the Great Picture. They are more particularly described in our chapter on the Picture, but as they include Epictetus and Boethius, the writings of St. Augustine, the History of the Church by Eusebius the Works of Ovid, and Cornelius Agrippa on the Vanity of Science, they cannot be said to err on the lighter side. The only book in the whole twenty-five that

can in the very least be termed light literature in Don Quixote,⁵ but the list certainly included Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, and the works of Spenser and of Chaucer, while of French literature, we find the French Academy in three volumes, and Montaigne's *Essays*, although in all probability, as we shall see later on, these were not in the original, but in English translations.⁶ Amongst the books, moreover, are to be found all the works in verse of Samuel Daniel and the *Chronicle of England* in prose, by the same author "tutor to this young lady," and it was to Daniel that she owed this more serious side of her education. It was between 1595 and 1599 that Daniel first became acquainted with Lady Anne's home. The *Dictionary of National Biography* tells us that he had already shown some interest in the Clifford family, when he wrote "The Complaynt of Rosamond," and he settled himself down with great satisfaction in his new work as tutor to Lady Anne, and instilled into her, from tender years, a taste for poetry, history and the classics. It was not the first duty of that kind undertaken by the poet. He had been tutor to William Herbert, and had resided at Wilton, with his pupil's father, Lord Pembroke, receiving considerable encouragement in his literary projects from Mary, Countess of Pembroke, Sir Philip Sidney's sister, the mother of young Herbert. His first poems had been printed in 1591, and the book dedicated to his patroness, Lady Pembroke. "The Complaynt of Rosamond" appeared later, with some new sonnets, and at that time, Daniel's verse came under the notice of Edmund Spenser, who introduced a reference to him in his "Colin Clout's come home againe," and addressing him by name, advised him to attempt tragedy. Daniel's next book, however, was a *History of the Civil Wars*, a long historical poem, written in imitation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, and then we come to the time he accepted this engagement.

His intercourse with both mother and daughter appears to have been congenial, and he addressed them both in his poetic epistles. It is hardly necessary to quote these effusions, but in one of his poems

⁵ Don Quixote is a rather puzzling entry. The first English translation of it is Skelton's of 1612—the first French translation that of 1613, so that if Lady Anne saw the book as a child it could only have been in the original Spanish. Perchance her tutor translated some of its stories, or she may have possessed a copy with wood block cuts in it and interested herself in these.

⁶ Probably Florio's edition, 1603.

addressed to Lady Anne herself, in which he speaks of "That better part, the mansion of your mind," he bids her store it with what he calls

The richest furniture of worth
 To make ye highly good as highly born,
 And set your virtues equal to your kind.
 Such are your holy bounds, who must convey
 (If God so please) the honourable blood
 Of Clifford and of Russell, led aright
 To many worthy stems, whose offspring may
 Look back with comfort, to have had that good
 To spring from such a branch that grew s'upright :
 Since nothing cheers the heart of greatness more
 Than the ancestor's fair glory gone before.

It is clear, however, from a letter which Daniel wrote to Sir Thomas Jordan, in 1601, and which is quoted in the article already referred to, that the work of tuition was irksome to him. In it he speaks about his misery, that whilst he ought to have been writing about "the actions of men," he had been "constrayned to bide with children." But for all that, he seems to have exercised a wise influence upon his young pupil, and to have been greatly indebted to her mother for patronage and assistance, for the poem which he calls "A General Defence of Learning" which he brought out in 1599, whilst he was in her service, was specially dedicated, by her permission, to Lady Cumberland. It has been said that Daniel succeeded Spenser as Poet Laureate, but there is no real evidence to support this statement although it is clear that he was often at Court, and regarded as a Court poet, and a popular and acceptable one.

He was the owner of a farm at Beckington near Phipps Norton in Somersetshire, and either to that or to another farm near by called "The Ridge" he retired in his old age, and there died in 1619. His tomb was erected by his pupil, Lady Anne, and is curiously characteristic of her, because, although it commemorates her old tutor, yet by far the greater part of the inscription is taken up with reference to herself, and to her own work. It is a plain monument, and on the north wall of the church at Beckington. The inscription reads as follows :—

Here lyes, expectinge the second comming of
 Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, ye Dead Body
 of Samuel Danyell, Esq., that Excellent Poett and
 Historian, who was Tutor to the Lady Anne
 of Clifford in her youth, she that was sole Daughter
 and Heire to George Clifford Earl of Cumberland
 Who in Gratitude to him erected this Monument
 in his Memory a long time after when she
 was Countess Dowager of Pembroke, Dorsett
 & Montgomery. He dyed in October 1619.

She was distinctly attached to her tutor, for she introduced his portrait on the left wing of the Great Picture which she had painted, describing him in the inscription underneath it as "Tutour to this Young Lady, a man of an Upright and excellent Spirit, as appeared by his Works." It is, however, permissible to notice that the inscription does not give her own particular opinion of Daniel, nor state that, according to *her* knowledge, he was a man of upright and excellent spirit, but refers the reader to his works for the evidence of the existence of these special characteristics. The same inscription, goes on to refer to his death, and to his burial.

It was probably during the tuition of Samuel Daniel that Lady Anne acquired her interest in the poems of Spenser, and, twenty-one years after his death, it was she who was responsible for the erection of the first monument to the great poet. From the note-book of Nicholas Stone (1586-1647) we take the following extract, "I also," says he, "mad a monement for Mr. Spencer the pouett, and set it up at Westmester, for which the contes of Dorsett payed me 40*l.*"⁷ This was the monument erected in 1620 in the south transept, but it is stated that it got into such bad condition that the whole thing had to be entirely renovated; and the tomb was therefore repaired and re-erected, April 13th, 1778, by the efforts of William Mason the poet, who raised a subscription for restoring it "in durable marble, instead of in mouldering freestone."

The original inscription upon the tomb referred to the position selected for it, and read as follows:—

Hic, prope Chaucerum situs est Spenserius, illi
 Proximus ingenio, proximus ut tumulo.

⁷ See Walpole Society Proceedings, vol. VII., p. 54.

Camden, in his *Reges Reginae*, 1600,⁸ gives two other Latin inscriptions which he declares were upon the tomb, but there is no other contemporary evidence supporting Camden's statement, and it has been questioned by some authorities whether the two epitaphs quoted by Camden were actually ever engraved upon the tomb erected by Lady Anne, or whether they were simply intended to be so engraved. Camden, however, appears to be quite definite that they were on the tomb erected by Lady Anne. He gives them as follows :—

Edmundus Spencer, Londinensis, Anglicorum Poetarum nostri seculi facile princeps, quod eius poemata faventibus Musis et victuro genio conscripta comprobant.

Obiit immatura morte anno salutis 1598 et prope Galfredum Chaucerum conditur qui fœlicissime poesis Anglicis literis primus illustravit.

In quem hæc scripta sunt Epitaphia.

Hic prope Chaucerum Spensere Poeta poetam
Conderis, et versu, quàm tumulo prior. . . .
Anglica te vivo vixit, plausitque Poesis . . . ;
Nunc moritura timet, te moriente, mori.

The English inscription, which *was* put upon the tomb erected by Lady Anne was as follows :—

HEARE LYES
(EXPECTING THE SECOND COMMINGE OF OVR SAVIOVR IESUS CHRIST)
THE BODY OF
EDMOND SPENCER
THE PRINCE OF POETS IN HIS TYME
WHOSE DIVINE SPIRRIT
NEEDS NOE OTHIR WITNESSE
THEN THE WORKS WHICH HE LEFT BEHINDE HIM
HE WAS BORNE IN LONDON
IN THE YEARE 1510
AND DYED IN THE YEARE 1596

When the tomb was restored, the English inscription was set out in a somewhat different fashion, but the sentences remained the same. As a matter of fact, the dates are both of them wrong, the birth should be, so far as the most recent investigation proves, 1552, and the death 1599.

⁸ B.M. C. 32 e. 4. illuminated copy, which in line 5, by a printer's error, reads "poesin" instead of "poesis."

Lady Anne was not, however, educated by Samuel Daniel alone, but he was assisted by a governess, a certain Mrs. Anne Taylour, whose portrait hangs side by side with that of Daniel in the Great Picture, and who is described in the inscription beneath as "Governesse to this Young Lady, a Religious and good Woman." It goes on to tell us that Mrs. Taylour was the daughter of a Mr. Cholmley, and was born at his house in the Old Bailey in London, although the year of the good lady's birth is not filled in, and that she had many children by her husband, Mr. William Taylour, though they all died before her, and that she therefore died without issue. Beyond these statements, we know nothing of Mrs. Taylour, but from the two, Lady Anne derived a considerable amount of interest in books, and one of her documents tells us that in later years she employed a reader to read aloud to her, who used to mark on each volume or pamphlet the day when he began and ended his task.⁹ The books that were her favourites may be seen grouped around her in the other wing of the picture, but she was specially attached to the Bible, and constantly quotes Holy Scripture in her diaries. Bishop Rainbow, in the funeral sermon which he preached, gives a quaint reference to her love of reading. He says that she would frequently, out of "the rich Storehouse of her Memory," bring "things new and old, Sentences or Sayings of remark, which she had read or learned out of Authors," and these sentences, he tells us, she caused her servants and secretaries to write upon pieces of paper, and then her maids were ordered to pin them up on the walls of her room, on her bed hangings and her

⁹ While engaged upon this volume, an interesting piece of evidence corroborative of this statement has been discovered. In the possession of an old inhabitant of Appleby who has recently died, was a copy of the 1651 edition of Sir Anthony Weldon's book of the Court and Character of King James I., and at the beginning in this volume is an inscription in Lady Anne's handwriting to the following effect, "I began to read this book myself about ye beginninge of June in 1669 myselfe, in Appleby Castle, and by divers of my women for me, made an end of readinge of it the 21st of the same in 1669."

This particular volume, with this interesting inscription, has also certain annotations. Four of them are certainly in Lady Anne's handwriting, others in that of her secretary Sedgwick, and yet others in another handwriting. On page 181, Lady Anne has written a note stating that the reference is to the king. On page 171, she has put the word "True" by the side of a story, and against 142 she has written "This have I herd," and another page, against another story, she has written the word "notte." There is also the name of one of her servants, Mrs. Anne Turner, written on one page, perhaps to imply that Mrs. Turner was reading at that particular place, and the whole book is underscored in many directions, and has been read, it is quite evident, with considerable care. The book is now preserved in Appleby Castle.

furniture, so that she might see her favourite quotations while she was dressing, and as occasion served, might remember and refer to them in conversation, "so that," says the old bishop, "though she had not many Books in her Chamber, yet it was dressed up with the flowers of a Library."

Her father had given instructions, however, that his daughter was only to be trained in English, he apparently having no intention that she should learn either Latin or Greek, and Lady Anne herself implies, although she does not actually state it as a fact; that she did not read French. It is clear from her books of accounts that she was in early days taught French, but that may have been before Daniel arrived on the scene, and her father's instructions may have followed upon his coming as her tutor. If that is the case, the various classical and French works which appear in the picture must all have been read by her in translations. Still it would have been an unusual thing for a girl of her position in life to have had no knowledge of French, and we are inclined to think that the statement respecting her knowledge of languages was only intended to apply to Latin and Greek, and she must surely have spoken and read the French tongue.

She herself, however, says, "The said young lady was not admitted to learn any language, because her father would not permit it, but for all other knowledge fit for her sex, none was bred up to greater perfection than herself."

Whether due to the severity of her early education, or to her naturally weakly health, she seems to have suffered much from illness during childhood, and was frequently sent away from home "with old Mr. Elmes¹⁰ and his wife Alice, who was aunt to her mother" by blood of the St. Johns, "where," she says, "she was seasoned with the grounds of goodness and the love of a private country life." It was with these same old people that her mother as a child had often stayed. When, however, Lady Anne grew sturdier, her mother brought her up to London, staying at first at the house on Clerkenwell Green which had been bequeathed to Lady Cumberland in 1596 by the Dowager Countess of Derby, and which, as a country house in the

¹⁰ She possessed an interesting Pedigree of the St. Johns of Bletso drawn up in black and colour and given her by her cousin Lady Barrington in 1629. This we discovered quite recently at Skipton and it has special references to Mr. and Mrs. Elmes. It is at Appleby Castle.

fields near to London, was thought to be a more suitable place of residence for the young girl than the mother's own house in Austin Friars, in the very heart of the metropolis.

Then commenced her society life, but for that we must go to a diary at Knole, very kindly placed at our disposal by Lord Sackville. She had herself told us in her own Great Book that from the age of thirteen she had been welcomed at Court, "because," says she, "I was much beloved by that Renowned Queene Elizabeth, who dyed when I was about thirteen yeares and two monthesould," but in the diary, part of which is inaccurately quoted by Seward and which is manifestly incomplete, but of extreme importance; she goes into much closer reference to her life with her mother and her attendance at Court. In it she states that, if Queen Elizabeth had lived, she had intended to have preferred her to have been in the privy chamber, for at that time there was "as much hope and expectation of me" says she, "both for my person and my fortunes, as of any other young lady whatsoever." Then the Queen removed to Richmond, where she began to grow sickly, and Lady Warwick used often to go to see Her Majesty, and carried Lady Anne with her in the coach, when she had to wait in the outer chamber, until her aunt was free. About the 21st or 22nd of March, 1603, Lady Warwick sent word to Lady Cumberland, who was then living at Clerkenwell, in the house left her by the Dowager Countess of Derby; that she should go to her house in London, in Austin Friars, in case that there was any commotion. It was evident that Queen Elizabeth was very ill, and rioting was feared in the villages about the Metropolis, and then, three days afterwards, Lady Warwick's servant brought them word in Austin Friars that the Queen had died that morning, and the message was delivered, she tells us, to her mother in the very room in which afterwards she was married. King James was proclaimed that morning at Cheapside, and Lady Anne went out to see the sight and to hear the proclamation, telling us that the peaceful coming in of the King had been unexpected by all sorts of people. A few days afterwards, she seems to have gone back to Clerkenwell to live, and then, she states, that the first time the King sent to the House of Lords, he commanded that Lord Cumberland, amongst other persons, should be added to his Privy Council. The body of Queen Elizabeth

was brought by barge from Richmond to Whitehall, Lady Anne's mother and other ladies of the Court attending it. For a while, it was lying in state in the drawing-room and watched all night, and Lady Anne's mother took her share in the watch, sitting up with the body two or three nights, but, although the girl wanted to be present, her father refused to give leave, because he considered her much too young. She was constantly at Whitehall in these days, walking very much in the garden, and she says that the lords and ladies of the time were "all full of several hopes, every man expecting mountains, and finding molehills, excepting Sir Robert Cecil and the house of the Howards, who hated my mother, and did not much love my Aunt of Warwick." The Queen's body lay in state for a considerable time, and then the funeral took place at Westminster, and here again Lady Anne asked to be present, but was not allowed to take part in the ceremony, because, she says, she was not tall enough. She was, however, successful in getting her own way, as was usually the case, for she says "Yet I *did* stood in the church at Westminster to see the solemnity performed."

Then comes her first visit to see the new King, when her aunt, with Lady Newton and her daughter, Lady Finch, and other people, went down to Lady Warwick's house, and from thence they all went to Theobalds—"Tibbals," as Lady Anne spells it) to see the King, "who used my mother and my aunt very graciously, but we all saw a great change between the fashion of the Court as it was now, and of it in the Queen's time," One of these changes consisted apparently in a want of cleanliness in the rooms "for" she adds, "we were all lousy by sitting in Sir Thomas Erskine's chamber." There had previously been a stiff dispute between Lord Burleigh and Lord Cumberland as to who should carry the Sword of State before the king, when on his journey from Scotland he had rested at York for a while. The king had adjudicated in Lord Cumberland's favour "because it was his office by inheritance," says Lady Anne, "so it lineally descended on me." It is evident that, even at this tender age of thirteen, she had a full sense of her own rights and privileges, and of the fact that, on her father's decease all the honours and estates which he possessed, ought to descend to her. She goes on to describe the king's journey to Charterhouse, where he created Lord Thomas

Howard, Earl of Suffolk, and Lord Mountjoy, Earl of Devonshire, restored Lord Northampton and Lord Essex to the positions they had previously held before they were attainted, created many barons, amongst whom was her uncle Russell, who became Lord Russell of Thorney, and made "an innumerable number of knights." We learn, by a side reference, of the difficulties that had even then commenced between Lord Cumberland and his wife, for she says "My father used to come sometymes to us at Clerkenwell, but not often, for he had at this tyme as it weare whollie left my mother, yet the house was kept still at his charge." Then occurs the first reference to her great friendship with her cousin, Lady Frances Bouchier, whom she first met at Bagshot, and with whom she spent the night, and with her a certain Mistress Marye Cary, "which was the first beginning of the greatness between us." Further on, she refers to her cousin's special kindness to her. She and her mother, with her aunt Lady Bath, and this cousin, had been riding to North Hall, and she had gone on a little in front of the procession, riding alone with a Mr. Meverell. This had made her mother angry, and in her anger she had stated that Lady Anne should lie in her room alone, which, says she, "I could not endure, but my Cozen Frances got the key of my chamber and lay with me, which was the first time I loved hir so verie well." As it happened, the very next day this Mr. Meverell fell down suddenly and died. It was thought at first that he must have died of the plague, and the whole party were in great fear and amazement, because they were on their way to Court. Lady Warwick sent them some medicines, which they took, and they rested for a while at the house of Sir Moyle Finch, but the disease, whatever it was, was evidently not plague, because they were all able to go on to Court to the coronation. It was to the memory of this cousin, who died in 1612 when only twenty-six years old, that Lady Anne erected a tomb at Chenies. It stands in the centre of the chapel, and consists of a plain slab of black marble, resting upon four Tuscan columns of white marble, which themselves stand upon another slab of black. In the middle of the lower slab are two armorial shields, each accompanied by an Earl's coronet, with a lozenge between them, and an inscription to the effect that there was interred the body of the worthy and virtuous maid, Lady Frances Bouchier, daughter of Lord Bath,

“ IN WHOSE MEMORY YE LADY ANNE CLIFFORD, COUNTISSE OF DORSETT, HER DEARE COSEN, AT HER OWNE COSTES & CHARGES, HATH ERECTED THIS MONUMENT.”

The girl was evidently of warm heart and impetuous spirit, as Adeline, Duchess of Bedford said in her book on Chenies Church, and when Anne was locked alone into the room, she, by her action, restored the failing courage of her cousin, and they became warmly attached to one another.

On another occasion, of the same cousin, she says “ We were merry at North-hall, my cousin Frances Bourcher (*sic*) and my cousin Francis Russell and I were great one with the other.” Mistress Cary, who had accompanied them, had gained some distinction from the fact that the Master of Orkney and Lord Tillebarne (Tullibardine) were both of them very much in love with her, and came often to see her.

It was some years after the erection of the tomb to her cousin's memory, however, before Lady Anne was able to go and see it. She had described her cousin's decease on August 30th, 1612, in these words, “ My worthy cousin german the Lady Frances Bourcher (*sic*), did die of a burning fever, to my great grief and sorrow, in my mother's house called Sutton in Kent, and she was buried at the church at Chenies in Buckinghamshire,” but it was not until 1616 that Lady Anne was able to go to Chenies, for in a letter dated the 20th January in that years, written by her to her mother, she says “ I was lately at Chenies, my Lord of Bedford's house, with my cousin Russell, to see the tomb which I had made of my own costes for my dear cousin, Frances Bourcher (*sic*).” One may perhaps imagine that, as the two girls were such close friends, and Lady Frances died at Lady Anne's mother's house, she determined to take upon herself the privilege of erecting the tomb at Chenies to her memory.

The greater part of this little diary is taken up with records of visits to various houses, generally in company with her mother, or with her aunt, Lady Warwick, and frequently with a view to meeting the King and Queen, wherever they might be. In one place Lady Anne speaks about her aunt going to meet the Queen, taking with her a certain Mrs. Bridges and her own cousin Anne Vavasour, and says that she and her mother ought to have gone on with them, but the

horses were not ready, and so she went on in the evening and overtook her aunt at Lady Blunt's house, Ditten Hanger, and her mother followed the next day. Later on, they continued in their journey, and she says that they killed three horses that day with the great heat, and so came to Lord Kent's ¹¹ house at Wrest,¹² but there, unfortunately, they found the house closed up, and nobody in it but one servant, who had only the key of the hall, so that they had to lie in the hall nearly all the night, until towards morning, at which time a man came and let them into the higher rooms, where they slept for three or four hours, and then hurried away very early in the morning for Rockingham Castle, where they overtook Lady Warwick and her company, and continued a few days with old Sir Edward Watson and his lady. Thence they went on to Lady Needham's, and there, she says, came Lady Bedford, "who was then so great a woman with the Queene as everybody much respected hir, she havinge attended the Queene from out of Scotland." The following day, they came up with the Queen's procession, and that was the first time, says Lady Anne, that "I ever saw the Queen and Prince Henrie where she kissed us all, and used us kindly," and they went on that night with the Queen's train, "there being an infinite company of coaches," and they rested at Sir Richard Knightlie's,¹³ "where my Lady Elizabeth Knightlie ¹⁴ made exceedingly much of us." Thence she journeyed to Coventry, and went to a gentleman's house where the Lady Elizabeth Her Grace ¹⁵ lay, which was the first time I ever saw her, Lady Kildare and my Lady Harrington being her governesses," and then they came back to Sir Richard Knightlie's. The next day they went on with the queen to Althorp, and there for the first time she saw her cousin, Henry Clifford, and there was evidently a great company in the house, what she calls "an infinite number of lords and ladies," and on the Monday, the journey extended to Hatton Fermers, where the King met the Queen, and they moved on to Grafton, where the Earl of Cumberland entertained them all with speeches and delicate presents, at which time, she says, "my Lord and the Alexanders did run a course on the field, where he hurt Henry Alexander very dangerously."

¹¹ Sir Henry Grey, sixth Earl of Kent.

¹² Now the property of Lady Lucas.

¹³ Fawsley Park, Northampton.

¹⁴ Daughter of Edward, Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector

¹⁵ Daughter of James I., afterwards Queen of Bohemia.

She speaks about the Queen's favour to Lady Hatton,¹⁶ Lady Cecil, and Lady Rich, and remarks on the fact that Queen Anne showed no favour to the elder ladies, only to the younger ones, while there is a most pathetic remark concerning her mother, to the effect that "all this tyme of the King's being at Grafton, my mother was ther, but not heald as Mistress of the house, by reason of ye difference between my Lord and hir, which was growne to a great height." It must indeed have been a strange position for Lady Cumberland, the King and Queen entertained by her husband, and she herself not on speaking terms with him, but obliged to see someone else—her own sister in all probability—regarded as superintending the arrangements of the house.¹⁷ Lady Anne then refers to the continuance of the Royal progress, to the house of a certain Dr. Challoner at Amer-sham, and, with one more resting-place, on to Windsor, where the feast of St. George was solemnised, when a large number of ladies were sworn of the Queen's Privy Chamber, so many, in fact that she tells us "it made the place of no esteem or credit." It is evident

¹⁶ Alice wife of Sir Christopher (born Fanshawe).

¹⁷ This house was usually known as Grafton Regis. It was the place where Henry VIII. had his last interview with Cardinal Campeggio before the Cardinal left England, and it is described with considerable detail by Cavendish, the faithful biographer of Cardinal Wolsey, who accompanied Cardinal Campeggio on that occasion. We also hear of Henry VIII. being there in 1531, and receiving in the house the ambassadors from Hungary, and there are several references in the State Papers of Henry VIII's time to hunting at Grafton, and to expenses in connection therewith. Queen Elizabeth was at Grafton in 1568, and King James stayed there twice during the early part of his reign. In the time of Charles, it was occupied by Lord Cumberland, and the house was used as a convenient resting-place on the journeys between London and the North. There are some allusions in the Clifford papers to pasties of red deer venison being sent to Grafton by express messenger from Skipton, and also to the fact that whole carcasses of stags were baked at Skipton and despatched to Grafton to be cut up and used at the banquets. The accounts refer also to charges for currants and lemons supplied from Skipton for use at Grafton in the "stag pies," and also to pepper, used for the same purpose, and there are allusions to the fact that Lord Cumberland sent presents to various neighbours of special deer pasties, which were made for him at Skipton, while on one occasion, six of these pasties were sent down to Appleby, that they might be used in the entertainment of the judges. Later on, Grafton was mortgaged by Charles I. to Sir Francis Crane. In 1643 it was in the occupation of Lady Crane, and was then garrisoned for the king under Sir John Digby, but at Christmas it was stormed and captured by the Commonwealth forces, and on Christmas Eve was surrendered, and then the house was sacked and set on fire. One of the State Papers at that time refers to it as "the bravest and best seat in the kingdom, a house of great value, containing things of great worth and estimation, which the common soldiers divided amongst themselves, having great and rich plunder for their pains." The whole place was destroyed at that time, and the house which later on occupied the site was a seventeenth century building, erected by the first Duke of Grafton, and that was in its turn destroyed, and the present manor house is an ordinary building of moderate size.

that she has a desire herself at one time to be in the Queen's Privy Chamber, and spoke to Lord Bedford about it, 'but,' she adds, "I had the good fortune to miss it." On the occasion of the solemnisation of the feast of St. George, she stood in the great hall, and saw the King and all the Knights sitting at dinner, and she saw also the reception of the Archduke's ambassador, who was received by the King and Queen in the great hall. Then she went on with the Court to Hampton Court, and she says "About the round towers were tents, where the people were dying two and three a day with plague." She became very ill with a fever, and her mother was in grave doubt whether it was not the plague, but after two or three days, she got better, and then was sent away to stay with some cousins at Norbury, and the woman-in-waiting who had usually been with her was put away because her husband was ill of the plague, of which he died shortly afterwards.

Another naive remark appears in connection with the residence of the Court at Hampton Court. She says "At Hampton Court my mother, myself and the other ladies dined in the presence, as they used in Queen Elizabeth's time, but that custom lasted not long. About this tyme my Lady of Hertford began to grow great with the Queen, and the Queen wore her picture." Then came the coronation on July 25th. Her father and mother were both present in their robes, and also her aunt, Lady Bath, and her uncle, Lord Warwick, but her mother would not let her "go, because the plague was so hott in London." Her cousin, Lady Frances Bouchier, she tells us, did see it, but had to stand, because she had "noe robes, and went not amongst the company." Lady Anne continued at Norbury, and speaks with some satisfaction of the "peare pies and such things" which she had there during the time of her illness. When she was better, her mother fetched her home, and they went to a little house near Hampton Court, where they lived for about a fortnight, and then Frances and she came together again, with their friend Mary Cary, and used to walk about the garden of the house when the King and Queen were not there. Just at that time she says her cousin Anne Vavasour was married to Sir Richard Warburton.

Later on, the Court seems to have gone to Basingstoke, and Lady Cumberland and her daughter and Lady Bath went to reside at

Sir Francis Palme's house, Launce Levell, but they often went to Basingstoke to see the Queen and Lady Arabella, who was then with her. On one occasion the Queen went from Basingstoke to dine with Sir Henry Wallop,¹⁸ where Lady Anne, her mother and her aunt had been two or three nights before, and they helped to entertain the royal party. As they rode home from Lady Wallop's to Launce Levell, quite late in the evening, she records the fact that she saw "a strange comet in the night like a cannopie in the aire," and that it was observed all over England. At that time Lady Bedford was beginning to lose favour with the royal party. "Now was my Lady Ritch grown great with the Queene," she says, "in so much as my Lady of Bedford was somethinge out with hir, and when she came to Hampton Court was entertayned but even indifferentlie and yet continued to be of the bedchamber."

Another house that she went to belonged to Sir Edmund Fettiplace,¹⁹ and she also stayed at Wantage and at Barton with a Mrs. Dormer, from thence making her way to Woodstock, whither the Court had moved. While the King was in residence at Woodstock some of the trouble concerning her land had commenced, and Lady Cumberland was writing letters to the King, and was speaking to the Queen through Lady Bedford. "My father," she says "at this time

¹⁸ Son of Queen Elizabeth's Treasurer.

¹⁹ This house, no doubt, was Swinbrook Manor, the residence at that time of one of the wealthiest of the Oxfordshire Squires. The local rhyme referring to this family thus :—

"The Traceys and the Laceys and the Fettiplaces
Own all the manors, the parks and the chases."

The family died out in the male line in 1743, and the female collateral branch, to whom Swinbrook fell, ruined themselves in two generations, and finally pulled down the manor, which was an exceedingly grand example of Elizabethan architecture. Not one stone of it remains, but its terraces and fish-ponds may still be seen.

The little church near by contains the remarkable monuments to the Fettiplace family, several fine brasses, and one extraordinary tomb, commemorating six members of the family. Sir Edmund himself is amongst the six, and he is thus described :—

"Read and record rare Edmund Fettiplace,
A knight most worthy of his rank and race,
Whose prudent manage in two happy reignes,
Whose publique service and whose private paines,
Whose Zeal to God, and toward ill Severitie,
Whose Temperance, whose Justice, whose Sinceritie,
Whose native mildness to both great and small,
Whose faith and love to friend, wife, child and all
In life and death made him beloved and dear
To God and menn, and ever famous heer."

followed his suit to the Kinge about the border lands, so that sometymes my mother and he did meet by chaunce, wher ther countenances did show the dislik they had one of ye other, yet he would speak to me in a slight fashion, and give me his blessing." The Court moved on to Oxford, and she was there on more than one occasion, and there it was that she says she saw "the Spannish Ambassador, who was then new come to England about the peace," but while near by, she indulged herself with eating so much fruit that shortly afterwards at Borton, where she used to stay, both she and Mary Cary were ill. Lady Bath had been presenting before the King a suit which she had for the recovery of certain lands, but at length she had but little hope of her ultimate success, and so took her leave of Lady Cumberland and returned into the West Country to her own home.

Apparently, the income Lord Cumberland was allowing to his wife during the time of this disturbance, was very limited in its amount, and Lady Bath had been helping her sister in paying her household charges. "While they lay at Borton," says Lady Anne, "my mother and my aunt paid for the charge of the house equallie." Soon after Lady Bath had left for the West, she and her mother took a long journey to Greene's Norton, to the house of a cousin, a Mr. St. Leger ("Sellenger," as she spells it, adopting the pronunciation of that and the present day) and she did not get there till ten o'clock at night, when she says "I was so wearie as I could not tell whether I should sleepe or eate first." A little later on, we hear of the party at North Hall, staying with Lady Warwick, who was ill and melancholy because of the plague, and it would look as though Lady Cumberland was then receiving some assistance in her expenses from her uncle and aunt, Lord and Lady Russell, because she speaks of them in conjunction with her mother and herself, giving all the allowance to Mr. Chambers, "my aunt's Steward," for keeping up the house for them. It was at North Hall that she speaks of her "haire coloured velvet gown" which she says she wore every day, and adds that she "learned to singe and play on the bass viol of Jack Jenkins, my aunt's boye." She evidently had a happy time at North Hall, her two cousins were there, and they all got on together exceedingly well.

The final clause in this quaint little memoir refers to some Court scandal. She says, "Now there was much talk of a maske which

the Queene had at Winchester, and how all the ladies about the Court had gotten such ill names that it was grown a scandalous place, and the Queene herself was much fallen from hir former greatness and reputation she had in the world.”

The only remaining piece of information that we possess concerning the life of Lady Anne at this early period consists in the solitary letter amongst the muniments at Appleby, written by her before her marriage. It is an important example of the manner in which a girl of fifteen in those days addressed her parents, and although illustrated in our pages, it is well to give it in ordinary spelling in this place. It is addressed to the “Right Honourable my very good Lady and Mother, the Countess of Cumberland,” and, according to Lady Anne’s endorsement (very much later in her life) it was written from Grafton ²⁰ at the latter end of August, 1605.

MADAM,

I thought to have gone to Oxford, according to your Ladyship’s desire with my Lady Arbella, and to have slept in her chamber, which she much desired, for I am the more bound to her than can be, but my Lord would not have me go with the Court thither, but I shall meet it at Oxford to-morrow, and after my being there, I will send my footman to your Ladyship, that you may know how things go with me, for I have had a great deal of talk with my Lord about that matter you know of, for that match, and my Lord hath promised me that there shall nothing pass for any match whatsoever, but that your consent should be asked as a chief matter. I beseech your Ladyship to pardon my boldness in writing to you thus rudely, and to let nobody to know of these matters, though they be but trifling.

I rest, as I am bound by nature, love and duty,

Your Ladyship’s most obedient and dutiful daughter,

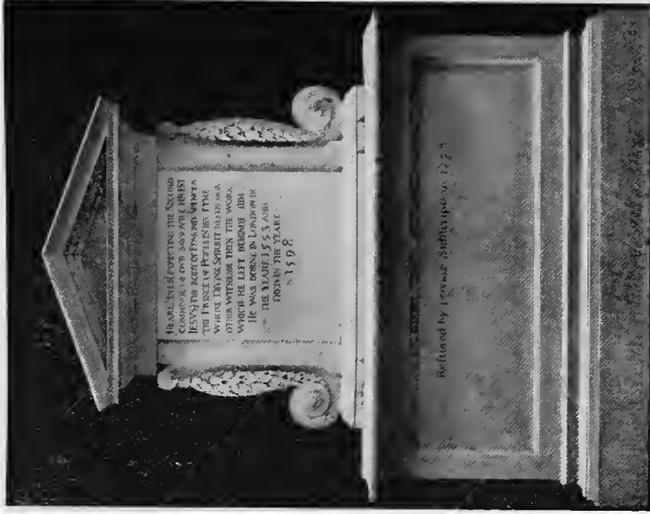
(Signed) ANNE CLIFFORD.

It is probable that this letter refers to certain overtures that were already being made for Lady Anne’s hand, and “my Lord,” who is mentioned in it, was perhaps her father, but it may have been young Lord Buckhurst, who was then beginning to pay attentions to her.

In this connection, it may be of interest to refer to another letter amongst the Appleby archives which concerns Lady Arabella Stuart, and which gives some fresh details respecting her last hours. She was

²⁰ See note on page 72 concerning Grafton.

To face page 76.



TOMB OF SPENCER IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY, erected by Lady Anne in 1620; rebuilt in 1778 (see page 63).

Madam I will find the convenience of
 your well disposicion to your service
 as well did as alone your convenience is
 had to time in the ~~the~~ benefits I have
 very in degrees more than to any other
 my gratings could be, this your
 of this, you is one of the world
 there to take a Review with some
 content to that I hope he did a
 fight, he was was not known
 to me, he was in all wars
 opinions that was a bout he
 have, that that might be was a bout
 day's hope but he, and the next
 evening I was read to before the
 was that, before so, my he
 not tell her Lewis he, having and
 at time was all closed as you had
 only so a few owns after my
 coming, he had draw her feet
 to be approved, he say and direct
 times or several, very he in to
 the last word, he spoke of day
 worldly thing was to desire, except
 to serve the rest of it, for you
 we ever met you in, will please
 at length so saying that I had to
 what is, what matter when my
 that is, what is this, my job
 this, please come garden, and here is the
 your, please come garden, and here is the
 1615.

LADY SHREWSBURY TO LADY CUMBERLAND, concerning Lady Arbella Stuart, 8th December, 1615 (see page 77).

To face page 77.

Madame I thought to have gone to school
 according to your late desire, ~~with~~ my Lady
 which, and to have been in his chamber,
 which I've much desired, for I am the more
 bound to her, that could what my Lord would
 we have me, to goe, with the corse there
 is, but I shall meet it at Oxford, so
 more, and after my being there I will send
 my former to your Lady, that you may
 know how things, see, with me, for I
 have had a great deal of talk, with my
 Lord, a brace that makes you know of for
 these matters, and my Lord hath promised
 me, that I should receive your
 my message, what to do, since that you
 confere, shall be heard, as a chiefe matter,
 I heere, your Lady to pardon my boldness,
 in writing, to you thus rudely, and to
 let nobody, to know of this matter, that
 hee but truly, I write as I am bound by
 nature, duty, and duty,

Yours the most obedient and
 affectionate daughter
 Anne Clifford

LADY ANNE CLIFFORD, AGED 15,
 to her Mother, August, 1605 (see page 76).



SKIPTON CASTLE.

From two early water colours (see page 415).

evidently deeply attached to Lady Anne, and their name occurs together on several occasions in these early days, while remotely, the two young people were connected. She was of course next in the line of succession to the English throne after her first cousin James I. The letter is from Mary, Countess of Shrewsbury, daughter of the well-known "Bess of Hardwick" by her second husband Sir William Cavendish, and is dated the 8th of December, 1615, Lady Arabella having died on the previous 25th of September. Lady Anne has endorsed the letter with the following superscription "Most of it being of the death of her niece, the Lady Arbella, who died in the Tower of London about the beginning of October in 1615," the date quoted by Lady Anne not being absolutely accurate. Lady Shrewsbury, who was sister to Lady Arabella's mother wrote as follows, the letter being addressed to Lady Anne's mother, the Countess of Cumberland,

MADAM,

I still find the continuance of your noble disposition to your friends, as well dead as alive, you commiserating hard fortune in the heavy loss I have of my Lady Arbella, whose worth I protest was many degrees more dear to me than any greatness could be this use. I make of this loss to esteem no more of the world than to lawne to a rotten veil. My comfort is that I hope she died a saint. Her weakness was not known to me till she was, in all men's opinions that was about her, to have died that night, which was about two days before her death, and the next morning, I was made to believe she was much better, so I saw her not till her ears, her tongue and eyes were all closed as one dead, only for a few hours after my coming she did draw her breath, the apparition she saw, and divers times expressed, was very heavenly. The last words she spoke of any worldly thing, was to desire earnestly to see me, the rest, if it please God we ever meet, your Ladyship shall know at length, so, being unfit to write of any other matter, when my heart is possessed with this, I must for this time crave pardon, and beseech the Highest ever to grant your Ladyship and yours all true happiness.

From Broad Street,

where or in what place soever I am,

I remain faithfully at your Ladyship's disposition

8 Dec., 1615.

(Signed) M. SHREWSBURY.

It is probable that it was during an interval in her Court life that Lady Anne was taken away by her mother to the North for a few months, in order that she might see the lands to which she was the

rightful heir. She herself tells us that she and her mother, were, "forced for their own good" to go down to Westmoreland, that they came to Appleby Castle on the 22nd of July, 1607, the first time she had been into the county and in her father's lands since his death. Lady Cumberland had already determined the course of action that she should adopt with regard to the land, and desired to set on foot a very careful search amongst all the Clifford papers for any document, however slight, or of whatever antiquity, that might help to substantiate her daughter's claim. It was in that year (1607) that she and those about her commenced to collect the enormous mass of family papers that are described in the chapter we give on the diary. It is such a series of documents as surely, in the words of John Baynes, "no other noble family in the world can show."

The mother and daughter were for some little time at Appleby, and then went on to Brougham, where they stayed for three or four days, and this was the first time that Lady Anne had ever seen the castle. Thence they went for three or four nights more to Naworth Castle in Cumberland, her first visit to that county, and then journeying back towards London, they were not able, as they had wished, to inspect Skipton Castle, because of contrary orders given by Francis, Lord Cumberland, but the young girl was taken to the Beamsley Hospital, which her mother was building, and was shown some of the important parts of the Craven estate. She and her mother stayed with Mr. Clapham near to Beamsley, and then came back to London, to Lady Cumberland's own house at Austin Friars, for on the 18th April, 1608, the pleadings were started in the Court of Wards concerning all the lands of her inheritance.

CHAPTER VII.

LADY ANNE'S FIRST MARRIAGE.

WE have already referred to the death of Lady Anne's father and mother, and to the difficulties that occurred with regard to her estates ; we have now to revert to the state of affairs which ensued when the fourth Earl of Cumberland succeeded to the title and, under the unfortunate will of his brother, to the estates also. Lady Anne tells us that " presently after the death of my Father, I being left his sole Daughter and heire, his widdow my deare mother, out of her affectionate care of my good, caused mee to chuse her my Guardian, and then in my name, shee began to sue out a Liverie in the Court of Wards, for my right to all my Father's Landes by way of prevention to hinder and interrupt the Liverie with my Unckle of Cumberland which caused great sutes of Law to arise, betweene her and my said Unckle, which in effect continued for one Cause or another dureing her life. In which she showed a most Brave spirritt, and never yielded to any opposition whatever." In these sentences we have plainly set before us the opening of the legal controversy which lasted until the death of the last Earl, when Lady Anne quietly succeeded to the whole property.

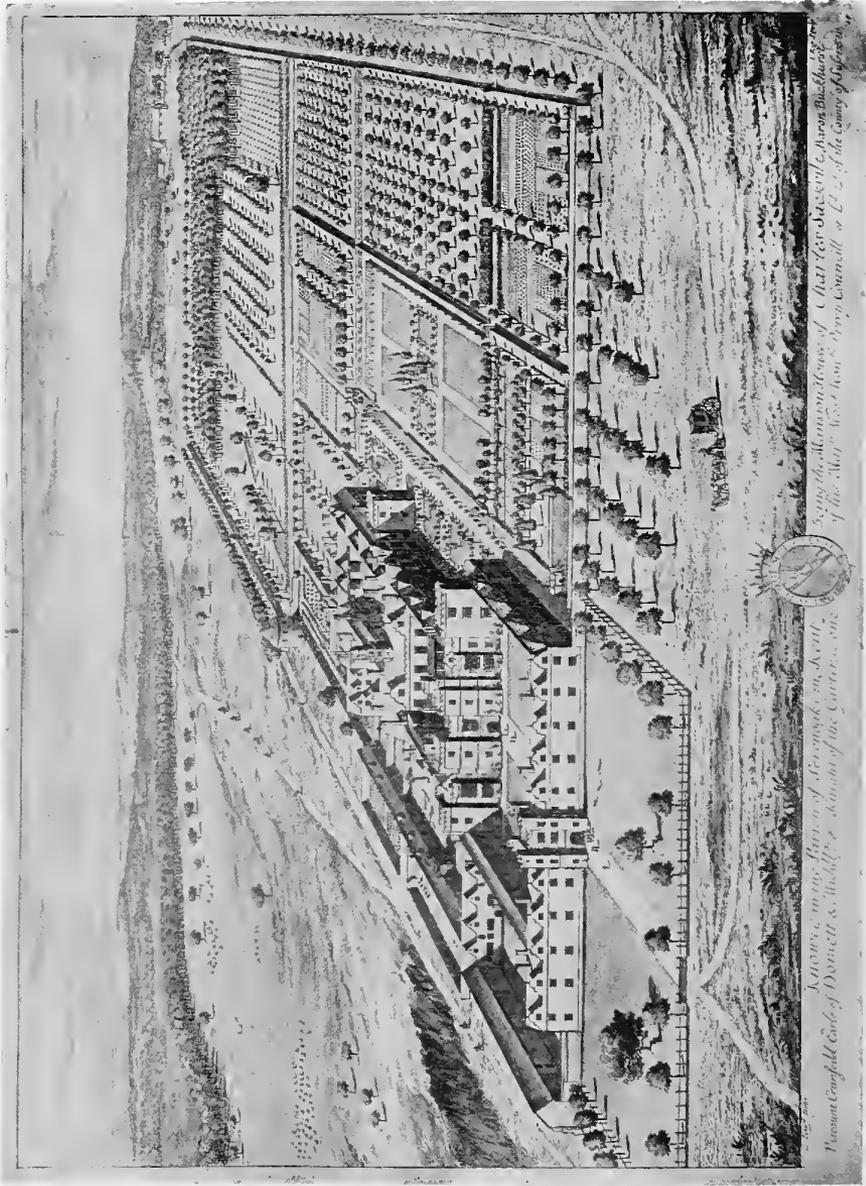
The question of her marriage, however, was one of equal moment to that concerned with her lands. She was a particularly eligible bride, good-looking, well-educated, of a good presence, possessed of substantial means, and in the reversion to succeed to large estates. She had also, on her side, the dignity of family and position, and many important relatives who were likely to help her. There seems to have been an idea, at one time, that she should marry Sir Robert Carr who afterwards became Earl of Somerset, and there is a letter in existence written to Sir Dudley Carleton, in which the writer refers

to the fact that Sir Walter Raleigh's estates had come into the hands of the King, by reason of a supposed flaw in the conveyance, that he had bestowed them upon Sir Robert Carr, and that people said about Court, that he was likely to marry Lady Anne Clifford. This marriage, fortunately however for Lady Anne, did not come about.

Lady Anne herself, in her diary, says that in her troubles, Queen Anne "was ever inclyneing to our part, and very gracious and favourable to us, for in my youth I was much in the Courte with her, and in Maskes attended her, though I never served her." We have a contemporary reference to two of these masques, which took place in 1609 and 1610. One was on the 14th of January, being the Sunday after Twelfth Night, when Ben Jonson's *Masque of Beauty*¹ was presented in honour of the Queen, who herself took part in it, accompanied by her husband's cousin, Lady Arabella Stuart, and fourteen young ladies of the Court, of whom Lady Anne was one. The staging of these masques was often magnificent, and the costumes very beautiful. On this occasion, we are told that the scene represented an island, floating on calm water at night, and in the centre stood the Throne of Beauty, surrounded with pillars, lights, garlands and Cupids. To this arrived The Moon, in a silver chariot drawn by virgins, and there were many dances, songs and speeches from Father Thames and from the Winds, the whole concluding with a complimentary chorus. The masquers, one half of them were attired "in orange-tawny and silver, and the other half in sea-green and silver, with bodies and skirts of white and gold to both." In the following year, on the second of February, another masque took place, called the *Masque of Qucens*,² and the principal character, the Queen of the Ocean, was taken by Queen Anne, while the parts of eleven other Royal ladies were apportioned to the ladies of the Court, their respective positions being selected by lot. Amongst the Queens who were represented were those of the Amazons, of the Scythians, and of the Volscians, with Queen Berenice of Egypt, Queen Candace of Ethiopia, Queen Boadicea of the Britons, Queen Zenobia of Palmyra and others.

¹ Printed in 4to in 1609.

² Printed in 4to 1609; folio 1616. One of Jonson's richest inventions. The copy in the British Museum, once the property of David Garrick, was the presentation copy of Ben Jonson to the Queen.



KNOLE HOUSE.

From an engraving by Kip (see pages 86, 8c.)

To face page 81.

It is stated that amongst the impersonators was Lady Anne Clifford. Three weeks after this second performance, Lady Anne was married. She gives us the information in simple fashion. "The twentie fift day of february in 1609 I was marryed to my first Lord, Richard Sackville, then but Lord Buckhurst, in my mother's howse, and her owne Chamber, in Augustine Fryers in London, which was part of a Chappell there formerly (shee being then present at my marriage). And within two daies after I was marryed, Dyed my sayd Lord's ffather, Robert Sackville, Earle of Dorsett, in Little Dorsett Howse in Salisburie Court at London. By whose death my sayd Lord and I then came to be Earle and Countess of Dorsett." The young nobleman whom she married was about her own age, having been born on the 28th of March, 1589, he was popular at Court, and a handsome, good-looking fellow. He was a great friend of young Prince Henry,³ and although in many respects neither a good nor a considerate husband, yet he seems to have been deeply attached to his wife, to have given her, in the ordinary way, proper respect and attention, while she herself writes of him generously and sensibly. "This first Lord of myne," says she, "was born in the Charterhouse in London now called Sutton's Hospitall, his mother being Lady Margarett Howard, onelie daughter to Thomas Duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded" on the 2nd of June, 1572. "He was," she continues, "in his owne Nature of a just mynde, of a sweete Disposition, and verie valiant in his owne person." It would appear, by these two references to his *own* disposition and his *own* person, that she wishes to imply that for many of his misdeeds his brother, Sir Edward Sackville, and not he, was really responsible, and as we shall see later on, it was this brother whom Lady Anne always regarded as her personal enemy, and who seems indeed to have possessed considerable influence over her husband. She then goes on to say, with regard to Lord Dorset's early life, that his grandfather, the first Earl of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer of England, was considered one of the wisest men of the day, and that, when her husband was at Oxford, his grandfather was Chancellor, and gave considerable

³ There is an interesting letter in existence written by Prince Henry in 1608 to the King regarding his friend Lord Dorset and suggesting his own appointment as Trustee or Guardian for him.

attention to the work of the scholars in the university. Lord Dorset himself acquired at Oxford a good sense of scholarship, and a considerable affection for men of learning, so much so, she tells us, that so great was he "a Lover of Schollers and Souldiers as that, with an excessive Bountie towards them (or indeede) any of worth that were in distress, he did much Diminish his estate." Further on, she writes that part of the "diminishing" of the estate was due to his excessive prodigality in housekeeping, and to the love that he had for taking part in masques and in tilting competitions, especially in conjunction with Prince Henry, who also was much addicted to these exercises, and was Lord Dorset's favourite competitor. Finally, in this particular reference to her husband, she alludes to his having erected a hospital or college at East Grinstead in Sussex, when he endowed it with lands for its maintenance, according to his father's intentions, but she adds that he did not live to see any part of this erection completed, and we shall see later on in Lady Anne's story, she had a good deal of trouble about the endowment which he had planned for Sackville College.

He came of an important family, for the Sackvilles had been persons of considerable power, wealth and influence from early days, and claimed to be descended from a certain Herbrand de Sackville, who, it is said, was one of the captains in the army of the Conqueror. The first Sackville, however, of any great importance in England was the Member of Parliament for Kent and later for Sussex, Sir Richard Sackville, knight, one of the Privy Council in the reigns of Mary, Elizabeth and Edward VI., and Upper Treasurer of the Exchequer. He married the daughter of a wealthy Lord Mayor of the City of London, one Sir John Bruges. At his death, she married the Marquis of Winchester. They had a son, Thomas, who was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and was created Lord Buckhurst, and he was the grandfather to whom we have just alluded, who was celebrated as a Latin and English poet, and a man of high literary distinctions. In 1603, he became Earl of Dorset, and died suddenly, at the council chamber of James I. under rather strange circumstances. He was defending himself, it was said, against base reflections upon his policy as Lord High Treasurer, and suddenly sprang from his seat tearing certain papers from his pocket, and exclaiming angrily, "I

have that here which will strike you dead " but before he could speak another word, he himself fell lifeless across the table. This dramatic occurrence created a great sensation, and his death was attributed by certain people to an act of Providence, but others were careful to explain that he had always been subject to some kind of heart trouble, and that the cause of death was probably apoplexy, brought to an issue by his efforts under violent excitement. His son, who succeeded him, enjoyed the family honours but a very few months, and it was his elder son with whom we are concerned. This elder son had two sisters; Cicily, who married Sir Henry Compton, the third son of Henry, Lord Compton, and Anne, who married first Lord Beauchamp, grandson to Edward Earl of Hertford, and afterwards Sir Edward Lewis, and one brother, Edward, who eventually succeeded him as fourth Earl. He it was, who bitterly opposed his brother's wife, throughout the whole of her career. Of him she writes with bitterness and resentment. She speaks of his malicious hatred, she refers to his vehement action against her, and rejoices when she hears of his decease. We are not told what was the cause of the feeling that existed between these two persons, but it is quite clear that " by the cunningness of his wit " as she says, he was " a great practiser " against her, from the time that she married his brother to the very moment of his death. On the other hand, Lord Clarendon speaks of Sir Edward Sackville in high praise, tells us that he was an accomplished orator, graceful, pleasant, witty, loyal, learned and vigorous. He does, however, confess that Sackville was accustomed to indulge his appetites without any restraint, and that he was a riotous man with " jolly " habits. Hence, perhaps, arose many of the difficulties.

The first occasion upon which we hear of Lord and Lady Dorset was quite soon after their marriage. There were great festivities at Court when Prince Henry was created Prince of Wales, and Samuel Daniel the poet, who had been Lady Anne's tutor, presented a masque called Tethys' Festival or the Queen's Wake, to be performed on that occasion. Queen Anne represented Tethys, Queen of the Ocean, the ladies of the Court the River Nymphs of England. In this instance it is recorded that Princess Elizabeth represented the Thames, Lady Arabella Stuart the Trent, the Countess of Montgomery the Severn, and the young Countess of Dorset the Aire, a delicate compliment,

says a recent author, "to her birthplace, since the Aire flows by Skipton Castle." The Earls of Dorset and of Montgomery also took part in the masque, with six other gentlemen at Court, all representing Tritons, while in the final peroration, there was a distinct reference to Lady Anne, and to her companion Lady Montgomery in the words :—

Then the nymph of Aire
With modest motion makes her sweet repair,
The nymph of Severn follows in degree,
With ample streams of grace.

It may be gathered from these lines that Daniel was convinced from past experience that Lady Anne was likely to take her part in the masque with discretion and charm. It is curious, however, that she should have been associated in this play with the young Earl and Countess of Montgomery, because many years afterwards she was to become Lord Montgomery's second wife.

With regard to the estates, Lord Dorset showed himself from the very first, unwilling to assist her in her contest with her uncle, and in all these courses, he was supported by his sovereign, "in which Business" says she, "King James began to show himself extremely against my Mother and me to show how much hee was bent against my Blessed Mother and myselfe in my Unckle's Behalfe he gave the Reversion of all these Landes in Westmoreland and Craven out of the Crowne by pattent to my Unckle Francis Earle of Cumberland the grant of which Landes out of the Crowne to my sayd Unckle and his heires was done mearlie to defeat me, as hoping to gett my Hands to releas it to the Heirs male, but after by the Providence of God, it turned to the best for me, for if this pattent had not been granted out of the Crowne I should not have had that power (which now I have) to dispose of my lands to whomsoever I please." Lord Dorset was quite ready to compromise the whole matter. He could see that if he could only make terms with Lord Cumberland, through the Crown, he might be able to receive a considerable sum of money, and he exerted himself in various directions in order to try to persuade his wife to agree to the arrangements which the king and Lord Cumberland were proposing, but all was without avail. Margaret, Lady Cumberland had gone to the North, to make her home in

Brougham Castle, on the lands of her jointure, and Lady Dorset felt very lonesome without her mother. Her husband decided that he must travel, having already made a promise to his grandmother before his marriage that he would see foreign parts. He therefore went away for about a year, and his wife retired to Knole, where she says he came to see her on his return in April, 1612. A little while after that, Lady Anne lost her favourite cousin, Lady Frances Bouchier, her girlhood's friend, and this seems to have affected her very deeply. She and her husband then came up to London on his return from the Continent, and went to live at Little Dorset House in the Strand, but in November, 1612, the whole Court was thrown into deep mourning by the sudden death of the Prince of Wales, and in a letter conveying the information, Lord Dorset wrote to Sir Thomas Edmonds, saying, "Our rising sun is set, 'ere scarcely he had shone, and with him all our glory lies buried." At about the same time, Lady Bedford died, and in the same letter Lord Dorset says, "My Lady Bedford last night, about one of the clock, was suddenly, and hath continued ever since, speechless, and is past all hope, though yet alive, and even now my wife is gone to see her, who desired to be remembered in all love to your lady, and excused for this time, because she writes not to her, she is so full of sorrow and so unfit." Lord Dorset, as one of Prince Henry's personal friends, was one of the mourners at his funeral, but the Court mourning was not permitted to last for long, for the king's only daughter, Elizabeth, was to be married to Prince Frederick, Elector Palatine, and the wedding took place in the succeeding February, a gorgeous and magnificent ceremony. Contemporary references to that wedding allude in more than one place to Lord Dorset, and Nicholls quotes letters written by Chamberlain ⁴ to Dudley Carleton ⁵ in which he says, with reference to his exceeding rich and costly apparel, "All speak of the Earl of Dorset," but he adds, "this extreme cost and riches makes us all poor." In another letter there is an allusion to Lord Dorset's games of skill in the open air on the occasion of the merriment after the wedding, and the writer says that he "performed many worthy races," and many

⁴ John Chamberlain (1553-1627), admirable letter-writer and accomplished scholar, intimate with some of the most eminent men in England.

⁵ Sir Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester, (1573-1632) diplomatist.

times "took the ring with much strangeness, a pleasure so princely that the beholders' hearts leapt with joy." A little while after that, some interesting news was sent to Lady Cumberland at Brougham, and she came hurriedly south to be near her daughter, who was then living at Dorset House. On the 2nd of July, 1614, Lady Anne's first baby arrived, christened Margaret, after her grandmother. Unfortunately Lady Cumberland, owing to a curious accident, was not actually present at the birth of the child. She had gone, we are told, that afternoon to visit some friends in the Tower of London. An urgent message was sent for her to come to Little Dorset House, but the Tower gates had been closed earlier than usual that day, and nobody was permitted to leave the precincts before the next morning. When she made her way to Little Dorset House next day, all was over, and the mother and child were doing well. Lady Cumberland remained in London for some few weeks. She was present when the child was christened in the Private Chapel at Dorset House, and then she bade farewell to her daughter, left London for Brougham, and the mother and baby journeyed down to Knole. Of all the party, her own daughter was the only one whom Lady Cumberland ever saw again. During all this time, the correspondence which went on between Lord Dorset and his wife was couched in terms of the utmost affection, and as long as the husband and wife kept off the questions relative to Lady Anne's property, there seems to have been warm sympathy between them. This is evident in a letter which he wrote to her on the 6th of October, 1617, and which commences "Sweet heart." Lady Dorset was at that time at Knole, and after messages to her and to her baby, the writer goes on to commend his love to his wife, saying "whom in all things I love and hold a sober woman, your land only excepted, which transports you beyond yourself, and makes you devoid of all reason." Here evidently was the difficulty between the two people. Dorset could see his way to obtaining a large sum of money if the compromise could be carried out and he strongly objected to law costs. He had no particular interest in the northern castles, or in the estates which belonged to them. He was not interested in the history of the Cliffords, and had no desire to involve himself in endless disputes with tenants in Westmoreland and Cumberland. He would have given a good deal to have arrived at a

settlement, and he did his best to bring it about. It would appear that at one time he very nearly carried his way.

We learn the whole story of the controversy between Lord and Lady Dorset from the portion of the *Day-by-Day Book*, which is now preserved at Knole. This particular diary has been seen by more than one writer in past days, and some brief extracts have been made from it, but on the present occasion, Lord Sackville has with great consideration placed the document in our hands, and we are therefore in a position to give in detail the whole story of the controversy in Lady Anne's own words. The first action in the trial had taken place in the Court of Common Pleas before four judges. Lord Cumberland, his son, and her own husband, had all agreed to abide by the decision of the Court, but she declined to be a party to the suit, to accept the judgment as binding, or to sign the award.

The diary commences on the 1st January, 1616, when she and her husband were at Sevenoaks. The Bishop of St. David's ⁶ was staying with them, and he took the service at Sevenoaks Church on the 21st of January, Lord and Lady Dorset being present. "All this time," says Lady Anne, "I stayed in the country, I was sometimes merry and sometimes sad, as I had news from London." Upon the 8th of February she came up to London, the Bishop of St. David's and Mary Neville riding with her in the coach. The occasion was in all probability that they might be present at the marriage of Lord Roos, the only son of Cecil, Earl of Exeter, who "married Mrs. Anne Lake, the secretary's daughter." Lord Dorset on that occasion spoke to her "about the composition with my uncle of Cumberland." Then, on the 16th, she records the fact that Lady Grantham ⁷ and Mrs. Newton came to see her, and told her that the very next day the Archbishop of Canterbury (George Abbot ⁸) "would come to me, and she persuaded me very earnestly to agree to this business, which I took as a great argument of her love. My Cousin Russell came to me the same day and chid me, and told me of all my faults and errors in this business. He made me weep very bitterly, and then I spoke," says she, "a prayer of Owen's, and went to see my Lady Wootten ⁹ at Whitehall,

⁶ Richard Milbourne, Dean of Rochester, translated to Carlisle.

⁷ Wife of Sir Thomas Grantham of Lincoln, knighted at Belvoir Castle, April, 1603.

⁸ He had been domestic chaplain to Lord Dorset's father, and knew all the family well.

⁹ Wife of Thomas, Second Lord Wotton, Mary daughter of Sir A. Throckmorton.

where we walked five or six turns, but spoke nothing of this business, though her heart and mine were full of it." Thence, we understand, she went to Westminster Abbey, to see the tomb of the Queen of Scots, came home by water, and caught a heavy cold. The following day the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord William Howard, Lord Roos, her cousin Russell, her brother-in-law Sir Edward Sackville, "and a great company of men of quality, were all in the Gallery at Dorset House, where the Archbishop took mee aside and talked with me privately, one Hour and a half, and persuaded me both by divine and human means to set my hand to their arguments." Lady Anne, however, was determined that she would do nothing whatever without the consent of her mother. As a matter of fact, she had no legal power, at that time, to consent to the award that had been made by the four judges, without the permission of her mother. She then goes on to state "Much persuasion was used by him and all the Company, sometimes terrifying me, and sometimes flattering me, but at length it was concluded that I should have leave to go to my Mother, and send an answer by the 22nd of March next, whether I would agree to this business or not, and to this prayer my Lord of Canterbury, and the rest of the Lords, have set their hands." The day's proceedings evidently went through better than she had anticipated, because she refers to it as a "marvellous day," and says that her friends generally thought she would either have consented to the agreement or else that there would have been a division between her and Lord Dorset. It must not be overlooked at this stage of the controversy, that the nearest heir to the estates, Henry, Lord Clifford, was only a year or two younger than Lady Anne, and that, therefore, the probabilities were very strong against her ever succeeding to the property, for not only was her uncle living, but his son was quite likely to have a family of sons, and if he had heirs male, according to the arrangement under her father's will, there was little chance of her succession. She was, however, so strongly convinced of the injustice of her father's will in forcibly breaking the entail, and so firmly supported in this conviction by her mother, that she felt sure eventually she would succeed to the property.

The decision having been arrived at, that she should go down to Westmoreland, Lady Anne sent two of her servants, Tobias and

Thomas Bedding, round to the various ladies of her acquaintance in town, to let them know that she was leaving London for some time and journeying to the North. She speaks of the kindness extended to her by Lord Russell, and by her cousin George, and then refers to a visit paid to her by Lord Willoughby,¹⁰ who breakfasted with them. It seems to be likely that one of this peer's daughters who is generally referred to as "Willoughby," was at this time one of her Gentlewomen, and accompanied her to the North. The husband and wife started off, but they went separately, in two coaches, each drawn by four horses, and were attended by about thirty men on horseback. Lady Anne took with her "Willoughby and Judith," Lord Dorset had his Gentleman, Thomas Glenham, accompanying him. On the way from Lichfield to Croxall, Lord Dorset, trying in vain to persuade his wife to sign the agreement and to give up her journey to the North, parted with her in a rage, and returned to London, while she went on into Derby with a party of about ten persons and thirteen horses. She tells us that she went by the way of the "dangerous moors," and that in some places, the roads were so bad that the horses had to be taken out of the coach "to be lifted down the hills." She also refers to the fact that upon that particular day, the horse that was ridden by one of her attendants, Rivers, fell from a bridge into the river; and so she arrived at Brougham, and had a long talk with her mother, who would not submit in any way, and who refused to accept the award of the four judges. Lord William Howard, with his son and another cousin, John Dudley, came to Brougham to receive the decision, which was a direct denial to stand to the award, and then she tells us, "the same day came Sir Timothy Whittington¹¹ hither, who did all he could to mitigate the anger between Lord William Howard and my mother," and apparently was to a certain extent successful, as they parted good friends, and he had to convey the information to Lord Dorset. Meantime, Lady Anne and her mother remained on the estate, going one day to Whinfell¹² Park to see the woods, and making various visits. She records that

¹⁰ Probably William, 3rd Lord Willoughby of Parham, whose wife was Lady Frances Manners. He had two daughters, Frances and Elizabeth.

¹¹ Knighted March 14th, 1603.

¹² Originally called Gwynnefel and so pronounced by the residents to the present day.

at this time it was, that her cousin Lord William Howard sent her a "dapple grey nag" for her own use. She also mentions the fact that at this Easter she received Communion with her mother, in the chapel at Brougham.

We learn a little of what was passing in London by a side note to the diary. It was just about this time that Lady Somerset was sent, by water she says, as a prisoner to the Tower. It was also then that Sir John Digby¹³ was made Lord Chamberlain, and sworn of the Privy Council.

On the 1st April came a thunder-clap. Mr. Charles Howard, her husband's first cousin, and his friend Mr. John Dudley arrived with letters from Lord Dorset to say that the men and horses were all to go away, and his wife was to be left alone. Lady Cumberland was naturally indignant, and there was much dispute. Eventually a paper¹⁴ was drawn up to show that the servants actually went away by Lord Dorset's direction, and contrary to Lady Anne's wish, but after they had gone, she rather repented having let them go, and sent off two messengers to instruct her servants to stop, as she felt that perhaps she ought to have gone back with them to her husband. They had, however, gone beyond her reach, and so she stayed a little longer with her mother, when they occupied the same room and had much talk about this tiresome business. Then Lady Cumberland lent her a coach, and went part of the way with her, and it would appear that this coach had to be sent back again to Brougham, because Lady Anne says that on her return journey "most part of the way I rid behind Mr. Hodgson." When she reached Tottenham, Lord

¹³ First Lord Digby 25th November, 1613.

¹⁴ This document is still in existence, preserved at Appleby, and evidently was regarded by Lady Anne as an important paper, because she had deposited it with various letters from her mother, which she kept with religious care.

It is dated the 1st April, 1616, and reads thus "A Memoranda that I, Anne, Countess of Dorset, sole daughter and heir to George, late Earl of Cumberland, doth take witness of all these gentlemen present, that I both desire and offer myself to go up to London with my men and horses, but they, having received a contrary commandment from my Lord, my husband, will [*sic*] by no means consent nor permit me to go with them. Now my desire is that all the world may know that this stay of mine proceeds only from my husband's command, contrary to my consent or agreement, whereof I have gotten these names underwritten to testify the same."

The document is signed by many people, the first signature is that of Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, then follow those of Christopher and Mary Lowther, Christopher Pykeringe, Christopher Crackenthorpe, Robert Doumville, James Belassys, and others.

Dorset's coach with the men and horses was there to meet her, and she journeyed to London for the night, and on the following day went on down to Knole. She records that there she had a very cool welcome. Lord Dorset himself was not at the gate to meet her. Her little girl, Lady Margaret, was, however, at the outermost gate, but it was not until she reached the Drawing-Chamber that she saw her husband, and even then, she could not pluck up courage enough to tell him, what she did inform him on the following day—that the whole of the writings the judges had prepared and which Lord Dorset had told her she must sign and seal, she had left behind with her mother, who was determined she should not sign them. Lord Dorset rather naturally was indignant, and went off at once with his Gentleman, Thomas Glenham, to London. A few days later on, he sent down the steward of his house to tell her that this was the last time he would ask her whether she would set her hand to the judge's award, and she replied with alacrity that she could not do it, whatever misery it cost her. The Bishop of St. David's came to talk to her, and to discuss the question with her later on. On the 1st May, another servant in high position was sent down to say that if she refused, she should neither live at Knole or at Bollbroke,¹⁵ and on the 2nd came yet another person who told her, and also told the servants, that Lord Dorset was coming down to see her once more, and that would be the last time they would see him at Knole. Still further to annoy her, her husband decided that Lady Margaret should be taken away from her, and Peter Basket, the Gentleman of his Horse, rode down from London with a letter to say that the child was to be taken away at once to London. She sent for the steward, Legge, talked it over with him, wept bitterly over the whole circumstance, and decided that to refuse her permission would "make my Lord more angry with me, and be worse for the child" and so the following day little Lady Margaret went off in the litter to London, with her own attendant, Mrs. Bathurst, two maids, the steward of the household and a good company of servants, and was taken up to Great Dorset House, because

¹⁵ One of the earliest brick edifices in Sussex. It originally belonged to the Dalingregg family and came to the Sackvilles by an heiress. By the marriage of Lady Margaret it passed into the Tufton family, but was sold in 1770 to Lord George Sackville, afterwards first Viscount. It was at one time a great house, and the tower gateway is still imposing and picturesque. The Duke of Dorset re-acquired it in 1790.

by this time Lord Dorset had removed from the house where he was first married, and had gone to his larger family residence. A few days later, her husband decided that the child was to go to live at West Horsley in Surrey, and not to come near her mother at all, and also that she herself should be sent away from Knole, and then, overcome with sorrow, quite early in the morning, she wrote "a very earnest letter to beseech my Lord that I might not go to the little house that was appointed for me, but that I might go to Horsley and sojourn with my child," and by the same messenger sent a similar letter to her sister-in-law, Lady Beauchamp, asking for her intervention on her behalf. Still the dispute between husband and wife increased, so much so, that on the 11th of May, Matthew Caldicott, Lord Dorset's favourite attendant, came down with the request that she would send back to her husband her wedding ring. In return, he appears to have sent her what she calls the wedding ring that "my Lord Treasurer and my old Lady" were married with, and there was probably some secret significance in the fact that he demanded her ring, and gave her this one that she might wear it, but declined to permit her to wear the one she had received on her wedding day. Her own particular attendant or secretary, Mr. Marsh, who in later days was made one of the stewards of her Westmoreland estates, also tried to persuade her to consent to Lord Dorset's proposals.

During this time, Lord Dorset was enjoying himself in London, having, as she said "an infinite great resort coming to him." He went much abroad, she adds, "to Cocking, to Bowling Alleys, to Plays, and to Horse Races, and was commended by all the world." Sometimes he was very successful. On one occasion, one of his Gentlemen Ushers, who is spoken of sometimes as Grosvenor, and sometimes as Grosvenor Grey Dick, came down to Knole and told her that Lord Dorset had the previous night won £200 at the cocking match, and that Lord Essex and Lord Willoughby, who were on his side had also won a great deal, and that after the match was over, there had been "some unkind words" passed between Lord Dorset and his companions and Sir William Herbert,¹⁶ who was his opponent, and his. Not only did he carry on this sort of amusement in London, but he was frequently to be heard of in Lewes, where there must have been regular

¹⁶ Afterwards (1629) Lord Powis of Powis Castle.

race meetings at that time. During this very month to which we are referring Lady Anne speaks of a great meeting at Lewes, when Lord Compton, Lord Mordaunt,¹⁷ Tom Neville, Lord Herbert, and others, whom she terms "all that crew" were with him, together "with Walter Raleigh and a multitude of such company." She says that on that occasion "bull-baiting, bowling, cards, dice, and suchlike sport," entertained the company. It is evident that Lord Dorset was devoted to sport, and exceedingly popular amongst his associates, always ready to spend money, and to enjoy himself and give them pleasure. The King also was partial to cock-fighting, and one of the reasons why Lord Dorset was so popular with King James was because of this mutual interest, and also because Lord Dorset gave to His Majesty many opportunities of winning money from him. "There was during this time" says Lady Anne "much Cock Fighting at the Court where my Lord's Cocks did fight against the King's, altho' this business was sonewhat Chargeable [costly] to my Lord, yet it brought him into great grace and favour with the King as he useth him very kindly and speaketh very often to him than of other man."

The contrast between the husband and wife was at this time very marked. He was amusing himself in London; she says "I stayed in the country, having many times a sorrowful and heavy heart, and being condemned by most folk because I would not consent to all these agreements, so as I may truly say I am like an owl in the desert." Then once more, Lord Dorset tried to exercise his personal influence and came down to Knole with her cousin Cecily Neville, but would not use his own room that night, but lay in what she calls the "Leslie chamber." After supper, they had a long talk, and rather pathetically she explains that Matthew Caldecott, her Lord's favourite attendant, was present in the room all the time, and took Lord Dorset's part in the whole affair. She would not consent, they fell out, and so parted for that night. The following day Lord Dorset had another idea, that perhaps a compromise could be arranged, by which Lady Cumberland should pass over her jointure to him, if he would promise to give her for it every year as much as it was worth, and so he would get into his own hands some of the lands in Westmoreland. There is some evidence that his idea was that when once he got the lands into his possession, he would

¹⁷ Fifth Lord and in 1628 Earl of Peterborough.

immediately sell them to Lord Cumberland. Meantime, to increase all her difficulties, Lady Anne heard of the serious illness of her mother. "Upon the 17th, my mother sickened as she came from Prayers, being taken with a cold chilliness in the manner of an ague, which afterwards turned to great heat and pains in her side." To this note she adds that, after Lady Cumberland's death, the body was opened, and "it was plainly seen she had an imposthume.¹⁸" The letters that came from the North told her that her mother was exceedingly ill, they thought in some danger of death, and so she sent up a servant to London with some letters to be sent to her, and certain "Cordials and Conserves." A few days afterwards, Lady Cumberland's own footman, Thomas Petty, brought some letters to her from Brougham, but not in her mother's own handwriting, "by which," says she, "I perceived how very sick and full of grievous pains my dear Mother was, as she was not able herself to write to me, and most of her People about her feared she would hardly recover this Sickness. At Night I went out and prayed to God, my only Helper, that she might not die in this pitiful case." With all her troubles, it is no wonder that she tells us, "I used to rise early in the morning, and go to the Standing in the garden, and taking my prayer book with me, beseech God to be merciful to me in this, and to help me as he always hath done." For a while, the news about Lady Cumberland was a little more satisfactory, and there seemed no particular obstacle in the way for this fresh proposal with regard to the jointure lands. In consequence Marsh was sent up with letters conveying the proposal, and these letters Lady Anne tells us were left unsealed, because Marsh was to come through London, and show them to Lord Dorset on his way. To her great joy, a servant (Davy) brought her news that her mother had recovered of the dangerous sickness, but almost following upon this piece of information, came the still later news that Lady Cumberland had passed away. "Upon the 24th," says she, "being Friday, between the hours of six and nine at night, died my dear Mother at Brougham, in the same chamber where my father was born, I being 26 years old and five months, and the child two years old, wanting a month." It was the greatest trouble that could possibly have happened to her, and it appears to have been accentuated for the first day or two

¹⁸ Tumour.

by the fact that by Lady Cumberland's will, she had appointed that her body should be buried in the parish church of Alnwick, whereas Lady Anne had always hoped that it would be buried either at Appleby or at Skipton, and she took this as a sign that she was going to be dispossessed of the inheritance of her forefathers, and started at once to discuss with Sir William Selby¹⁹ the erection of a memorial chapel at Alnwick. She sent the will to Lord Dorset, who was then at Lewes, and it was probably the very document which now rests at Appleby Castle, and in which it is declared that the body was to be buried at Alnwick, but which was superseded by a later will in which Lady Cumberland said that she was to be buried wherever her daughter desired. She died, Lady Anne says, "Christianly and willingly, often repeating a little before her death, that she desired to be dissolved and to be in the Heavenly Jerusalem." In another reference she says of her mother that she had been compared by a great divine to "a Seraphim in her ardent love of God," and that he, who was a connection of Lady Cumberland's, "thought it more happiness to be descended from so blessed a woman, than to be born heir to a great kingdom." The Bishop of St. David's was her great comforter in her sorrow and a constant visitor at Knole.

Her mother's decease altered everything with regard to her position, and the whole question of the land had to be brought up anew. It released certain lands which had belonged to Lady Cumberland as her jointure, and these would now fall in to her brother-in-law. Apparently Lord Dorset came to the conclusion that it was a pity to lose the whole of this property, but had an idea that perhaps he might arrange for these jointure lands to be resettled upon his wife. He therefore left Lewes, where he was entertaining "a merry crowd," and hurried off to Knole, and then he and his wife journeyed up to London. He decided to send letters in his wife's name demanding that the jointure lands should be held for him, as her representative, and he brought some pressure to bear upon her, eventually persuading her to sign a deed conveying the rights over these jointure lands to him, if she should die without heirs of her body, but securing them to her daughter, Margaret, after his death. They evidently arrived at a compromise with regard to this particular part of the estate, and

¹⁹ Knight of Winlaton and Whitehouse.

her husband promised to be "kind and good to her." "In the afternoon," says she, "I wrought stich work, and my Lord sat and read by me." and then it was that she speaks about her perusal of the *Faerie Queene*,²⁰ and of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*,²¹ and of the way in which she was studying the works of Josephus,²² and reading with the clergyman at Knole the book of the Chronicles of her own family. Husband and wife had now made up their quarrel. They attended church together at St. Bride's, they went by water to Greenwich to see Lady Bedford, and they put in another appearance at Court, where the queen, says Lady Anne, "used me exceeding well." Still, however, Lord Dorset harped upon the question of giving up all claim to the Craven estate, and tried to persuade his wife to consent to the King's arbitration, and got so far as to bring her into the royal presence, when the matter was discussed, but again she refused to agree, and this put her husband, she says, "in a great chaffe." The jointure lands, however, reverted in regular fashion to Francis, Earl of Cumberland, but he seems, acting under the advice of his son, to have shown almost indecent haste in taking possession of them, thus frustrating the efforts of Lord Dorset to secure the reversion of these estates for his wife. Lady Cumberland had died on the 24th of May. She was not buried till the 11th of July, but there is in existence an important letter from Francis, Earl of Cumberland, dated the 12th of June, apologising to the Lords in Council for "his haste" in taking "possession of the estates," and from this it is evident that the moment Lady Cumberland had died, his agent had taken possession. The Earl writes that he had been most careful not to give offence, that he had understood that Lord Dorset was going to make a legal compromise and accept the King's award, and then goes on to say, "Touching Brougham, the chief house where she lived and died, in which were all the goods she had of any value, I held the deceased corpse in that reverence, as I forbid them utterly to meddle with that house, nor have they attempted to enter there at all, but for the other, Appleby, where neither she nor any other for her, did inhabit for these two years last at least, but such as entered after her death without warrant,

²⁰ Editions in 1590, 1596, 1609 and 1611, the last two in folio.

²¹ Perhaps the folio edition of 1599, printed by Walde-graue, or the earlier ones of 1590, 1593 or 1598.

²² Lodge's translation 1602 or 1609.

my instruction to my people was to enter peaceably and hold it quietly for my use, yet I thought fit to send my son the better to know the truth." Meantime, instructions had been sent down to Westmoreland that Lady Cumberland's body was to be "wrapped in lead," till the servants had full instructions, and Lord Dorset seems to have taken every possible precaution in order to obtain possession of the jointure lands, "By the advice of his learned Counsel," says Lady Anne, "he had sent a Letter down into Westmoreland to my Lady's servants and Tenants to keep possession for him and me, which was a thing I little expected, but gave mee much contentment." There were certain legal steps that it was necessary for Lady Anne to take. At once, however, she objected to signing the papers, fearing they would commit her to an unknown position, and there was a disturbance between husband and wife in London, ending in her being sent down to Knole, as she says "upon half an hour's warning," "along with Katherine Burton about eight o'clock at night, so that it was twelve before we came to Knole." Then down came the Steward, Legge, with further messages, and with him she "had much talk at this time, so as I gave him better satisfaction and made him conceive a better opinion of me than ever he did," and then, to compose her mind, she set to work and "I wrought very hard, and made an end of one of my cushions of Irish stitch-work." A couple of days after, the Queen's Serjeant, Amherst,²³ and another lawyer arrived with the conveyance of the jointure lands, but she refused to execute them, feeling indignant with her husband for having sent her away so suddenly without proper explanation, and so, failing their persuasion, Lord Dorset came down himself, and, says she, "persuaded me to consent to his Business," and "assured me how kind and good a Husband he would be to me." Gaining her consent, they all travelled up to London, and upon the 20th she came before "Lord Hobart"²⁴ and signed the deeds passing over the Westmoreland inheritance to Lord Dorset, failing any heirs of her own body, when he wrote letters to Lord William Howard, which he sent off by Mr. Marsh, and assured her that "the possession of Brougham Castle

²³ Bench of Gray's Inn, grandfather of the first baron.

²⁴ Almost certainly Sir Henry, 1st baronet, at that time a Chief Justice and probably called Lord Hobart in common parlance,

should be most carefully looked to." He went down to Horsley in Surrey to see his little girl, and she remained in London. A few days later, she succeeded in persuading him to allow her to go to her mother's funeral, but before doing so, they went off to Court "upon the 30th being Sunday. Presently after Dinner, my Lady Robert Rich, my Cousin Cecily Neville and I went down by Barge to Greenwich, where in the Gallery there passed some unkind words between my Lady Knolles and me. I took my Leave of the Queen and all my Friends here, about this time, it was agreed upon between my Lord and me that Mrs. Bathurst should go away from the Child and that Willoughby should have the Charge of her, till I should appoint it otherwise, and he gave me his faithful promise that he would come after me into the north as soon as he could, and that the child should come out of Hand, so that my Lord and I were never greater Friends than at this time." One more deed had to be signed, transferring again to Lord Dorset the "thirds" of his estate to which she was entitled by dower, and he undertook in return that next Michaelmas he would make her a full jointure in proper legal fashion. So then she started off, Lord Dorset bringing her to the coach, "where we had a loving and kind parting." As soon as she arrived at Brougham, another difficulty occurred. She had word from the authorities in Appleby to say that, owing to the want of certain legal documents, the body could not be buried in St. Lawrence's Church. She sent her steward into Appleby to try to make the necessary arrangements, and eventually he was successful, so that about eight o'clock in the morning "we set forward, the Body going in my Lady's own coach, with four Horses, and myself following it in my own Coach with two Horses, and most of the men and women on Horseback, so that there was about forty in the company, and we came to Appleby about half an hour after Eleven, and about twelve the Body was put into the Ground." By three o'clock in the afternoon, she was back again at Brougham, and almost at once found herself in a very hotbed of disputes. The tenants were beginning to carry the hay from the ground in Whinfell Park and round about it, and were evidently prepared to make terms with her, thinking, that she would succeed to these jointure lands, but she carefully instructed them to keep their money in their own hands, until it was known who had a right to it. She sent some of her own

people, however, to make hay in one particular park, where they were at once interrupted by Lord Cumberland's tenantry, and there ensued a free fight, two of his people being hurt by one of her tenants, and as the injuries occurred, one in the leg and the other in the foot, it seems likely that the fight took place with the very implements used in the hay-making. The disturbance was of a serious character. Complaint was made to the judges, who happened to be in Carlisle, and a warrant was issued for bringing her servants, who were bound over on surety, to appear at the assizes. The first day of the next month, the two judges, Bromley²⁵ and Nicholls, came to Brougham on their way to Carlisle, and seem in some informal fashion to have settled the matter and released her servants from appearing before them, so much so, that her cousin John Dudley, a friend of Lord William Howard, at supper a couple of nights afterwards, told her that she had given "very good satisfaction to the Judges and all the Company that was with them."

The only proprietorial act which she carried out at this time was the signing of a warrant "for the killing of a stag on Stainmoor," and this she specially records, and notes that it was the first warrant of that kind which she had "ever signed." Meantime, Lord Dorset was enjoying himself in London, but all was not going quite as well for him as he had wished, for "about this time," says she, "Acton Curvett, my Lord's chief footman, lost his race to my Lord of Salisbury, and my Lord lost 200 twenty shilling pieces by betting on his side." It was probably a contest between the two noblemen as to whose servant was the better runner²⁶ of the two.

The King had already interposed with regard to the jointure, but upon August 11, 1616, Mr. Marsh came down from London, bringing a letter signed by King James, to say that for the present, Lady Anne was not to be "molested in Brougham Castle," all things were going well, and Lord Dorset himself was coming to Westmoreland.

Accordingly, some ten days afterwards, he arrived, with "a great Company of Horses." Lady Anne met him at "Appleby Town's End," joined him and Lord William Howard in the coach, and so they came on to Brougham. She details the names of several servants

²⁵ Sir Edward Bromley, Puisne Baron of the Exchequer.

²⁶ It was in the days, of course, of "running footmen."

who accompanied him, his Gentleman, Thomas Glenham, of course was there, there was another attendant named Coventry and the one who bore the curious name of Grosvenor Grey Dick. Then there were three or four maids belonging to the laundry-maid's table, notably Prudence Bucher and Bess Dorey, and there was Penelope Tutty, who was Lady Margaret's own maid ; but the hangings for the rooms, and the accommodation for sleeping, mattresses, etc. did not arrive at the same time, and so she says the servants " were fain to lie three and four in a bed that night." Next day she had the bed chamber arranged where Lady Cumberland had died, and doubtless removed all the black hangings which had been put up in it. In lieu of them she put, so she tells us, " the green velvet bed," and there she and her husband rested. They became so friendly that upon Saturday, " My Lord," says she, " showed me his will, whereby he had given all his lands to the child, saving three thousand five hundred a year to his brother Sackville, and £1,500 a year, which was appointed for payment of his debts," but it entirely exempted from any charges her jointure, " which was a matter I little expected." A couple of days afterwards Henry, Lord Clifford, arrived at Appleby, but with a far less train than Lord Dorset, and then came trouble, for the attendants of the two noblemen began to quarrel, and fell to blows, and she says that Grosvenor Grey Dick, the Gentleman Usher, Tod, and Edwards the Secretary " drawing their swords, made a great uproar in the town, and three or four were hurt." One of the men went to ring the bell, in order to draw attention to this disturbance, and he fell from the ladder " and was sore hurt."

It was anticipated that difficulties would ensue with regard to the property, between the servants of Lord Dorset and those of the Earl of Cumberland, and while these pages were passing through the press, the discovery has been made at Althorp of an interesting letter to Lord Walden, the Deputy Lieutenant to the Justices of the Peace in Westmoreland, by the Privy Council, concerning the possibility of such difficulties. The letter, which is quaintly worded, reads thus :—

A Ire to y^e lo: Walden²⁷ deputie lieuetennte & Justices of the peace in Westm^land.

²⁷ Theophilus, 2nd Earl of Suffolk and 2nd Baron Howard de Walden (1584-1640), summoned to the House of Lords in his father's life-time as Lord Howard de Walden,

Whereas informa^on was made unto us that some trouble & contention was like to arise betweene the servants & officers of our very good lorde the E: of Cumbreland and Dorcett concerning the Castles of Browham & Apleby in the Countie of Westm^land and the possession thereof upon the death of the late Countesse Dowager of Cumbreland where upon wee wrote our lres of the 4 of this present requiring yoⁿ to give special order for the p^rventing of violent & unlawful Courses that might be moved by pte to the disturbance of his Ma^{te} peace, And that thinges might remaine & continue in quiet & peaceable manner until the right either Concerning possion or any other thing in difference betweene them should be determyned by due course of lawe since w^{ch} time wee have bene informed that the servants & people of the Erle of Cumbreland have forcibly broken up the dores & windowes of the Castle of Apleby where diverse servants & goods of the late Countesse were who wth strong hand have putt all the said Erle of Dorcette Agents w^{ch} kept possession for him out of the possession hereof & detaine the said Castle from the said Erle of Dorsett. Forasmuchas it is reasonable & just that the Castles & houses where the goods of the late Countesse are or were at her death shold be kept from violence These are therefore to pray & require yoⁿ furthwth upon the receipt thereof to give p^rsent order that the Castle of Apleby & all things therein may be & remayne in the same state as they were the next day after the death of y^e late Countesse And also that the Castle of Browham do continue & remayne in the state as it was at the same time wthout violence or breach of peace untill by a legall proceeding the right be decyded w^{ch} is left freely to either pte & so &c. Dated 7 of June 1616.

Signed by the

L: Archbushop of Canterbury.

L: Treasurer.

L: Chamberlaine.

L: Privie seale.

L: Vise: fenton.

L: Duke of Lenox.

Mr. Secretary Winwood.

Mr. Secretary Lake.

As regards the Dorsets themselves, things now quieted down. She made an end, she says, of "dressing the house," and then "in the afternoon, I wrought stitch-work and my Lord sat and read by me." Shortly afterwards, Lord Dorset went home again, journeying by way of York, where he stayed for four or five nights, because at that time Lord Sheffield, afterwards Earl of Mulgrave, and the President of the North; was in residence, and Lord Dorset pleaded for the jointure lands before the Lord President, but was opposed by Lord Cumberland and his son. It does not appear that any immediate decision was arrived at, and so Lady Anne stayed for a while at Brougham, but apparently not with much pleasure, because, having made friends

with her husband, she was anxious to be back again near to him, and early in September wrote to suggest that she should come to London. She tells us that a little later on she started to wear her "Black Silk Grogram Gown," and explains what she was doing while in Brougham, how she used to ride into Whinfell in the afternoon, and give up a great deal of time to working and reading, specially making cushions of Irish stitchwork, and that she employed those about her to read to her, Mr. Dumbell reading part of the History of the Netherlands,²⁸ and Rivers and Marsh reading Montaigne's Essays.²⁹ She used to rise very early in the morning, go up to the Tower to say her prayers and "see the sun rise," and then spend most of the day in the "Drawing Chamber" at her work. Eventually she left Brougham in December, going herself to York, and giving up complete possession of Brougham Castle, for the legal decision by that time had gone against her, and the property was "wholly delivered up to my uncle of Cumberland and his son from the 29th day of March, 1617, and they kept it from me till their decease."

While she was away, Lord Dorset had been getting into fresh trouble. There had been a quarrel between him and Lord Clifford, and he had challenged Lord Clifford to a duel. The affair had come to the ears of the King, and they were both called before the Lords of the Council, and then the King "made them friends, giving my Lord marvellous good words, and willed him to send for me, because he meant to make an agreement between us." It is very likely that this quarrel had arisen in connection with the festivities which were going on at Court at this time. Prince Charles had been created Prince of Wales in the great hall at Whitehall, and, says Lady Anne "there was banners and running at the ring, but it was not half so great a pomp as it was at the creation of Prince Henry." Just then, she tells us that the Lord Chancellor³⁰ was made Viscount Brackley, Lord Knollys³¹ was given a step in the peerage, and created Viscount Wallingford, and that Lord Cook,³² replaced Lord Montague³³ as Lord

²⁸ By S. Grimestone, 1608, folio; printed by Islip & Eld., many portraits.

²⁹ Printed by John Florio, 1603, folio; with plate by Martin Droeshout.

³⁰ Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, whose son became Earl of Bridgewater.

³¹ William, Lord Knollys of Grey, K.G., afterwards Earl of Banbury.

³² Sir Edward Coke, *ob.* 1633.

³³ Sir Henry created Baron Montague 1620, and Earl of Manchester 1626.

Chief Justice. She was to return to London in proper state, some of the servants, specially a cook, a baker and Tom Fool being sent up to London to make preparations, and Basket, one of Lord Dorset's chief officers, was despatched with the coach and horses to Brougham to fetch her to London. The coach itself was not brought all the way to Brougham, but was left at Rose Castle, and Lady Anne went on horseback "on Rivers' mare" (the horse that fell into the water on her journey down) some twenty-seven miles the first day, to Rose Castle, and then went on to York, where "three of Lord Sheffield's daughters, and Mrs. Matthews, the Bishop's wife," came to see her. Just before she left, she had been to see a Mr. Blentro³⁴ at his house in Cumberland, and had inspected "the House and Gardens" and "stayed an hour or two" and heard some music. While staying at Brougham, she tells us that she had spent part of her time playing at Tables, that she used to walk on the leads and hear reading, that she employed herself by stringing together into a necklace "the pearls and diamonds left her by her mother," and during this time she wore her "black Taffety dress with the yellow Taffety waistcoat." Before she left Westmoreland, she bought a clock, and also a cloak, or as she calls it, "a safeguard, of Cloth laced with Black Lace," to keep "me warm on my journey."

Whilst staying at Rose Castle, she lost a diamond ring, and so had to send back her overseer, William Punn, to try to find it. He was fortunate enough to do so, and overtook her with the welcome intelligence. She also learned at this time that Lord Dorset's Auditor and Surveyor had died and left her "a purse of ten angels as a remembrance of his love," and one of Lord Dorset's own men came and told her all the details of the quarrels that had ensued between the gentlemen "that took my Lord's part, and my cousin Clifford's, which," says she, "did much trouble me." On arriving at Islington, she was met by her husband "who came," says she, "in my Lady Whitby Pole's³⁵ coach, which he had borrowed," and accompanying

³⁴ This must be an error in copying. It is evidently meant for Mr. Blencowe or Blenco, afterwards Sir Henry. He married Grace, sister of Sir Richard Sandford of Howgill Castle, near Blencowe Hall, 5 or 6 miles only from Brougham.

³⁵ I cannot identify this lady. She was perhaps connected with Sir William Pole, the antiquary; of the Poles of Wirral, and the word written "Whitby" (so far as it can be read) may be meant for "Wirral."

him were Lady Effingham, Lady Beauchamp, and a great many more people, "so that we were in all ten or eleven coaches, and so I came to Dorset House, where the child met me in the Gallery." Suitable preparations had this time been made for her. "The house was well dressed up against I came." She seems to have been particularly gratified by the sight of Lady Margaret, and by the fact that Lord Dorset had given permission for the child to be brought to her in the Gallery. "It was," says she, "the first time I had seen her since my mother died." Everything was now to be happy and bright. The King had consented to take the matter in hand, and Lord Dorset, little understanding the determination of his wife, felt sure that, although she had opposed the award of the judges, she would surely give in to the King.

She had a new "wrought taffety gown" which Lady St. John's tailor had made for her. She had "Lady Manners" in to dress her hair, and possibly this young lady was to become one of her personal attendants. Then she went out with her husband and her daughter in "the great Coach to Northampton House," to wait upon Lord Suffolk, who was the Lord Treasurer, and her little girl was evidently highly praised, for "all the company commended her, and she went down in my Lady Walden's³⁶ chamber, where my cousin Clifford saw her and kissed her, but I stayed with my Lady Suffolk. All this time," she adds, "of my being at London, I was much sent to and visited by many, it being unexpected that ever matters should have gone so well with me and my Lord, everybody persuading me to hear and make an end since the King had taken the matter in Hand." Various people were preparing a smooth way for her. Lady Cecily Compton and Lady Fielding³⁷ were sent to tell her that she was to come shortly before the King. She and her husband went to call upon Lady Arundel,³⁸ another important friend at Court, and "saw all the Pictures and Statues in the Lower Rooms," and feeling that it was desirable that she should take some steps in the right direction, she sent Thomas Woodgate, the Yeoman of the Great Chamber, with

³⁶ Probably the wife of Sir William, created in 1620 Earl of Denbigh.

³⁷ Probably Elizabeth daughter of George, Earl of Dunbar and wife of Theophilus, who sat in the House of Lords as Lord Howard de Walden during the lifetime of his father, the Earl of Suffolk.

³⁸ Wife of Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel, the great collector.

a "Sweet bagge" to the Queen for a New Year's gift, and also gave a "standish to Mrs. Hanns," who was perhaps woman of the Bedchamber, and records the fact that the two gifts cost her about sixteen or seventeen pounds.

Upon New Year's Day, 1617, she went to Court to Somerset House, where she met Lady Derby, Lady Bedford,³⁹ and many other people, and where Lady Arundel did her best to persuade her "to yield to the King in all things." As the King passed through the rooms on his way to the Queen's apartments, he "kissed her," and then the Queen came out into the Drawing Chamber, and, says she, "she kissed me and used me very kindly." "This was the first time I ever saw the King, Queen, or Prince," she adds, "since they came out of the North." She paid a few other calls, tells us that she went to Essex House to see Lady Northumberland, to the Tower to visit Lord and Lady Somerset⁴⁰ [*she had already been in the Court on their arraignment*], and was present when Lord Villiers was created Earl of Buckingham, and saw the play of "The Mad Lover" at Whitehall. Finally, on Twelfth Day, she went again to Court with Lady Arundel, and with her and Lady Pembroke, ate what she calls "a Scrambling Supper" at the Duke of Buckingham's rooms, and then went to see the masque with Lady Ruthven, and had to stand by reason of the crowd. The King was, after all, not able to see her for a few days, and so she left London for Knole, not quite in the easiest frame of mind, because *en route* she and her husband had another controversy. They did not even sit together on arriving at Knole. She had Mr. Sandys' book about the Government of the Turks⁴¹ read to her in her room, he spent most of the time reading in his own room, and then suddenly went up to London, and did not let his wife know that he had left "until the afternoon." A week later, she had a letter from him, saying that she was to come up to London at once, because the King would receive her.

Then came the first interview with King James. It took place on a Saturday. After dinner, she went to the Queen in the Drawing

³⁹ Lucy, Countess of Bedford in whose praise Donne and Daniell both made verses "of elaborate conceit."

⁴⁰ Of the "sweet and bewitching countenance."

⁴¹ George Sandys' description of his journey to Turkey in 1610, issued in 1615, folio.

Chamber, and Lady Derby explained the whole state of affairs to Her Majesty, when the Queen promised she would do all the good in it that she could, but gave Lady Anne warning not to trust the matter absolutely to the King "lest," said she, "he should deceive me." While in the Queen's apartments, she was sent for, and she and Lord Dorset went through the Duke of Buckingham's room, and he brought them up to the King, and then everybody else was put out of the room, and she and her husband kneeled by the side of the King's chair, "and he persuaded us both to Peace and to put the whole matter wholly into his Hands, which my Lord consented to, but I beseeched His Majesty to pardon me, for that I would never part from Westmoreland while I lived, upon any condition whatever. Sometimes," she says, "he used fair means and persuasions, and sometimes foul means, but I was resolved before so as nothing would move me." When they left the King they went again to see the Queen, and then, going on to Lady St. John, returned home. Lord Dorset seems to have been a little afraid as to what action the King might have taken, for his wife writes thus "At this time I was much bound to my Lord, for he was kinder to me in all these Businesses than I expected, and was very unwilling that the King should do me any public Disgrace." Neither the King nor Lord Dorset, however, were satisfied with this first interview, and both were determined to make another and a more strenuous effort to obtain Lady Anne's consent to the award. People about the Court were evidently taking sides in the matter, many of them supporting the King and Lord Dorset, and others disposed to support Lady Anne, especially when they saw that the Queen was continuing to stand her friend, and was advising her not to leave the matter entirely in the King's hands.

A few days after the last interview, she says that "my Lord and I went to the Court in the morning, thinking the Queen would have gone to the chapel, but she did not, so my Lady Ruthven⁴² and many

⁴² It is not easy to determine who is the person referred to as Lady Ruthven. It is almost certainly one of three daughters of William, first Earl of Gowrie, sisters to James, the second earl, and to John, the third and last earl. There are allusions in the State Papers (Domestic Series) to the fact that three of the Ruthvens, Lady Beatrix, Lady Lillas, and Lady Barbara, were all ladies of the Bedchamber to Queen Anne, but it is not clear whether they occupied these positions in succession, or at the same time. It is, however, implied that more than one daughter was at one time a Lady-in-Waiting. Furthermore, there is an allusion to the fact that Lady Beatrix was a great favourite of Queen Anne, and it is said that she was the

others stood in the closet to hear the sermon." Then she went to dine with Lady Ruthven, and after dinner went up to the Drawing Chamber, where Lord Burleigh, the Dowager Lady Dorset, and Lady Montgomery, all entered into conversation with her, trying to persuade her not only to refer her business to the King, but to accept His Majesty's decision. That particular night, the masque, which has already been mentioned, was danced at the Court, but she did not stay to see it, because she "had seen it already." The following day, there was another and even more important audience with the King. First of all Lord Dorset went to King James, and presented his view of the matter. Meantime, his wife was with Lady Ruthven, and then, about eight o'clock in the evening, she was sent for, and was taken into the King's Drawing Chamber, where she found a small party assembled. Her uncle Cumberland and his son Lord Clifford were there, Lord Arundel, who was Lord Dorset's great friend, Lord Pembroke and Lord Montgomery. The Lord Chief Justice and the king's solicitor were present on behalf of the king, and the counsel who was representing Lord and Lady Dorset, Sir Ranulph Crewe,⁴⁸ was also

heroine of the story respecting the ribbon which was found round the neck of the Master of Ruthven, and that it was Lady Beatrix who removed the ribbon and returned it to the Queen, before King James was able to reach his wife's room. On the other hand, there is a tradition that the heroine of this story was her sister, Lady Barbara. Lady Lilius died before her father, and seems, so far as we can ascertain, to have been a Lady-in-Waiting for a far shorter time than either of her sisters. There are several references to Lady Barbara. In 1603, there is recorded the fact, in the State Papers, that she received an annuity for her "relief" and "transportation in consideration of her distress," the document goes on to state, "because, though her family is hateful, on account of their abominable attack against the King, she has shown no malicious designs." Just before that record, there is recorded a warrant for her apprehension, dated April 27th. In 1619, there appears a petition from her for the arrears of five years of her pension, which she greatly desires "to pay her debts or prefer her in marriage" and upon payment of this amount, she said that she would go to Scotland. She, however, died in Greenwich, for her death is there recorded on the 29th of December, 1625. The State Papers do not show whether the arrears of pension were ever paid. Both Lady Beatrix and Lady Barbara appear to have been styled at the time in familiar fashion as "Lady Ruthven." Lady Beatrix married as his second wife Sir John Home of Coldenknows, and she died before 1629, having had as issue, amongst other children, one son, who married the daughter of George Home, Earl of Dunbar, and whose son was the third Earl of Home.

Queen Anne was devoted to the Ruthvens, and there is some reason for believing in the story of the day, which has always been part of the traditions of the Ruthven family, that Alexander was her lover, and the father of Charles I. King James had very strong cause to hate the Ruthvens, because the family had injured him in many ways, and he was besides that, heavily in their debt. It is a remarkable coincidence that he had the bodies of the two young Ruthvens, Lord Gowrie and the Master, exhumed and exposed at the Cross at Edinburgh on the very day that Charles I. was born.

⁴⁸ Afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

there, as well as Sir John Digby. The King formally put the question as to whether those present would submit to his judgement, Lord Cumberland, Lord Clifford, and Lord Dorset, all answered that they would, "but I," says Lady Anne, "said that I would never agree to do without Westmoreland," that is to say, that the Westmoreland estates were to be hers, whatever happened, "at which," she adds, "the King grew in a great chaffe."⁴⁴ Then Lord Pembroke and the King's solicitor spoke forcibly against the position she had taken up, and it was evident to all those who were in the room, that King James was getting more and more excited, and greatly resented the fact that this determined lady would not accept his decision. Later it appears Lady Anne tore up, before the King, a letter that had been written her, by his command, requiring her to consent. Immediately there was the fear that King James might be led to say or do something which would have been unfortunate and so, she writes, "when they saw there was no remedy, my Lord, fearing the King would do me some public disgrace, desired Sir John Digby would open the door," for it had been locked, so that no one else should come in, "and he went out with me, and persuaded me much to yield to the King." A few minutes later, Lord Hay⁴⁵ came, the story was repeated and he used his persuasions, and then the door was opened again and Lord Dorset came out from the presence, and announced that, as his wife would not come to any agreement, the King had decided to make an agreement without her! His own affection for his wife had, it is clear, led him to take a somewhat more favourable view of her determination, for, says she, in concluding her reference to this day's proceedings, "I may say I was led miraculously, by God's Providence, and next to that, I trust all my good to the worth and nobleness of my Lord's disposition, for neither I, nor anybody else, thought I should have passed over this day so well as I have done." Not only did she write thus in her diary, but on the very next day, she put the matter in writing to her husband. "I wrote a letter," says she, "to give him humble Thanks for his Noble Usage towards me in London."

Naturally, the controversy was the subject of a great deal of con-

⁴⁴ Elstrack's print shows him "puffed out with self-consciousness."

⁴⁵ Afterwards Lord Chancellor.

versation at Court. Dr. Jeffrey Amherst told her that "now they began to think at London that I done well in not referring this matter to the King, and that everybody said that God had a hand in it." Another visitor, a Mr. Osberton, told her, on the other hand, that she was much condemned in the world, and that most folks had made very "strange censures of her courses," while Lord Cumberland and his son were so extremely indignant with her for her determination, that they put about a statement in London that there were laws in England which would entirely upset her contention, and that, as she had refused to accept the King's ruling, she would now never succeed to any of the lands. Lord Cumberland brought some stiff pressure to bear upon Lord Dorset, and in the following month Lady Anne records the fact that she received a letter from her husband "by which I perceived my Lord was clean out with me, and how much mine Enemies had wrought against me," while within a day or two of the receipt of this letter, Rivers, one of the Gentleman Ushers, came down from London to Knole, where at the time she was residing, and told her that the judges had been with the King many times discussing her business, and that the award would certainly be made, that it would be on the lines already settled in the Court of Common Pleas, but in all probability more definitely against her than even that award had been. Lord William Howard, who has frequently been mentioned as supporting Lord Dorset in his contentions, was at this time beginning to realise that his cousin had some right on her side, and apparently he ventured to speak in her favour, for a quarrel ensued between him and Lord Dorset. "My Lord did nothing so often come to Lord William as heretofore," and the friendship between them "grew cold, my Lord beginning to harbour some ill opinion of him."

The scene changes then for a while from London to Knole, while the lawyers and judges were having various consultations with the King, and preparing to decide that the young Countess should finally be deprived of her land. Meantime, she was down at Knole, and her Day-by-Day book contains interesting items of domestic information concerning her own life, and that of the little Lady Margaret. The child was not at all strong—she speaks about her having fits of the ague several times, on one occasion so severely that "I was fearful

of her that I could hardly sleep all night, so I beseeched God Almighty to be merciful unto me, and spare her life." It was probably convulsions rather than ague, and these convulsions were severe, for on one occasion, she says, they lasted for six or seven hours. Then she tells us about the child's clothes, mentioning the first time that Lady Margaret had put on her red baize coat, and on another, speaking of the first coat which the child had worn that was decorated with lace, and this also appears to have been made of red material. Lady Margaret's first velvet coat, one of "Crimson velvet laced with Silver Lace" had been given to her, so says her mother—on New Year's Day, 1619. She sets down that on the 1st May she had cut the child's strings off from her coats, and made her "use togs" alone, "so that," she adds, "she had two or three falls at first, but was not hurt by them," while Margaret's old clothes were given to the steward of the house, Mr. Legge, for him to give to his wife, who evidently had a little girl of about the same age. She also records the fact that a certain Thomas Woodgate came once from London, and brought a squirrel for Lady Margaret, and that seems to have pleased the child very much, and then she tells us all about the changes that were made in the little girl's room, and that now the winter was over, the curtain was put up to let in the light and the air, for the room had been close shut up for three weeks or a month before, part of the curious old arrangement that, during the winter or when a person was ill, it was desirable to keep back as much light and air as possible from the bed chamber. Lady Margaret was at this time being taught to ride, and a piebald nag had been sent to her out of Westmoreland, while Lady Arundel had given her mother a Dapple Grey Mare she much desired, so that on several occasions she and her mother were able to ride out together. Early in the spring, there is an allusion to an entire change of weather. "The child," says she, "had put on her white coats, and put off many things from her head, the weather growing extreme hot," and just at this time, Lady Margaret seems to have moved from her room to her mother's and Lady Anne describes with much satisfaction the fact that her little girl was sleeping at night in her own bed with her, and that this was the first time she had been able to have the pleasure of the child's company. Even such small matters as those connected with the child's teeth

were recorded. "On the 11th we perceived that the child had two great teeth come," says her mother, "so that in all she had now 18," and there is particular reference to the occasions when the Dowager Lady Dorset came down to see the child, and incidentally, to see her mother, and to putting little Lady Margaret for the first time into "a whalebone boddice," while on several occasions there are allusions to the fact that Lady Anne had written to her husband, speaking about little Lady Margaret, and begging that he would come down and see her.

As regards her own life, she seems, as usual, to have spent a great deal of the time either in needlework or in reading, or in having books read to her. She says that Rivers was reading Montaigne's Essays⁴⁶ to her, and Moll Neville the Faerie Queene.⁴⁷ She refers to the fact that Mr. Rand⁴⁸ frequently read the Bible to her and that she herself was carefully going through the chronicles of the Clifford family, which were being written up by Mr. Marsh, and reading them with all possible care. There are many allusions to the gossip of the day, for information being brought to her from time to time as to what was going on in London, she learned that her sister-in-law, Lady Cecily Compton, and her husband, had been quarrelling, that they had left Horsley and had gone to London, and that they were about to separate, when she was to have a hundred a year and the child, and he, the remainder of the income. Then she heard of a difficulty that had happened with regard to Lord Willoughby's brother, Mr. Bertie,⁴⁹ or, as she spells it "Burtie," who had been travelling in Italy, and had got into some difficulty in Ancona, and had been put into prison by the Inquisition, and also of a great entertainment given to the king by Baron de Joeniers at Salisbury House. She was informed that the King had put in an appearance in the Star Chamber, and had promulgated certain very definite instructions respecting duels, and combats, and that her husband had stood by the side of the king's chair, and had talked much with His Majesty, being at that time "in extraordinary grace and Favour with the King." She also

⁴⁶ Translated by J. Florio 1603, folio; second edit. 1613, folio.

⁴⁷ Issued in 1609 by H. L. (Part I., 1590, Part II., 1596), folio.

⁴⁸ Perhaps Rev. Edward Randes, S.T.B., who in 1622 was rector of Hartfield, a Sackville living.

⁴⁹ Probably one of the four sons of Peregrine, Lord Willoughby de Eresby.

refers to the fact that the Lord Chancellor had given up the seals, and that a new Chancellor had been appointed, and twice she had some specially direct information concerning her husband from the fact that the Gentleman of his Horse came down to Knole first to fetch his hunters and then for certain other horses, and to tell her that Lord Dorset was going off for a long ride with the Prince. This servant also conveyed the information to Lady Anne that the King was very bitter against her, and took upon himself to advise her to consent speedily, as otherwise, said he "it would soon be too late."

Lady Cecily Compton was at this time in some financial difficulties, owing to the disputes with her husband, and on one occasion, she sent over to Knole, asking for the loan of some money. It is clear that Lady Anne did not have the control of any considerable sums, because in response to her sister-in-law's request to borrow £77, she could only send her ten 20s. pieces. Lord Dorset had complained on several occasions that Lady Anne paid too little attention to her clothes. She had been wearing, she tells us, a plain green flannel gown, made by her overseer named William Punn, and with it a yellow taffety waistcoat, but, "because I was found fault with for wearing such ill clothes, this day I put on my Grogam Gown."

Her own health is occasionally referred to, for example :—she says on one occasion she was not very well, and so, "I ate a posset and went to bed," and on another, that "I, not being well the time grew so tedious that I used to go to bed at eight o'clock, and did lie in bed till eight the next morning." At length she learned that the decision, whatever it was, had been arrived at, and her uncle and cousin had gone to Dorset House "where my Lord and they" signed and "sealed the writings and made a Final conclusion of my Business, and did what they could to cut me off from my Right, but I referred my cause to God," and then as the matter was so far settled, Lord Dorset decided that he would come down to Knole. His servant preceded him, and told her that "my Lord and my uncle were agreed, and the writing sealed." By this time the King was leaving London for his journey to Scotland, the Queen and Prince going with him as far as Theobalds, and Lord Dorset started from town to come down into the country. He went first to Buckhurst, but was so ill by the way that "he was fain to alight once or twice and go into a House." He had

sent off all his servants, and apparently closed up the London House, but when he reached Buckhurst, he sent over to Knole for John the cook to come and make broth for him, and for Josiah Cooper, a Frenchman, who was one of the pages, to come straight away to Buckhurst, to wait upon him. By this servant, Lady Anne wrote a letter, "to entreat him that, if he were not well, I might come down to Buckhurst to him." Evidently the news in response was very unsatisfactory, because she tells us how restless she was, for she spent the whole day in walking in the park, "with Mrs. Judith Simpson of the laundry maids' table, having my Bible with me, thinking on my present fortunes and what troubles I have passed through." The evenings appear to have been particularly dull just at this time. She had nothing to do but to walk about, and to play Glecko with the steward, having, she says, such ill-luck at cards, she resolved she would not play for two or three months. Then there comes further information respecting Lord Dorset's health. "Ned the footman came from Buckhurst, and told me that my Lord was reasonably well, and had missed his fit, which did much comfort me," and she therefore wrote a letter to him, begging that he would come over and see her and Lady Margaret, as soon as he could. The next day, however, the steward came from Buckhurst, and did not give so favourable an account of Lord Dorset, saying that he was not well, and was not returning to London at present, for he had lent his house to the Lord Keeper. He desired that the cook, named Hortitius, and Dr. Layfield the lawyer might be sent to Buckhurst. Meantime, Sir Edward Sackville had written to ask for the loan of the horse-litter, in order that Lady Sackville, who was not very well, might be taken up to town, and hence the visit of the steward to Knole. Lady Anne tells us that she now occupied herself by starting a new Irish stitch cushion, but on one occasion, she seems to have spent most of the day in making Rosemary cakes. Then, on the 28th of March, Lord Dorset came over from Buckhurst with his Gentleman, Thomas Glenham, but he was still not very well, was troubled with a severe cough, and occupied a room far away from her, sleeping in what she calls the Leicester Chamber. He was evidently in an irritable state of mind because on the following day he found her reading with Mr. Rand the chaplain, and told her that the noise hindered him in his study, and that she

was to leave off reading aloud until she could find someone who would read with her, and who perhaps had a quieter voice than Mr. Rand.

He told her that the settlement had not yet been fully arrived at, "the matter was not so fully finished but that there was a place left for me to come in" and in their walks abroad in the park and in the garden, he talked a great deal to her about this particular business, and even then strove to understand her position, and she says "He was nothing so much discontented with this agreement as I thought he would have been, and he was more pleased and contented with the passages in London than I imagined he would have been" She adds "I strove to keep as merry a face in it all as I could." It was quite evident to her that Lord Dorset's two personal attendants, Matthew and Lindsay, were strongly against her, and were frequently saying things to her husband derogatory to her position. They also made it quite clear to her that Lord William Howard and her husband had engaged upon a serious quarrel "Lord William was clean out of all grace and trust with my Lord, which I hope," says she, "may be the better hereafter for me and my child, knowing that God often brings things to pass by contrary means." When he got better, however, Lord Dorset went up to London, and she accompanied him to the door of his coach, and after he had left, she found her mind more contented "than it was before my Lord came from Buckhurst." He did not stay in town very long, but early in the following month of April came down again to Knole and told her that the King had taken a very small company with him to Scotland, only having one Lord-in-Waiting, and that her deeds had not even yet been signed, but that the papers were all left with the Lord Keeper and Lord Hobart,⁵⁰ until next term, and then they were to be fully concluded. "This," says she, "was strange news to me, I thought all matters had been finished."

The question of her own personal money now came into the controversy, and Lord Dorset told her that she had less, and was likely to have less, than he had expected, and seems to have used this as an argument that she should consent to giving up the Westmoreland lands. "Sometimes I had fair words from him, and sometimes foul,

⁵⁰ The "upright judge" who sentenced to death "several poor women for bewitching Lord Rutland's children,"

but I took all patiently, and did strive to give as much content and assurance of my love as I could possibly, yet I told him that I would never part with Westmoreland upon any condition whatever," adding "my promise was so far passed to my Mother and to all the World that I would never do it whatever became of me and mine." Her brother-in-law, Sir Edward Sackville, was at that time staying in the house, and he had been interfering in some way between Lady Exeter and Lord Roos, and starting difficulties that Lady Anne felt would be the cause of considerable trouble. It would appear that she gave Sir Edward Sackville her opinion and this did not improve his feeling towards her. Lord Dorset was sullen and tiresome, and in order to brighten him up, she decided that he ought to see his little girl, and after supper, "because my Lord was sullen and unwilling to come into the nursery, I made Mary bring the child to him into my chamber, which was the first time she stirred abroad since she was sick." Just at that time, Lord and Lady Dorset appear to have been occupying the same room, but he was by no means well, and she occupied a little pallet with a lace cover upon it in the room, so as to be ready to attend to him at night. This arrangement was, however, not convenient, and a little while afterwards she went into a room close by, which had been hitherto occupied by one of her Gentlewomen whom she speaks of as Judith, "and there," she says, "I intended to continue until my Lord was better," but this arrangement was not satisfactory either, the room was evidently not comfortable, and was probably very draughty, for a day or two afterwards she says "I was so sick with lying in Judith's chamber that I had a plain fit of a fever, and my face was so swelled." Then she left that room and occupied another room, sleeping in a "Green Cloth of Gold bed" that she had occupied on a previous occasion, when Lord Dorset had been in France. After a while, Lord Dorset got better, and then was able to dine in state in the Great Chamber (now called The Cartoon Gallery) as had previously been his habit, with all the Gentlemen of his establishment, but he used to come and take his supper privately with his wife in the Drawing Chamber, and then they had much discussion of the manners of the folks at Court. He was coming to the conclusion it was no good to try to force his wife to take up a position that she had determined she would not adopt, and one morning

he told her that " he was resolved never to move any more in this business, because he saw how fully I was bent." That being so, she decided that she would send down letters to the tenants in Westmoreland, presumably explaining the whole circumstance, and saying that she was accepting for the present the adjudication that had been made, and that they must regard Lord Cumberland as their landlord. " The 19th I signed 33 letters with my own hand, which I sent down to the tenants in Westmoreland, and the same night my Lord and I had much talk of, and persuaded me to this business," saying it had not passed the Great Seal, but even now she would not consent in its entirety to what he wanted, " I told him I would not, and yet I told him I was in perfect charity with all the world." Again, she refers to Matthew, Lord Dorset's attendant. " I had great falling out with my Lord, Matthew continuing to do me all the ill office he could," and so the days seem to have gone on. At times everything was favourable, they dined together, they played at Burley Brake upon the Bowling Green, they went off in the coach to see Mr. Lewis's house, and all the fine flowers that were in the garden, she wore her white satin gown and her white waistcoat, he went hunting both " the fox and the hare " and came home to her in the evening, and they went to church together, and took the Communion together, and she used to come sometimes of an evening in his room, and sit and read Chaucer,⁵¹ and a Turkish History,⁵² while he was at work, and then come frequent reference to quarrels, " He and I fell out about matters," " He and I had a great falling out," and " I wrote not to my Lord, because he wrote not to me since he went away," and so on.

Lord Dorset decided about this time, to alter the arrangement of many of the rooms in the house, to redecorate them, to put up new purple stuff in the Drawing Room and the Gallery, and then, while this work was being done, he went up to London, first of all staying at Buckhurst for a while for some hunting, and then going on to town. The Lord Keeper had given up his tenancy of Dorset House, " and rode from Dorset House to Westminster in great pomp and state, most of the lords going with him, amongst which my Lord was one." She, however, missed his company very much. " The time," she

⁵¹ Bishops edition 1598 or 1602 or perhaps the Black Letter editions of 1542 or 1561, folio

⁵² George Sandys' relation of his journey to Turkey in 1610, issued in 1615.

says, " was very tedious unto me, having neither comfort nor company, only the child," but during part of it she occupied herself in dressing her hair " with a Roule without a wire," and in sorting through some books and papers that came from her mother's house, and arranging them in her room, talking with the man who had brought them, Mr. Wolrich, about her mother and about all the northern business. This was not very cheerful work, for she expressly says that it made her sad, and she therefore turned her attention to more frivolous questions, and Lady St. John sent down her tailor to take her measurements and to make a new gown for her, and she wrote various letters to her friends, specially mentioning that she sent to Lady Beauchamp a lock of the child's hair, and she wrote to other Sackville relations, " I being desirous to win the love of my Lord's kindred by all the fair means that I could." The new gowns that were made for her came down from London a little while afterwards, and she specially records the fact that " I tried on my seawater green satin gown, and my damask embroidered with gold, both of which gowns the tailor which sent from London made fit for me to wear with open ruffs after the French fashion." She paid a few calls in the neighbourhood, and she also went to see a person whom she describes as Goody Sysley, who, it is clear, had just been making cheese, for on that occasion, they ate so much cheese there that " it made me sick." Upon another occasion, she speaks about walking in the garden and gathering cherries, talking with the French page, Josiah Cooper, who told her that he thought all the servants in the house were fond of her, except Lord Dorset's man " Matthew, and two or three of his consorts." Matthew seems to have been a constant trouble—" in the afternoon we again fell out about Matthew," and then she wrote a letter to the Bishop of London complaining of Matthew, and asking whether he could not interfere. Meantime, Lord Dorset was again getting into some kind of financial difficulty. " The Steward came from London, and told me my Lord was much discontented with me for not doing this business, but he must find land to pay money, which must much encumber his estate." Then his own stepmother was discontented with her allowance. " At this time my Lord's Stepmother did sue out of her Thirds, which was an increase of Trouble and Discontent to my Lord," and Sir George Rivers wrote

to tell her that "My Lord was settling his lands upon his brother," and that other legal arrangements were being made which, she says, "did much perplex me." Finally, her cousin Lord Russell wrote to tell her that Lord Dorset had cancelled her jointure, "the jointure he had made upon me last June, when I went into the North, and by these proceedings, I see how much my Lord is offended with me, and that my Enemies have the upper hand of me." She resolved, however, to take it all quietly, "and I writ a letter to my Lord, to let him know how ill I took the Cancelling of my Jointure, but yet told him I was willing to bear it with patience whatsoever he thought fit." As far as possible, Lady Anne seems to have done her best to please her husband so long as he would keep off the question of her estates, but she totally declined to consent to these estates being taken away from her. He gradually became a little more friendly, sent his new barber, Adam Bradford, "to trim the Child's hair" and sent her some venison, "and my Lord writ me a letter," she says "between kindness and unkindness," but all this careless behaviour worried her not a little. "On Whitsunday" she says, "we all went to church, but my eyes were so blubbered with weeping that I could scarce look up." A few days later she records the fact that she rode on horseback to Witham, "to see my Lord Treasurer's Tomb,"⁵³ and went down into the Vault, and came home again, weeping the most part of the day, seeing my Enemies had the upper hand of me." On yet another occasion she says "I was extremely melancholy and sad to see things go so ill with me, fearing my Lord would give all his land away from the child." After a while, Lord Dorset came down again to Knole for a day or two, and then went up to London to the christening of Sir Thomas Howard's child, when he was going to stand godfather with the Prince of Wales, and on that occasion, would be meeting his brother, Sir Edward Sackville, whom Lady Anne disliked intensely, for she was quite sure that Sir Thomas Howard and Sir Edward Sackville would then exercise their influence upon her husband "hoping to do me and my child a good deal of hurt." In July, 1617, the King's award was actually issued.⁵⁴ The previous few days, Lady Anne had been ill, and had written to her husband desiring him to come

⁵³ The first Earl of Dorset, *ob.* 1608. The tomb was destroyed in the fire at Withyham.

⁵⁴ See abstract in the Appendix.

down, because she found herself in such poor health. She was complaining of a good deal of pain in her side, "which I took," says she, "to be the spleen." Then came the award, brought down to her by Marsh, and two days she spent in perusing it and the other writings that accompanied it, "it being," she writes, "as ill for me as possible." She put it in the hands of Mr. Davis, desiring him to make an abstract of it, that she might send it down to the tenants, and then, in reply to her letter, Lord Dorset came down to Knole, "he being something kinder to me than he was, out of pity, in regard he saw me so much Troubled." She herself made certain extracts from the award, and sent them down to her friends in Westmoreland, that they might see how she was being treated, and took the opportunity at the same time of sending what she called "a bowed angel," (probably a lucky piece of gold that was bent) to Mrs. Hartley, and a pair of Willoughby gloves to Lady Lowther. She seems to have been completely upset by this grievous decision against her, so much so, that when Lord Dorset begged her to undertake to look after the house, with a view, perhaps, to his withdrawing some of the officials of the household to London, she refused, saying that she was not well enough to do so, "things went so ill with me." This proved to him that she was really out of health, and for a while he made it up with her—"my Lord and I parted reasonable good friends, he leaving with me his grandmother's ring." She still entertained very bitter feelings about his personal servant, Matthew, and at this moment the chaplain intervened. "At night Mr. Rand came and persuaded me to be friends with Matthew, but I told him I had received so many injuries from him that I could hardly forget them." However, a day or two afterwards she did agree to become friends. "Mr. Rand brought me a message from Matthew, saying how much he desired to have my favour, whereof I desired Mr. Rand to tell him that, as I was a Christian, I would forgive him, and so had some hours' speech with Mr. Rand."

As soon as the award was published, Lord Cumberland had no further excuse for keeping back the money which was due to Lady Anne. Sir Matthew Hale tells us that the award which the King made was dated the 14th of March, 1617, and that in it the King took upon himself to settle the differences, and decreed that Lady Anne and her husband should make a conveyance under the Great Seal of

all her lands to Lord Cumberland under various remainders, and that £20,000 was to be paid over to the Earl of Dorset. This sum of money was to be paid in instalments, five thousand at Michaelmas, six thousand pounds at Midsummer, six thousand pounds more the following Midsummer, and the last three thousand pounds at Michaelmas again. Although she refused to accept the award in any way, yet some of the money certainly appears to have reached her husband. "In Michaelmas, 1617," she says, "did my Lord receive £4,000 from my uncle the Earl of Cumberland, which was the first penny that I received of my portion," and then, on the 24th June, 1619, there is a further reference to the payment of money, in which she says "The 24th my Lord received the last payment of my portion, which was six thousand pounds, so as he hath received in all £17,000." On this occasion she adds, "John Taylor required of my Lord an acquittance, which he refused to give, in regard he had delivered in the statutes, which were a sufficient discharge." One might have thought from the phrase "my portion" that this sum of money related to the legacy which had been left to Lady Anne by her father, or perhaps to some money bequeathed to her by her mother, or to a marriage settlement, but from the amount paid it is pretty clear that it was not so, as her father's legacy to her was fifteen thousand pounds, and these amounts, to which we have referred, come, according to the last statement we have in her Day-by-Day book, to £17,000, evidently leaving the final three thousand which was to be paid at Michaelmas, and which was to make the exact sum of twenty thousand pounds named in the award. We have no diary for the Michaelmas time, and are unable to state, therefore, definitely whether the extra three thousand was paid, but the payment probably was made.

It is therefore clear that, to a great extent, both Lord Dorset and Lord Cumberland gained their own way, and succeeded in getting hold of the estates, and in return for them, Lord Cumberland had to pay out the twenty thousand pounds which Lord Dorset was so anxious to obtain. The fact that all this money had been paid out of the estates, and yet that after all, Lady Anne succeeded to them, must have increased her satisfaction, when she did come into possession of the Westmoreland property; but it very likely accounts for the fact that early in her accession to the estates, she had very little money,

for this large sum, it would appear, had been raised out of the estates by fines, on long leases, for the benefit of her first husband, and the estates to that extent were crippled in value. The particular cause of dispute between the husband and wife had now come to an end. She had been forced to yield to the King's decision, to an award which she declared to be wholly unreasonable, and altogether wrong, but she could do no more, and she now had to wait in full expectation that some day or other her rights would be rectified, and that she would succeed to the estates. This, in due course, ensued.

The remaining part of the *Knole Day-by-Day* book refers more to matters of personal interest, but it is also largely concerned with the death of the Queen, who had been Lady Anne's greatest helper in the whole controversy. Meantime, however, King James was on his way back from Scotland, and passing by Brougham on his return to London, was entertained at Brougham Castle by Francis, Earl of Cumberland and his son Lord Clifford in magnificent fashion. The reception has one notable feature, for it included a musical entertainment, specially prepared for the King's pleasure, and it is said that this was the first time when a programme of words and music was presented to the persons who formed the audience. The entertainment must have been remarkable and costly. The songs appear to have been expressly written by Mr. George Mason and Mr. John Earsdon, and a little pamphlet was printed in London in 1618 containing the words and music. This is now exceedingly rare. Only two copies of it can be traced. One of them is in the British Museum,⁵⁵ the other was in the famous library at Britwell Court, belonging to Mr. S. Christie-Miller.⁵⁶ It is entitled "The Ayres that were Sung and Played at Brougham Castle in Westmerland in the King's Entertainment, Given by the Right Honourable the Earle of Cvंबर-

⁵⁵ K 8 h 7. London: T. Snodham, folio.

⁵⁶ Vide Rimbault on Madrigals. B.M., BBG c16.

The Christie Miller copy was sold at Sothebys in December, 1919 (Lot 78), to Messrs. Ellis, who ask 125*l.* for it. It is a very fine copy, in finer condition than the one in the B.M., whole-bound in cream vellum with the Christie-Miller arms in gold on each cover. The publisher was Thomas Snodham, 1618. The Collation is to E in twos, the number of pieces of music 10.

As the first example of a musical programme arranged in a private house in England for the special delectation of a Sovereign it is a volume eminently desirable to a collector, and it is a source of regret to me that it cannot find a place in my own collection. It certainly should be secured by some Westmoreland or Cumberland collector.

land, and his Right Noble Sonne the Lord Clifford." It comprises nine songs, which are as follows :—

1. Join thy cheerful voice to mine. (A dialogue to be sung "the first night, the King being at supper.")
2. Now is the time. (A dialogue to be sung "at the same time").
3. Welcome, welcome, King of guests. (The King's "Good Night"—"Good night" is the refrain to it).
4. Come follow me, my wandering mates.
5. Dido was the Carthage Queen.
6. Robin is a lovely lad. ("The Dance").
7. The shadows dark'ning, our intent. ("A Song")
8. Truth sprung from heaven shall shine.
9. O Stay, sweet is the least delay. ("The Farewell Song").
10. Good night. ("The Lord's welcome," sung before the King's "Good Night").

The programme is reprinted but not quite accurately, words and music, in John Stafford Smith's *Musica Antiqua*,⁵⁷ vol. II, page 150, and there are references to each of the composers, one of whom, Mason, was a man of some importance in Oxford in his day; in Sir John Hawkins' *History of Music*.⁵⁸

Lord Cumberland, by arranging this musical programme, having the songs and music all specially composed for the occasion and sending for a party of glee singers to come down all the way from London to Westmoreland, was evidently determined to show his sovereign his gratitude for the influence the King had exercised in winning the estates for him, and the entertainment was of such importance that there are many references to it in the literature of the day. It created quite a sensation.

In August, 1617, Lord Dorset came down again to Knole, both he and his wife and Lady Margaret, occupying the same room. The following day, he went to Penshurst, but would not take his wife with him, although she says "Lord and Lady Lisle⁵⁹ sent a man on purpose to desire me to come." He hunted in Penshurst Park, and stayed there at night, meeting Lord Montgomery, Lord Hay, and a great deal of other company, and then he went on to Buckhurst, beginning, as

⁵⁷ B.M. H. 81, 1812.

⁵⁸ B.M. 2031 f.

⁵⁹ Robert Sidney, created Viscount L'Isle in 1605.

**THE
 AYRES
 THAT WERE
 SANG AND PLAYED,**
 at
Broochon Castle in Wiltshire,
 in the Kings Entertainment:
 Given by the Right Honourable the EARLE of CUMBERLAND
 to the Honorable the LORDS of the Council, and
 LORDS of the Bedchamber, &c.
 COMPOSED
 BY
 M^r. GEORGE MASON, and
 JOHN EVELDEN.

LONDON:
 Printed by Thomas Grafton
 at the North-Doore of St. Dunons Church.
 1612.

X.

The Lords welcome, long before the Kings Court might.

Welcome Land, the here draws near, When each one full embraces his deare, And near the
 face has long to see, Advance make the heart more free, When divided heart more,
 Elome name words, The ball more care, fied for with care, let
 Welcome Land, the here draws near, When each one full embraces his deare, And near the
 face has long to see, Advance make the heart more free, When divided heart more,
 Elome name words, The ball more care, fied for with care, let

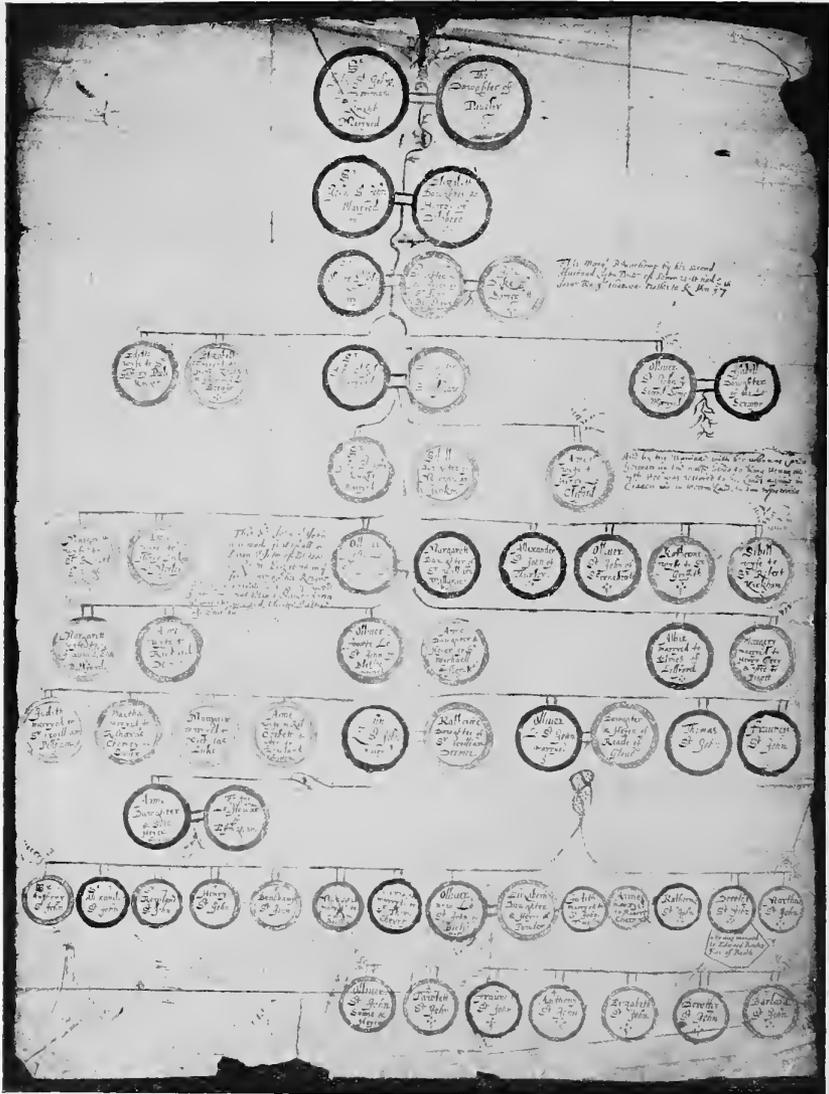
Welcome once againe,
 Though too much were in vain:
 For how can one exceed
 In such a place as here were
 James Necker and Ambrulphore,
 That you might like immortal feed:
 Changing the poe like full of Jove,
 In the lowest part of bone.

F. I. N. I. S.

TITLE PAGE AND FINAL SONG FROM THE VERY RARE BOOK OF THE AYRES,
 BROUGHAM CASTLE, 1618.

Original in the B.M. (-see pages 121-122)

To face page 122.



THE PEDIGREE OF THE ST. JOHNS OF BLETSO

(see page 66).

To face page 123.

she says "his progress into Sussex." He had "Lord Abergavenny" with him, Lord Compton, his servants, and "about thirty horsemen," and they were all 'very Gallant, Brave and Merry.' Thence he passed on to Lewes, and from there wrote a letter to her of a more cheerful character. She refers to it as "a very kind letter." The difficulty, whatever it was, that had prevented her going to Penshurst Place had now passed away, because the very afternoon upon which she wrote to her husband at Lewes, she went herself to Penshurst on horseback to spend the day, and met there Lady Dorothy Sidney⁶⁰ (who was the wife of Lord Lisle's eldest son, and the mother of Sacharissa), Lady Manners, Lord Norris,⁶¹ Lady Worth,⁶² and others. She returned home late at night, her cousin, Barbara Sidney, she says, coming with her part of the way. Lord Dorset continued to be away from home for some time, and Lady Anne took the opportunity of going to see several of her neighbours. She went on horseback on one occasion to Ightham Mote, to see Lady Selby and have "some bread and butter" with her, and on another occasion went over to Lullingston Castle to call upon a certain Sir Percival Hart,⁶³ with whom previously her husband had been staying, on which occasion they hunted some deer as far as Otford. Later on, we read of this Sir Percival Hart coming to Knole to dine, and Lord Dorset showing him his stables and all his horses. One of Sir Percival's friends was a certain Lady Wootton (see a Lady Wotton mentioned before), who came over one day to see Lady Anne at Knole, in order to talk to her about the Westmoreland property. She evidently had a great opinion of her power of persuasion, but found she had to deal with a determined person, and the Lady Anne says "she stayed not an hour, in regard she saw I was so resolutely bent not to part with Westmoreland." The visit to Sir Percival Hart's had evidently been rather a serious undertaking, because she took with her two of her Gentlewomen and as many "horses as ever" she could get, and then, on her return, the steward came to meet her. In other respects, the life at that time at Knole was quieter and more contented. She appears to have

⁶⁰ Daughter of Henry, 9th Earl of Northumberland.

⁶¹ Francis, 2nd Lord Norreys, afterwards Earl of Berkshire.

⁶² Probably the wife of Sir Robert Wroth or Worth, knighted in 1603.

⁶³ Knighted in 1601.

amused herself upon more than one occasion, in making quince marmalade. "I made much of it," she says, and quite gladly used it for presents to various friends who called upon her, Lady Lisle and Lady Barbara Sidney,⁶⁴ both of them seem to have received gifts of quince marmalade, after they had walked "in the wilderness" with their hostess. On another occasion, she sent to her cousin, George Clifford, half a buck, which my Lord had sent me half-an-hour before." The letter which had accompanied the buck was not a particularly gracious one, she speaks of it as "indifferent kind," but just at that time there also arrived the letter from George Clifford, saying what he had been doing on her behalf, and, anxious to express her good will towards him, she hastened to send off to him this venison as a gift. Lady Anne was always interested in hearing whatever news could be brought to her respecting the northern property, and one day she had in, after dinner, a footman named Richard Dawson, who had served her mother, and he gave her the names of the various tenants round about Brougham, and told her how the castle had been delivered up to Lord Cumberland, and the plate which had belonged to her mother had been sent to the care of Lord William Howard, while some of the furniture had been put away temporarily in the Baron's Chamber at Appleby. He also told her to her great joy that "all the Tenants were very well affected towards me and very ill towards them."

Another of her occupations was to string together her chains and her bracelets, assisted in this work by her constant attendant Willoughby.

Lord Dorset meantime was paying a series of visits, hunting, she says, "In many Gentlemen's Parks, Then He went on to Woodstock to meet the King, and stayed up and down at many Gentlemen's Houses, a good while. From thence He went to Bath" where there was quite a gay company assembled, and then to London in September, and at the very end of the month came down to Knole and was there for a few days. Afterwards the whole party moved up to London, and on that occasion she records with that curious satisfaction in dwelling on the past which always characterised her; her feelings in visiting

⁶⁴ Daughter of Viscount L'Isle, afterwards Viscountess Strangford.

on two or three occasions her mother's rooms in Austin Friars, and in returning again to the room in which she had been married. Whether the building was occupied at that time, is not very clear, but perhaps it was necessary for her to go and see the rooms in connection with some duty she may have incurred under her mother's will. She certainly says that she went into "most of the Rooms in the House," and that she found "very little or nothing of all the stuffs and Pictures remaining there." Her emotions quite overcame her, and in the room in which her mother used to sit, and in which she had been married, she says she "wept extremely." On returning to town, she took her place again at St. Bride's Church and at Court, and says she wore her "Green Damask Gown embroidered, without a Farthingale." She was received with great consideration by the King, who, she says, "kissed mee when I was with Him." She records, however, that that was the "first time I was so near to King James as to Touch Him," but had evidently forgotten that two years before, he had given her a similar salute one day when he was going into the Queen's apartments, as she had herself recorded.

She was always grateful to Queen Anne for the kindly interest Her Majesty had taken on her behalf, and while the king was in Scotland, had gone down several times to Greenwich to pay her respects to the Queen. She tells us that, at that time, the "Prince was often with the Queen," till about the time she "removed to Oatlands." She had also written a letter to the Queen in 1617, expressing her thankfulness "for the favours she had done me," and sent it off to Lady Ruthven, specially desiring her to deliver it. She appears at one time to have had some conversation with the Queen concerning the Spanish match which was then so much talked about. "Folk told me," she says "for certain that the match with Spain for our Prince would go forward. The King of Spain was grown so gracious to English folk, that he had written a letter in behalf of Lord Willoughby's brother," (to whom Lady Anne had already referred) "to get him out of the Inquisition at Aricon." Now that she was back in town, on the 2nd of November, she sent to the Queen a handsome present by the hands of Lady Ruthven, she describes it as the skirts of a white satin gown, all pearled and embroidered with colours, "which cost me," she says, "four-score pounds without

the satten," that is to say, she had incurred this expenditure for the embroidery and the pearl work, and in all probability, the effect must have been exceedingly fine. The Queen sent for her, a couple of days after, into her own Bed Chamber, and there again she spoke to the King. "He used me," says she, "very graciously, and bid me go to his attorney, who should inform him more of my desires." Her own solicitor was probably a Mr. Davis, for in the following day she says she carried Mr. Davis⁶⁵ to Gray's Inn, to the king's attorney, "and I told him his Majesty's pleasure, and from thence," she adds, "I went on to Mr. Walton's lodgings, to entreat his advice and help in this business," as there was evidently still some complication, and then she went down to Knole again. About ten days afterwards, Lord Dorset was also at Knole, and her cousin Lord Clifford was with him. It seems that he came into her bedchamber to discuss business matters, for she writes "my Lord brought my cousin Clifford, though much against his will, into my bed chamber, where we talked of ordinary matters some quarter of an hour, and so he came away," implying that she declined to discuss questions connected with her husband, her estate, or her married life, with this cousin. Quite a new difficulty was at this moment breaking upon her horizon. There was a certain Lady Peneystone with whom Lord Dorset had become violently infatuated, and for whom he neglected his own wife in an open and shameless manner. In consequence Lady Anne's visits to Court took place but seldom, and were as short as possible, and in all probability, she would not have come to Court at all, except for the presence of the Queen, to whom she remained devotedly attached. The rest of the year, the Day-by-Day Book only records purely domestic matters, although many of them are of interest.

She was afraid, early in December, that Lady Margaret was going to have the smallpox, for the child had a cough and a good deal of pain, but in a few days had recovered, and that anxiety passed away. Then she herself was not well, and Thomas Cornwallis, the Groom Porter, came down from London in order to make inquiries concerning her health. He was probably a man well advanced in years, because she spent some time in talking with him about Queen

⁶⁵ Probably John Davis the Kings's Sergeant, appointed in 1606.

Elizabeth, she says, "and such old matters of the Court." She also discussed similar questions with Sir John Taylor.⁶⁶ Another person who visited her was Lady Neville, who was taken up to Lady Anne's own room, where she says "I showed her all my things, and gave her a pair of Spanish leather gloves." There was hunting going on at Buckhurst, and a great crowd of country gentlemen were Lord Dorset's guests, "all of them met him," she says "with their Grey Hounds" and all the great officials of the house went down to Buckhurst, and "my Lord had feasts." Sir Thomas Parker,⁶⁷ she tells us, was there. Lord Dorset and his brother were not agreeing very well at this time, and they had "much squabbling," and so, after they had left, Lord Dorset stayed alone at Buckhurst, and had no one with him but his constant companion Matthew.

Christmas was spent in London, all the household moving up to Great Dorset House, the child going before in a litter. "There was great housekeeping all this Christmas," and everything was done in state.⁶⁸ She herself went to church, she tells us, on the 28th, in her rich state attire, both "my Women waiting upon mee in my Liveries," and that day there was a great company of neighbours to eat venison. Then it was that she decided that she would have a definite record made of all her father's sea voyages, and told one of her servants, Jones, to inquire into the matter, and procure the ancient chronicle, and have it copied.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Probably the Master of the Rolls, then a very old man.

⁶⁷ Knight of Ratten in Sussex, married a daughter of Lord Dacre.

⁶⁸ An interesting light is thrown upon the heavy expenditure which Lord Dorset incurred in keeping up his household when we read, in Bridgeman's work on the Sackville family that, in his time, there always sat down at the Lord's table eight persons; at the parlour table, twenty-one, which included the ladies-in-waiting, the gentlemen of the horse, the chaplain the secretaries and the pages; at the clerk's table below the dais twenty more, which included the principal officials of the household, who ranked next to those already mentioned; at the nursery table four more, being the attendants upon Lady Margaret; at the long table in the hall forty-eight inferior servants, most of them men; at the laundry table twelve female servants; and at the scullery table six more. This does not appear to have included the attendants in the kennels, the stables, the gamekeeping or the hunting departments.

In a Manuscript at Knole there is a rougher list of the servants to the following effect. "There are twenty-one upper servants, of whom one is Mr. Duppa the chaplain." [This reverend gentleman later on became Bishop of Chichester, and subsequently of Salisbury and of Winchester] "there are twenty-one cooks, brewers, yeomen and great servants," which includes the men who have charge of the wardrobes, and four women servants, "there are forty-seven men in the hall," which include the lowest huntsmen and the bird-catcher, and "there are twenty-four other servants," whose occupations are not specifically named.

⁶⁹ This copy, a very important document, is still in existence, and is alluded to at length in my *Memoir of George, Earl of Cumberland* (Cam. Press, 1920), where some drawings it contains are illustrated.

A curious piece of information, the last entry for that year, is to the effect that about this time died "Jim Robin's man," but "he left his master no remembrance, for they was fallen out."

Early in the year, Lady Anne sent another gift to the Queen, a "Cloth of Silver Cushion, embroidered richly with the King of Denmark's arms," and decorated with "Stripes of Tent stitch," and for the first four or five days of the year, she received much company, a great many ladies, she says, coming to see her. She mentions by name Lady Cavendish, Lady Bruce, Lady Herbert and Lady Donne,⁷⁰ with the last named of whom she "had much talk about religion."

Lord Dorset was in one of his grumbling moods, and on Twelfth Eve, he lost four hundred pieces, playing cards with the King, which did not improve his temper. The Prince had an important masque at Whitehall on Twelfth Night, at which the King was present, but Queen Anne was by that time lying seriously ill at Hampton Court, and Lady Anne had but little heart for gaieties, and does not appear to have attended this particular masque. Directly after Twelfth Night they all removed again to Knole, and no sooner had the party left London, than, as she tells us, "The Banqueting House at Whitehall was burnt to the ground, and the writings in the Signet Office were all lost." She brought down with her to Knole a great trunk of papers that had belonged to her mother "which trunk" she says 'was full of writings of Craven and Westmoreland and Certain letters of Her Friends, and many Papers of Philosophy.'" These she probably sorted at this time, perhaps with the assistance of Lady Wootton, who came to see her, and to talk over various matters. In all probability, several of the documents which had belonged to Lady Cumberland which are now at Skipton Castle and Appleby Castle, were amongst the papers in this old trunk which Lady Anne sorted out at Knole and kept by her with such care.

She was always anxious to do what she could to promote a spirit of friendliness with the various members of the Sackville family, especially when there was the least sign of friction, and understanding herself only too well what difficulties meant between husband and

⁷⁰ Possibly Mary, widow of Lord Wentworth and wife of Sir William Pope, created Earl of Downe, or more probably the wife of Daniel Dunne, LL.D., Knighted in 1603.

wife, tried her best to avoid them amongst her relatives. "On the 22nd here supped with me my Sisters Sackville and Beauchamp, Bess Neville, Tom Glenham, and my brother Compton and his wife. I brought them to sup here on purpose, hoping to make them friends." In this particular plan, she appears to have been successful, because a few lines lower down she says "About this time my sister Compton was reconciled to her husband and went to his house in Finch Lane, where they stayed ten or twelve days, and then he brought her into the country at Brambletye,"⁷¹ and again later on, "my brother Compton I made promise me and he gave his hand upon it that he would keep his house in Finch Lane until Lady Day next, because my sister Compton might sometimes come to London."

Once again, she went up to London for a short time, and then on the 23rd of January, returned to Knole in a litter, and on this occasion, Lady Margaret came back in a coach. "I went," she says "through the City and over the Bridge, but she crossed the water," and they found Lord Dorset waiting for them at Knole, as he had been staying there alone for some little time. They entertained some friends, Lord William Howard and Lady Selby,⁷² and Sir Ralph Boswell⁷³ came to see them, "but I kept my chamber, because I found myself ill and weak." Her sister, Lady Beauchamp, had lost her little girl, the child having passed away in the house in which her father had died only two months before. The body was put into lead and sent down to the House Steward at Knole, in order to be buried at Witham. It arrived at Knole on the very day on which Lady Anne was twenty-nine years old, and a couple of days afterwards the funeral took place, and "so now," she says, "there was an end of the issue of that marriage, which was concluded soon after mine."

The irritation which had arisen between Lord William Howard and Lord Clifford, came to a head in February, when they were summoned before the Lords of the Council, who made inquiry concerning their procedure in the North. This inquiry did not result in any friendship, but increased the difficulties, and Lady Anne seems to

⁷¹ Brambletye is now a ruin near to Forest Row village. It was at one time a great house belonging to the Sackville family. It stands in what was originally Ashdown Forest.

⁷² Probably wife of Sir George Selby, Sheriff of Newcastle "the King's host" as he was called.

⁷³ This Sir Ralph Boswell she mentions again a little later, for when she was ill she says "he played and sung to her in the afternoon,"

have appreciated the fact of this squabbling, for she says, "The Spleen increased between them more and more, and bred faction in Westmoreland, which I held to be a very good matter for me." Lord Dorset went down to Buckhurst on the 22nd of February to have a quiet time by himself, and probably to entertain some of his bachelor friends. She remained at Knole, and on Shrove Tuesday amused herself with making pancakes "with my women in the Great Chamber."

All the talk just then was about the famous (or, rather infamous) inquiry respecting the moral conduct of Lady Exeter. Lady Anne speaks of it in the curiously frank manner in which such cases were reported at that time, and seems to have taken a great deal of satisfaction in writing down the unpleasant rumours of incest and defamation of character that were flying about respecting Lady Exeter, Lady Lettice Lake, Lord Roos and other people. She also refers, with a certain grim satisfaction, to the fact that "my Lady of Suffolk at Northampton House, about this time had the smallpox, which spoiled that good Face of Hers, which had brought to others much misery, and to Herself Greatness, which ended with much unhappiness." She also relates incidentally the account of the death of Lord Cobham after his liberation from the Tower.

The lawsuit which has just been mentioned, caused Sir Thomas Lake to lose his place as Secretary of State, and Sir George Calvert was given that high office.

We then come to the anniversary of her wedding day, February 25th, 1619, when she writes, "My Lord should have gone to London on the 24th of this month, but I entreated him to Stay here the 25th, because on that day 10 years I was married." She appears to have regarded her married life with all its troubles as a time of real happiness, because she kept the day, she says "as a Day of Jubilee." Lord Dorset did remain until the 27th, and then went off on horseback, but the snow was so heavy and the cold so intense, that he was quite ill after his journey, and instead of returning to Knole, stayed in London for ten days and possibly on that occasion, laid the seeds of an illness which not very long afterwards was to cause his death. Lady Anne was all this time in constant communication with her northern friends. Many letters, she says, she had from Mr. Davis and Mr. Marsh, "by which I perceived" that the "Business went

well to my liking in Westmoreland," by reason of the differences which existed between Lord Clifford and her cousin.

Now, however, another trouble was to come upon her, the serious illness of the Queen, and presently Her Majesty's death. The King was not able to come to Hampton Court when the Queen died, as he had, she tells us, "an extreme fit of the Stone at Newmarket, so as many doubted of his recovery, and the Prince did Post down to see him." The Queen died on the 2nd of March, between two and three in the morning. The House Steward, Legge, brought down the news to Knole, and Lady Anne, who was always pleased at noticing coincidences, remarks that she was sitting in the same room at Knole where she had the first news of her mother's death, and at about the same hour. Queen Anne of Denmark, she records, died in the same room "Queen Jane, Harrie 8ths wife died in." The body was opened, and the viscera buried privately in the Abbey at Westminster, "in the place where the King's Mother's Tomb is," only "four of her servants, the Gentlemen Ushers, and a Herald being present, the Dean of Westminster conducting the ceremony, and about ten other persons with him." The corpse, she tells us, was brought from Hampton Court to Denmark House by water in the night, and the "Great Ladies of the Court watched while it lay there" with much state. She took her turn with the other Court attendants at the watching, and afterwards, hand in hand with Lady Lincoln,⁷⁴ walked in the procession, each of them wearing a mourning robe of sixteen yards of heavy black cloth!

Immediately after the ceremony, Lord Dorset, who had not been well, but who was just able to come up to town to take part in the funeral procession to Denmark House and the funeral, returned home by barge with his wife and Lord and Lady Warwick. Lady Anne at once went to see Lady Beauchamp to show off her mourning attire, where she says she met Lady Pembroke, and other persons of her acquaintance, with whom she had much talk about the funeral. Lord Clifford had come up from Westmoreland and was also a mourner, and he it was who carried the banner for the Lords. "When all the Company was gone and the Church Door shut up, the Dean of Westminster, the Prebends, and Sir Edward Zouch, who was Knight Marshal

⁷⁴ Probably the wife of Theophilus, 12th Lord Clinton and 4th Earl of Lincoln.

came up a private way, and burried the Corps at the East end of Henry VII's chapel, about seven o'clock at night." She records the fact that there were 180 poor women mourners, and these were probably persons to whom alms were given on the occasion of the funeral. Sir Edward Sackville was not present. He was seriously ill, so ill, that at one time it was "generally reported that he was dead." That evening, there was a great supper at Dorset House, given especially in honour of some of the Frenchmen who came over with the Ambassador to the funeral, and "after supper there was a Play," and at the banquet she specially records that "my Lady Peneystone, and a great many Lords and Ladies, were present," Lord Dorset had been trying for some time past to persuade his wife to receive Lady Peneystone at Knole. She seems, however, to have objected to doing so, but in the succeeding July, she records the fact that all that summer Lady Peneystone was at "the Wells near Tunbridge, drinking the Waters," and in consequence, she was not able to avoid having her over to Knole, "on the 24th after supper, came to Knole Sir Thomas Peneystone ⁷⁵ and his Lady, and Sir Maximilian ⁷⁶ and Lady Dalison." The 25th they stayed with her all day, she speaks of their having great entertainment and much stir about them, and the 26th they all went away. She does, however, mention in another side note in her book that there was some condemnation amongst local gentry of this visit of Lady Peneystone. "This coming hither of Lady Peneystone was much talked of abroad, and my Lord was condemned for it." Lady Devonshire, she says, was also at the Wells at that time and came over to Knole for dinner.

The Queen's funeral, which was postponed for many months on account of the King's illness, has rather upset our chronology, and we now come back again to March, to the time when the Queen's death actually occurred. Lady Anne was much depressed at this time. She had been reading a book "in praise of the Solitary Life," ⁷⁷ and having St. Augustine's "City of God" ⁷⁸ read to her—books which had belonged to her mother. She had also been working

⁷⁵ First Baronet. He married three times. We are not clear which of the three wives is alluded to here.

⁷⁶ Knight of Halling in Kent.

⁷⁷ Perhaps "The Praise of Solitariness," 1577 or St. Basil's Epistle of a Solitary Life, 1594.

⁷⁸ Folio, 1610. Printed by J. H[ealy], dedicated to Lord Pembroke.

very earnestly at two of the books of the Clifford records, which her mother had commenced to prepare, and she was depressed by the fact that Lord Warwick⁷⁹ had rather suddenly died, leaving, she says, "a great estate to Lord Rich and my good friend his lady, and leaving his wife, which was my Lady Lampwell, a widow for the second time." Furthermore she had read a book called "The Supplication of the Saints,"⁸⁰ which Lord Dorset had given her, and dwelling upon these books and furthermore worrying herself unduly about a search that Lord Dorset had been making for recusants, was evidently in very poor health, and so came to the conclusion, after a great "Passion of Weeping" in her room, that her "mind was so troubled" that she was not fit "to receive Communion" that Easter.

She goes on to tell us she had been keeping Lent very strictly, not eating either butter or eggs, until at last Lord Dorset had interfered, and insisted upon a change because she was looking pale and ill, and as she herself confesses was weak and sickly. It was evident that she had been keeping Lent in far too austere a fashion considering the state of her health. On Good Friday she decided that she certainly would not take Communion. The next day she sent for the chaplain, Mr. Rand, and told him that she did not feel herself "fit to receive Communion," and as soon as Lord Dorset heard what she had decided, he said that the Communion was to be put off for the whole household at Knole, excepting any of them that liked to go to the church. In consequence, Mr. Rand preached in the private chapel, but there was no Communion that Easter in the house, only at the church. In the afternoon, however, she began to repent that she had caused the Communion to be put off till Whitsuntide, and appears to have taken the opportunity to have some serious conversation with Lord Dorset, when he protested to her that he would be "a very good husband to her," and she should receive no prejudice by the legal action that had proceeded at this time, while in various ways he endeavoured to cheer her up, so that the happy event which was then expected, might come off with

⁷⁹ This must surely be Robert Rich, 1st Earl who only became Earl of Warwick in the previous August. His wife is usually called widow of Sir George Paul.

⁸⁰ "Supplication of the Saints," by T. Sorecold 1612, a very popular book which ran into 45 editions.

satisfaction. Soon afterwards he appears to have left Knole, and gone to Buckhurst, and afterwards to Lewes to see, she says, "the Muster which the County prepared, in so much better Fashion by reason of their affection to Him, which was as much as my Lord hath in any County, or Can have." It is always of interest to see the way in which she takes every opportunity of trying, even against her own will, to praise up her unworthy husband. It is clear that she was really fond of him, and equally clear that at times, he had considerable affection for her, but he was led astray by his love of sport, and by his wild companions.

On the 4th of April, 1619, there was a general thanksgiving for the King's recovery at Paul's Cross. The Bishop of London preached, and most of the Privy Council were present. Lord Dorset had been as usual amusing himself at cards, and in Lewes there had been great play between Lord Hunsdon, Lady Effingham and Lord Dorset, who appears to have lost about two hundred pounds to each of them. There were great festivities in Lewes, and the town entertained the party with fireworks. King James was not satisfied however, to hear that one of his favourite courtiers was simply gratifying his own inclination, while he was down at Newmarket in poor health, for, although there had been a thanksgiving for his recovery, he was yet not sufficiently strong to be moved. He sent for Lord Dorset "there came a Letter to my Lord, to advise Him to come to Royston to the King, because most of the Lords had been with Him at the time of his sickness," but Lord Dorset had not been amongst the number, and so back the young nobleman had to go. He journeyed from Knole up to London, and the next day went on from London to Royston and watched by the King that night in company with Lord Warwick and Lord North. The King appreciated the attention, "and used him," says she, "very well," and so Lord Dorset stayed at Royston till the 13th and then he came up to London, and three or four days afterwards she journeyed up, in company with her gentlewomen and most of the household, leaving only one maid, Mary Hutchins, behind, to wait upon Lady Margaret.

We have already referred to the fact that Mrs. Bathurst, who appears to have been a sort of Gentlewoman in Waiting to Lady Margaret, had been dismissed. Apparently the new Lady Warwick

had rather taken up the cause of this person, and had pointed out to Lady Anne that she had made an error in her dismissal. "I met Mrs. Bathurst at Lady Beauchamp's on the 18th, Sunday, after she had been to Warwick House." She was in mourning attire, because of the recent death of Lord Warwick. She told Mrs. Bathurst on one occasion she "did both forget and forgive anything she had done against her," and she spoke to Lady Warwick on her behalf, probably obtaining for Mrs. Bathurst a similar position in the house of the new countess. The following day, she took her part in sitting by the Queen's corpse, and then went into the gallery of Somerset House (then called Denmark House) and showed to one of her cousins "the fine delicate things there." Two or three days afterwards, we hear of her at Parson's Green, where she went to see Lady St. John, and particularly records the fact that she met "a Spanish friar."

Lord Dorset had on his return to London taken his usual enjoyment of cock-fighting, had "two days' cocking at the cockpit," he was also "Running at the Ring and had an infinite company with him." The very day that Lady Anne was at Parson's Green, the King arrived at Theobald's, brought in a litter from Royston to Ware, and then on to Theobald's, but carried "most part of the way by the Guard, for he was still so ill, he could not endure the litter." Once again we hear of her taking her place watching beside the Queen's body, accompanied by various other persons, Lord Carew,⁸¹ Lord Compton, Lord Clifford, and others, from the early part of the evening up to midnight. There were also present, she says, Lord Dorset, Lady Warwick, Sir Henry Rich, Sir Thomas Edmonds,⁸² and other people, but they all left at midnight, whereas she and some of the ladies in waiting remained till five o'clock in the morning. On Saturday the 24th, Lord Dorset went down to see the King, "who used him," says she, "very Graciously," and then, the next day, she and Lady Warwick went to Denmark House, to hear "a Sermon in the Great Hall," and afterwards to Hyde Park to "take the air," and when she returned home, he went on to see his brother, who was still ill, "and is very sick and out of Temper in his body." There was more cock-fighting on the Monday, Lord Dorset winning five or six "battles,"

⁸¹ George, 1st and only Lord Carew of Clopton, afterwards Earl of Totnes,

⁸² Clerk of the Council, Knighted in 1603.

while she went to see Lady Windsor and Lady Raleigh, the latter of whom lived in a house close by Austin Friars. On Tuesday, she tells us, she received her new mourning gown. She had already been expostulated with by her husband, again and again, for not taking sufficient interest in her costume, and so she has a new gown made and certain ornaments she speaks of for it "that Nan Horn made for me."

Two of the tenants meantime, belonging to the Westmoreland estates, had got into serious difficulties with the Earl of Cumberland, and although Lady Anne was not responsible in any way for them, they appear to have come to London to see her, and to crave her assistance in an action they proposed to take against Lord Cumberland. Matters were evidently not progressing favourably in the North. There was a good deal of quarrelling between young Lord Clifford and his tenants. "Matters went more to my content and less to his than we expected." Lady Anne appears to have sided with the tenants, and to have arranged with various officials that they should see the Lord Chancellor,⁸³ but his orders to them were very definite, he told them that they were to be good tenants to Lord Cumberland, and seems to have threatened them that, if they did not obey his instructions, "he would break them." They were evidently loth to accept him as their landlord, "the poor men" she says "were much perplexed and troubled. I gave them the best comfort and encouragement I could." A little later, she sent them back again to their homes, with handsome presents of gold and silver. She was not pursuing a wise course in thus interfering between the tenants and the owner of the land, and her representative, Mr. Davis, seems to have received some very straight remarks from the Lord Chancellor, for she says, "My Lord Chancellor had the tenants before him, and counselled them to yield to my uncle Cumberland, at which time he gave Mr. Davis bad words." It is probable that the estate from which they had come was that called King's Meaburn or Maud's Meaburn, because on the 1st of May, 1619, she expressly records the fact that her representative Mr. Davis, came and read to her and to Lord Dorset, the papers concerning a Chancery suit which Lord Cumberland and his son Lord Clifford had started against the tenants of that particular estate.

⁸³ Sir Francis Bacon ; Chancellor, January 4th, 1618 ; Removed, 1621.

On the 2nd of May she received a visit from some people who were evidently unwelcome, but we have not been able to ascertain the cause. "When I returned home," she says, "I found Mr. Hammers ⁸⁴ and his wife here, and told her that for my part, she had made so many scorns and jests of me, she was nothing welcome to me."

The remainder of the Day-by-Day Book is concerned with information of a domestic or of a local character, with here and there reference to public matters. For example, Lady Anne gives us the following facts. She calls the marriage of Lord Sheffield ⁸⁵ to Anne Urwyn "mean and indiscreet." She speaks of the death on the 3rd of May, 1619, of Sir Arthur Lake's ⁸⁶ wife, and says that she had been "grievously tormented a long time with pains and sores, which broke out in blotches." She refers to the arraignment and condemnation by the King's Bench, of Williams, a lawyer, who was adjudged to be hung, drawn and quartered, for having written a certain book called "Balaam's Ass," ⁸⁷ and mentions that he was taken to Newgate, and the horrible sentence was carried out at Charing Cross on the 5th of May. She refers with great gratification to the fact that Barnevelt had been beheaded at the Hague on the 3rd instant, and says that "this man hath long been a Secret Friend to the Spaniards, and an Enemy to the English." ⁸⁸ She relates that Lord Doncaster ⁸⁹ had been sent on an "embassage into Germany," to go to the emperor, and to "mediate between him" and the King, and on the 30th of December in the same year, she tells us that Lord Doncaster had returned. She mentions the coronation of the Palgrave and Princess Elizabeth as King and Queen of Bohemia at Prague. She says that there was great expectation that Lord and Lady Suffolk would be proceeded against in the Star Chamber, but that the suit was put off until a little later, and then in December states that "they both were sent to the Tower." At the same time she mentions that Lord William Howard had started an action in the Star Chamber

⁸⁴ Possibly the Prebendary of Worcester, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in 1642, if he ever married.

⁸⁵ Third Baron, afterwards Earl Mulgrave. This was his second wife.

⁸⁶ Second son of Sir Thomas Lake, knighted in 1617.

⁸⁷ A very rare tract of 4 leaves in verse, 1649. The author does not appear to be mentioned in any of the books of reference and perhaps has not hitherto been known. See B.M. E564(7).

⁸⁸ Renier van Olden-Barnevelt, Dutch Patriot *ob.* 1623.

⁸⁹ James, Lord Hay, Viscount Doncaster and afterwards Earl of Carlisle, *ob.* 1636.

against Sir William Hatton, and some other people, and that Lady Roos' ⁹⁰ submission was read in the same chamber, but that as she and Sir Arthur and Lady Lake refused to submit to it, they were committed close prisoners to the Tower. She refers to a marriage between *Sir* Thomas Glenham and Sir Peter Vavasour's daughter, and says that the lady brought "a great portion" to her husband. It seems to be possible that Lord Dorset's Gentleman, who has generally been spoken of as Thomas Glenham, was the same person who is here alluded to. She mentions that Sir Henry Vane came down in July to Knole, and played at bowls. She tells us that Lady Bedford had the smallpox, and through it lost one of her eyes. On another occasion she mentions that her cousin Oldworth ⁹¹ came down to show her the drawings of certain monuments that were to be set up at Chenies of her great-grandfather the Earl of Bedford, her grandfather who succeeded him, and of Lady Warwick. She says that Sir Harry Vane's wife had a child who was named Walter, and that Lady Selby and she were godmothers, and Mr. Walter Sturt and Sir R. Yeatley ⁹² were godfathers. Towards the end of the diary, she again refers to Lord Suffolk's trial, and says that he was brought into the Star Chamber before all the Council, and it was adjudicated that he should pay six thousand pounds to the King, and that "he and his lady should remain Prisoners in the Tower" during the King's pleasure.

Of matters that are purely domestic, we have several interesting small entries. On the 6th of May, Lord Dorset sat up playing cards very late, and did not come home till twelve o'clock at night. A day or two afterwards, it is mentioned that neither she nor Lord Dorset went to church in the morning, because, says she, "Skinnie was married that Day to Sarah," but in this particular instance, we are not able to identify either of the persons referred to. In April of that year Lord Dorset and Lady Anne had decided to go home suddenly from London to Knole, and the coach and horses were ready, but, says she "there came a great shower, which stayed our going," and so they appear to have simply used the coach to go to

⁹⁰ Eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Lake, wife of William Cecil, Lord Roos and grand-daughter by marriage of the Earl of Exeter.

⁹¹ Arnold Oldisworth (b. 1561) antiquary, in all probability. His son Michael (1591-1694) was afterwards Lord Pembroke's secretary.

⁹² Possibly Sir R. Yaxeley, knighted in 1599.

Westminster Abbey to see the various tombs, and especially to notice the place where the Queen had been buried in Henry VII's chapel.

Her reading during that time is mentioned on two or three occasions. She says that her cousin at one time was reading Parson's Resolutions⁹³ to her, at another Ovid's Metamorphoses,⁹⁴ she also mentions the fact that Wat Conniston read a book called Leicester's Commonwealth⁹⁵ to her, and when he had finished that, commenced to read Josephus,⁹⁶ and she was also spending a great deal of time in reading through the documents concerning her father's voyages, which she was having carefully written out. At other times, she says she was airing the furs which came from London, one of which—"a sable muff"—she says she gave as a gift to Sir Robert Farley (?), or she was playing at Tables with the steward, or at Glecko, occasionally losing more money than she had intended, and deciding not to play any more for some considerable time. There are a few entries directly concerned with Knole, with her own establishment, and with her little girl. She had considerable difficulty at intervals with those who were about her. "On the 14th of July my cousin Mary and I had a bitter falling out." The following day, being Sunday, she did not go to church at all, because she fell out with Kate Burton, and swore, says she, "I would not keep her, but I would send her to her father." Three days after, she records a visit from Sir Edward Burton, and "I told him I was determined I would not keep his Daughter," and then on the 2nd of October, she mentions the fact that "Kate Burton went away from serving me, to her father's house in Sussex." She also mentions that she had an accident with one of her teeth one night, breaking it off, and that she "was sad and melancholy all night," perhaps in consequence of the mishap.

Lady Margaret was five years old in July, and Lord Dorset, who was at that time at Knole sitting to Van Somer for his portrait, caused her health to be drunk throughout the house. That same

⁹³ "Resolutions of Religion," by R. Parsons 1603.

⁹⁴ Probably Golding's Black Letter edit., translation printed by Purfoot 1612; "always lively and sometimes poetic."

⁹⁵ A story, small 4to with portrait, declared to have been written by Robert, Earl of Leicester, 1584, but probably by Father Parsons, the Jesuit. Sydney issued an answer to it. Shakespeare is said to have used it when writing Hamlet.

⁹⁶ Lodge's translation, 1602 or 1609.

month, she says that her daughter began to sit to Van Somer for her picture, and he was also copying her Lord's picture for her.⁹⁷

Such a small event as the going away of one of the laundry maids is recorded in this wonderful Day-by-Day Book :—" October 7, Bess of the laundry went away, and one Nell came in her room," and then about this time, Lady Anne took to her room, and she says that she " stirred not out of it " from October to March. A new attendant came to serve her on the 14th, Sir Francis Slingsby,⁹⁸ she says, " brought his Daughter Mary to serve me, and she came that night and lay in Judith's room, so that I mean to keep her continually about me." Three or four days afterwards, at night, she says, " the Fire Dog played with Fire," and this may perhaps be an allusion to a false alarm, and the Dog may have been an arrangement for putting a fire engine to work, because she says she took cold with " standing in a Window," evidently to look at it. A very little while afterwards an actual fire occurred, because on the 29th she says that the " Drawing Chamber Chimney was on Fire," and she had to " sup in the new Drawing Chamber with my Lord."

Lady Margaret does not seem to have progressed very rapidly in her ability to talk clearly. She says, " All the winter my Lady Margaret's Speech was very ill, so that Strangers cannot understand her, besides she was so apt to take Cold, and so out of Temper, that it grieved me to think of it," and, she adds, " I verily believe all these inconveniences proceed from some Distemper in her Head." It was also considered worthy of notice that in October, 1619, the gallery was rehung with new hangings, " all my Lord's caparisons, which Edwards the upholsterer made up."

Lady Anne was evidently at this time in exceedingly fragile health, and by no means satisfied with her physical condition ; therefore it was that she spent a considerable amount of time in her own room and did not stir forth " yet methinks," says she, " the time is not so tedious to me as when I used to be abroad." On one occasion she

⁹⁷ We believe that these are the pictures at Knole which have been at one time attributed to Cornelius Janssens or Johnson.

⁹⁸ Burke says that this man was never knighted and that all the writers, including Pennant, who dub him Sir Francis are in error. Lady Anne is however a credible witness. He had been with Lord Cumberland in the voyage of 1593.

was much happier than usual, because Sir Francis Slingsby ⁹⁹ had come to her, and was giving her a long account of her father's voyages. Just before this, she had a severe faint, and says that it was "the first time" in her life that she had ever fainted. There are very occasional references to Lord Dorset, but probably, on Lady Peneystone's account, things were not particularly happy between husband and wife. She records, however, with some considerable satisfaction, in November, that "on the 29th day of the month was the last time my Lord came to Lady Peneystone at her Mother's Lodgings in the Strand," and so it may be hoped that this affair between Lord Dorset and Lady Peneystone had in some way or other come to an end. On the whole Lord Dorset seems to have been kinder to her just at this time than he had been before, and during the period of her weak health, she received much attention and kindness from the ladies round about her neighbourhood. "The ladies were very kind to me," says she. There were occasional difficulties, however, for example, on the 15th of December, after supper, "My Lord and I had great falling out, he saying that if ever my land came to me, I should assure it as he would have me." However, three days afterwards, this quarrel seems to have been made up, for on the 18th "my Lord came and supped with me in my chamber, which he had not done before since his coming to London, for I determined to keep my Chamber, and did not so much as go over the threshold of the door." He was evidently, however, enjoying himself. In London, she speaks of his keeping "a great Table," of having a "Great company of Lords and gentlemen that used to dine with him," and when he was down at Knole, she mentioned the fact that he had guests frequently, while on one occasion, she gives the names of three persons who dined with her Gentlewomen, Mrs. Care, Goody Davey, and Goody Crawley. As regards her own estates, there are only a very few lines. "I perceived how ill things were likely to go in Westmorland," she says. "I received a box of sweetmeats," she adds on another occasion, "brought me by one of the tenants to whom I gave good reward," and then she mentions that she signed a letter of attorney for Ralph Conniston to receive certain debts that had been due to her mother, and he went off to the north to obtain them. She pressed Lord Dorset more

⁹⁹ See over respecting Sir Francis Slingsby.

than once concerning her jointure, telling him straightly "how good he was to every one else and how unkind" to her, and at last he promised her, in May of that year, "in a manner that he would make me a Jointure of Four Thousand pounds a year, whereof part should be of the lands he has assured to my uncle Cumberland," but he put off doing this as long as he could, for it was not until the 10th of July, 1623, that he executed the deeds, and on that occasion, says she, "Did my Lord in Great Dorset House (hee being then verie sicklie) make over to mee My Jointure, of those Landes in Sussex, the use whereof I now enjoy, and part thereof I have assigned and made over to my two Daughters." At the time that this jointure was actually signed, her uncle, the Earl of Bath, was also very ill, and two days after the signature he died. His son Edward succeeded him, and lived for thirteen years longer, when the brother of her girl friend Frances died, and the peerage of Bath became extinct.

We have no Day-by-Day Book records after December, 1619. Our last reference in the book is to the fact that Lord Dorset had sent his wife a pedigree of the Sackvilles, and that she wrote a letter to him and thanked him for it, but we know from other sources that she was much depressed by reason of the deaths of her little boy, and of the two infants who succeeded him, for her brother-in-law, Sir Edward Sackville, whom she so disliked, still remained her husband's heir. Her fifth child, Isabella, was born in 1622, and she and her sister Margaret lived to grow up, and to be a great source of pride and pleasure to their mother during their lives. Lord Dorset, however, although only thirty-four, was already in declining health, worn out by reckless living, extravagance and carelessness. Clarendon tells us "his excess of expenditure in all the ways to which money could be applied, was such, that he so entirely consumed almost the whole great fortune which descended to him, that when he was forced to leave the title to his younger brother, he left, in a manner, nothing to him to support it."¹⁰⁰ It seems likely that when Lord Dorset fell seriously ill of his last illness, both his little girl and his wife were ill also. Just before then, Lady Margaret was sickening for smallpox. Her mother nursed her most carefully and patiently, and ten days

¹⁰⁰ It is said that it was estimated from his debts that he must have spent £100 a day for the years during which he held the estates.

after the father's funeral the disease made itself fully apparent in virulent form. Lady Anne therefore was not with her husband when he died. It is clear that he had expected to get well, and in fact had thought that he was on the high road to recovery, for early in the morning of the 26th of March, 1624, he wrote to Lady Dorset this letter, still preserved at Appleby Castle,

SWEET HEART,

I thank you for your letter, I had resolved to come down to Knole, and to have received the Blessed Sacrament, but God hath prevented it with sickness, for on Wednesday night I fell into a fit of casting [vomiting] which held me long, then last night I had a fit of a fever. I have for my physician Dr. Baskerville and Dr. Fox. I thank God I am now at good ease, having rested well this morning. I would not have you trouble yourself till I have occasion to send for you. You shall in the meantime hear daily from me. So, with my love to you, and God's blessing and mine to both my children, I commend you to God's protection.

Your assured loving husband,

RICHARD DORSET.¹⁰¹

It would appear by this letter that Lady Anne at that time was certainly in a position to travel if need be, but this was written when she was nursing her little girl, and before she actually failed ill herself. Before noon, however, on that very day, Lord Dorset was dead. It was Easter Sunday, and he probably had a sudden recurrence of apoplexy, for the records tell us that on the "Easter Sunday, the 26th of March, 1624, about twelve o'clock at noon, died Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, at Great Dorset House." Lady Anne, in her diary records the fact that he was buried at Withyham¹⁰² "with his son Buckhurst, my child, and many other of the Sackvilles, his ancestors and their wives." He was, says she, "just 35 years old at his death, and I about 10 months younger, but I was not with him when he died, being then very sick and ill myself at Knole house in Kent, where I and my two daughters then lay."

¹⁰¹ The body of this letter is in the hand of an amanuensis, and evidently written from dictation. The signature alone is in Lord Dorset's handwriting. It must have been written early in the morning. Its date—so important—has hitherto escaped notice.

¹⁰² His Tomb is no longer to be seen. It with others was destroyed by the fire which broke out in the church in 1663 and burned many of the finest tombs in the Sackville Chapel. The body rested at Croydon in an Inn, en route from London to Withyham and Lady Anne on one occasion when her daughter Lady Thanet stayed at this Inn, reminded her in a letter that it was the very place where her own father's body had once lain.

He was succeeded by his brother, Sir Edward Sackville,¹⁰³ who was at that time, she tells us, "behond sea at fflorence in Italy," he "came through France into England about the latter end of May following," and "never went out of England after." He became, she adds, "a great man at the Court, both in the little time that King James Lived and Reigned after, and in King Charles his time. Soe as hee was Lord chamberlen to his Queene and Knight of the Garter, and," says she, "a powerful enemy against me."

Of her husband she speaks generously. They were warmly attached to one another, although there were these constant difficulties between them, and she not only had a great deal of affection for him, but a considerable amount of admiration for his character. It was natural that she objected to what she calls his "excessive prodigality in housekeeping" and other "noble ways at Court, as tilting, masking, and the like," but she was always ready to praise his "sense of justice," his "sweet disposition," and his "valiant behaviour," and so thoroughly did she carry out her feelings concerning him that she provided in excellent fashion for his two natural daughters. One of them died in her minority, but to the other she not only in later days gave a handsome portion, but also, when the girl married a clergyman named Belgrave, provided a living worth £140 per annum for him. It is pleasant to reflect that the last letter which passed between husband and wife was of so agreeable and affectionate a character.

¹⁰³ It was of this Earl that it is said "he took so to heart the murder of Charles I. that he never again stirred from his house, and died in 1652 in his own room,

CHAPTER VIII.

LADY ANNE'S LETTERS TO HER MOTHER.

THERE is at Appleby Castle a little packet of Lady Anne's letters to her mother, written when she was Countess of Dorset. They had evidently been carefully preserved by Lady Cumberland, and possibly were amongst the papers in the trunk which was removed to Knole, and the contents sorted out there. It may perhaps be well to consider these letters together, in this chapter, inasmuch as they extend over quite a short space of time, the earliest being dated June 16th, 1614, and the last, April 26th, 1616. The earliest is dated June 16th, 1614, and refers to Lady Cumberland's visit to London, when it was not possible for her daughter to come and meet her, as she explains.

¹ I am most glad to hear of your safe coming all this long journey, but will by no means suffer your Ladyship to take the pains to come to this house, for by the grace of God, I will attend your coming at Austin Friars, when your Ladyship shall see your nephew Russell, who had made a purpose to have met you out of the town, and thought to have gone in my coach, but my Lord hath taken it down to Lewes, so as we both are disappointed. Neither can I send you so much as a horse, for my Lord hath taken all with him, saving my litter horses. My Lady Terete [*the word is not clear in the MS.*] and many ladies will meet your Ladyship with their coaches as far as Highgate, where I and my cousin Russell will wish ourselves, that we might have the pleasure to see you as soon as any, but our hard fortunes will not permit it.

To this holograph letter there is a postscript, in which she says

About 3 o'clock, we will not fail to be at your house, to attend your coming thither.

For easier perusal we have rendered all these letters into modern spelling. Lady Anne's spelling and her use of capitals are at times ambiguous and bewildering.

The next letter was not dated in the original, but, some years afterwards, Lady Anne added a note, saying that it was written from London in 1615. It is a New Year's letter. She says :—

I intended to have wrought a piece of work with my own hands, for a New Year's gift for your Ladyship, but this has been so troublesome a year with me, as I had neither leisure to work, nor do anything else, but weep and grieve, therefore I beseech your Ladyship to be pleased to receive these pillabers [that is to say, pillow-cases] as a New Year's gift, and poor remembrance of my duty and affection, with my wishes of many and happy years of long life and contentment to you, and that we may both have the upper hand of our enemies, and have a joyful and happy meeting, and that it may be quickly, for I ever groan under the burden.

The letters invariably end with a humble desire, on the part of Lady Anne for her mother's blessing, but in this particular instance, she concludes " Thus humbly desiring your blessing to me and to your goddaughter, I rest your Ladyship's obedient loving daughter," showing that Lady Cumberland was godmother to her daughter's eldest child, Lady Margaret.

Following this, there is another holograph letter without a date, which would appear, by various external circumstances, to belong to this period. In it she says,

I have moved my Lord about this hundred pounds for the chain, and he willed me to let your Ladyship understand that, though he must borrow it himself, yet, if you will send him the name of the goldsmith and the sign [*that is to say in all probability, a pass-word, or some method of identification*] I will send to Lindsey to disburse the sum, and with all desires that the chain may be sold, either with the goldsmith's seller or yours, because Lindsey shall have the chain in his keeping till the money be repaid, therefore I pray your Ladyship send your footman with all speed, and to my Lord, that he may send directions to Lindsey.

This appears to be relative to some temporary loan, for which the chain was perhaps to be the security.

In January, 1615, Lady Anne was at Bollbroke, resting after the excitement of Christmas, and she writes to her mother to say :—

Our great Christmas is now finished, where we have had most of the gentlemen in this country, and a great many down from London. I had Mrs. Matt Terete,²

² Is this the *Lady* Terete mentioned in the first letter, perhaps so called in playful fashion (?).

because her grandfather and grandmother should take it kindly, for your Ladyship knows how much I have been beholden to them. My Lord and I do both go to London this term, where my sister Beauchamp is to lie in, so as I think we shall stay there all this term, and a good while after. For any composition between my Lord and my uncle of Cumberland, assure yourself that I will send your Ladyship word when there is any such thing, and whatsoever I know, your Ladyship shall have know it presently. I beseech you inquire how my uncle of Cumberland hath his health, and whether he comes abroad, for I am credibly told that he is sometimes besides his wits, but that his son does what he can to conceal it, lest his father should beggar him, for his credit is much decayed at the Court, because his purse is much decayed. I must needs write your Ladyship word that John Cadell hath two fine pups, which my Lady Margaret Sackville will send you at the spring of the year, for I must needs tell you that they be her jewels and not mine. They shall come down with other quick cattle, which will be a great wonder in Westmorland.

This was not the first reference to puppies. There were already two allusions to them in the Knole diary. In March, 1617, she had mentioned that a certain dog Couch had pupped in the morning, and in another place records as an event of importance the death of her little girl's dog "Lady Margaret's old beagle."

Lady Anne was always interested in animals, and was careful to have both her favourite dog and her favourite cat represented beside her in the large picture at Appleby. It is of interest also to notice that in one of her books of accounts, she arranged, in a statement of the expenses of the household, that so much per day was to be allotted to providing food for the cat.

Within a few days after the date of the last letter, we have another, acknowledging the receipt of a present from Lady Cumberland for her little goddaughter.

I received your Ladyship's kind letter by Ralph, and the delicate fine little gloves that you have sent to your goddaughter and to her nurse, which hath made them both finer than ever they were. I humbly thank God, the child prospers and grows well, and according to your Ladyship's wonted prayers. She begins to break out very much upon her head, which I hope will make her very healthful. She hath yet no teeth come out, but they are most of them swelled in the flesh, so that now and then they make her very froward. Master Ballinford hath been with me, and tells me he hath that rich jewel of diamonds, which your Ladyship was pleased to bestow upon me and the child at the christening. I humbly thank your Ladyship for it, I will keep it safe, and whensoever you have need to use money, you shall have it for a pawn at a day's warning.

I will let Ralph or Kendall have fifty pounds that it may be paid to Mrs. Perce's daughter, for I hear she is a very rating paltry woman. My Lord doth grow much in debt, so as money is not so plentiful with me as it hath been, but whatsoever I have, you shall be sure to know. I humbly thank you for the offer of sending those letters to me which your Ladyship received out of Germany, but I would not have you send them, for I have letters myself often from thence. I received a letter by Master Bellis from your Ladyship, with many other papers which I will answer the next week.

During the next month or so, Lady Anne had evidently been away, probably to Bath, and then returned to Bollbroke, and wrote to her mother, on the 1st of May, 1615. It was clear that she was a little anxious at not having heard from her mother, for the letter had been following her about while she was away from home. She says:—

I have now returned from the Bath to my own house in the country, where I thank God I find my little one well, though I much feared it, for I have found your Ladyship's words true about the nurse had for her, for she hath been one of the most unhealthfullest women that I think ever was, and so extremely troubled with the toothache and rheums and swelling in her face as could be, and one night she fell very ill, and was taken like an ague, so as she had but little milk left, and so I was enforced to send for the next woman that was by to give my child suck, whom hath continued with her ever since, and I thank God the child agrees so well with her milk as can be, so I mean not to change her any more. It is a miracle to me that the child should prosper so well, considering the change of her milk. She is but a little one, I confess, but a livelier and merrier thing was there never yet seen. If I durst be so bold, I would tell your Ladyship that I take it somewhat unkindly that you have been so long without writing to me, for I was never so long without a letter from you, never since you went into the North as now I have been, Master Worledge doth sometime remember me with a line or two, and so by that I hear of your welldoing, else I should have feared that your Ladyship had not been well, but I put no doubt that I shall receive letters from you by Ralph Conniston this term, although I shall be, I think, at London myself.

Only a couple of days afterwards, she writes again from Bollbroke to her mother, because meantime the long expected letter had arrived.

This day Master Southwick brought me a long and kind letter from your Ladyship, which did much rejoice my heart. He was at the Bath to look for me, but I was come from thence two days before his coming, and so he followed me to Bollbroke, which was a long and a painful journey. I perceive by your Ladyship's letter that you do much esteem him, and therefore I showed him all the kindness and favour I could, and gave him three 20s. pieces, and have

promised him to speak to my Lord that he may be one of his chaplains, but I fear my request for that matter will not prevail, for my Lord hath his number already, and is very doubtful in having more. He told me of a fall your Ladyship had when you were upon the leads at Brougham, when you hurt your hand, and if the providence of God had not been, it would have been much worse, and that your Ladyship hath been something troubled with the rheum in your eyes. I hope these threatenings of ill will not make you out of love with Westmorland, but rather make you believe that God will in all other things as well as in this, keep you from evils and never suffer your enemies to triumph over you. For my coming into the North, assure yourself, if it be possible for me to bring it to pass, I will be there, before this summer be at an end, and when I shall hear how this jury goes, and have spoken with Ralph Conniston, I shall be able to write you more certain word, for that which your Ladyship writes me word of about the Queen, I will follow your advice, and you need not fear it, for I shall be as great with her as ever. Thus desiring your Ladyship's blessing to me and mine, who is very well after the change of her nurse, and grows every day more like your Ladyship than other.

Ten days after this, from the same place, there went another letter.

I have not been in London all this time myself, so as Ralph could not deliver your Ladyship's letters to me himself, but Master Herdson came down hither and so brought them down to me. I perceive by one of them that your Ladyship did send up the keys of those places where the writings was, and it was your pleasure I should go with that Master Bamford and Ralph, but my not being in town hath stopped me from that. You will hear by your servant Ralph how business hath passed, and how Serjeant Hutton hath taken him up in the open Court, in which, in my opinion, shews more malice than wit. My Lord William shows himself very forward in my business, which makes me the more grieve at the unkindness between your Ladyship and him. I beseech your Ladyship, if it be possible, let it amend, and let there be love and friendship between you and him, as there had wont to be. For my going to the Queen, I will follow your Ladyship's advice as soon as I go to London, though she hath used me strangely. I hear that she has fallen into her old sickness again, and that her legs be as ill as ever. For my being with child, I can send your Ladyship no word of it, but assure yourself, as soon as I have the least suspicion of any such matter, you shall hear, for now I have had one, I shall not be so afraid to speak of it as I was at the first. I am most glad to hear that my cousin Clifford's wife was not with child, as it was confidently reported by their followers.

It is clear from this letter that she misunderstood the position taken up by Lord William Howard, and that her mother, who was on the spot, and often saw him, had realised far more clearly that he was not thoroughly friendly towards her, but that he was much more disposed

to assist Lord Cumberland. The frequent references to him in the diary, prove that this was the case, and that as long as he expected Lord Cumberland to win, he was ready to assist him, but when at last he thought there was a chance of Lady Anne being successful, he took a different line, and then, as we have already noted, Lord Dorset, who was of sharper perception in this way than his wife, realised that he would not get so much assistance as heretofore, and started a quarrel with him. Certain documents which at this moment were necessary to the lawsuit, were evidently in Lady Cumberland's possession, and she desired her daughter to have them. A little later on, we learn that Lady Anne was able to make use of the keys that her mother sent up, and in the next letter we find that she returned these keys to her mother. To the letter just quoted, there is this postscript.

When I was at the Bath, I wrote a letter, and sent a footman on purpose with it to my Cousin Fitzwarren,³ to Tavistock. He wrote me a very good and a kind letter back again, and is better in mind and body than he hath been these three years, and there is some hope of his coming up to London, which I know your Ladyship will be glad of. He took my sending extremely kindly.

On the 10th of June, also from Bollbroke, Lady Anne wrote to her mother about the keys and also about a portrait of herself which had been painted in miniature.

MADAM,

I have returned the keys of those writings which your Ladyship sent me, again to you, and for all the state of my business, Ralph can inform your Ladyship more perfectly than I can write and how my Lord William Howard hath showed himself very constant to me in this business, therefore, if it was not a thing too much contrary to your mind, I would humbly desire your Ladyship to pass by those unkindnesses that heretofore have been offered you, and to go to see his lady, and so to give him many thanks for his favour to me. He hath parted with that rogue Bemond, which was once your Ladyship's man, so as it seems to me he is very desirous of your love and friendship, and your Ladyship knows Solomon himself says, "It is wisdom for a man to pass by an offence," but I refer it wholly to your pleasure. I have sent by Ralph my picture done in little,⁴ which some says is very like me, and others say, it does

³ (?) Edward son of the Earl of Bath, and afterwards 6th Lord Fitzwarine and 4th Earl of Bath.

⁴ Probably the one now belonging to Lord De Clifford and illustrated here.

me rather wrong than flatters me. I know you will accept the shadow of her house, whose substance is come from yourself. I hope you will requite me with the same kindness, and let me have yours, whenever you come up to London, or soever any that can draught a picture comes into those parts where now you are. For my so much desired journey of coming to your Ladyship, I can send you no good news, for my Lord will not by any means give his consent that I should go, till the business between my uncle of Cumberland and him be ended. This necessary cares me from that I most desire. I hope God will make our meeting joyful, though it be long deferred, for never was there thing more desired of than that is by me. Lady Margaret Sackville hath sent your Ladyship two asses, and one of her beagles, which is John's puppy, and I hope he will be a good water dog.

By November of that year Lady Anne had come up to London, and then, largely on account of the illness of her little girl, had returned to Bollbroke to see the child and had come back again to town. She writes to her mother from Dorset House on the 10th of November, 1615, and says that :—

On the 29th of the last month I was sent for to Bollbroke in all haste for the poor child was extremely ill with her teeth, and so I carried Dr. Barker down with me, who gave the nurse and her some things that he carried down with him, and I thank God she is so well amended as I could wish or desire, and begins to prattle and go. Last night I returned to London with all the whole family and the kindred of my Lord, who hath been all at Bollbroke, there to solemnise the funeral of that good blessed woman that is buried in Buckhurst church, my old Lady Somerset.⁵ John Scott was there amongst them, and often remembers your Ladyship's health by drinking to you and speaking of you with much commendation. For the news of the town and wonder of the world, this business of my Lord of Somerset and his Lady, I will forbear to write and leave them to the relation of this honest bearer, Mr. Clapham, for my eyes are still very sore and all bloodshot, or else would I have writ your Ladyship a far longer letter. Master Clapham can also tell your Ladyship of the messages passed between John Tallner and me. My Lord is still earnest to press me to the finishing of this matter with my uncle of Cumberland, but by the power of God I will continue resolute and constant. I humbly thank you for the letter you have sent me by Sir John Bonner, who seems to speak very honestly of this business.

Ten days after, again from London, there is a further letter to Lady Cumberland, relative to some business.

⁵ Perhaps the second wife of the attainted 1st Duke of Somerset (?)

Now the term is almost done, and thus my Lord, as he cannot bring the business of my uncle of Cumberland to pass, he is desirous to go into the country, and stay there till a day or two before Christmas, which desire of his I will rather further than hinder, because I shall by that means see your little goddaughter, whom, I thank God, doth grow a very fine child. My Lord to her is a very kind, loving, and dear father, and in everything will I commend him, saving in this business of my land, wherein I think some evil spirit works, for in this he is as violent as is possible, so as I must either do it next term, or else break friendship and love with him. God look upon me and deliver me, for this last term I have lived in fear and terror daily, with griefs and terrors daily, which have made my eyes so sore as I dare not yet write much, but I must be sparing of them for a while. For your wise and Christian letter to the judges, I have told Ralph how my Lord deceived me of it, so as I will not write it, to spare my blind eyes. I fear I shall not write any more to your Ladyship until Christmas, because of my being in the country, therefore I crave your pardon for it.

To this letter, which was written just at the time when a bitter controversy was taking place between the husband and wife, and when Lady Anne was grieving over the constant disputes concerning her lands, there is a postscript mentioning that Lieutenant Sir G. Elwes ⁶ was that day hung at Tower Hill "for which," says she, "my Lady Tyrwit ⁷ and sister Phillips is extraordinarily sorry." The following month Lady Anne was, as she expected, in the country, but was able to write to her mother. The letter is dated the 6th of December, and she says :—

I wrote you word in my last letter that the next I wrote should be longer, but no other things can I write you but the continuance of my Lord's earnest desire to take money, and to realise my right in the land, but I will do whatsoever is to be done to change his mind, though I fear me it is impossible, and yet we see continually that time brings unlikely things to pass, and so I hope at length his mind may change, but howsoever, I beseech you neither trouble nor grieve yourself at it, so long as you live and are there, there is still some hope for me. Here hath been some speech in London that my uncle of Cumberland hath been a little troubled in his senses, and that for a week or a fortnight, he was little better than mad, I beseech you inquire of it, and write me word, for I am fain to know the certainty whether there was any such thing or no. My Lady Bedford is become a new courtier again, and as it is thought, will

⁶ Sir Gervase Elwes, Lieut. of the Tower, executed for "being privy to the death of Sir Thomas Overburie."

⁷ Elizabeth daughter of Sir Edward Tyrwhitt and wife to "Gervase Elways," second son of Sir Gervase.

quite leave her house and poor husband, and be a continual abider there. He is still weak and sick, yet the physicians say he may live this many years. For my cousin Fitzwarren, he is worse than ever he was, and, I think, whatsoever they say of him, there is little hope of his admendment, for, though Master Hinson be dead, yet those that are in his place are the same to my poor cousin if not worse, yet never a whit better.

In this letter she requests her mother to pardon her writing, which she calls "scribbling," as the hour was very late, and in conclusion says that her little girl prospers as well as can be, "and my Lord is as fond of her as can be, and calls her his mistress." The last three letters relate to the next year. The first has not a date on it, but Lady Anne in later years has endorsed it with her intimation when it was written. It is a New Year's letter to her mother.

I am bold to send you these poor presents as a token of the New Year, and withal send your Ladyship the wishes of all comforts and happinesses your heart can desire, that those castles at Appleby and Brougham that in themselves be so melancholy, may yet be places of joy and contentment to you, and that the time be not very long before we meet, but that either some blessed occasion may draw you hither, or else some happy accident cause my coming into the North, which, if it be God's will, I should be most glad of.

Then a few days afterwards, January 20th, 1616, a further letter is sent.

The time draws on apace, and my Lord is more and more earnest with me to make a final end of this business of my uncle of Cumberland, and persists that, if I do it not, he will go into France and leave me, so that I am now in a narrow strait, and know not which way to turn myself. My Cousin Russell would have me do it, and uses all the persuasion he can to that end. He hath sent you a letter to that purpose, which he desired me to send with mine. I beseech you send me an answer with all speed you can, for I shall be earnestly pressed to do it, or else absolutely to deny it, which will make such a breach between my Lord and me, as will not easily be mended. I will do nothing without your Ladyship's knowledge, therefore I beseech you, let me know your resolution as soon as possibly you may. We have a changing world here, and I hope for the better, for my worthy Lady of Shrewsbury⁸ is come out of the Tower, and hath her full liberty. My Lord of Pembroke is Lord Chamberlain. Sir George Villiers⁹ is Master of the Horse, and my Lord of Worcester¹⁰

⁸ Widow of Gilbert, seventh Earl, imprisoned on suspicion of having connived at the flight of her niece Arbella Stuart.

⁹ Sir Geo. Villiers of Brokesby, afterwards Lord Whaddon, Viscount Villiers, Earl, Marquess and eventually Duke, of Buckingham.

¹⁰ Edward, 4th Earl, K.G., Privy Seal 1615-1628.

is Lord Privy Seal, with a pension of fifteen hundred pounds a year. My Lady of Effingham¹⁰ desires her love and service to be remembered to your Ladyship, and now her husband is dead she is like to have suits in Law, for the rights of her daughter my cousin, Bess Howard, she doth resemble you in fortune as well as in blood.

Then to this letter she adds the postscript which I have already quoted,

I was lately at Chenies, my Lord of Bedford's house, with my cousin Russell, to see the tomb which I have made of my own charges for my dear cousin Frances Bourcher.

The last of the letters was written from Knole the 26th of April, 1616.

I received a little letter from you, but yet full of comfort, because it brings me word that you are much better than you were, for I assure you that there can be no more comfortable news in this world to my uncle Cumberland and his party than to hear of your being sick, or of the least hope of death, which is the thing they much gape after, but I hope they shall never live to see. It is true that they have brought their matters so about that I am in the greatest strait that ever poor creature was, but [*she adds, with that pathetic affection for her husband which she retained through her life*] whatsoever you may think of my Lord, I have found him, do find him, and think I shall find him, the best, and most worthy man that ever breathed, therefore, if it be possible, I beseech you, have a better opinion of him, if you knew all I do, I am sure you would believe this that I write, but I durst not impart my mind about when I was with you, because I found you so bitter against him, or else I could have told you so many arguments of his goodness and worth, that you should have seen it plainly yourself. My child, your little self, is well, I thank God, and often looks at the fine jewel you sent her [*referred to in an earlier letter*], I pray your Ladyship, let me hear from you as often as you can, and so shall you from me. Be assured that I will stand as constantly to my birthright as is possible for me, but I can do no more than I can, therefore I can promise you no certainty of these matters. God assist me, and uphold my cause, to His holy protection I leave both your Ladyship and myself.

All these letters are holograph, and as a rule are carefully written, but in one or two instances where Lady Anne says that her sight was bad, there is evidence of this in the handwriting. They are all tied up with ribbon, and sealed, but the seals are not always the same.

¹¹ Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter of James, Earl of Moray, and second wife of Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham.

In some instances, she used the crest of the Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland, *from a crest coronet, a demi-dragon with wings addorsed*, and this crest is placed in a lozenge, and so was evidently intended for a lady's use, and perhaps had been engraved before her marriage with Lord Dorset. Other of the letters are sealed with one of the crests of the Sackville family, which the Earls of Dorset at that time used, deriving it from the supporters granted to their arms on their being raised to the peerage, *a leopard, rampant argent, armed and langued gules*, and above this crest appears the earl's coronet. Others bear the *wyvern* of the Earls of Cumberland, but not set in a diamond, and these appear to have been sealed with a seal that must have belonged to her father, while one amongst the number bears a fanciful device on the seal, a winged hare.

The only other letter which belongs to this period of her first marriage is a touching one addressed to Lady Anne by Lord Dorset, written from Dorset House on the 13th of May, 1622. It is perhaps undesirable to quote this letter in full, as it is written with the extraordinary frankness of phraseology that was common in those days, but the greater part of it reads thus :—

SWEET LOVE,

The news you sent me was the best that you could send, or I could have. I send you Mrs. Lindsey as you desire [*probably a servant or personal attendant*], the half-year's allowance for my Lady Margaret, your hundred pounds, and Mr. Marsh, as soon as he can be found, shall be sent, and it is twenty to one I will not forswear coming to you ere it shall be long. God bless you and my Lady Margaret Farewell.

Your very loving husband,
(Signed) RICHARD DORSET.

CHAPTER IX.

WIDOWHOOD.

I T may be well to give the brief account of Lady Anne's widowhood in her own words. " I lived " she says, " Widdow to this Noble Richard Sackville, Earle of Dorsett about sixe yeares, two monthes and fower or five daies over. Most part of which time I lived with my two Daughters, either in Cheynie Howse in Buckinghamshire, the Chiefe seat of my Mother's ffather and grandfather, or in Bollbroke House in Sussex, my chiefe Joynture Howse, or at London, in severall hyred Howses there, as in Tuttle [*Tothill*] Streete Howse in Westminster, and in St. Bartholomewes in a Howse there, which was auntientlie part of the Pryorie and besides for a while, I and my eldest Daughter lay together in Woburne Howse in Bedfordshire, the August after her ffather's death, in which Howse died my Grandmother of Bedford.

I must not forgett, but acknowledge with much thanckfullness to God, how in May, alittle after my first Lord's death, in Knole howse in Kent, the month before I went from thence to Live at Cheynes, I had the smallpoxe so extremelie and violently that I was at deathes Doore and Little hope of life in mee. Which Infection I tooke of my eldest childe who had had it there in great extremitie some twelve daies after her Father was buryed. Which disease did so marter my face, that it Confirmed more and more my mynd never to marrie againe. Though the providence of God caused mee afterwards to alter that resolution.

And just a year after the Deathe of my first Lord, Dyed King James, I then lyeing in Cheynie Howse in Buckinghamshire with both my Daughters, from whence I and my two children removed to Bollbroke House in Sussex to live there for a good while. Where I must not

Reckon it, amongst the least of God's goodness and deliverances to mee That on the sixt day of May in one Thowsand sixe hundred and twentie-sixe, When I had then newly received my Ladie-Daie Rents, and had some mony in the House before, I scaped myraculouslie by God's Providence an attempt of my Enemyes to have robbed mee. Besides the extreme fright it would have putt mee to, had it not bene timely recovered and prevented, by one who accidentallie saw them enter in at the window, and it was thought to have bene plotted by a great man, then my extreame Enemy. But God delivered me.

In August one Thowsand sixe hundred twentie-eight, were the first claimes made by waie of Law and Advise of Counsell after the Awards before-mentioned to mayntaine my right in the Landes of my inheritance, in Craven and Westmorland, I then lying with both my Daughters in Cheynie House in Buckinghamshire. Which claims are entered in this my Booke of Records of my time.

The one and twentieth of Aprill in one thousand sixe hundred and twentie nyne, in the Church of St. Bartholomew, had I the happiness to see my oldest Daughter marryed to John, Lord Tufton. There being present at the said Marriage my selfe and my youngest daughter, and the sayd Lord Tufton's Father and Mother, and my worthie Cozen German Francis Russell, after Earle of Bedford (who gave her in marriage) and manie others. This John, Lord Tufton, came to be Earle of Thanett about two years and two monthes and some Fowrtene daies after his marriage with my Daughter, by the death of his Father Nicholas, Earle of Thanett. Which Daughter of myne hath now by her sayd Lord tenne Children all living, sixe sonnes and four daughters. So as God made Her a fruitful Mother, according to the prayers of my Blessed Mother."

This is all Lady Anne tells us of her widowed life. Little Lady Margaret was only ten years old when she had this terrible attack of smallpox. We know from other sources that her mother nursed her most anxiously for many weeks, and did not take the infection until the child was out of danger, when she herself was so seriously ill that there was hardly any hope of her recovery. As soon as it was possible, she left Knole, retiring, as she tells us, into the country with her two little girls, and for many years lived a quiet life. Her brother-in-law had succeeded to the Dorset title and estates, and was an extremely popular man at Court, both with King James and King

Charles. Whether or not he was responsible for the robbery to which she refers it is impossible to say, but one would be disposed to think that it was not so, and that it was merely an ordinary attempt at theft. Lady Anne was always so prejudiced against Sir Edward Sackville that it is easy to understand how she should attribute this further trouble to his agency. She knew also that for some years he was short of money, due to the extravagance of his brother, and that the rents she had received would have come in conveniently for his purpose.

She speaks in terms of great joy of her daughter's wedding. Lady Margaret was a youthful bride, as she was not yet fifteen when she was married, and her bridegroom was only twenty. Lord Thanet had come of an old and important Sussex family, the Tuftons of Rainham, but their honours had only been of recent date. The first earl was knighted on the accession of King James in 1603. In 1626 he was created first Baron Tufton of Tufton in Sussex, and two years later, only a few months before the marriage of his son, he became the first Earl of Thanet. His wife was Lady Frances Cecil, daughter of the Earl of Exeter. Lord Thanet died, as Lady Anne records, in 1632, but his wife lived for some years afterwards, as her death did not occur till 1658. The marriage appears to have proved a happy one, and as we shall see further on, there are constant references to Lord and Lady Thanet in Lady Anne's diary, and to their children, notably to one of them, John Tufton, afterwards fourth earl and sixteenth Lord Clifford, who was evidently a particular favourite with his grandmother. The family was, as Lady Anne mentions, a large one. It may be well, perhaps, in this place, to refer briefly to it, more complete details being found in the pedigree annexed to this volume.

The eldest son was Nicholas, who was born at Bollbroke in 1631, and who eventually succeeded his father as third Earl and fifteenth Lord Clifford. He married in 1664, Lady Elizabeth Boyle, daughter to the Earl of Burlington and Cork, and he died in 1679, she surviving him till 1725. The second was Anne, who was born at her grandmother's residence, Wilton House, on the 4th September, 1634, but she died on the 5th of October following, having been unfortunately "overlaid by her nurse." The third was Margaret, who was born at the Thanet residence, Hothfield in Kent, in 1636. She married

in 1653, George, afterwards third Lord Coventry, and had a family of five children. The fourth was John, who was born at Wilton in 1638, and who, owing to the fact that his elder brother Nicholas had no family, succeeded him as fourth Earl and sixteenth Lord Clifford. There are many references in the diary to the visits he paid to his grandmother. He died in 1680 without issue. He was succeeded in the earldom by the fifth child, Richard, who was born in London at Thanet House in 1640, and on the death of his brother became fifth Earl and seventeenth Lord Clifford. He too died unmarried in 1683. Then came a daughter Frances, born in 1642. She married in 1664 Henry Drax of Boston, and died in the same year in childbirth. The next child was Thomas, who was two years her junior, and he also succeeded to the earldom of Thanet, his three elder brothers having left no issue. In 1683 he became sixth Earl and eighteenth Lord Clifford. The following year he married Lady Katherine Cavendish, the daughter of Henry, first Duke of Newcastle, and he died in 1729, and was succeeded in the earldom by his nephew. The eighth was Sackville, who was born at Hothfield in 1646, was a Colonel in the army, and married in 1686, Elizabeth the daughter of Ralph Wilbraham. She died in 1714, and he in 1721, while his brother Thomas was Earl of Thanet, and the successor was his eldest son Sackville, who succeeded eight years afterwards. Then there came a daughter, Cecily, born in 1648. She was the first wife of Christopher first Viscount Hatton, and died in 1675. The next child was George, who was never married. He was born in 1650, and died at the age of twenty of a wound received in war in Germany. The two youngest children were Mary, who was born in 1652, and Anne, who was born in 1654. The first-named married in 1670 Sir William Walter, and died three years afterwards, and the second married Sir Samuel Grimston in 1673, and had one child, who lived but a year. Lady Mary Walter had three children, who all died in infancy. Lady Cecily had also three children two of whom died in infancy, but the eldest, Anne, lived and married Daniel, Earl of Nottingham and Winchelsea.

The succession of the Earls of Thanet by one brother after another is rather a curious circumstance, because it happened twice in the history of that earldom, for the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Earls were all brothers, and the ninth, tenth and eleventh Earls were also brothers, the eleventh being the last Earl of Thanet.

CHAPTER X.

LADY ANNE'S SECOND MARRIAGE.

IF we remember the difficulties that Lady Anne went through with her first husband, their constant disagreements, and the anxiety that she had by reason of his action concerning her estates, it seems curious that she should have ventured a second time into the bond of matrimony. Moreover, she herself had said that her face had been so "martered" by the attack of virulent smallpox that she was confirmed more and more in her mind that "she never would marry again," and then, as if to increase all our bewilderment, she selected for her second husband a man who was already well-known about Court as being violent and contemptible, indeed almost crazy, contemptuous of all culture, careless and cross, false, cruel and cowardly, one in every respect utterly unlike her first husband, and with hardly a grace to recommend him, save in his appearance. He was a person whose conduct was outrageous, a man of violent passion and foul-mouthed, one who had already excited great dislike, and who was to develop in later days as a weak and almost fraudulent turncoat, and to die amidst almost universal execration.

No doubt Lady Anne herself was an attractive personality. She was not yet forty, and was therefore in the prime of her life. She was possessed of a substantial jointure from her husband, and a certain amount of money, although we do not know how much; in her own right. She had in addition the possibility of succeeding in reversion to considerable estates, although this possibility was a remote one, by reason of the youth of her cousin, Lord Clifford. She had probably exaggerated the effect of the small pox, for if the portraits which Vandyck was to paint of her, and if the miniature which also represented her at this period of her life, speak with any degree of veracity,

she was certainly a handsome woman. She was, as we know from a curious piece of evidence which will be referred to in a later chapter, a person of extremely short stature (4 ft. 10in. only) but must have been possessed of a considerable dignity of carriage, which partly made up for her lack of height. She belonged, of course, to the great family of the Cliffords, and had numerous relatives and friends occupying important positions at Court. Surely, however, she must have known something of the personal character of the man whom she was about to marry, for she had met him as Earl of Montgomery many times, had taken part in various masques with him, and had been associated at Court with him and with his first wife, on many occasions. It may be that she was carried away by his own personal attractions, which undoubtedly were considerable; or by a certain blunt honesty, which his coarse language seemed to set forth; or perhaps swept off her feet by passionate protestations on his part, that she was inclined to believe were true and sincere. We cannot tell. Suffice it that she married him, that for a while she was infatuated with him, and that she considered herself wholly to blame in the matter, and exonerated him from any condemnation in connection with this strange marriage.

To her friends, the marriage appears to have been as mysterious as it is to us at the present day. There are many references to it, and all of them speak in terms of surprise. The general opinion seems to have been that she rather exaggerated her own want of attraction and her poverty, and that her jointure from Lord Dorset was larger than she was inclined to announce, that the money to which she had succeeded from her mother, and the legacy which she had received from her father, were all properly secured, and furthermore that she had been thrifty in the management of the income derived from all these several amounts. Both her daughters had received substantial portions from their father, so that, although he had charged the estates to a considerable amount, and had wasted all the ready money that was available, yet there must have been at his death a larger fortune than some of the chroniclers are inclined to accept. It is of course possible, and perhaps almost probable, that a portion at least of the money paid by the Earl of Cumberland to Lord Dorset, had been settled upon the daughters,

but in any case, it is clear from their father's will, that they did have substantial portions, and that being so, it is reasonable to assume that the widow's jointure was equally substantial.

If we wonder at Lady Anne, we may also question, why did Lord Pembroke choose a person so antithetical in every way to himself? She was studious and bookish, he cared nothing whatever for study; she was devout, and he irreligious; she was stately, solemn, grave; he was flippant, cared little for anything but horses and dogs, and neither his moral character nor his language would bear scrutiny. However, so it was. It has been suggested that "the very remoteness of the quarry, the difficulty of the quest, and the unusual character of the triumph, may have stimulated the jaded fancy of the most dissolute wastrel of the Court." Possibly, however, there was another reason on her part to which we have not yet made allusion. There was perhaps some strong attempt being made or being planned, with regard to her property and person, and it was thought to have a good measure of success, because she at whom it was aimed was an unprotected widow. It would seem likely that one of the reasons why Lady Anne married for the second time was that she might have a protector, a person high in influence at Court, one whom it would not be easy to attack, and that she might thereby attain a position that was unassailable, and a husband whom she vainly hoped would be valiant enough to take her part, and to discomfit her enemies. She practically says as much in the summary of her diary. She there speaks of him as one of the greatest and noblest subjects of the king, and she says "This second marriage of myne was wonderfullie brought to pass by the providence of God for the Crossing and disappoynting the envie Malice and sinister practices of my Enemies." In another place, where she is referring to her illness, and to her intention not to marry for a second time, she distinctly states "The providence of God caused me thus to alter the resolution." As usual firmly attached to the idea that all the events of her life were over-ruled by Divine Providence, she believed, with undoubted sincerity, that this second strange and even anomalous marriage, was a part of the Divine scheme for her protection, and for the frustration of the evil designs of her enemies. There is no doubt that in her mind, one of these enemies, and perhaps the most bitter of them all, was her brother-in-

law, now Lord Dorset. It seems indeed likely that, finding himself in difficulties with regard to the endowments that his brother had commenced to set apart for Sackville College, he had aims upon the lands of her jointure. Their father had left it as a definite instruction in his will that Sackville College was to be founded, and that the endowment was to be a substantial one. It is clear, from references to which we have already alluded, that Lord Dorset had not only commenced the building, but had set the lawyers to work with regard to the endowment, so as to carry out the clauses under his father's will. He did not, however, live to carry out his intention, and his estate was burdened and involved by reason of the plans he had made. Reading between the lines, we cannot help thinking that this surmise is correct, and that the new Lord Dorset would gladly have seized upon the lands in Sussex which his brother had left to the widow whom he had always disliked and distrusted; and converted them into the endowments for Sackville College (or at least into a part of them) and so relieved himself of all further necessity with reference to this troublesome bequest. He was probably not her only opponent, however, because there is distinct evidence that Henry, Lord Clifford, was still anxious to break the reversionary clause which had appeared in his uncle's will, and to bequeath the greater part of the estates to his own daughter. He did manage, in some mysterious fashion, to cut off a part of the property, but even in this, he was reckoning without his host, because the part of the estate which he fondly believed he had cut off, and which would at his decease descend to Lady Cork, that of Barden Tower, she did not obtain at his death, nor so long as Lady Anne lived; for not only did Lady Anne seize upon it as part of the property which had undoubtedly been entailed to her by the old entail created before her father's time, but she retained this possession, spent money upon the estate, restored the castle and lived in it, and actually went so far as to bequeath it to one of her daughters. It was a very difficult thing, as all her opponents found out in time, to deal with this determined lady, who was uncompromising in the efforts she made with regard to the great Clifford inheritance she valued so highly.

The second marriage took place in the church at Chenies, on the 1st of June, 1630, and Lady Anne, with the love of recognising co-

incidences to which we have already referred, says "Methinks that it is remarkable that I should be the second time married in that church of Cheynis in the Vault whereof I ye interred my Greate-grandfather and Grandfather of Bedford and their wyves, Auncestors to my Blessed Mother, as also her sonne the Lord Robert Clifford, and her elder sister, Anne, Countess Dowager of Warrwick, their Heire the Ladie Frances Bourgher, Daughter to the Earle of Bathe by their sister Elizabeth, Countess of Bathe and their nephew Edward Bassett, third Earle of Bedford, who died without issue."

We stood recently in the old church at Chenies, at the place where she must have been married, but there is little remaining at which she could have looked on this memorable occasion. There is still, fortunately, a small piece of fifteenth century stained glass which formed part of the window behind the altar, and which belongs to the old church, and must have been there in her time, and there are at the west end, the brasses of the Sapcote family from whom the first Countess of Bedford acquired the estate, and those of the Cheynes. The church, however, has been so restored, and so altered and changed in this restoration, that it can hardly be deemed to be the same building as that in which Lady Anne was married. She must however, have seen, close at hand, on her left as she stood at the altar rails, the tombs of her great Russell ancestors, especially that magnificent one, of the first Earl and Countess of Bedford, who, in the early part of Queen Mary's reign, were buried in the chapel which the Countess herself had founded on her own estate, and which still remains, a unique place of sepulture in England, containing one of the grandest series of tombs of which any family can boast, a group impressive in its magnificence, and in the honour and dignity of the persons whom it commemorates. Of the house where she was then residing, a comparatively small portion still remains. The chimneys of one wing are undoubtedly of her period, and are beautiful in almost every respect. The great ivy tree that clings to one wall, and the wall to which it is attached, probably form part of the house as it was in her time, but a large portion of the building has been altered, and although the residence of an influential person connected with the Duke of Bedford's estate, it has lost its dignity as a family seat. The view, however, of the rear portion, especially of the roof, windows

To face page 164.



Jukes—Photo.

WILTON HOUSE
(see page 174).



BAYNARDS CASTLE
circa. 1649 (see page 181).



PHILIP HERBERT, 4th EARL OF PEMBROKE and
1st EARL OF MONTGOMERY, 1584—1650.

From Van Voerst's engraving after Van Dyck (see page 165).



Welbeck Abbey.

LADY CATHERINE CAVENDISH,
afterwards Countess of Thanet.



Welbeck Abbey.

LADY CATHERINE CAVENDISH,
1678.



CATHERINE, COUNTESS OF THANET,
1666—1712 (see page 442).



BOLLBROOKE
(see page 156).



BUCKHURST
(see page 112).

and chimneys of that part, is impressive, and shows us that the original building in Lady Anne's time, which is said to have been built in the shape of an "E," must have been a large and magnificent abode, striking in many respects, and worthy of special notice.

Lady Anne's new husband had quite recently become Earl of Pembroke. She had known him in the old days as Earl of Montgomery, but his elder brother had died, and he had succeeded to the senior title. He was the younger son of Henry, the second earl, by his third wife, Mary, who was the devoted sister of Sir Philip Sidney, and from his mother's brother, he probably derived his Christian name. His mother was a person of note, as the sister of Sir Philip Sidney¹ could hardly fail to be. She was a well educated and highly cultivated woman, and gave up a considerable amount of time to literary study. She was the real founder of the library at Wilton, and many men of letters of her period owe to the Countess of Pembroke considerable gratitude for protection and for encouragement. She revised and first published her brother's "Arcadia," and she also completed at Wilton on May 15th, 1590 "The Discourse of Life and Death" by Plessis du Mornay, published in 1592, which became in later years one of Lady Anne's favourite books,² Furthermore she prepared for the press, but did not publish, a metrical version of the Psalms, upon which she and her brother had been at work for many years. Spenser dedicated to her his "Ruines of Time" (*circa* 1590). Gabriel Harvey praised her translation of du Mornay's works in no measured terms.³ John Davies of Hereford acknowledged her help in his *Wittes Pilgrimage*.⁴ Dr. Donne highly commended her translation of the Psalms. Ben Jonson's Epigram addressed to the Honoured Countess, is a panegyric upon her, and John Taylor, in his "The Needle's Excellency" 1640⁵ commended her skill in stitchwork, and her wonderful success in tapestry.⁶ No one owed more to her

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"The subject of all verse,
Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother."

² See B.M., C. 57d. 16, and 1076b 3.

³ *Vide*—A new letter of Notable Contents, 1593 Grosart, 1, 276, B.M. 12268g.

⁴ C 14 a 5 (1). C 11550-1610, B.M. ⁵ B.M., C 31 h 30.

⁶ *Vide* Brydges *Censura Literaria*, B.M. 1087, f9-12, 1805-9 :—
Brave Wilton House in Wiltshire well can show
Her admirable works in arras framed
Where men and beasts, scene like trees, seem to grow

encouragement than did Samuel Daniel, who had been Lady Anne's tutor, but who, many years before he went to Skipton, had been residing at Wilton as tutor to William, afterwards third Earl of Pembroke, and had carried out some of his best literary work in that house.⁷ Her two sons, William and Philip were at first disposed to share her literary tastes, and they were the "incomparable pair of brethren" to whom the first folio of Shakespeare's works was dedicated. They knew Shakespeare in his professional capacity of king's servant, or superintendent of James I's company of actors, and they were amongst his patrons, although, as has been pointed out, there is no special evidence that Lord Pembroke came into any direct personal relations with the poet, or was his particular patron. Both brothers appear to have encouraged and assisted Ben Jonson. Both of them also appear to have helped Inigo Jones, who is said to have visited Italy at the elder brother's expense, and it was to this elder brother that Chapman inscribed a sonnet, and that Davison in 1601 dedicated his *Poetical Rhapsody*. Both brothers matriculated at New College, Oxford, but it was the elder who inherited the greater share of his mother's and his uncle's literary instincts, while the younger one speedily fell away from all such activities, and developed in quite another direction.

He seems to have remained in the University a very short time, and then, in early youth, there was a report at the Court that he was a suitor for the hand of Mary Herbert, daughter and heir of Sir William Herbert of St. Julian's. This proposal, however, was never carried into effect, and the lady married a kinsman of Lord Pembroke's, Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury. A short time after that, there was a suggestion that he should marry a royal ward, the daughter of Sir Arthur Gorges, and it is said that his father went so far as to offer the Queen five thousand pounds, if she would allow this marriage to take place. The Sidney papers expressly record that Lord Pembroke had offered "five thousand pounds in money and jewels for the permission," under date 10th of May, 1600, but on the

And art (surpass^d by nature) seems ashamed

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She wrought so well in Needle worke that she
Nor yet her workes shall 'ere forgotten be.

⁷ He was a Licencer of plays in Shakespeare's time.

31st of the same month there is a further entry to the effect that this marriage was not to take place, and that the girl was intended for "my Lord Howard's son." After what the records describe as "long love and many changes" he was, in October, 1604, "privately contracted to my Lady Susan (Vere, third daughter of Edward, seventeenth Earl of Oxford), without the knowledge of his or her friends," and the wedding was celebrated with great state and magnificence at Whitehall on the 27th of December in the same year. Mr. Chamberlayne, writing to Mr. Winwood,⁸ from London, on the 18th December, 1604, refers to the great preparation that was then being made at the Cockpit "to entertain the King," and also the plans that had been proposed for "a masque and revels, against the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan Vere," and Sir Dudley Carleton, writing to Mr. Winwood in January of the following year, speaks about the ceremony, saying that all the honour that could be done was done for "a great favourite," that "the Court was great," and that all the persons upon that occasion put on their "best bravery," that the Ambassador of Venice was present, and that there was a difficulty with regard to his precedence which he himself much resented, and in consequence of which he left before supper, and that the King gave the bride away, and the Queen and the Prince were present at the ceremony. He also goes on to describe the masque in the hall afterwards, and says that in the dancing there was "no small loss that night of chaines and jewells." The presents, he says, given by various noblemen, friends of Lord Pembroke, were valued at two thousand five hundred pounds, but the King was also a great benefactor, for he gave to the bride some land worth five hundred a year, and to the bridegroom, property that would bring him in an income of a thousand a year. Sir Philip was an exceedingly handsome man, and universally acknowledged to be one of the chief of the royal favourites. Clarendon says that it was "the comeliness of his person," and his passion for hunting and field sports which rendered him "the first which drew the King's eyes towards him with affection," but he adds that "he pretended to no other qualifications than to understand dogs and horses very well." Rowland Whyte, a letter of whose, addressed to Lord Shrewsbury is quoted in the stately volumes on the Wilton

⁸ Winwood's Memoirs, vol. II.

House pictures, in describing Sir Philip, writes as follows, "The young worthy Sir Philip, grows great in his Majesty's favour, and carries it without envy, for he is very humble to the great Lords, and desirous to do all men good, and hurtes no man." This is a particularly favourable view of him, and does not tally with the opinion that other of his contemporaries entertained. He was certainly successful in out of door sports, because there were old lines frequently re-quoted respecting him, as follows :—

The Herberts, every Cockepitt day
Doe carry away
The gold and glory of the day.

He was, however, a hot-tempered man, and appears, according to various records, to have had constant quarrels. We learn of a quarrel at Croydon races with William Ramsay, one of the King's pages, in which he was horsewhipped and "nothing was spilt" says an eye witness, "but the reputation of a gentleman," of a quarrel with Lord Northampton at a game of tennis, and of a still more violent dispute with Lord Howard-de-Walden on the way down to Scotland with King James, but notwithstanding all these he remained the King's particular favourite, and received a long series of honours at the hands of his Sovereign. He was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in 1603, and in the same year a Knight of the Bath. A couple of years after, he was made a Gentleman of the Bedchamber. For a while, he sat in the House of Commons as the member for Glamorganshire, but in May, 1605, he was created Earl of Montgomery and a year or so after that, the King took possession of the Castle of Montgomery, which belonged to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and bestowed it upon his favourite, while the actual owner had to redeem it from his kinsman on payment of a considerable sum of money later on. The Earl was frequently in receipt of gifts of land and emoluments from the King, and spent money freely in all directions. He was elevated to the Order of the Garter in 1608, became High Steward of Oxford University in 1615, Keeper of Westminster Palace and St. James's Park in 1617, Lord Lieutenant of Kent in 1623-4, and in the next year was sworn of the Privy Council. He was specially commended by King James to his successor as worthy of his favourable notice,

and in the first month of the new reign, was despatched to Paris as one of the group of high officials who were to conduct the Princess Henrietta Maria to England. He bore the spurs at King Charles' coronation in 1625, and in the following year succeeded his brother as Lord Chamberlain of the Household. In 1630 occurred the death of his brother William, and he then became the fourth Earl of Pembroke, and at the same time stepped into his brother's place as Lord Warden of Stannaries, a position which he is said to have used with great severity, oppressing the people of Cornwall and Devonshire, according to Lord Clarendon, "with great fury and passion." He was already High Steward of Oxford, but desired in addition to be Chancellor of the University. There was, however, in the University, a party led by Archbishop Laud, strongly antagonistic to him, and Laud finally was elected to the office of Chancellor by a small majority. Lord Pembroke gave considerable attention to his great house at Wilton, spent large sums upon it, and entertained the King there on several occasions with great state, but his hot temper, and his sullen and coarse manners, made him numerous enemies at Court, and he was always the object of a strong dislike on the part of the Queen, who never overcame her original repugnance towards him. In 1634, there was a serious quarrel between him and Thomas May, the King's private secretary, and afterwards the historiographer for the Parliament; occurring at a masque at Whitehall, which he had attended in his official capacity as Lord Chamberlain. It would appear that in the crowd the unfortunate secretary had been pushed against this high official, who, instantly losing his temper, turned round and struck May so harshly over the shoulders that his staff of office broke in his hand. A violent scene ensued. The King and Queen were both present, and it was actually Lord Pembroke's place to keep order whereas he himself had been, so contemporary records of the day tell us; the aggressor. There was strong feeling excited. The Lord Chamberlain was promptly reprimanded by King Charles, expressed himself contrite, and the next day, had to apologise to May in very abject terms, and ventured to offer to the secretary a gift of fifty gold pieces as an expression of his regret.

In 1641 a still more serious outbreak took place against Lord

⁹ Henry, second son of Thomas, Earl of Arundel and afterwards third earl.

Maltravers,⁹ son of the Earl of Arundel, which occurred when both of them were attending a Committee of the House of Lords. Tanner¹⁰ speaks of it in quaint terms. Lord Pembroke was again Lord Chamberlain. "There was a controversy," says the MS., "between ye Lord Chamberlayne and ye Lord Matravers, ye Lord Matravers gave my Lord Chamberlayne ye Lye, wherupon he strucke Matravers over ye head with his staffe. Then ye Lord Matravers took up a Standish and threw at ye Lord Chamberlayne. This moved so great a Stirre yt ye Committee did rise, complaynt was made to His Majesty, and on Monday ye Upperhouse committed y^m both to ye Tower." To this account Clarendon adds further particulars, and says that the King, "taking advantage of this miscarriage," and having been long incensed by the "passionate, indiscreet, and insolent carriage" of the Earl, confined him a prisoner in the Tower for 8 days and then sent to him "by a Gentleman Usher for his Staff, and, within two or three days after, bestowed it upon the Earl of Essex." This was the beginning of an entire change of affairs. Lord Pembroke was bitterly indignant at the opposition of the Queen and at the action of the King. His sympathies had always been to a great extent with the Parliament, and now, urged by pique, by resentment, and by the flattery of the Parliamentarians, added to what Lord Clarendon calls "a cowardly fear that the Royalists were a losing party," and the persuasion of his personal friend Lord Saye,¹¹ he threw in his lot with those who were opposing the Throne. For a while he tried to steer both sides of the way, sent assurances of his loyalty to King Charles, and tried to obtain the position of Lord Steward. Then he joined the Commission of Public Safety, and a Parliamentary Ordinance appointed him Governor of the Isle of Wight. Later on, in 1643, he became one of the Commissioners sent by Parliament to the King at Oxford with proposals for peace, and then definitely threw all his influence on the Parliamentary side, spoke of those who had been his own companions at Court in disgraceful terms, and so flattered the heads of the Parliamentary party that they nominated him Lord Lieutenant of Somerset, made him a Commissioner of the Admiralty, and even

¹⁰ Tanner MSS., 66, fol. 110.

¹¹ William 8th Baron and 1st Viscount, eventually one of the Commissioners of the Public Safety.

seriously discussed the desirability of his being elevated to a Dukedom. Meantime, he had won the position which he had coveted at Oxford. Laud was a prisoner in the Tower, and had resigned the Chancellorship. Lord Pembroke succeeded him, and gave such evidence of his sympathy with the Parliamentary party that he assured the University on one occasion that its safety would be certain if the cavaliers were dismissed and all delinquents yielded up to Parliament. He only held the honour for a few years, being superseded later on by the Marquis of Hertford, but in 1647 he was back again, for the Parliament had issued a special ordinance for his restoration, and Oxford suffered very severely under his influence, and from his bitter tongue.¹² By one author of the period he was described as being "eloquent in swearing," and suitable to "preside over Bedlam," by another he was told that he would make "an excellent Chancellor" if only "Oxford could have been turned into a kennel of hounds," and Butler in his bitter satire says that he

Ne'er with God or Man kept he word.
 One day he'd swear he'd serve the King,
 The next, 'twas quite another thing ;
 Still changing with the Wind and Tide
 That he might keep the stronger side.

¹² Some of his expressions when for the second time he became Chancellor of the University are worth quoting, but it must be stated that they are derived from a Royalist pamphlet, which expressly confesses that they are a little exaggerated, "but not much," and therefore, in all probability, we have very much the phrases that he made use of. "My visitors, I am glad to see you this day. I hope this day will never end, for I am your Chancellor. Some say that I am not your Chancellor, but damn me! they lie, for my brother was so before me, and none but rascals would rob me of my birthright. They think the Marquis of Hertford is Chancellor of Oxford, because, forsooth, the University chose him. S'death, I sit here by ordinance of Parliament, and judge ye, gentlemen, whether he or I look like a Chancellor. I will prove he is a party, for himself he is a scholar, he has Greek and Latin, and all the world knows I can scarce read or write. Damn me! this writing and reading hath caused all this blood I thank God, and I thank you, I thank God I am come at last, and I thank you for giving me a gilded Bible, you could not give me a better book, damn me, I think so. I love the Bible, though I seldom use it, I say I love it, and a man's affection is the best member about him. I can love it, though I cannot read it, as you, Dr. Wilkinson, love preaching, though you never preach Gentlemen, love one another, for there are twenty thousand do hate you, they say you are all either dunces, knaves, or madmen, s'death, they will say so of me if they durst, but do you serve God and love your Chancellor, you have all the good places the University can yield. . . . I love you all, damn me! I do. I command you, Registrar, to write it down, that I love them all."

It is said that on several of the College doors there was painted up, in red, as though to announce a visitation of the Plague "Lord have mercy upon us for we are visited."

His Hawks and Hounds¹³ were all his Care,
 For them he made his daily Prayer,
 And scarce would lose a hunting Season,
 E'en for the sake of darling Treason.

This was the man whom Lady Anne selected as her second husband !

His first wife had borne him seven sons and three daughters, of whom two sons and a daughter had died in infancy. She died on the 1st of February, 1628/9, and his second marriage took place on the 1st of June, 1630. By Lady Anne he had two children prematurely born and both of them died in infancy. Lady Susan had died of smallpox, as Lady Anne records in her diary. "His first wife," says she, "dyed of the smallpox on the Court att Whitehall a yeare and fower monthes before I was marryed to him. My youngest Daughter was present at this my second marriage, But not my eldest."

Between 1629 and 1635 Vandyck painted the great picture which occupies the whole of one wall of the Double-Cube Room at Wilton House, and which contains the best portrait of Lady Anne at this period of her life. It is a magnificent group, with ten life-sized figures. The earl and his second wife are in the centre, on their left stands Anna Sophia, elder daughter of the Earl by his first wife, and her husband Robert, Earl of Carnarvon. On the right are Lord Pembroke's five sons by his first wife, Charles, Lord Herbert; Philip, William, James and John. Standing on the steps in the foreground is Lady Mary, daughter of George, Duke of Buckingham, who became the wife of Charles Herbert, and who, after his decease, married as her second husband the first Duke of Richmond, and then, as her third, Thomas Howard, brother to Charles, Earl of Carlisle. In the clouds above are represented the three children who died in infancy, James, Henry and Katherine.

It was to the astonishment of all her friends that this marriage had taken place, and many were the prophecies respecting it. Lady Anne, however, was not in the habit of taking other people's advice. She had decided that it was the right thing for her to marry Lord Pembroke that he would be a great champion for her, and that he would protect her daughter, and having entered into the contract with full determination, she with equal decision carried out for as long as she possibly

¹³ He always kept 24 couples at Wilton.

could, her side of the bargain. Two persons more antithetical in habits could hardly have been found, and only for four years and six months were they able to live together. There were many ready to make disagreements between them. She says, "Nor did there want divers Malitious illiwillers to Blow and foment the Coales of discontent betwixt us." There was not, it is true, the same source of difficulty between her and Lord Pembroke as had existed between her previous husband and herself, for the active prosecution of her claims to the estates could no longer be carried on, the King had made his award, and she had to abide by it: but, determined to keep her own suit in full force, she did make, on two separate occasions, definite legal claims for the estates in 1632, and in 1637, and these claims were made, not only by her, but by her in conjunction with Lord Pembroke; and were signed and sealed by him as well as by her. It is quite likely that the necessity of the law of that day for making these legal claims was one of the reasons why she had entered into this fresh matrimonial contract. After 1637 there was no opportunity for a further claim, "ffor then," says she, "the Civill warres broke out in that extremitie in the Northerne parts. That no more Claymes could be made there, dureing my Unckle of Cumberland and his sonne's lifetime." A fresh cause of controversy, however, had arisen. Lord Pembroke wished to make an engagement between her younger daughter, Lady Isabella Sackville, and one of his younger sons, and he wished her to settle upon his son the five thousand pounds which she possessed, part of her portion out of her land in Craven. This, she says, was a matter of long contention between them. She would not give in, and was determined that her daughter should herself select, subject to her consent, her own husband, and that there should be no engagement between her and any of Lord Pembroke's children. She refers, in a striking and oft-quoted passage, to her troubles with both her husbands, saying that, in both their lifetimes, "the marble pillars of Knolle in Kentt and Wilton in Wiltshire, were to me oftentimes but the gay Harbours of Anguish, Insomuch as a Wiseman, that knew the inside of my fortune [*her cousin, Francis, Earl of Bedford*] would often say that I lived in those my Lordes great families as the river of Rhone or Rhodanus runnes thorow the Lake of Geneva, without mingleinge anie part of its streames with

that Lake, for I gave myself wholly to Retyredness, as much as I could, in both those great families, and made good Bookes and verteous thoughts my Companions, which have never deserved affliction, nor bee daunted when it unjustly happeneth, And by a happie genious I overcame all those Troubles, the Prayers of my Blessed Mother helping me herein."

With reference to this particular entry, it may be of interest to draw attention to the phrase "marble pillars." Lady Anne was always exact in her statements, and her phraseology can be accepted as representing actual objects. It was not difficult to identify the marble pillars of Knole, but the contrary is the case at Wilton, where in the house there is but little marble. On the ground floor, in a retired position, however, there is a room which appears to have been Lady Anne's sitting-room, and across the centre of it there is a series of small marble columns against which she had probably leaned on many occasions. These seem to be the only marble columns in the house.

In all probability, one of her principal troubles was that concerned with her daughter Isabella, and it would not appear that she had any particular objection to Lord Pembroke's sons, for, on the whole, she was on good terms with her stepchildren. Most of them were already grown up and married when she arrived at Wilton, and she frequently mentions one of them, Lord Pembroke's eldest daughter, Lady Carnarvon, as a person who had great influence with her Lord, and was helpful in restraining him in his wilder moods. Lady Isabella was, however, quite a girl at the time, and it is clear that her mother was determined that her affections should not be forced, and that no engagement should take place in tender years. It was likely that she would be a great co-heiress with her sister at some future time, and, at all events, she should have the right of exercising her own will when the time came for doing so.

This, however, was by no means the only cause of friction, for there were many scandals both at Wilton and in London, respecting Lord Pembroke. As a matter of fact, one of them, which is specifically mentioned in a letter which appears in the Domestic series of State Papers, cannot have been altogether accurately described, because the particular lady with whom Lord Pembroke is said to have been

living, was his niece, and his ward, and therefore there was a reason for her residence at Wilton, and a still further reason for Lord Pembroke exercising what influence he possessed over her, and preventing her from making an unfortunate marriage. That she herself actually lived with her guardian, there is no proof, but there are plenty of stories of similar conduct, and some of them were certainly founded in fact. Many of the special difficulties, however, arose from Lord Pembroke's violence of temper, which was at times so serious and so outrageous that he was regarded as mad, and in fact, in one letter, his behaviour is spoken of as that of a lunatic.¹⁴ He does not appear to have had the slightest control of his language. It was habitually violent, blasphemous, and offensive, and his libertinism was known, and universally accepted. Almost his sole interest was in sport, horses and dogs, but withal, he was much attached to his family seat, Wilton, and spent considerable sums of money upon the house. He rebuilt the main front on an elaborate scale in 1633, and then in 1647 rebuilt the south side of the house which had been burned down, but even on that occasion was not able to control his feelings, and bitter quarrels ensued between him and Inigo Jones, who was his architect, and also between him and Webb, who was a connection of Inigo Jones, and was responsible for the south elevation. He collected many fine pictures and some important books which he added to the treasures of the house. He employed the great artists of the day to decorate its ceilings, and above all, he was a notable patron to Vandyck, so that some of the finest works Vandyck ever painted are the portraits he commissioned, and which still remain in the Cube and Double Cube rooms and the Picture Gallery of Wilton House. There is a striking resemblance between him and men of the Renaissance, so strange was the mingling of fine artistic tastes¹⁵ with unbridled immorality and great violence of temper. More and more, Lady Anne had to retire from her husband, and shut herself up, as she said, with her books and her meditations, cherishing memories of her revered mother, and interesting herself in the affairs of her children. She speaks with great joy of the birth of her grandchildren, and many years after-

¹⁴ His brother's widow was in a mad-house, and he enjoyed her income added to his own.

¹⁵ Geo. Sedgwick, who was for a while his secretary, says that his income was £18,000 a year, but that he left debts amounting to £55,000, all of which were cleared off by his executors within four years.

wards, in writing her record, she puts down " I must not forgett God's goodness and mercie to me in sending my eldest Daughter the Countess of Thanet [*she was then Lady Tufton, as Lord Thanet did not die till the next year*] her first-born Childe being a Sonne whereof she was delivered in Bollbroke House, in Sussex, the seventh of August, 1631. And after thatt had manie more Children, both sonnes and Daughters, to my great Comfort, So as now shee hath manie children alive."

Another of her satisfactions appears to have consisted in her friendship with George Herbert the poet, who, soon after she had married Lord Pembroke, came to reside at Bemerton, quite close to her new home. Only one letter, addressed by George Herbert to Lady Anne, has been preserved, but it would almost appear, from the wording of this, in which he alludes in graceful fashion to her mother—a sure path to her interest,—that he felt indebted to her for some influence she may have brought to bear upon her husband, and which resulted in his receiving the living. He writes to her when she was " at Court " in the following words,

MADAM,

What a trouble hath your goodness brought on you by admitting our poor services. Now they creep in a vessel of Metheglin, and still they will be presenting or wishing to see, if at length they may find out something not unworthy of those hands at which they aim. In the meantime, a priest's blessing, though it be none of the Court style, yet doubtless, Madam, can do you no harm, wherefore the Lord make good the blessing of your Mother upon you, and cause all her wishes, diligences, prayers and tears to bud, blow and bear fruit in your soul, to His glory, your own good, and the great joy of, Madam,

Your most faithful servant in Christ Jesus,

(Signed) GEORGE HERBERT.

P.S.—Madam, your poor colony of servants present their humble duties.

December 10th, 1631, Bemerton.

We have little doubt that Lady Anne entertained, when she went to Wilton, the desire to have frequent communication with her poet neighbour, but alas ! George Herbert resided little more than a year at Bemerton before he died of consumption at the age of forty.

It was only, as we have said, for less than five years that Lord and Lady Pembroke were able to live together. We do not know the actual reason for their separation, whether it was owing to his immoral conduct, to her discovery of certain new infidelities, already probably

well known to his neighbours, or whether it was by reason of a special violence of temper, to which she refers in one place as "lunatic behaviour," but in 1634, they agreed to part, and quietly and soberly she alludes to the parting, in the diary which she wrote in later years. She says "The eighteenth of December one thousand six hundred and thirtie fower, By reason of some discontent, I went from Liveing at the Court at Whitehall, to live at Baynard's Castle in London, where, and at the two houses of Wilton and Ramsburie I continwed for the most part (during the time of his life after) in which Howses of his lived then his sister in Law Marie Talbot, Countess Dowager of Pembroke, and most of his children. For that widdowe Countess outlived him about a Month." It would appear that Lord Pembroke continued to reside in his rooms in Whitehall, keeping them as his principal residence, or in his rooms in the Cockpit, and that Lady Pembroke determined that she would not continue in either place with him. It would also seem, from the wording of her diary, that already a division of opinion had taken place between him and his own children, and that they were residing with the Dowager Countess, while he was living his wild life in London. There can hardly have been an open rupture between them at that time, because, early in the following year, Lord Pembroke himself came to see her, and settled all the terms of her jointure.

She had a firm friend in her cousin Francis, Earl of Bedford, who was determined that her rights and those of her two daughters should be safeguarded, and that, whether husband and wife lived together or not, her means, and the portion of her children, were to be settled in legal and definite terms, and eventually, it would appear, owing to his interposition, this arragement was made. "On the 5th of June," she says "one thowsand six hundred thirtie-five, Did my sayd Lord the Earle of Pembroke in Baynard's Castle make over to mee My Jointure of those Landes of his in the Isle of Sheppey in Kentt, Which hee hadd formerlie made in Jointure to his first wife, the Ladie Suzan Vere, Countess of Montgomery, and at the time of makeing that Jointure, Hee released his Right to all my Landes in Westmoreland, and five thowsand poundes out of my Landes in Craven, for a part of my youngest Daughter's portion (if ever those Landes should fall to mee) in his Lifetime, as afterwards they did, And this

Agreement," she adds, " was chiefly made betwene us by my worthy Cozen German, Francis, Earle of Bedford." Lord Bedford must have worked hard to have obtained what would appear to be such excellent terms for his cousin, and one wonders why Lord Pembroke accepted them. The claim which he withdrew to her lands was not a small one, although, of course, the possibility of her succession was somewhat remote, but, whatever might be the reason, whether he was guilty of so serious an offence that he desired to propitiate his wife, or to purchase her forgiveness, or for what reason, we cannot tell, but the declarations were made, and no more difficulty on that score ensued between them. Possibly on that occasion, or perhaps on a later one, there must have been a definite and open rupture of an even more serious character, because an important letter, which is preserved amongst the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, and which Lady Anne addresses to Lord Bedford, does actually state that he had turned her out of the house. She writes to her cousin from Ramsbury and she says ¹⁶ :—

Yesterday, by Mr. Marsh, I received your Lordship's letter, by which I perceived how much you were troubled at the report of my being sick, for which I humbly thank your Lordship. I was so ill as I did make full account to die, but now I thank God, I am something better, and now, my Lord, give me leave to desire that favour from your Lordship, as to speak earnestly to my Lord for my coming up to the Town this term, either to Baynard's Castle or the Cockpit, and I protest I will be ready to return back hither again whensoever my Lord appoints it. I have to this purpose written now to my Lord, and sent it enclosed in a letter of mine to my Lady of Carnarvon, as desiring her to deliver it to her Father, which I know she will do, with all the advantage she can to further this business, and if your Lordship will join with her in it, you shall afford a charitable and most acceptable favour to your Lordship's cousin and humble friend to command,

14 January, 1638.

ANNE PEMBROKE.

To this letter there is an important postscript :—

If my Lord should deny my coming, then I desire your Lordship I may understand it as soon as may be, that so I may order my poor business as well as I can, without my own coming to the Town, for I dare not venture to come up without his leave, lest he should take that occasion to turn me out of this house,

¹⁶ Rendered into modern spelling.

as he did out of Whitehall, and then I shall not know where to put my head. I desire not to stay in the town above ten days or a fortnight at the most.

From this it is quite evident that on the occasion of this open rupture, whether it was in 1635 or at the time when the letter was written, Lord Pembroke had absolutely refused, in one of his fits of temper, to permit his wife to come up again to town, and ordered her down to his country house, and told her that there she was to remain. There was some strong reason for her wishing to come up to London in 1638, probably in connection with the agreement she had made in the previous September respecting her Northern estates, and which constituted the final claim she was able to make, but she could not expose herself again to any insulting remarks from her husband, and with all her desire to come up to London, and to consult her legal advisers, was yet really afraid to do so, for fear that he might turn her out from wherever she went to reside for the night. It was in consequence of this that she appealed to Lord Bedford to interview her husband, and although we do not know the result of his interposition, yet we should imagine, from the success which she usually obtained when she had set her mind upon any course of action, that she probably did come up to London upon that occasion, and carried out the business she desired to transact.

A couple of years after the date of this letter, another change occurred with regard to her legal trouble in the death of the old Earl of Cumberland. "The one and twentieth of Januarie," she says "one thowsand sixe hundred and fortie one, Dyed my Unckle Francis, Earle of Cumberland, when hee was nere fowerscore and two yeares ould, in Skipton Castle in Craven (I lying then in Ramsburie in Wiltshire) and his onelie Childe Henerie Lord Clifford, who succeeded him in the Earledom, lived but two yeares tenne Monthes and some twenty dayes after him."

Her chances, by this death, of succeeding to the Northern estates, had become less remote than they had been hitherto, because all the children of the fifth Earl of Cumberland by his marriage with Lady Frances Cecil had died, save only one daughter Elizabeth, and the estates could only pass to heirs male. His wife was still living, however, and as long as she lived there was the chance of his having an increase in his family, and he himself was, be it remembered, only a

year or two younger than his cousin Lady Anne, so that, even in the event of his wife's decease, he might marry again, and have a family, but the probabilities were against either of these results, and the chance of Lady Anne's succession more definite. It was actually a question as to which of the two consins would outlive the other, and Lady Anne won in the contest, because Lord Clifford died on the 11th of December, 1643, leaving behind him his one daughter only, who had married Richard Boyle, second Earl of Cork, and first Earl of Burlington, and who, in the following year, was created Baron Clifford of Lanesborough, while Lady Cumberland outlived her husband a very short time, as she died on the 14th of February, 1644, and so, releasing any jointure she might have possessed, left the whole way clear for the succession of Lady Anne.

Of her uncle Lady Anne writes that "he was an honourable gentleman, and of a good, noble, sweet and courteous nature, but towards the last few years of his life was overruled in all his actions by his son." In May of the same year, an even greater trouble befell her, because she lost her cousin, the Earl of Bedford, who had always been her protector and supporter. "He died," she writes, "at his Howse called Bedford Howse in the Strand, to my greife and sorrowe For hee was a most worthie man." Then ensued the serious difficulties of the Civil War, and perchance these brought the husband and wife together again, at all events for a short time, because, she says "when the Civill warres began to grow hotter and hotter in England, my sayd Lord and I came together [*and the word "together" should be marked*] from Wilton the 12th of October, 1642, with my younger Daughter, then the Ladie Issabellas Sackville, and the next daie wee came to London, where my sayd Lord went to lye at his Lodgeings in the Cockpitt, in Saint James his parck, over against Whitehall, to be nere the Parliament, Butt I and my Daughter went to lye in Baynard's Castle, which was then a Howse full of Riches, and was the more secure by my Lyeing there, where then I continwed to lye in my owne Chamber, without removeinge sixe yeares and nyne monthes, which was the longest time that ever I continwed to lye in one Howse in all my Life (The Civill warres being then verie hott in England) So that I was well safe, that was then, as it were, a place of Refuge for me to hide myselfe in, till those troubles were overpassed."

It is interesting to surmise concerning the reason that brought Lord and Lady Pembroke together, and demanded their going up to town, when he had, as we have already seen, thrown all his influence against the King and on the side of the Parliament. He had been vacillating backwards and forwards for some time, keeping faith with neither party, speaking of the Parliamentarians to the King as a "pack of knaves and villians," and to them, in opprobrious language concerning his Sovereign. No man respected him, but at length, obliged to commit himself in definite fashion to one side or the other, in this very year to which we are now referring, he had been one of the deputation sent down to Royston to his Sovereign, and it is said had no embarrassment and no awkwardness in reading to the King the insolent document which he, the late Lord Chamberlain, bore to him. It was on this occasion, however, that King Charles is said to have given utterance to one of his few recorded fiery sentences. Pressed by the renegade to abandon the control of the militia to Parliament, he exclaimed, "No, by God, not for an hour! You have asked that of me, in this, which was never asked of a King before, and with which I would not even trust my wife or children." It has been suggested, and with some probability, that it was purely a matter of ways and means which led Lord Pembroke on this occasion to make a sort of temporary agreement with his wife, and that her allusion to the fact that Baynard's Castle was a house full of riches, and that the property was secured by her living in it, and by her continuing to reside in what she calls a place of refuge; marks the fact that many of the more valuable possessions of Lord Pembroke were at that time at Baynard's Castle, and that he had suggested to her that she should remain there in residence, and in charge of these treasures, in case that at any moment he might have to go far away from London with the Parliamentarian forces. We would have liked to have imagined that it constituted a certain renewal of the attachment of the husband and wife to one another, but it was probably not so, and the friendship was patched up with the idea that she should protect his belongings, and settle down quietly in London during this troublous time. She did so, and makes very slight reference in any of her records to the political troubles, to which she was really indifferent, being far more interested in the fact that her daughter went over to France with her

husband and children, and stayed away some seven or eight months, and then returned to their house in Aldersgate Street, where she gave birth to her seventh child, Thomas Tufton. She had been god-mother to two of the children, Margaret, the eldest daughter, and John, the second son, and was always particularly attached to her godson, and took special interest in him.

While the Thanets were abroad, the greatest event that could possibly happen to alter the whole future of Lady Anne's life occurred, in the unexpected decease of her cousin the last Earl of Cumberland, and so the estates were released to her. As already mentioned in the previous chapter, she does not speak in very kind terms of this cousin, but she does refer in more agreeable fashion to his wife, who died in the same house and only a few months after her husband. "She," Lady Anne says, "was a lady of very noble and just mind, very bountiful to her power, and kind and loving to her friends and kindred." Of the husband, she says but little, and that little always in terms of strong feeling against the injustice which for years kept her out of her estate.

We shall deal in a separate chapter with her proceedings after the decease of her cousin, but there are two or three events that should be chronicled here, even though one of them occurred later than certain happenings to which we shall refer presently. Lady Anne records the decease on May 16, 1643, of Mary, Countess of Dorset, the wife of her husband's successor at Knole. She speaks of her as "a virtuous and good woman," and as her "deare and good friend." She cannot resist the opportunity, however, of again referring to Lord Dorset her brother-in-law, and saying that he was ever her "bitter enemie and persecutor." Then, after allusion to the difficulty which had occurred between Lord Pembroke and Lady Isabella, she mentions with great satisfaction that on the 5th of July, 1647, her younger daughter was married to James Compton, Earl of Northampton, in the church at Clerkenwell, in which church, says she, "my Mother and I had been parrishioners for some seven yeares together in my Childehood." She was not, however, able to be present at the marriage, "for manie reasons," as she was not in good health at that moment. Then, in 1649, she took her last leave of Lord Pembroke, having arrived at a determination that she did not desire to see him any more.

It was on a Sunday, and it was the last time that they ever "saw one another," and, after parting with him at the Cockpit, she drove to her daughter Lady Northampton's house at Islington, "which was the first time," she says "that I was ever in anie of her Lord's Howses, and methinkes," she goes on to say, "that my Destiny is remarkable, That shee should be settled at Islington so nere Clerkenwell, where my Mother and I lived long in my Childehood, And that her Lord's Cheife Howse of Ashbie should be so neare Lillford in Northamptonshire, where both my Mother and my selfe in our younger yeares had our Breedeing, As also that my elder Daughter of Thanett should bee settled at Hothefeld in Kent, not farr from Sutton Where my Blessed Mother and I lived together a good while, whilst I was a Maide. So as those Countryes where my Mother lived as a Stranger and Pilgrime and in some Discontentes are now the settled Aboades and Habitations of both their Grandchildren."

The only other event which need be recorded in this chapter is that of the death of Lord Pembroke. He died on January 23, 1650, in his lodgings in the Cockpit, Whitehall, from what is called "a pestilential fever," at the age, so says his wife, of sixty-five years, three months, and thirteen days. Her comments upon him describe him as a man of very quick apprehension, sharp understanding, and of a "discerning spirit," but she was careful to add that he was "very crafty withal," and "extremely choleric by nature," and that he was "no scholar at all to speak of," as he spent a very short time at the University. It was apparently a cause of some thankfulness to her that this strange and troublous life was ended at last. His death occurred upon a Wednesday, and his body was buried in Salisbury Cathedral on the 9th of February following, lying by his brother, his father and his mother in that place. His elder brother's widow, Mariæ Talbot, to whom we have made allusion a little further back, and who was the elder daughter and heir to Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, died a month after her brother-in-law, and she also was buried in Salisbury Cathedral. There is little need to refer in this place to the scurrilous Last Will and Testament which was issued by the Royalist pamphleteers immediately after the decease of Lord Pembroke, and which violently assailed his memory in scathing terms. He died a traitor to his King, amidst almost universal execration on

both sides, hated by those amongst whom he lived in the earlier part of his life, and who had been exposed to the violence of his temper; and almost equally disliked by the party he had joined in later days, and to which he had been no credit. He will be well remembered, because he was one of the "incomparable pair of brothers," and for his devotion to art and to rebuilding and improving his house at Wilton, but his social and political career were eminently unsatisfactory.

We do not know who wrote to Lady Anne to tell her of the death of her husband, but there is in existence a letter from Lord Pembroke's chaplain, Caldecott, which was addressed to her, and was evidently in response to a letter from her sent to him. It is dated the 23rd of February, 1649-50, and in it, he says, that he begs to

acquaint your Honor that I am newly come hither from the last office I could do my Lord deceased, his interment, where I met your Honor's letter, most precious to his memory, which I do keep as a significant favour from your Honor, nor could I possibly return my sense sufficiently, but if ever I enjoy the happiness to kiss your Honor's hand, it will be to testify the great rejoicing I have in being your Honor's most humble and faithful servant,

R. CALDECOTT,

From the Cockpit Whitehall.

An interesting holograph letter from Lady Anne—in the possession of the Honourable Maud Russell—refers to this same Mr. Caldecott, and perhaps alludes to his appointment as her chaplain.

GOOD COUSIN,

I received a kind letter from you, and with it a dainty box of dried sweetmeats, for which I return you many thanks, as I have cause for the like kindnesses to do many times before. For the lease, your son, Mr. Caldecott,¹⁷ doth desire from me, I do move it shall be done to his own mind, out of hand, and so I have told him, and given order to have it drawn, and so, committing you to the protection of the Almighty, I rest,

Your assured friend and cousin,

ANNE PEMBROKE.

Whitehall, 20th of November. [No year given].

The only other thing we need refer to in connection with the death

¹⁷ We are curious to know whether by any chance the person to whom this letter was addressed was Matthew Caldecott her late lord's "great favourite" and perhaps Lord Dorset's cousin, and hence the manner in which it is written.

of Lord Pembroke is the issue of a scurrilous pamphlet concerning him which came out almost immediately. It was called "The Life and Death of Philip Herbert, the late infamous Knight of Berkshire, once Earl of Pembroke, likewise a Discourse with Charon on his Voyage to Hell, Printed in the First year of Phil Harbert's Infernal Captivity, and (I hope) the last of our State Tyranny." The allusion to his representing Berkshire is of course to the fact that in April before he died, ignoring his high rank, he had presented himself as a candidate for the Lower House and member for Berkshire in the Rump Parliament, and this "Ascent downwards," as the Royalists termed it, was, by most of them, regarded as the very lowest depth to which he ever sank. In the pamphlet, which points to considerable liberty of the press taken at that moment, Charon was represented as instructing Cerberus concerning his new visitor in these words, "Hee's come from England. His name was Pembroke, one of our chief champions. For damning, stinking, swearing, and cursing, all the inhabitants of Hell can hardly equal him."

Then it goes on to say :—

If all our Regicides were with him there,
Thrice happy, happy then this England were.

The ribald pamphlet ends thus :—

Here lies the mirror of our age for treason,
Who in his life was void of sense and reason,
The Commons' fool, a knave in everything,
A traitor to his master, Lord and King,
A man whose virtues were to lie and swear,
God damn him ! was his constant daily prayer.

CHAPTER XI.

LADY ANNE SUCCEEDS TO HER ESTATES.

A PUZZLING circumstance in connection with the life of Lady Anne Clifford occurs at this stage of the proceedings. It is not at all clear what happened during the interval between the death of Henry, the last Earl of Cumberland, which occurred in 1644, and the time, five years afterwards, when she made her first journey down to the north. It is at first not easy to understand why so long a space of time should have elapsed before she went down to take possession of the property. She had at length gained the estates. It had been a long and an arduous fight, but now everything had fallen quietly into her own hands, since her cousin had died without heirs male. She must have felt conscious of success, and it would only have been natural had she left for Appleby and Skipton immediately. There were evidently important reasons which prevented her from doing so, although we can believe that her desire would have been to go down to the north at once. It is probable that it was not safe to leave London at this juncture. It was also likely to have been the case that Lady Isabella, her younger daughter, who was at that time twenty-one, had many suitors. She and her sister Margaret were now co-heiresses to a great fortune, and therefore she was a person of consequence. Lady Anne may have been anxious to guide her daughter's thoughts into the right channel, and to see that she selected a suitable person for her husband, and that may have taken some time. Lord Pembroke may have refused at first to allow her to go down to the north, or he may have put difficulties in the way of her going, and have insisted upon her remaining at Baynard's Castle to look after his property. Her own health may not have been particularly good, and it is certain that she must have had a number of legal

arrangements to make, that perhaps she felt could be better entered into, on the spot, in London, than if she was absent from town, and unable to consult with her legal advisers. Be the reason what it may, it is clear that not until 1649, and in the summer of that year, did she set out from London to go down to her northern estates. She never returned to town again, and the fact that she had no intention of so doing, may have been another of her reasons for delaying her departure. She probably had all kinds of plans to make before she left London, for she had made up her mind that the rest of her life was to be devoted to the care of her tenants and her estates, and she had no intention of again taking part in either Court or Social life in London. Lord Pembroke's controversy with his wife, concerning Lady Isabella's marriage, probably extended over a considerable time, perhaps even for some years. It is quite likely that he refused to give up the idea of wedding her to one of his children, that he persecuted and worried both mother and daughter persistently, and that they both of them were so in fear of his mad and violent temper that they dared not leave London as long as he had set his mind upon this match, and it was only when her daughter was safely married to the Earl of Northampton that Lady Anne felt able to take into close consideration the question of her own complete separation from her husband, and from society, both at the Court and elsewhere. Certain it is, she came to some definite arrangement with him that they should not meet again, before she went to the north, and after the final parting, they did not see one another any more, and she was at Appleby when the news reached her of his decease.

The true explanation of the whole matter is probably a political one, for the five years were amongst the most disastrous in English history. It must not be forgotten that at the time when Henry, Lord Cumberland, died the first battle of Newbury had taken place, and that in the following year there was the second battle of Newbury, the battle of Marston Moor, and the failure of the serious negotiations at Uxbridge. Following that, in '45, came the battle of Naseby, and it is therefore probable that Lady Anne felt it would be politic to lead as quiet and retired a life as possible in London, while all these troubles were taking place. She must herself have been well known as sympathising with the Royalist party. She had been constantly

at Court, and intimately known, not only to James I. and his Queen, but to his successor on the throne, and all her personal and family instincts would have led her to throw in any weight of interest she possessed, on the Royalist side. Her husband, however, had espoused the cause of the Parliamentarians, and as he had turned toward the winning side, it would doubtless be advisable for her to keep her sympathies to herself, and to take shelter, so far as was desirable, behind the position which Lord Pembroke had adopted. In fact, her only chance of escaping the general débâcle was to do so. If she had gone away to her northern estates, she would have had to stand by her own opinions, and they were not the ones which at that time were popular. She would have been away from any of the protection which her husband's Parliamentary sympathies afforded her while she was in London, and it is therefore probable that it was not all from want of desire to visit her northern estates, to which she had succeeded, that she remained in London, but because self-preservation was a natural instinct, and while this terrible contest was going on between the Parliamentary forces and those of the King, ending in his capture, trial and death, and in the flight of Charles II., it was desirable that she should remain at Baynard's Castle, watching over such possessions as were in the house, and keeping herself as little as might be in the public eye. It must have been a period of great trial for her, because, although she refers very little to political events, yet the few remarks she does make about the coronation of Charles II. and other Court matters, show in which direction lay her sympathies. She entirely ignores the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, making no allusion to Cromwell or to any of his people, with the single exception of the reference to which we shall allude shortly, to General Harrison. Her desire to have taken possession of her property and to see her tenantry must have been keen, but she had to resist the temptation to go north, because it was unsafe for her to do so, and it is not difficult to understand what a period of anxiety these five years must have been, and how eager to journey to Skipton she was, as soon as it was possible for her to do so.

In any case it would have been impossible for her to have gone at an earlier date to Skipton, however strong her desire might have been to have visited the place where she was born, because the last

Earl of Cumberland had endeavoured to hold it in favour of the King, and Skipton had sustained a siege, or at least a blockade, for three years. Inasmuch as it was commanded by two adjoining heights, it would not have been tenable if attacked, as Whitaker says it was, "by battering cannon," and the siege, although conducted by three such able officers as Lambert, Poyntz, and Rossiter, could not have been of a serious character, excepting, perhaps, for two or three brisk assaults. Few records remain to describe this blockade, but the siege is supposed to have commenced in December, 1642, although in June of that year, we hear that Sir Thomas Fairfax had come against it. Sir John Mallory of Studley, whose portrait is still to be seen in the possession of Lord Ripon, was the Governor, who defended it. The castle appears to have held out until December 22nd, 1645, when it was surrendered upon articles. During the siege, the King granted a warrant to Sir John Mallory empowering him to collect some of the rents that had been due to the late Earl of Cumberland, and to apply them to the maintenance of the garrison, and if this was done, it would have probably unsettled the tenants, because very likely the officers who executed the King's warrant were harsh in their demands. Practically, the only information we have concerning this period at Skipton is derived from the entries in the registers of the deaths and burials of soldiers and officers. There appear to be no actual records now in existence relative to the siege itself.

Another rather curious difficulty besets us in connection with this journey. There are in existence at Appleby Castle several interesting and important letters, written by Lady Anne from that place, and many of them are dated in the early months of 1649, whereas she distinctly states in her diary that she left London on the 11th of July in that very year for Skipton, that it was the first time that she went down to Skipton on going into her inheritance, that in the August of the same year she came on to Appleby, and that it was the first time she had been there since 1607. It is therefore certain that these letters, dated January and February, 1649, do not relate to the year to which one would naturally expect them to belong, but must be considered to belong to January and February, as we should term it, 1650, and their date should read January, 1649-50.

Fortunately we are aware of what Lady Anne was doing during

part of this time, because some letters and papers which she addressed to her cousin, Sir John Lowther, are still in existence.¹ They are but few in number, but they are all dated at about this time, and they show us not only the extreme care which Sir John Lowther exercised on behalf of his cousin's estates while she was detained in London, but also the great affection which she felt for him, and her gratitude for him for all his care. Besides all this they set forth in quite striking language an illustration of her own determined character. The documents start with some instructions to her tenants in Westmoreland dated April 4th, 1644, in which she desires those whom she calls "my good and loving tenants" not to pay any rents or fines that have become due to her since the death of the last Earl of Cumberland to anyone, but to retain these rents or fines in their own hands until they should receive special instructions from her under her own hand. These instructions she says she intends to give as soon as the "troublesome times will permit," and then goes on to state that if they carry out her instructions it will increase her "love and good meaning more and more to all" of them, and concludes the statement by the following phrase with reference to the tenants "to whom I intend it, God's sparing life, to be a good landlady to you all, and so committing you all to the protection of God Almighty, I rest, Your landlady that wishes happiness and blessing to the county of Westmoreland." As is usual with her letters there is an important postscript, and in this instance it is to the effect that her woods in Westmoreland may be well looked after, and that John Hall of Sowerby should have the superintendence of them. This letter she endorses with a statement that it was to be delivered to her cousin, Sir John Lowther, that he was to call into council her very good friend Mr. George Hillton of Hillton, and that they between them were to acquaint the tenants with her wishes.

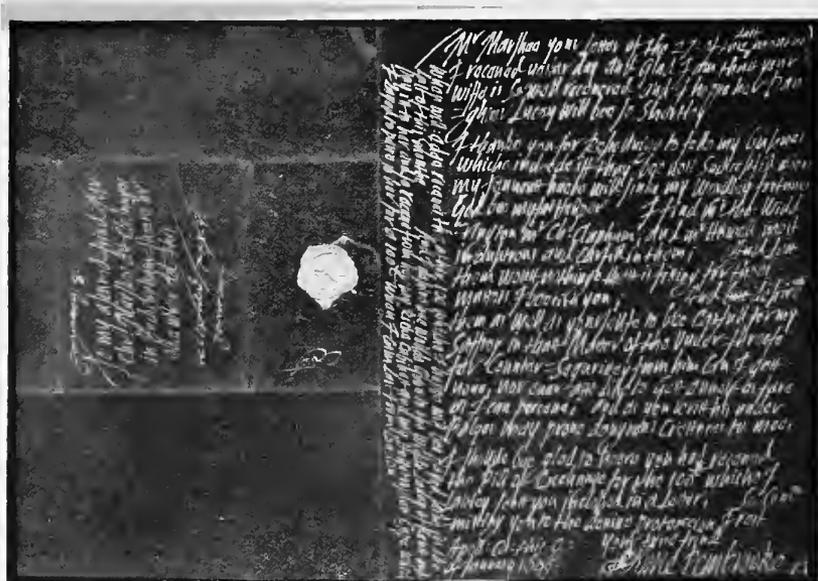
Apparently, however, this scheme for the tenants to retain in their own hands the rents until she came north was not successful,

¹ For this and many other favours I have to thank the Earl of Lonsdale. There was not a single document at Appleby or at Skipton relating to the long interregnum, and had it not been for Lord Lonsdale's interest in the book, or the effort he very generously made for a search in his family papers, I should have had but little information about this period to record. He, most considerately, had all the original documents sent to London and placed them at my entire disposal.

ERROR.

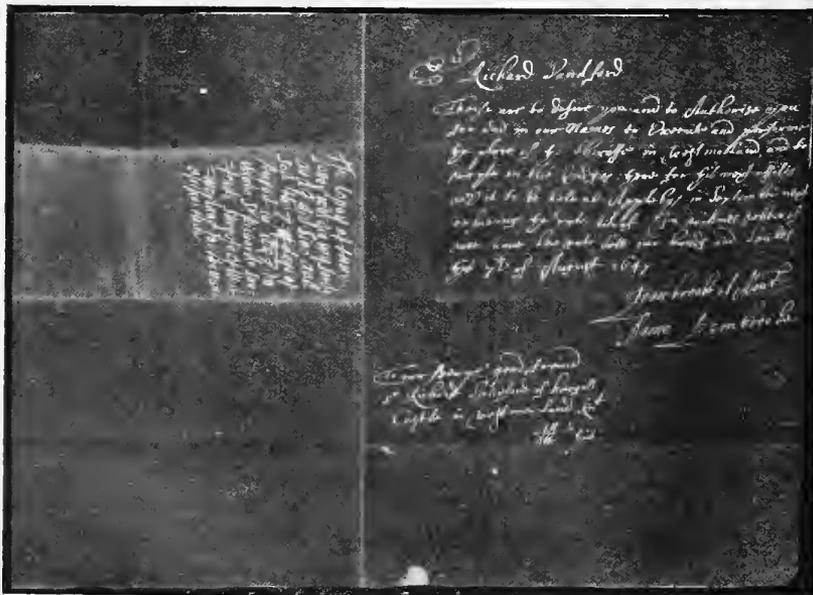
This letter dated 4th January, 1649, is *not* from the Lowther Estate Records, but is in private possession.

The error appears also on p. x.



LADY ANNE TO CHRISTOPHER MARSH,
4th January, 1649 (see page 190).

From the Lowther Estate Records.



LADY ANNE TO SIR RICHARD SANDFORD,
7th August, 1647, endorsed in her own handwriting.

From the Lowther Estate Records.

for on the 20th September 1645, she wrote again to her cousin, Sir John Lowther, telling him that she had altered the arrangement. She and her two trustees (one of whom was Lord Wharton) had by that time given instructions to a Mr. Edmond Pollard that he should receive the rents, and she asks her cousin to render him every assistance. She explains that the reasons for taking such a course were too lengthy to put in a letter, that she had been hoping from time to time to come north, and that when she did so she would explain to him with all clearness her ideas in this matter. Again we find a postscript in this important holograph letter, and this time it concerns the coal-pits at Stainmoor. She expresses her joy in hearing that they are so good, and that they are likely to be a considerable benefit not only to her, but to the whole county.

The third letter which is dated 14th October, 1646, is one of still greater importance, because it is evident that by this time some of those difficulties which were to be serious for many years had already arisen between her and her tenants. She writes to Sir John thanking him in no measured terms for the great care and pains he had taken in her business, "by which" says she, "you increase my obligations to you more and more." She notices that he has cause to commend the Sheriff for his care and diligence, and is gratified by these recommendations. She sends a message to the Sheriff commending herself to him, thanking him for what he has done, and telling him that if Mr. Marsh, her secretary, is able to get away from London, letters and instructions will in due course arrive by him. She then goes on to speak about the tenants. "Concerning the tenants," she says, "that are so unwilling to pay to me that which is my right from them about Stainmoor and Kirkby-Stephen they will live to see that their scruples and doubts are vain, and for any deductions more than ordinary I have no reason to allow of." "I hope the example of the good tenants," she goes on to say, "will draw over the rest to follow, if not I will send down writs and other processes in law as I shall be advised by my friends and counsel here, though if I can avoid it by gentle and fair means, I will not begin to use rough courses towards my tenants there, for you know how much I love that country, and am sorry for the case it is now in, but all places where armies are, must of necessity have a share of these distresses

be their armies never so well governed." "We are," she says, "in hope of a peace, and then the Scotch will march home into their own country, and the unruly English will also be gone." In the final sentence she rejoices very much to hear that Brougham Castle is being repaired, and that an excellent mine of lead has been found at Keswick, which, she says, "may much help to the repairing of my decayed castle." Her postscript concerns game. She fears that the preserves have been brought very low, and has already heard that such is the case.

When she came north she still continued her close correspondence with Sir John Lowther, and in the earliest of her appointments for a commission to deal with the controversies between her and her tenants, we find his name standing first in the list of those gentlemen whom she called in to assist her. The original document dated at Appleby, February 6th, 1649, and which is, of course, February 6th, 1649-50, is still in existence, and it formulates as commissioners Sir John Lowther, Mr. Hillton, Colonel Briggs, Mr. Crackenthorpe, Mr. Clapham and Mr. Teasdale to deal with the various questions that were at issue. With this document has been preserved a schedule which she drew out in the previous month having reference to certain parts of her property. The greater part of the document is concerned with procedure respecting the woods. She does not wish the building of the wall around Whinfell to be proceeded with at present. She is anxious that no more timber shall be sold unless it happens to be very old trees that are not of any particular merit, but as to the forestry she desires to enquire personally. She refers to the mills at Brougham and to the rent which was in arrear, and which had been somewhat carelessly paid; and then expresses particular interest in the care which her commissioners are adopting towards Brougham Castle. She is interested in learning that the lead roof was to be replaced, so that the timber could be preserved. She wishes very diligent interest to be taken in this business, and is desirous that one particular servant whom she mentions, Thomas Wyber, should have special favours, because, says she, "he was a faithful servant to my dear mother." A final clause to these instructions refers to Appleby Castle, for she was anxious that the rooms should be put in order after the garrison had left, so that she herself might be able to stay in the building.

To another of the Lowther documents appointing a Sheriff we refer later on.

Her journey north, as I have already stated, took place on the 11th of July, 1649. She was in residence at that time at Baynard's Castle. There she took her leave of her two daughters, their lords and her grandchildren, and then, she tells us, went out of London, "onwardes on my Journey towards Skipton." At first she only travelled as far as North Hall, where she had formerly lived, and so on, by what she calls "easy journeys," reaching Skipton on the 18th of July, and entering into the castle, "it being," says she, "the first time of my Comeing into it, after the pulling down of the old Castle, which was done some six Months before by Order of Parliament, because it had bene a Garrison in the late Civill Warres." She tells us that she was never till then in any part of the Castle, since she had been nine or ten weeks old, and in another place informs us that the only part of the building which at that time she could inhabit was the Long Gallery which had been built for the Countess Eleanor.

Ten days after her arrival at Skipton, she went off to Barden, "I went," says she, "into that old decayed Tower at Barden (it being the first time that ever I was in that Tower)." She found this in a complete state of ruin. It is interesting to notice how quickly she paid a visit to Barden, because, as we have already mentioned, she had not the slightest right to enter into that place. Her cousin had made definite arrangements with the Courts for cutting off that part of the estate and settling it upon his daughter, and into the possession of her descendants it eventually came, but it was not easy to fight with Lady Anne, and with respect to Barden, possession was nine points of the law, and as she intended it to include the tenth also, she went out immediately to Barden, took possession of it, and retained such possession the whole of her life, even going so far as to bequeath that part of the estate to one of her daughters. It does not appear to be likely that she stayed the night at Barden, although it is of course possible that there was sufficient accommodation in the old retainer's house (still inhabited by a direct descendant of the Lister who fought at Flodden with Henry "the Shepherd Lord" Clifford) which was attached to the church, for her to remain. She was quickly back again at Skipton, where she stayed until the 7th of August, and then

removed to Appleby, resting on the way at Kirkby Lonsdale. On the 8th of August, she entered into Appleby Castle, "The most auntient Seate of mine inheritance, and lay in my owne chamber there, where I used formerly to lye with my deare Mother being the first time I came into Appleby Castle aforesaid, ever since I went out of it with my Deare Mother, the 8th day of August in one thowsand sixe hundred and seven." She then adds one of her pious phrases, saying "So various are the pilgrimages of this humane life," and a quotation from Scripture, and as if to make the thing quite definite, records that from the death of her cousin German, Henry, "till this my comeing into Applebie Castle, was just five yeares and eight monthes, wanting three dayes." It is these five and three-quarter years about which we have practically no information whatever, save that which is contained in the papers from Lowther Castle.

Ten days only she spent at Appleby, and then journeyed on again, this time coming to Brougham, passing through Whinfell, arriving at the castle on the 18th of the month, "in which Castle and Parck," says she, "I had not bene since the 9th of December one thowsand, sixe hundred, and sixtene (when I was then Countess of Dorsett) till this daie." She spent a certain time in Brougham, it is not clear how long, because she had somewhat confused the dates in her diary, but from Brougham she went on to the Castle of Brough, which was decayed, thence to the Castle of Pendragon, which was in a still worse condition, and finally to Wharton Hall, which had been the residence of her cousin, Lord Wharton, "where I had not been," says she, "since August or September, one thowsand sixe hundred and seven." Thence, after a second short visit to Skipton, she again returned to Appleby, and there it was, as has already been noted, that she received the news of her husband's death, and quickly afterwards, removed from Appleby Castle again to Skipton, resting as before on the way at Kirkby Lonsdale. There at last she remained for a year, "the first time that I lay for a twelvemonth together in anie of my owne Howses." The places were all of them in a shocking state of ruin, but probably Skipton was rather better than the rest, for she appears at first to have spent the greater part of her time in that place, and there it was that she commenced her repairs and alterations. One of her earliest actions was to cause the boundaries of the estate

to be ridden,² and to summon all her tenants to attend at the various courts. "I employed myself in causing the Bounders to be ridden, and my Courts kept in my several Manors in Craven, and in those kind of Country Affairs about my estate which I found in extreme disorder." She also started at once such repairs as were absolutely necessary, both at Skipton and at Barden, in order that she might be able to receive guests, and to see something of her own relatives, and so speedily was one house put into some kind of rough repair, that, by the beginning of September, 1651, when her cousin Elizabeth, the only daughter of the last Earl, who was then Countess of Cork, came to her own house at Bolton in Craven, now known as Bolton Abbey, with her two sons and four daughters, she was able to come over and see Lady Anne at Skipton, and stay there for a time, "during which tyme there passed manie visits and Curtesies Betwixt her and mee, I lyeing sometymes at Bolton with her, and shee sometimes at Skipton with mee." "Notwithstanding," she adds, "that by reason she was Heire to her father Henerie, Earle of Cumberland, and I to my Father, George, Earle of Cumberland, there were divers Differences then on foote betwixt us, but " she adds in a delicious phrase, "wee passed them by." These difficulties no doubt concerned the Barden Tower estate, which was exceedingly close to Bolton Abbey, but Lady Anne must have given her cousin quite clearly to understand that she did not intend to give up that part of the property. Lady Cork did not remain very long at Barden, only about ten days, because the 10th of September was the first time Lady Anne writes "I saw her or anie of her Children in the Northern parts, for then I dyed at

² It is stated that in 1651 Lady Anne herself rode on horseback with the party when they rode the boundaries, and that either she or someone acting on her behalf marked certain boundaries with her initials. There is a definite tradition in the Mallerstang district which is borne out by the original boundary warrants, still in existence, that the boundary through Sopkeld, otherwise Killing Close, goes to a crab tree which had been marked by Henry, Lord Clifford, great grandfather of the third Earl as his boundary mark, and that in 1651 when Lady Anne rode to the place, there was an ash tree standing on that spot. The warrant dated 1651 says that Mr. Clapham cut A.P. in the ash tree through the bark. When the boundaries were written in 1654 for the Earl of Thanet, the ash tree was specially noted, and the warrant declares that it still bore on its bark the initials A.P. The Mallerstang people believe the letters were cut by Lady Anne herself. This is not very likely to have been the case. It was not, however, the only boundary that was marked with her initials, because each of these warrants refers to a stone pillar on Hugh Seat, Morville, having three steps of hewn stone, on one of which is marked A.D. 1664. This pillar is carefully referred to in three of the warrants. It is Item 17 in the warrant of 1651, Item 15 in the warrant of 1684 and Item 12 in that of 1906.

Bolton with them," and the 26th of that month " was the last tyme I saw the Countess of Corck, my Cozen, at my Castle of Skipton, for then shee tooke her leave of mee there, and went a little while afterwards to Lonsboroughe and so upp to London." She adds the information that Lady Cork and her children remained in London till the beginning of September, 1652, but her husband, Lord Cork, was at Bolton for two or three months longer than his wife, and often came over to Skipton to see her. He eventually, however, left for London, and they all of them, she with her Lord and six children, went off to Ireland to his great estate there.

The initial expenses connected with the necessary journey to Skipton and Barden were considerable, and it would appear as though Lady Anne was not possessed at that time of much ready money, and had to borrow from the Countess Dowager of Kent a hundred pounds for her travelling expenses. This money had been lent by Lady Kent against the security of a cabinet of silver gilt and crystal, and a cup of heliotrope or bloodstone. The earliest letter that we have from Lady Anne from the North, one dated 4th of January, 1649-50, is addressed to her friend Christopher Marsh, who by that time had become her principal steward and secretary. She writes to him expressing her satisfaction that his wife had recovered her health, and her hope that his daughter Lucy would soon be better. She thanks him for his resolution that he would accept the position she had offered him in her service, and that he would take up on her behalf the difficulties that had immediately transpired concerning her tenants, which, if they were given against her would, she says, " soon sink my worldly fortunes." She tells Marsh that Sir Thomas Widdrington, Mr. Clapham, and Mr. Howell were " all industrious and careful " on her behalf. We have already referred to a letter written to her by Mr. Howell, he was evidently a lawyer of some position. Mr. Clapham was one of her stewards, and gave special attention to her jointure lands. There had some difficulty arisen already in connection with the hereditary Sheriffwick of Westmoreland, for she desired her officials in this letter to be careful for her safety in the matter of the under-sheriff, and says " the under-bailiffs may prove dangerous creatures to her." She asks Marsh whether he has received a bill of exchange for a hundred pounds, which she lately

sent him enclosed in a letter, and wishes to know when another of her secretaries, Edge, will receive a further hundred pounds, which he was to send on to her, and then she desires him that he would go to the "widow lady of Kent," and pay the hundred pounds that was to come from Edge to her, and receive back the cabinet and the cup which she had pawned to her for a hundred pounds when she came from London. In the British Museum is a letter dated two days after this and addressed to this Lady Kent. In it, Lady Anne says that she has arranged with the bearer of the letter, William Edge, to restore to her the hundred pounds which she borrowed of her a few days before she left London, and she desires Lady Kent to deliver up to Edge the little cabinet and cup which she had left at that time "with your Ladyship to keep for me, so that he may have them in his custody, to dispose of as I shall write him word." She goes on to express her deep gratitude to her for her kindness.

MADAM,

Your goodness and noble kindness has been so great and constant to me for so many years together, as that there is now no creature alive, man or woman, to whom I am so much obliged as to your worthy self, therefore do me the right to believe, I am, Madam,

your Ladyship's cousin and most true, humble servant.

There is a postscript to this letter, in which she tells us that in her troubles she had adopted her old procedure of turning to books, in order to forget anything that was worrying her, and to relieve her mind by good literature.

I pray your Ladyship, vouchsafe to remember my love and service to the worthy Mr. Seldon,³ and tell him, that if I had not excellent Chaucer's book here to comfort me, I were in a pitiable case, having so many troubles as I have here, but, when I read in that, I scorn and make light of them all, and a little part of his beauteous spirit infuses itself in me.

Upon the back of this letter is Edge's receipt, dated February the last, 1649, being in these words :—

Received then from the right Honourable the Countess of Kent, the silver and gilt and crystal cabinet, and a heliotropean cup, for the use of the

³ No doubt John Selden the great jurist (1584-1654).

Right Honourable the Countess Dowager of Pembroke and Montgomery, upon the delivery of one hundred pounds which I then paid to her Honour.

Not only were the castles in a very bad state of repair, but the tenants were in an irritable frame of mind, and quite early there were suits and differences in law, which, she says, "began to grow hott betwixt my tenants and mee." In 1653, these suits were still pending, as regards the Westmoreland tenants, "and God knows," she says, "how long they may last, but the differences with my tenants in Craven were for the most part resolved and taken up." It is stated, in one book of reference, that Cromwell, having great regard for her ability, and also for the fact that her late husband had served him, offered the assistance of the officials of the Protectorate for creating some kind of order out of the confusion in which she found her affairs with her tenants, and that she, with some indignation, remarked, "Does he imagine that *I*, who Refused to submit to King James, will submit to him?" Cromwell seems to have been greatly amused at the calm way in which she declined his assistance, and later on, when it was told her that if she built up her castles he would have them destroyed, she sent a message to him, so George Sedgwick tells us, saying, "Let him destroy them if he will, but he shall surely find that as often as he destroys them I will rebuild them, while he leaves me a shilling in my pocket." He expressed to those about him at Court, his great admiration for the only woman who had dared in such definite fashion to stand up against him, adding "let her build what she will, she shall have no hindrance from me."

The confusion certainly must have been serious, and we are not surprised at the offer of the Protector to intervene on her behalf. For some years, certainly for five, the tenants had not been paying any rent, and had got wholly out of hand. During the more serious time of the Civil Wars, and especially at the time when King Charles was tried and beheaded, there was no agent holding the proper authority for the collecting of the rents, and, as we have seen, it was impossible for Lady Anne to go down herself to look after the estates. The boundaries had been overstepped in all directions, no manorial courts had been held, and it is small wonder that she found everything in a high state of disorder when she arrived. Added to all this, every castle was in a ruinous condition, not one was fit to live in. Skipton

and Appleby were perhaps the best of all, but Barden, Pendragon, Brougham and Brough were nothing more than piles of ruins, and she quickly made up her mind that they should all of them be restored. Her first step was to start the restoration of the great tower at Appleby, and she herself laid the foundation stone on the 21st of February, and records the fact that by July, 1653, these repairs had been completed, and the place was fit for residence. She had, so far as she was able to do so, ended the feud between Lady Cork, the daughter of her cousin, and herself, and become as friendly as she could with her, but as she had taken possession of an important piece of Lady Cork's property, and showed every sign of intending to hold it for the rest of her life, it was not likely that the friendship would be of a very intimate character.

At Appleby she had the annoyance of a visit from Major-General Harrison, "who came hither," she says, "with his forces, for then the Warres was hott in Scotland." He filled Appleby with soldiers, "whoe lay there," she says, "a great part of thatt Somer," but she expressly adds that she did not suffer much harm or damage from them. She did, however, have a passage of arms with Harrison himself, and we learn the story of it from the funeral sermon preached by Bishop Rainbow on the occasion of her decease. He spoke of Harrison as being "more terribly phanatical than any in his Host, terrible even to himself and his usurping Power." Harrison declared that Lady Anne was sending assistance to some Royalist forces, and consequently working against the Protectorate, and Rainbow adds that Harrison, being unable to make proof of his statement, "would needs know her opinion, and dispute her out of her Loyalty at a time when she slept and lived but at his mercy, giving her Alarms night and day when he listed." She was not, however, in the least ashamed, being amongst her own people, of declaring her definite opinions; and the Bishop goes on to say that "this undaunted Lady would not so easily yield," and "having Truth and Loyalty on her side, she would not betray them at the peril of her life and fortune, but boldly asserted" to Harrison "that she did love the King, that she would live and die in her Loyal thoughts to the King," and her courage made such an impression upon him that the Bishop says it "dulled the edge of so sharp an Adversary, that by God's merciful restraint he did her no harm at that time."

It was at this same time that she started the work of rebuilding other parts of her castle at Appleby, to which fuller reference is given in another place, but one of her earliest desires was to gather about her a little group of high officials who would assist her in the management of her estate, and who would be devoted to her service. We now learn for the first time of Mr. George Sedgwick, who became her secretary. In one of the few entries in her own hand in the great diary is the one which records his entrance into her service. The amanuensis, who was working at the diary, seems to have omitted this particular piece of information, and so she wrote herself, "Now on this 24th of July, 1652, did Mr. George Sedgwicks come hither from London to me as my secretary and one of my chief officers." This man she had already known, and he himself has told his story of how first of all he came into contact with his mistress.⁴ He had been educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, but when he took his degree and came home had not decided on an occupation, and straitened means prevented his following his original purpose.

"My father," says he, "studying all ways and means to provide for me, God put into his mind to make use of a letter, which many years he had carefully kept, written from the Lady Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, to my grandfather, Mr. Jeffrey Sedgwick, giving him many thanks for his upright dealing as a juror at York, in the great case there tried, between her daughter, then Countess of Dorset, and Francis, Earl of Cumberland, her uncle, with which letter she also sent my said grandfather half a buck, and a gold ring with this motto, *Truth is crowned.*" He then goes on to tell us that his father one fine morning, taking the letter in his hand, went along with his son "to the Court at Whitehall," to wait upon Lady Anne, who was at that time the wife of Lord Pembroke, then Lord Chamberlain of the Household. "As soon as that lady," says he, "saw that letter of her dear mother, whom she loved with an entire affection, she seemed very glad of a present opportunity she then had to do me good, so she sent forthwith for one of her Lord's secretaries, whom she called cousin,⁵ who was then destitute of a young clerk, and immediately preferred me to him. And with him I continued five or

⁴ See MS. quoted by Nicholson and Burn and dated December, 1682.

⁵ Possibly Caldecott, see p. 184.

six years, very happily and contentedly." Later on Sedgwick became secretary to Lord Pembroke himself, and then for a while to his successor, the next Earl, but time passed along and he was again out of employment, and then proposing to go to sea, when Lady Anne, who had a clear remembrance of him, sent for him and made him her secretary. He tells us of this in the following words :—

" But at this juncture of time the countess dowager of Pembroke, being then at her castle of Skipton, and hearing of my intention, dissuaded me by letters from so long a voyage, and invited me to come down to her, to write all her post letters, make all her leases, and receive and pay all her money, offering me a liberal allowance for the same. This course I rather embraced, being near my friends, and the place of my nativity, which all sorts of people love ; rather than run the hazard perhaps of ending my life among pagans and infidels in a foreign climate.

So in August, 1652, I came down to Skipton where I began to do her ladyship the best service I could. Where after I had continued to my great contentment about four years, her ladyship then proposed to me her earnest desire for me to go over sea, into France, Flanders and the Low Countries, with her grandson Mr. John Tufton, since Earl of Thanet deceased. I was to take charge of him abroad some two years in those parts, and to order his exercises and expenses, for which she promised to give us good allowance.

I must confess I had no great inclination to it ; but by reason of the manifold favours I had received from her, and the desire I had to see foreign countries, I could not in gratitude deny her ladyship the best service I was able to perform.

According to her promise, she was pleased to assign us 400*l.* a year for our expences, for Mr. Tufton, his man, a footman and myself. Besides 50*l.* more for Mr. Tufton's cloaths yearly, and 20*l.* for my own. All which money she took punctual order to be duly returned to us, by bills of exchange from London, to what place soever we were then at abroad.

Before my going over sea, my lady gave me a rent charge of 20*l.* a year for 21 years, and 50*l.* in gold. At our return also 100*l.* in money, and another rent charge of 20*l.* a year, both of which I enjoyed till the expiration of those terms."

Sedgwick continued for a long time in Lady Anne's service, and was responsible for most of the letters which she dictated to him and for a great part of her diary and her Day-by-Day Book. He continues his narrative thus :—

“ After 18 years' service with this good lady she began to mind me of myself and my future well-being in the world, often repeating to me a verse of Mr. Samuel Daniel, the famous poet and historiographer, who had been her instructor in her childhood and youth :

To have some silly home^s I do desire,
Loth still to warm me by another's fire.

She further declared her noble intention to me, that when I met with some small habitation, she would give 200*l.* towards the purchase, which she punctually performed.

Within a while, God directed me to Collinfield, a small estate held under Queen Katherine, as part of her jointure, by a moderate rent and fine, convenient for the church and market, freed from all assizes and sessions ; where by God's blessing I enjoy a quiet and retired life to my contentment ; having oftentimes the society of several of my worthy friends and neighbours from the town of Kendal ; having lived here above 14 years at the writing hereof ” [*viz.*, in December, 1682].⁶

To this information we are in a position to add a few facts. Collin Field is a quaint little manor house standing on the Milnthorpe road leading out of Kendal. The house is clearly a sixteenth-century erection, and stands round a little quadrangle of its own, the entrance porch bearing upon it an inscribed stone, which is by some authorities said to have come from Brougham Castle, but little can be said in favour of such a tradition. It bears upon it the following inscription : NUNC MEA MOX HVIVS SED POSTEA NESICIO CVIVS together with the date 1663, and the three initials I.G. and M., the G. being superimposed above the other two letters. In one of the rooms there is an interesting carved oak cupboard door which bears the initials of George Sedgwick and the date 1674. In another is an important

⁶ See Nicholson and Burn's *History of Westmorland*, vol. 1.

⁷ See Cumb. & West. Arch. Society, vol. IX, Art. xiii., p. 188 and also Nicholson's *Annals of Kendal*.

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COLLIN FIELD, near KENDAL
(see pages 202—203).

Photos by Mr. Paul Mason.

carved oak series of cupboards forming a kind of pantry erection, in which doubtless silver-plate was at one time kept, and this also bears the initials G.S. and the date 1675. Upstairs in one of the rooms is a very interesting piece of stained glass—a roundel—on which is represented a man ploughing. This is probably earlier than Sedgwick's time. His father Jeffrey was living in the house in 1620, and the glass is at least as early as that date, possibly even a little earlier still. On the interior of the front door is a very striking record of the connection between Sedgwick and Lady Anne. The door bears one of the great stock locks inscribed A.P. which Lady Anne so frequently gave away, and similar to those at Rose Castle, Dacre Church and Dalemmain House. Fortunately, also, the original key is preserved: a fine example of locksmith's work. Sedgwick lived in this house for many years, and here it was that he died in 1685 at the age of 67. He was buried at Kendal. His tomb cannot now be seen, as the pulpit covers it, but the inscription in curious Latin, commemorating his abilities, is a simple framed memorial which hangs at the west end and next to the African War Memorial, and is probably a copy of that on the tomb.⁸

In one of the rooms upstairs at Collin Field which had an oak floor, was at one time a fine carved oak bedstead on which were the letters A.P. This was presented by Lady Anne to Sedgwick, and was used by her on her various visits to her secretary. The same room contained a portrait of the redoubtable lady herself, which is still in existence. George Sedgwick left the property to his nephew George, who sold it in 1747 to the Yeates family, its present owners. Unfortunately, it has been allowed to fall into disrepair and is now (1919) only a small farmhouse, although worthy of being treated with far more care, inasmuch as with a comparatively small expenditure, it could be restored to very much of its original condition.

⁸ The inscription is as follows:—

M.S. Viri vere Generosi, Plurimisque nominibus desideratissimi Georgii Sedgwick. Qui, Omnibus cultioris humanitatis dotibus, abunde ornatus Honorabili D.D. Philippo Comiti Penbrochiensi Celeberrimæ deinde illius Viduæ Amanuensis sibi Locum meruit; cujus familiâ (qua nemo Famulus non floruit) Annis pariter atque opibus auctus (monente munificentissimâ Dominâ Partis faeliciter fruendis Sedem Senectuti suæ comparare) Fundum, huic Municipio vicinum, emit dictum Collinfeild Vbi plus tribus lustris Singulari in pauperes Charitate, Amicitia in proximos, Erga omnes benevolentia Notis, omnibus Charus et amabilis vixit, Nec paucioribus flebilis obiit Decimo Die Junii Anno Salutis Humanæ MDCLXXXLV Aetatis suæ LXVII.

It was in the same year (1652) that she appointed Thomas Gabetis to be her deputy-sheriff for Westmoreland, by a signed and sealed patent, and although the actual document does not now exist among the records at Skipton, and is probably in the Crown office, yet it has been interesting to discover another document in which Gabetis is alluded to, dated in the same year. We have before us the signed and sealed deed by which she appoints John King of Skipton her attorney, in order that he may deal with certain rents, ejectments, and other difficulties concerning certain tenantry in that place, and this is witnessed by her deputy sheriff, Thomas Gabetis; by William Edge, to whom we have referred in connection with the loan made by Lady Kent upon the bloodstone cup; and by George Sedgwick, who had just entered her permanent employ. It bears her stately and characteristic signature, and is sealed with the crest of the Clifford family, surmounted by an Earl's coronet. The elaborate twisted flourish at the commencement of the letter "A" in the word "Anne," she appears to have adopted when quite a child. It will be noticed in almost identical form in the first letter we have in her writing, addressed to her mother when she was fifteen years old.

Her faithful servant, Gabetis, lived till 1694, and died at the age of eighty-six. He is buried in the church at Brough-under-Stainmore,⁹ and appears to have spent the last few years of his life either in Brough Castle or close by. He is declared on his monument to have been forty years deputy-sheriff of Westmoreland and is said to have come originally from Crosby Ravensworth.¹⁰

⁹ The quaint inscription to his memory reads thus :—

Thos. Gabetis Esqre.
 The Wise, the Eloquent, the jvst
 Lyes here Interr,d amongst ye dvst
 Below, who Forty yeares and more
 Was sheriffe, Now in Heaven's Store
 Was Fresh and Understandjng too
 At 86 As Those That Woo
 When Death With Crooked Syth & glass
 Set out ye Bownds he shvd not Pass
 Saint Like his Sickness And his Death
 So Sweet As Might Perfume ye Earth
 Doubtless ye Spottless Sovle of His
 Is gone into Eternal Bliss
 Obiit 25 Die Martii
 Anno Salvtilis 1649.

¹⁰ We believe that the present Gabitas family are from the same stock.

In the same church is buried another of her servants, George Vincent (already mentioned), steward of another portion of the estates. He died in the Roman Tower in Brough Castle, in 1665.¹¹

Having started the repairs of the various places, arranged several questions respecting boundaries and rents, constituted her manorial courts, and appointed some of her chief officers, she had the opportunity, as soon as Harrison left, of giving some attention to domestic affairs, and so refers with considerable interest to different matters connected with the family which caused her great satisfaction. She speaks of the visit of Lord Thanet to her, the first time that she ever saw him at Skipton, and on that occasion tells us that he brought with him his second son, John Tufton, who was her godson, and her particular favourite, and he made his first visit to Skipton and to Appleby before he went south to see his mother, and then on "to Eaton Colledge, there to studdie for some tyme and to live as a Scholler." She alludes to the birth of her daughter's eleventh child, Lady Mary Tufton, and "accounted" herself "happie to have a Grandchild of myne of that Blessed name." Curiously enough, in the book of her records, and in the pedigree of the Tuftons, she invariably spells the girl's name "Marie," although in all the accepted books of reference, it is recorded as Mary. She was able to keep Christmas, 1652, in the north, many of her family, including her grandchild John Tufton, about her, and she mentions that it was the first time any of her grandchildren were with her in Westmoreland for Christmas, adding with characteristic ingenuity, "The Numerousness of my Posteritye and all other Benefits whatsoever, I believe were bestowed upon mee, for the Heavenly goodness of my Deare Mother."

So she settled down, to start her life in the north, and writes "I doe more and more fall in Love with the contentments and innocent Pleasures of Countrey Life." She wished with all her heart that these same pleasures might be conferred on her posterity. "But," adds she, "this must be left to a succeeding Providence, for none can know what shall come after them, but to invite them to itt that saying in the 16 Psalm may bee fittingly applyed, 'The

¹¹ This tomb is inscribed :—"Here lyes Mr. George Vincent, Steward to Lady Anne and chief director of all her buildings in the North, who dyed in the Roman Tower of Brough Castle like a good Christian 12 February, 1665."

lot is fallen into mee in a pleasant Place, I have a faire Heritage.' ” She then proceeds to quote a verse of her tutor Samuel Daniel's poem :

From many noble Progenitors I hold
Transmitted Landes, Castles and Honors which they swayed of old.

and adds

A wise body ought to make their own homes the place of self-fruition.

She never could forget the action of her mother in fighting for her. She says “ All which Benefitts have beene bestowed upon mee for the heavenly goodness of my Dear Mother, whose fervent Prayers were offered upp with greate zeale to Almighty God for mee and mine, and had fine return of Blessings followed them, so that, though I mett with some bitter and wicked Enemies, and many greate oppositions in this world, yet were my deliverances soe greate as could not befall to any who were not visibly susteyned by a Divine favour from above.” All was well at last. She had her entire estate and to keep it up, two substantial jointures, and had also succeeded at last to the legacy of fifteen thousand pounds which her father had left for her many years before. It was only now left for her to devote her time to rebuilding her castles, and managing her vast estates, provided she could enter into proper relationships with her tenantry. They constituted her principal difficulty at the moment. The first case she took up in Chancery between her and them was dismissed, and she was left to her remedy at common law “ to which business,” says she, “ God send some good conclusion, for it hath been both chargeable and troublesome unto mee.” She did not allow matters to rest at that point, and as her tenants were obstinate and refractory, issued a series of ejectments, and then started a fresh trial concerning the leases of the estate, and adds in her customary pious fashion, “ God send it good success.”

A little bundle of papers that has recently been found at the Record Office supplies us with some interesting information concerning these difficulties between Lady Anne and her tenants. Fortunately the bundle is extraordinarily complete for our purpose, for it not only contains two petitions from the tenants to the Committee for Indemnity, sitting during the time of the Interregnum ; but the arrange-

ments between the respective solicitors for the hearing of the trial and the decision of the Committee. The two petitions are dated respectively 25 February, 1649 and 16 July, 1650. They are from all the tenants of the Westmoreland estates, and bear attached to them a long list of names.¹²

The tenants set forth that as neither Lady Anne nor her agents had demanded any rents for several years past, the rents had become in arrear. They say that she had now strictly demanded *full* payment of all the rents, and that in response to their request to have what they called "such reasonable allowances and defalcations out of the rents and arrears" as had been arranged by ordinances and Acts of Parliament, she had utterly refused to make any such allowances, and by her stewards and agents had not only distrained upon her tenants, but had in many instances taken away their cattle, whereby say they, "they are utterly disabled to maintain their families, and to make tillage of their tenements, their stock being wholly taken away for the reason aforesaid." They go on to add that they are extremely impoverished through the county having been both in the first and second wars the seat of war, that they have humbly entreated her to grant them these allowances, and that she "peremptually" refused, and they added finally that she had even imprisoned one of her own collectors, John Wardall, because he would not execute what these tenants considered to be "oppressive and unwarrantable demands," and that she had threatened to imprison others for the same reason. They prayed the Committee to force her to desist of what they termed "vexacious and injurious proceedings" to make such allowances as were desirable and to indemnify them. Apparently all did not go well with this petition, because it was followed by a second one in which the tenants appoint a solicitor, one Thomas Wharton, to represent them. They repeated in this all their accusations against Lady Anne, they even increased them and asked that an order that had been made on a previous May in respect to one or two of the tenants might be enlarged in favour of all of them, and

¹² It is of peculiar interest to notice that there are no less than eleven tenants now on the Westmoreland estate who bear the same names as the persons who signed this document. There are two members of the Rudd family, and two of the Hodgson family, and also two of the Bousfield family still tenants on the Clifford property, as well as representatives of the families of Wharton, Williamson, Monkhouse, Robinson and Shaw.

that a commission might be appointed to receive their evidence and to deal with the whole question, and then they promised obedience to its decision.

There follows in the bundle a series of four little papers—arrangements between the respective solicitors that the matter should be postponed until November, 1650—instructions that Lady Anne should attend at the hearing by herself or by someone on her behalf, and arrangements concerning the witnesses; the Justices of the Peace, who were to hear part of the appeal; the places where the Commission was to sit; and finally an informal arrangement that during the time of hearing Lady Anne was to forbear “to prosecute the petitioners by arrest or imprisonment.”

On the 26th November, 1650, the Commissioners gave their decision. They stated that they had given serious consideration and debate to the whole matter, that council and witnesses had been heard on both sides, but they did not consider that the tenants had proved their right to these allowances, and that certainly they could not give any judgement concerning any such reductions. They ordered, therefore, that the petition should be dismissed, and they added that Lady Anne should be left “to her own proceedings as she shall see cause.”

It was at about this time of her life that she appears to have started her Day-by-Day Book, the greater part of which, unfortunately, has disappeared, but she also, in this very same year, 1652, originated what we now call her Diary, but which she always called “A summarie of my own life,” and which she expressly tells us was commenced in 1652, and written up at different intervals from the material already in existence in other parts of her great volumes of records, and from what she deemed worthy of more prominent notice in the Day-by-Day Book. It is to the pages of this summary that we are indebted for most of the information that will appear in the succeeding chapters. What is set down is not a question of hearsay, as must have been the case for some of the material written before 1652, but from this date onwards it was a bare record of facts.

Of the very few last months of her life we shall be able to refer to the actual Day-by-Day Book, as we have been able to discover a few pages of that volume which, in its entirety, must have been of considerable importance.

CHAPTER XII.

ANOTHER BUNDLE OF LETTERS.

LORD Dorset's will was dated the 26th of March, 1624, and by it he left to his "dearly beloved wife all her wearing apparel, and such rings and jewels as were hers on her marriage," also the "rock ruby ring" which he had given her, and "threescore pieces of silver, containing in the whole eleven hundred and sixty ounces," referred to in an inventory dated 1623. Furthermore, she was to have "six silver candlesticks" which were then in the custody of his "servant Edward Lindsey," and which weighed "128 ounces," three silver Basons and Ewers, ordinarily used at Knole, "half of the linen" there, and his carroch or coach, which had been built by Mefflyn, was lined with green cloth and laced with green and black silk lace, and his six bay coach horses to draw it. He also left her £500, and he bequeathed to his two daughters portions, the one of six thousand pounds, and the other of four thousand pounds, adding that the two hundred pounds which he had "in old gold" was also to be delivered to his two daughters. He made particular arrangements about the payments of his debts, and bequeathed to his uncle, Lord William Howard, one of his executors, two hundred pounds, "either for a ring, or plate, which he may prefer, as a token of good will and love," and in no way, he added "as a recompense for the pains he hath already taken, for which no satisfaction can be made." A similar legacy was bequeathed to the other executor Sir George Rivers,¹ "his faithful and loving friend." The will contained a legacy to his cousin and goddaughter Mary Nevill,² of five hundred pounds, which she was to receive at the age of eighteen years, and bequests to many

¹ Knighted, August 30th, 1605.

² Third daughter of Thos., 1st Earl and wife of Sir H. Nevill afterwards Lord Abergavenny.

of his servants, three of them receiving a hundred pounds each, and one £40, while to several others there were annuities, one receiving £40 a year, three others £30 each, and three £20 each. To servants of lesser importance were left annuities of twenty marks a year. The whole estate was bequeathed to his executors with power to sell the manor of Hove or any other manor for the payment of his debts, as he was, says the will, "desirous above all things that debts should be paid," and it refers lengthily to arrangements made by previous indentures concerning the manors, all of which were to come to his brother, who succeeded him in the title, together with the residue of his silver and household goods, after the payment of debts, or after raising money for that purpose. To the clauses relative to Sackville Hospital and to those concerning his tomb I refer in another place. His apparel was to be divided amongst his servants, except certain specially rich state apparel, which was left to his brother, and an embroidered suit, which was to go to Captain Sackville. By a codicil, a particular cloak was left to his wife.

There is a small bundle of letters in the muniment room at Appleby from Lady Anne to her friend and steward Mr. Christopher Marsh. They all relate to the period when she made her first visit to the north, the earliest being dated the 28th of February, 1649, and the latest November, 1653. It may be well, therefore, to deal with these letters in this chapter, especially as one or two of them are concerned with the legacies mentioned above.

In the earliest letter in the group, dated 28th of February, 1649, and written from Skipton Castle, she tells Mr. Marsh that she has heard by letters "lately come from several fellows" from London, "that my late Lord's goods are sold and disposed of apace, so," she says "if you do not use moneys speedily to" the executors, "that I may have right done me for my small legacy, I am like to have but a cold catch of it." Referring to wishes expressed by Lord Northampton, she tells Mr. Marsh that "whatsoever my Lord of Northampton and his wife, my daughter, wishes" was to be done, "and then they cannot blame me for it hereafter." She thanks Mr. Marsh for his advice concerning a house which she possessed in Salisbury Court, and also about the property at Clifford's Inn, and adds respecting this London estate, "My Lady of Cork will cozen me of it, if she can."

She understands that Baynard's Castle was likely to be sold. If it was not so, she would sooner stay there than anywhere else, if ever she came to London again, and so she wishes him to make an inquiry whether or not it will be in the market. Mr. Marsh had evidently written to her concerning a servant whom she speaks of as "old John Morton," and who had left Lord Thanet's employment. She says "I am sorry my Lord of Thanet hath put him away, but I cannot take him, for I have a porter already, one at Appleby, and another here."

She sends particularly kind messages to Lady Kent, Mr. Selden, and Sir Edward Leach,³ who had all been, she says "worthy kind friends to me," and she expresses much satisfaction at hearing that Mr. Marsh had come into contact with her cousin Robert Lowther, whom she hopes will represent her in her manorial courts. She owes him some money, which she begs Mr. Marsh to pay him, but in a postscript she says that she has just heard that he will wait for his money until May, and for this delay she is very grateful. She tells Mr. Marsh that she will be "most extremely glad" to see him down at Skipton.

The next letter we have from her is dated the 19th of April, and a portion of it is quoted in the chapter concerning her diary, as it relates to the writer of the book and to the paper upon which it is written. She explains the cause of her long silence. "I write the seldomer," she puts it, "because it costs so much money for the sending of the letters, and we have so little store of that in these parts." She expresses regret that her cousin Richard Lowther was not able to sit as steward at her courts, and says that in his place she appointed Mr. John Thwaites. The other part of the letter refers to the enclosures, which were bills of exchange, and contains instructions both to Marsh and to Edge to pay one or two special accounts, and some other "little dribbling notes," which she owed.

We have three letters dated December of that year, each of them of some length. In the first, which has not the day of the month; but which must have preceded one dated the 11th, she refers in kindly fashion to Mrs. Marsh. "I perceive, when you writ your last letter to me, you were then agoing to your wife at Chenies" [*where the Marshes lived, as he evidently was concerned in the management of*

³ Knighted, Sept. 9th, 1621.

part of the Earl of Bedford's estate] who it seems had been very sick there a little before. "I pray you commend me very kindly to her, and tell her that by the next return, I hope I shall hear of her recovery. Thank you," she adds, "for giving order before your going from London, to Mr. Christopher Clapham to send for me from Chenies" certain papers apparently referring to lawsuits "for if I should be foiled," she adds, "in this suit-in-law between me and my tenants here in Westmoreland, I and my posterity should have our fortunes in this country in a manner quite overthrown, however," she says, "follow it hard, as ever you love them or me, and if it pleases God to send me the victory, I will in general be as mild, gentle and good to my tenants as anybody ever was, but without going to law with them, I am like to get nothing from them." She refers with great gratitude to the assistance of all her officials, especially "good and kind Mr. Clapham, Sir Thomas Widdrington⁴ and Mr. Howell,"⁵ "God reward them for it." She directs Marsh to deliver to John Howell her lawyer £10, "for I perceive he hath done passing well in my business." She also instructs him to pay Mr. Clapham, "for what he hath laid out in this law business of mine," and to pay several other people their debts, and then she tells him that, when he comes to town, he is to buy a piece of silver plate to the value of four or five pounds or more, and hand that to Mr. Clapham, to give to Mr. Rushworth, "as twas me," and he was also to give him four or five twenty-shilling pieces, in addition to the piece of plate, "for," says she, "he hath done me many favours and kindnesses since I came into the North, as Mr. Clapham can tell you." She evidently felt a deep sense of gratitude for the services rendered to her both by Mr. Clapham and Sir Thomas Widdrington, for in a postscript to this letter she says, "For Mr. Christopher Clapham, I will, as God shall enable me, requite his pains in one way or another, and Sir Thomas Widdrington, I will, if I can, send him something that is fit, from here, or if I cannot, I will write you word, and then you shall deliver him something from me, as I shall write you word, but," she goes on to say,

⁴ A Commissioner of the Treasury, and later on of the Great Seal and eventually a Baron of the Exchequer.

⁵ Probably the Serjeant of later days who in 1668 became Sir John Howell and Deputy Recorder for the City of London.

"if you should be pinching or sparing of costs in this law suit of mine against my tenants here, you might therein do me much harm."

Lord Northampton apparently was to have received for his wife five thousand pounds out of the money that had been taken by the Earl of Dorset for the Craven estate, and she was anxious to know whether he had yet obtained it. She tells Marsh to write her word as soon as he can know with certainty whether Lord Northampton has received it, or, if not, how much he has had, "for it is very needful for me to know the certainty of it, but," says she, "handle this matter with some cunning, for I would not have it known that I inquire after it, but do it as from yourself." The remainder of the letter refers to the dispute between her and her tenantry concerning certain money matters connected with the estate, not of any special importance, and about some of them it is not easy, after this lapse of time, to understand her meaning.

On the 11th Lady Anne writes again about the controversy with the tenants, and about one section of the lawsuit she is desirous of driving to a conclusion. She says, "If it be possible, let some end be made of it, or else it will be extremely prejudicial to the land."

Lady Cecilia Compton had written to her. "My cousin Compton," she says, "writ to me lately a letter of kindness, but no business, so I did not return any answer to it, but desired my daughter of Northampton to excuse me for not writing to that aunt-in-law of hers for many reasons." There was evidently some friction between her and Lady Cecilia, and she was not able to obtain a business-like letter from her. Until she wrote in the way Lady Anne desired, she did not intend to bother herself about corresponding with her. She then refers to a consultation which had taken place in Sir Thomas Widdrington's chambers concerning the suit against the tenants. Mr. Howell, Mr. Clapham, and others had met in consultation. It had been decided that the best course was to sue a writ in Chancery, and this had been submitted to Lady Anne. To it she agreed, and instructed Marsh to start the arrangements at once, but says that, if the tenants "will come to offer me some reasonable conditions of peace and agreement, I assure you, I will embrace and accept of them with all my heart, for," says she, "I love law and lawsuits no better than you do." There is the briefest possible reference to public events in

this letter. She says, "I perceive there be troubles in France by your letter, which Thomas Garth also told me."

Then, on Christmas Day, she writes again, sending to Marsh a bill of exchange for a hundred pounds, and asking him to let her know that it had safely arrived, and begging him not to be sparing in using it for the law action, "for if you be," says she, "you may do me much harm." Forty pounds of it was to go to Matthew Hale,⁶ five to his cousin and servant Mr. Joseph Poynes (probably his clerk) and they were to sign an acquittance for these sums, which she enclosed with the letter, "only the date for the day and year I have left out, as not knowing what day it will be paid on, and when you have them, send them endorsed in the letter to me, and entreat them both to be careful in this business of mine." Furthermore, she gives instructions for a payment of five pounds to be made to Lord Tufton, and a similar sum to Mr. Jenkins, and makes inquiries concerning the £150 she still owes Robert Lowther, her cousin, telling Marsh that she has had a talk with Sir John Lowther, his nephew, about it, and that she has agreed to pay that presently, together with three pounds interest. She concludes by saying, "I perceive your wife and your daughter Lucy hath been lately ill both of them, but I hope by this time they are perfectly recovered. Commend me to them," and she then at the end refers to the fact that some of the writs which were sent down to be served on the tenants were not accurately drafted, and says that Mr. Howell and Mr. Clapham will tell him all the details concerning them. There are comments on this letter in Marsh's handwriting, saying that he had paid various sums of money out of the hundred pounds, which she had sent him.

In the order of date, the next letter is one written from Skipton on the 25th of March, 1650, and sent to Mr. Edge at Baynard's Castle, to be given to Marsh, who was probably coming to that house, or else, if he did not come, it was to be sent down to Chenies. She says that her commissioners, who were five in number, and who consisted of her cousin Sir Henry Cholmondely, Mr. Charles Fairfax, Mr. Christopher Clapham, Mr. Peter Jennings, and Mr. Robert Hitch, had commenced their sittings concerning her affairs in the great

⁶ Baron of the Exchequer 1660, Justice of Common Pleas 1654, Sir Matthew and Chief Justice of the King's Bench 1671.

chamber at the castle, summoning the tenants before them. She says that they sat for seven days, "I sitting myself for the most part with them." "In conclusion, we did compound so with some of my Craven tenants, as that I hope shortly to send my son-in-law part of the money I owe him from here, and also pay some few of my debts in this country and elsewhere." The fact that the rents had not been paid for some five years had made many of the tenants indisposed to pay anything, but the commissioners, it is clear, had been successful in arranging terms, and some of the money due to Lady Anne was to come in to her. The Westmoreland tenants were not as easy. "My tenants in Westmoreland, some of them, did put in a petition, a very untrue one, in many places against me, to the Parliament, and to the Committee of Indemnity but it came not till very lately," says she, "to my hands." She forwards in this letter a copy of the petition which was to be given to Mr. John Howell the lawyer, and she begs Marsh to join with him in pushing this matter forward. "Give Mr. Howell," she says, "what you think fit for his pains in this my business, if you have brought my rents out of Sussex." She was evidently anxious that there should be proper "quittances" for any money that was paid, so as to avoid complications in the future. "I pray you," says she, "fail not, when you and Jack Turner deliver the five hundred pounds to my daughter of Northampton, to take her quittance, and her lord's, under their hands, at least his, in a legal way, to show they have received it, as a part of that which is due to him out of my lands in Craven, for so the quittance must be drawn, or else I have wrong." Turner, to whom she had alluded, was the person who had received her rents in the Isle of Sheppey, and she begs Marsh to give him any assistance in his power, and to let him have in his possession a copy of her jointure deed, and of all the deeds belonging to it, or, if he thinks fit, he may let him have the jointure itself. She then goes on to remind him to press forward the steps he was already taking concerning her legacy against Lord Dorset's executors. "The legacy my Lord left me, if so I may have it set out speedily before all be gone," and she says that she would also like to have "some of my Lord's diamond buttons," or some of those kind of things, adding, "They might do me much good for some kind of purpose," her apparent desire being to get something that would be

of some monetary value, in case she was not able to obtain the whole of her small legacy from the executors.

We then come to a long letter written on the 15th of July, the greater part of which is the work of an amanuensis, but she has added to it a postscript almost as long as the letter itself. Some considerable part of it relates to the dispute concerning Sackville College, which I refer to in another place. She says "I perceive by your last letter that you will be wary in giving too much for the value of the stuff which is my legacy from my late Lord, wherein" says she, "you shall do very well, for anything I can perceive by the notes I have had of it, from William Edge, it is so poor and so contemptible . . . and it is worth very little, yet," she says, "sooner than have any difference with my Lord's executors about it" she will give whatever is considered right, but wishes the matter brought to an end, and the things, or the stuff, as she calls it, sent down by sea, for fear that she should never have it. She was evidently unable to get the business matter between herself and her cousin Lady Cecilia Compton settled, she says that it was being delayed, and that Lord Northampton was accepting the delay. It was not wholly her concern. "I have little interest now in that business," she says, "it being wholly in my daughter of Northampton and her lord."

She gives a scrap of public news, for she says "I perceive that General Cromwell hath been very kind unto my Lord of Northampton about his composition," and she says "I pray God send I may hear it may come to good end speedily." In her lengthy postscript, she apologizes for the hand of the amanuensis, "I am glad now and then to get another to write for me, being tired and much moiled sometimes with my business here at Appelby, where I find many and strange oppositions, which nevertheless I hope I shall with patience pass over." Marsh had evidently told her that he could not come down to Skipton. "I see by your letter that you doubt you shall not come hither to me this summer, which, when I read it, did even make me shed to some tears, for you cannot desire to see me more than I desire to see you, but if I should stir from home before I have done some things in my business here to the purpose, my worldly fortunes in these northern parts in Craven and Westmoreland would slide back to the wonted ill habit again, for I did not receive out of Westmoreland more than

half the rate of two hundred or three hundred a year at the most, till I came thither myself."

Marsh was evidently not keen on the series of lawsuits she was starting concerning her lands. He was not on the spot, and did not understand her position, nor did he quite realise that he had to do with a mistress who was most tenacious of her rights, and was determined to lose none of them, even though, as in some instances, it cost her as much to obtain these rights as they themselves were in value. He had expostulated with her, and in reply she says, "you cut my heart with unkindness, when you do in a manner, in your letter, hit me in the teeth with my suits-in-law, which is not to be avoided by me, except I would let the rights belonging to me in Craven and Westmoreland be utterly ruined to me and my posterity. Believe me, Gilbert Crock, the attorney or solicitor, proved a very slippery or dishonest part in my business." She refers then to some particular tenant who had not been paid all the arrears that she owed to him, apparently one of her tenants in the Isle of Sheppey, and she says "If Mr. Jenkins be not paid all the arrears I owe to him, I shall take it very ill from you."

With respect to the Under-sheriffwick of Westmoreland, there had already been some differences of opinion. She says that Marsh had sent her a letter from Mr. Dodsworth, wherein he had told her that her cousin Richard Lowther had taken a wrong course about the deed of attorney appointing the under-sheriff of Westmoreland. Richard Lowther agreed with Dodsworth's opinion, and came to the conclusion that there must be an alteration in the deed. "I know not," she says, "what to think of it, except you set it right. I have now written to them both in this matter," and there "it must be left."

On the 7th of October, 1650, she wrote to Marsh from Skipton, again by the hand of her amanuensis, to acknowledge the receipt of a trunk which had been brought to her "safe and well," and which contained a fur cloak, and also all the silver plate which her husband had bequeathed to her, together with various other things which she was exceedingly glad to receive safely. Marsh was on the point of going down into Sussex to see about her jointure lands, and she advises him very strongly to go and consult Sir Thomas Widdrington and

Mr. Howell, "to confer with them both about my business before your going into Sussex, so you set things concerning my business in some order with them." She announces that in ten days' time, she intends to send her steward and her deputy sheriff, Clapham and Gabetis; up to London, to see to the Chancery matter which was going forward concerning the tenants in Westmoreland. She says that they were treating her as unkindly as ever, and yet giving out that they had a desire to agree with her, therefore "God be my helper in it," she adds. She tells Marsh that, in all probability, by the time he returns from Sussex, he will find Gabetis and Clapham in town. To this letter, she adds a brief postscript in her own handwriting, which appears to relate to the diamond buttons to which she had referred before. "If it be possible," says she, "between you and Jack Turner, let me have the buttons, and the five rubies bought for me."

The next letter is dated from the same place, and on the very same date. She had evidently just received a letter from Marsh, apparently of a somewhat learned character. "I think," says she, "neither you nor any man else ever writ a wiser letter, which I have not now time to answer, because the messenger stays that carries them to the post, but I will often remember your sayings out of Antonius and out of Seneca. I perceive," she adds, "your wife is so sickly that you are not likely to go this winter to Canonbury. I pray God direct her and you in all your purposes."

Money was rather scarce at the time she was writing, for she goes on to say that she desires Marsh to pay to Lord Northampton what money he can spare out of her rents, but not to take the sum that was due to himself, "for if you can forbear," says she, "the receiving of your own, for which you know yourself and wife and daughter have good security; then I shall be made, and you may do my Lord Northampton a great pleasure, and my other business will be well done."

He had a hundred pounds in gold which he had received of rents, and that he was going to send down to her, but she says, "Upon better consideration, I had rather it were paid to my Lord of Northampton than sent down to me." In the next sentence we learn that somebody (and of the female sex), was striving to do her some harm. It may

possibly be that Lady Cecilia Compton was not acting fairly towards her, but we are not told who the person was. "Concerning the scheming lady," she says, "I have had more experience of late of her craft and subtlety than ever heretofore, and therefore be confident I will look well to myself." Again, she adds a postscript in her own writing to the following effect, "If my Lord Tufton happen to be hard up, pay him the five pounds or more. I would to God he would come hither to me for some three or four months."

Then, in about a fortnight, she wrote again to Marsh also from Skipton, and by the hand of her amanuensis. Marsh was at Lewes, and she had received a letter from him, dated from that place, "whereby I understand you have for the present allayed the storm of the sheriffs and bailiffs about the Court of Wards business, which I am heartily glad of. I beseech God that we may get well off in the conclusion, for you and I know full well that every penny was duly paid into the Court of Wards for the wardship of both my daughters. You have played the wise man in this business very much. I cannot as yet find any quittances concerning it, but if I do, you shall have them sent up, and my desire to you is, that you should not grieve yourself too much with regard to my business, for what cannot be avoided I must of necessity submit unto, though it be for part, or all, of that five hundred pounds." She then goes on to say how glad she is to hear that "Lord Tufton has gained the love of so many (now in his disasters) as you write of. If he be in London," says she, "when you return out of Sussex, give him twenty pounds from me, and I will allow it unto you in your accounts." Furthermore she wishes Marsh to ask Lord Tufton to come down and see her. "I shall be very glad to have him here for two or three months, till the anger of his father be overpast." There was a Mr. Walley (or Wallop) who was a friend of Lord Thanet's, and she asks Marsh if he was still with Lord Thanet. She hopes very much that he was, because, says she, "he was a good friend to my Lord Tufton." She had already instructed Marsh to pay Mr. Howell a considerable sum of money, and was very anxious that he should have it quickly. "I pray you, fail not to give to Mr. Howell to the full what I formerly appointed you, for he doth deserve that and a great deal more, as is evident by his replication to the tenants' answer which he hath sent for my approbation, wherein he hath

expressed much of his wisdom and goodness towards me and my business." She also gives instructions for the payment of 20s. to a Mr. Copleston, who was her cousin, and once again adds a postscript in her own handwriting, "If my business against my tenants in Westmoreland stand not well this term, they will be more insulting than ever."

By 1653, which is the date of the last letter from Lady Anne in the bundle, George Sedgwick was firmly fixed in the saddle and carried on her correspondence. This letter is a curious one, because the first part is written by Sedgwick, and then Lady Anne adds a postscript. Below that, Sedgwick adds a second postscript, and then lower down still, Lady Anne put a third. The letter, which is dated the 3rd November, 1653, complains to Mr. Marsh that she has not heard from him, "which doth a little trouble me," says she, "but I have this week received a letter from Mr. Howell," in which he tells her that he had heard "from Marsh." Apparently Marsh was down in Sussex, attending to matters concerning the jointure and Sackville College, to which I refer later on. Then comes Lady Anne's first postscript in her own handwriting. "I pray you, when you come to London, fail not to help Mrs. Whitting the widow all you can in her business with my Lord of Northampton, which I think you are bound to do in conscience, because you got her to lend it to his Lordship's father." Sedgwick adds, "You must be sure that between you and Jack Turner Mr. Walley may be paid what is due to himself." and then Lady Anne writes again, "I hope you fail not, by as soon as you come to London, to pay Mrs. Taylor, Richard Garrett and others that you know should have it from me, and especially that for my godson, to Sir Ch. Har." ⁷

The only other letter of consequence in the bundle is not from Lady Anne, but from Howell her lawyer, and was sent down to her at Brougham, by the hand of a Mr. Fawcett of Kendal. She has endorsed it to the effect that it was concerning certain claims that were to be made, and that it relates to the loss or miscarriage of the records of the last assizes. She had evidently written to him a letter complaining of the slow progress of her affairs. "I find how sensible," Howell

⁷ Perhaps Sir Christopher Harfleet of Kent, knighted May 21st, 1619 at Greenwich.

says "you are of the slow progress in your lawsuits, and of the burdensome charge and correspondence thereto. Truly, Madam," he adds "no man can be more deeply affected with your complaint than myself, heartily wishing it in my power to give you redress. It is too too much," says he, "that your Honour should condescend to conjure me (your poor servant) by the remembrance of long acquaintance and friendship (words of great attraction and such as I am unworthy to repeat) to expedite your troubles. How can a free and willing heart stand in need of such incitements, or an ingenuous spirit bear the sting thereof. I must bewail," he adds, "my unhappiness in silence, as one whose power is less than his will, and his heart more full than his pen. Be pleased to vouchsafe me one word for all, and deal with me and mine according to the clearness of my mind, and as I have done and endeavoured, and shall do and endeavour, in your Honour's affairs, which endeavours I pray may be acceptable, as they are sincere."

It is clear from all this that she had a good and painstaking lawyer⁸ at her disposal, and one who was anxious to push forward her legal matters, but that, as usual, there were in the progress of these suits, innumerable delays. Of one of the persons whom he was opposing, he says in quite modern phraseology, "He made use of all the delays that could be found out, which hath made the suit long and chargeable." There was some reason at this stage of the dispute, for Lady Anne to be more than ever definite with respect to some of the lands in Yorkshire upon which she had not yet made entries. He says "I find your Honour desirous to be advised touching claims to the lands in Yorkshire that were leased out by your uncle (or cousin) of Cumberland. As for that, I presume you have already made entries (i.e. entrance) in the several farms, or, if that hath been done but in some of them; it may be done when you please in the rest, for, as to those lands," he adds, "you are not concluded by not claiming within five years, neither is there any need of such claims in relation to the death of the Earl of Pembroke or otherwise, and therefore those that do inform your Honour that claims are necessary in this case are much mistaken. When entries are made, the possession is to be demanded of the tenants, and if they refuse to deliver it, your course is by way of

⁸ Later on he was Sir John and Deputy Recorder for the City.

ejection to avoid their leases and to put them out of possession, or else there may be occasions of trespass brought for the damages done after such entries, according to former directions given by me and others of your Council in matters of the same nature." I refer to these claims lower down, but Mr. Howell's statement concerning the law of the day is very clear. The difficulty was with respect of the leases for two or three lives, subject to fines ⁹ which the two last Earls of Cumberland had granted, when they raised the money to pay Lord Dorset.

Howell then goes on to tell her of one unfortunate circumstance connected with the last assizes in Westmoreland, in which her affairs had been considered. "All the papers were lost in coming up to London, as yet there are no tidings of them, and what course will or can be taken to make them good, is not yet considered of. I am afraid," says he, "there can be no help unless they can be found again, such a misfortune as this none could foresee nor prevent, but every party concerned must sit down with patience and damage." The last reference in the letter is to the suit which Howell was taking concerning the London property, Clifford's Inn. He says that attendance was being given at the Committee of Indemnity, then sitting at Worcester House concerning it, "but what course the Committee will steer, we know not yet, Prescription is likely to be your best title, we shall understand more shortly of their intentions." He apologises for the trouble he gives her, but tells her that he is directing Mr. Clapham in everything, and presents his own and his wife's most humble acknowledgments to her. The letter was one of special importance, on account of the legal information it conveyed, and was therefore carefully preserved. With it at Skipton was the copy of a case which had been stated, probably for the opinion of counsel concerning the award, and the steps being then taken respecting the lands let out on leases. It is not actually dated, but it appears to have been completed on the 1st December, 1653. It refers in the preamble to the suits and controversies that there were at one time depending, to the fact that Francis, Lord Cumberland, and Henry, Lord Clifford, together with Lord Dorset, submitted themselves to the King, to the award made

⁹ Leases subject to fines for renewal upon the death of the Lord or the death of the Tenant are still the custom on the Clifford copyhold estates belonging to Lord Hothfield.

by King James on the 14th of March in the 14th year of his reign, under the Great Seal, and to the sum of money, twenty thousand pounds in all, which Lord Cumberland was to raise on the estates, and to pay to the Earl of Dorset for the right to hold the land. It then goes on to state, in a somewhat complex legal sentence, that Lord Dorset had tied up certain lands as security until he had actually received the money of twenty thousand pounds from Lord Cumberland, and to this Lady Anne makes shrewd comment, "If I had put my uncle of Cumberland in suit for this clause it may be, might have proved something; but neither I, nor any for me, having conceived to put him to suit after the award was made, this clause is of no effect!!" At the end of the elaborate clause, she makes a footnote to the same effect, "I did never commence suit against my uncle of Cumberland, so as this clause cannot be judicial to the Earl of Dorset." Further on, for a third time she refers to the matter in a note. "The suits which I commenced were against my Westmoreland tenants, and *not* my uncle of Cumberland nor his son." Then, finally, when the document states that on the 1st of December, 1653, notice was made at Dorset House of certain suits commenced against the tenants, which suits apparently the tenants resented, she adds "I believe he was a person given to conciliation, and he left such notices at Dorset House, striving thereby to set us together by the ears without any just occasion." The "he" referred to in her words could not have been either of the two last earls, for they were both dead, but must have been some person who was interposing, striving to upset the award. We are inclined to believe from careful perusal of the document that it was Lord Cork who, on behalf of his wife, was making some claims to upset the judicial arrangement concerning part of the property, probably that of Barden Tower.

The only other paper to which I need refer in this chapter, was discovered with the documents already mentioned, and bears the date January 3rd, 1655. It lays down, in very decisive fashion, the rules which her council, under its chairman, Sir Henry Cholmeley, prescribed for the granting of leases in future in the Craven estates. It states that the leases were to be made for three lives, for which the tenant is not to pay any fine, but "my Lady will expect after the rate of eight per cent. by way of increase of rent, the fine last

given to be considered of, and the rent to be proportioned or set down after that rate." This was as regards purchased lands. As regards leasehold, the same course was allowed "to be held with those tenants that held by lease, the term excepted, which is to be for twenty-one years."

This document was signed in two places by Lady Anne, and also bears her seals. It is a beautifully written paper, the signatures are bold and strong, and, inasmuch as some portion of these rules still continues in force in the Craven estate, the document so recently found has been framed, in order that it may be preserved by the present holders of the property and by their successors.

One of Lady Anne's Council of Commissioners, Mr. Charles Fairfax, was uncle to the celebrated Lord Fairfax, and there are, in the Fairfax correspondence, several letters from him to his uncle, which have reference to Lady Anne. He acted, it is clear, in some professional respect for her at Skipton, with regard to the estates, and says that at one time he spent seven weeks in the castle, without any cessation of duty, trying to settle questions between her and her tenants. He explains to Lord Fairfax that he had hoped that the matter would have been a simple one, by reason of the award which the King had made, but was quickly given to understand by Lady Anne that she "had never consented to that award, nor would be bound by it in any way, and demands the whole of the estate." These demands included the Barden Tower property, which at the same time, Lady Cork was claiming, and she and her husband were also in correspondence with Mr. Fairfax respecting it. In a further letter, he refers to the fact that the tenants were making vehement protestations concerning their rent: he adds, with reference to Lady Anne, that she was a most noble lady, and will "deal honourably with such persons whose estates depend upon the award, if they have the good manners to acknowledge it her bounty." These words give the key to a good deal of Lady Anne's instructions. Provided her rights were acknowledged, and fully acknowledged, she was willing to be on easy terms with her tenants, but if they declined to acknowledge her rights, they might speedily look for trouble.

On the 3rd November, 1646, there is a letter to Mr. Charles Fairfax in which she refers to certain drawings that had been made by a

Mr. Waterton, and which were of Skipton Castle and Barden Tower. They appear to have been plans or sketches of the estates, and Lady Anne was anxious to have them. She says that he was to pay whatever he thinks fit for them, and in a postscript to the letter, acknowledges that they have at length reached her, and begs him to settle with the surveyor, and give him whatever he considered was the right amount for them.

All these letters are, as a rule, addressed "to my assured friend, Mr. Christopher Marsh," but in one or two instances, the phraseology differs slightly, and the address is "To my assured good friend." Sometimes they were sent to Baynard's Castle, and sometimes to Chenies. One or two of them were addressed, "To Mr. William Russell's house at Southover near Lewes in Sussex," and to this address there is sometimes added "or else wherever he is," while on other occasions a second address, "Baynard's Castle in London," is added to the first. When the letter is to be sent to Baynard's Castle, it was to be "C/o Mr. William Edge," who was evidently in permanent residence there. The letters are all carefully sealed, but differ from those referred to in a previous chapter in the fact that the seal is invariably one with the Clifford crest. In one or two instances, the crest is used alone, rising out of its crest coronet, but in other cases is surmounted by an earl's coronet. Some of the letters have endorsed upon them notes by Mr. Marsh, giving the date when they were received, and comments to the effect that he had carried out the instructions of the writer, or references to the payment of certain sums of money which Lady Anne had authorised him to make. They were evidently written with the desire to use up every scrap of the paper, and Lady Anne was given to certain eccentricities in her correspondence, adding postscripts not only at the bottoms of the letters, but frequently at the sides also, and in some instances at the top or at the corners.

CHAPTER XIII.

LADY ANNE'S GUESTS.

A CONSIDERABLE part of the narrative contained in Lady Anne's diary is devoted to her various journeys from one castle to another, describing the methods by which she journeyed whether in her coach or in her horse-litter, and frequently explaining the route along which she travelled. These allusions are so frequent that it would be wearisome to refer to them all. A great part of her time was spent in these journeys, and during her life in the north she visited all her castles in turn, making prolonged stays in each. She was very hospitable, especially to her own children and grandchildren, whom she delighted to have about her. They visited her many times, coming to each of her places of residence in turn, and she describes so carefully, on every occasion, when they came, how long they remained, and when they left, that it is possible to make up a sort of diary of the movements of her own children and grandchildren from these records. Her favourite grandchild was, as I have said, John Tufton, and he was more often with her than was any other member of the family. In 1652 she alludes to his coming down to stay with her, and then, in the following year, in March, to his leaving Appleby for York, thence journeying on to London, and so to Hothfield in Kent, to see his father and mother, brothers and sisters, on his way to Eton. He does not appear to have remained at Eton very long, because in the following year she says that he came from Eton, "from studying there, to Skipton to mee for a little while," and then he went back from Skipton to Oxford, where she says he was to settle down in Queen's College to live in that University as a student. In 1656, we hear of his leaving Oxford. "He went quite away from living as a student there, up towards London to his father," who

was then residing at the family house in Aldersgate Street, and on the 14th of June following he left England for a while to travel in the Low countries with George Sedgwick, his grandmother's secretary, "whom," says she, "I had appointed to be his Governor," and then she describes his journey into Holland and the provinces, and his return in the beginning of 1657, most of the time having been spent, she tells us, in the city of Utrecht. The actual reason for the journey to Holland was because John Tufton's sister, Lady Frances, had been suffering from rickets, and had been sent in 1655 "from her father and mother, from their house in Aldersgate in London, over sea into Utrecht in Holland to be cured of the Ricketts, which she had in great extremitie." Her brother fetched her, and they came back in a Dutch man-of-war, out of the "Low countreis, with my grandchylde the Ladie Frances Tufton his sister, and her Woman, and others in their Companie," and then he came down with George Sedgwick, her secretary, to see his grandmother at Skipton, leaving his sister in London.

Not only had Lady Anne sent Sedgwick with her grandson as his tutor, but she had also provided his personal servant, Alexander Whitcher, who also came back with him to Skipton, and entered again, she says, into her employ. John Tufton remained with her at Skipton for some time, and then journeyed in her company to Appleby, whither she went in October, and where she remained until April, 1658. Then she left for Brougham, but before doing so, sent her "grandchylde with his two men" to Croome House in Worcestershire, to see "his sister Coventry, and her husband and children." There he remained for a few days, and then came back to Appleby, when she sent him off on a further excursion, and tells us that he went to Lancashire, Preston, Manchester, Chester, Flint Castle, Denbigh, and other parts of North Wales, and came back again to Warwick, Coventry, and Lichfield, the first time that he had ever been in any of those places, and able to gratify his desire to travel by doing so at his grandmother's expense, and in comfortable fashion. By June he was back at Appleby to see her, but then she sent him off for a night to Corby Castle in Cumberland, the residence of her cousin Sir Francis Howard, where he stayed a while and returned again to her. By that time she had reached Brougham. He appears to have arrived on the 24th of

June, and the same night she took her leave of him, he continuing on his journey towards London, where he remained till August, and then went once again with his sister, whose cure was apparently not quite complete, into the Low countries for a couple of months, returning to London "by shipping at the Briol in Hollande" in October, and coming straight down to see her. On this occasion, he brought his sister with him, the first time that Lady Anne had ever seen this grandchild, either in Craven, or "in any of the lands of mine inheritance." Whitcher, who was with him on his first visit to Utrecht, had died meantime, and she tells us that the name of his new servant was Henry Hatfield, "that now serves my grandchilde in Alexander Whitcher's place lately deceased," and with his sister "came her gentlewoman, Mrs. Sibilla Baker, that had bin abroad with her in the Low Countries."

Lady Anne had by that time come into Yorkshire, and was at Skipton, and she kept her two grandchildren with her from May until September, when they left with their servants in her coach and six horses, as far as York, where they stayed for a night, and engaging a hired coach, went on to London for a few days, and then Lady Frances went down to her sister, Lady Margaret Coventry, to Croome to stay for awhile.

A rather longer interval then ensued, but in 1663, John Tuffton came back to see her. She was at Barden Tower, and he came "hither into this Barden Tower to me, where I now kissed him with much joy before supper, and he now told me how he set forward on his journie from London hitherward, from his Mother and two of his Sisters, Lady Frances and Lady Cecily," who came up with him from Hothfield to London, and then "returned back again." She put him in the "best Roome in this Barden Tower, at the end of the Great Chamber, where my daughter of Northampton lay when she was last here," and his servant, who was not the one who had been with him on the previous occasion, but a man named John Goteley, "who is newly come to him," slept in the room "within it." It was the first time that any of Lady Thanet's children had slept at Barden Tower, and Lady Anne carefully records the fact. She also adds an expression of her joy in receiving him, "for this Grandchild of mine was the more welcome to mee in regard he had escaped death verie

narrowlie by a dangerous sickness he had in france the last yeare which causes mee to have in a thankful remembrance God's great mercies to mee and mine." He remained nearly two months with her, and then went to Pendragon, "this being the first time that either he, or anie grandchild of myne ever lay in that Castle, which was lately repaired by me." He journeyed on to Appleby, and was there for two nights, and the next day to Brough where he lay one night, "this being also the first time that he, or anie grandchylde of mine, lay in that Brough Castle, for I repaired it but lately." He was there for only a day or two, and then passed through Whinfell Park to Brougham Castle, where he lay for one night. He visited Lowther Hall, Avon bank,¹ and other places, attended the horse race on Langanby² Moor, and returned to his grandmother, reaching her on the 29th of the month. With her he went to Skipton, where he remained for some time, and then she records "on the 7th of September did my grandchild, Mr. John Tufton, ride away from this Skipton Castle, from me and us here, with his man John Goteley, towards London, and so into Kent."

He did not return to her until after his father's death, on the 8th of July, 1664, and she says she received him, "to my great joy and comfort, I not having seen him since the death of his father, my son-in-law, John, Earl of Thanet." En route from London to Appleby, where his grandmother then was, he had rested at Skipton, sleeping for two nights in "the highest chamber in the Round Tower at Skipton, over the chamber at the end of the Long Gallery there, wherein I formerly used to lie," the third night he had spent at the inn at Kirkby Lonsdale, and finally, came on to Appleby, where he stayed with his grandmother for a month, and afterwards, meeting his mother and three younger sisters there, the whole party went on for a while to Brougham, returning again to Appleby, and after a short sojourn there, went back to London.

It was not until 1669 that John came to the north again, this time with his brother, Richard, who had not been to see his grand-

¹ Usually called Acorn Bank or Akron Bank the home of his cousins, the Dalstons.

² Langwathby Moor, a famous place for horse racing. It is 5 miles east of Penrith. There is an important reference to the sport here in Edmund Sandford's *Cursary Relation*, 1675, quoted by Mr. D. Scott in a lecture he gave on the subject of local sports.

mother for six years, as he had not been in Westmoreland since his father's death. On this occasion they came from a house called Great Chart, and had journeyed over Stainmore and by Brough to Appleby, where she put them in the green chamber, "which is under the Withdrawing-Room" and there they remained for seven nights. Meantime, her cousin and godson, Edward Russell, the third son to the Earl of Bedford, had also arrived at Appleby in his journey from Woburn. It was the first time that he had ever been in any part of her inheritance, or so far north, and she put him to sleep in the Baron's Chamber, and, when John and his brother arrived, sent them all away to visit her other castles. They went to Brougham, to Brough, and to Pendragon, and to some other remarkable houses and places in the county, and returned afterwards to London, leaving their cousin, Edward Russell, in the north, as he was going to remain a little longer with Lady Anne.

I must not, however, confine my attention to this single member of the family. His father and mother, together with his elder brother, Nicholas, paid their first visit to Lady Anne in 1653. They arrived on the 1st September, coming from London over Stainmore to Appleby Castle, where they continued to lie for eleven nights "my daughter and her Lord in the Chamber under the Withdrawing-room, and my Lord Tufton in the Baron's Chamber," this being, as Lady Anne records, "the first time that this first child of mine or her Lord, or any of my owne children, came to me into Westmoreland or into any part of the lands of mine inheritance, except," as she expressly records, the second son, John, to whom we have already alluded. She had, however, carried on an agreeable correspondence with her elder grandson two years before. Young Lord Tufton had got into some trouble with his father, who desired him to marry and settle down. He, on the contrary, wished to travel abroad before he married, and had heard of an officer, a person whom he calls "a noble gentleman," "a gentleman of the King's Artillery," who was going to France and Spain, and who was willing to take him in his company and show him something of both countries. He had pressed his father to make him a suitable allowance, but Lord Thanet appears to have declined, and therefore he wrote to his grandmother on May 28th, 1651, concerning his trouble. He told her that if he could only get two hundred

a year from his father, it would amply suffice, and he impressed upon his grandmother how earnest was his desire to see something of the world before he settled down. If only he might go abroad, he said, then on his return he might marry, but he declined to do so at present. If his father would only let him "go to France or Spain," when he came back, he says, "I would be contented that his Lordship married me to whom he pleases." He begs his grandmother to intercede with his father, or to do something herself for him. She endorses the letter to the effect that she answered it "as he would," and as we learn that almost immediately afterwards he went abroad, it is pretty clear that the old lady came to the rescue and advanced some money in order that he might gratify his desire.

In 1656, Lady Thanet was again in the North, this time with her four younger children, Cecily, George, Mary and Anne, and their visit on this occasion was to Brougham. It was the first time that Lady Anne had seen three of the children, and it was also the first time that Lady Cecily had been in the North, although, says her grandmother, "I had seen her before at London, and in Baynard's Castle, and in her father's house at Aldersgate Street." She was always particular they should have some pleasure, and pay some visits while they were with her, and so she sent two of the children, Cecily and George, for a while in her coach to Edenhall in Cumberland, and then to Lowther Hall, and after that, they returned again to her and then home to Hothfield. In 1658, her daughter paid another visit, this time accompanied by the three younger sons, Richard, Thomas, and Sackville, "this being the first time I ever saw these three sonnes of hers, here in Westmoreland or in any part of the lands of myne inheritance, and so now," she says, she has seen nine of her daughter's children here in Westmoreland, "which I accounte as a greate and singular Blessinge and goodnesse of God towards me." She describes how long they stayed with her, and says that they went back over Stainmore towards London to Aldersgate Street, and a day afterwards they journeyed on to Raynham for a night, and then eventually reached Hothfield in safety.

The eldest grandchild had meantime been concerned in a plot against the Commonwealth, and on the suspicion that this was the case, had been sent a prisoner to the Tower of London by the

command of the Lord Protector and his Council, and was kept there for nine months and four days. He was then set free, and returned to his father and mother, but on the 11th of September was again committed to the Tower, where he lay under restraint till the 25th of June, 1658, when he was released a second time. These two imprisonments had caused serious injury to his health, and in 1659 Lady Anne records the fact that he went down to the Wells at Epsom to take the waters, and thence went over secretly into France, where he stayed for some few months. The rising of 1655, in which he was concerned, was a plot arranged with Colonel Penruddock³ and Sir Joseph Wagstaffe,⁴ in conjunction with two hundred persons who were Royalists, and the intention, which was carried out, was to seize the Judges of the Western Circuit—Rolle⁵ and Nicholas⁶—at Salisbury, and give the signal for a general rising. There seemed every chance of success, and Charles II. left Cologne for Flushing in order to be close at hand, sending over Lord Rochester as his representative in order that he might advise the King when it was safe for him to appear. The time was not, however, quite ripe for the Restoration. The plot was a failure, and as a result, Lord Tufton found himself twice in the Tower, and then had to make his way, as we have just seen, secretly to France.

In 1650, three of his younger brothers, John, Richard and Thomas, followed his example. They left in the packet boat from Dover to Calais, thence went on to Paris, to Orleans and to Blois, where they intended to live for a time. It was the first time that Richard and Thomas had ever been beyond the seas, but as their grandmother records, their brother John had been twice before this into the Low Countries, though never in France before. They stayed abroad all the winter and came back again in March, 1663.

In that very year Lady Thanet, with her four younger sons, and her daughter Lady Frances, paid their first visit to Skipton. "They came hither" says Lady Anne, "into Skipton Castle to me about eight

³ John Penruddock, 1619-1655, beheaded by the Protector for high treason.

⁴ Sir Joseph Wagstaffe born *circa* 1612, died after 1662, escaped into Holland and survived the Restoration.

⁵ Henry Rolle, Justice of King's Bench, appointed by the Commonwealth, 1648, Lord Chief Justice.

⁶ Robert Nicholas, Baron of the Exchequer and Judge of the "Upper Bench."

o'clock at night into the chamber where I then lay, and wherein I was born into the world, and I then kissed them all with much Joy and comfort, it being the first time that I saw my Daughter of Thanet, or these four younger Sonnes of hers in Skipton Castle, or in Craven, for it was the first time that they had ever come into Craven." She put Lady Thanet and Lady Frances into the two best rooms in the chief round tower "in the old building in Skipton Castle, lately repaired by me," two of the other sons, Sackville and George, in the upper, great round room at the end of the gallery, Thomas in the round room below, "where I formerlie used to lye myself," and Richard, with his brother John, who was already at the Castle, in the great room over the gatehouse, except that for one night, they had to sleep in the Withdrawing-room, next the gallery, possibly because the other rooms were not quite ready. She had sent John as far as York in her coach to meet his mother and his four brothers and sisters, and he had brought them on their way to the Castle.

In 1664, she records the marriage of the eldest son, Nicholas, "married in a chamber in Clifford's Inn in London Town to Lady Elizabeth Boyle," whom she calls her "cousin and god-daughter." The marriage was solemnised by Mr. Byfield, chaplain to her father, and the happy couple began first of all to live in that house at Whitefriars in London "which was once part of the Priory there," where Lady Elizabeth's father and mother and most of the family then were. Less than a month after that Lord Thanet died "in his house called Thanet House, in those lodgings that look towards the street, which he about twenty years since built with freestone very magnificently," and she records the fact that his wife and their sons and daughters were all there on the occasion of his decease. His body was carried out of the house at Aldersgate Street, over London Bridge, and down into the country, into the church at Raynham in Kent when it was buried in the presence of most of the family, but it is expressly recorded that the eldest son was not able to be there. Soon afterwards the new Earl and his wife went down to see the old lady. "They came into my chamber," says she, "in this Appleby Castle, about seven o'clock in the evening, where I kissed them both with much joy and comfort, it being the first time that I saw any Grandchild of mine that was an Earle." It was also the first time, she says, that the newly married wife had

come into Westmoreland, and she had not seen her since she was a child, with Lord and Lady Cork and her brothers and sisters when Lady Anne came down to Craven in 1650. On their way to see her, they had been to Londesborough and to Topcliff, and thence had journeyed to Appleby by way of Stainmore, lying one night in what she calls the "poor inn" at Bowes. On their way they had stopped for a while at Brough to see the Castle, and then reached Appleby. They slept in the Baron's Chamber, and while they stayed with Lady Anne, made various excursions. They went, says she, to Brougham, to Edenhall, to Lowther, and to Acorn Bank, and then on the 9th August "after I had kissed them in my chamber in Appleby Castle, did this Earl of Thanet and the Countess his wife, with their company, go away again from hence out of Westmoreland, over Stainmoore, into the inn at Catterick Bridge, towards York and Londesborough." She sent John Tufton part of the way with them. He was to take his brother and sister onwards upon their journey as far as Brough, and then to return to her, and Lord and Lady Thanet met Lord Cork and his wife at York, and journeyed with them to Londesborough, and then back to London.

A few days after they had left, her daughter Margaret came to see her, this time as Countess Dowager of Thanet, bringing with her the three youngest daughters and their servants. John Tufton was sent to meet and welcome them, and he escorted them all to Appleby, "where I now kissed them" says Lady Anne, "with much joy and comfort, it being the first time I saw this Daughter of mine or any of her Daughters since She was a widowe." She put them in to the Baron's Chamber, but after they had remained there for four days she had to send them all away with John Tufton to Brougham, because it was the time of the Assizes, and she had to receive the judges at Appleby. Nothing was ever allowed to stand in the way of a full and important reception for the judges, and even though her elder daughter was with her at the time, she and her family had to give place to the representatives of the King. They all therefore left for Brougham, Lady Thanet and her younger daughter occupying Lady Anne's own chamber "wherein" of course she adds, "my Noble ffather was borne and my Blessed mother dyed, the first time that she or any of her Children ever lay in that chamber," Lady Cecily

and Lady Marie in "the middle chamber of the Great Tower," and John in "the Baron's Chamber there." Lady Thanet had not been at Brougham since 1658, nor the three younger daughters since 1656, and it was the first time that any of them had been in the castle when their grandmother was not there herself. After the Judges had left they came back again, except John, who was then to start for London, but the rest of the party remained with the old lady at Appleby for some days longer, and then "after I had first kissed them, as taking my leave of them, they went away from me out of this Appleby Castle, towards eight o'clock in the morning, onwards on their Journie towards London," and she records with great satisfaction the fact that they safely reached their journey's end.

About this time Lady Thanet took possession of her jointure house, Bollbrooke, and her mother carefully records the fact that her daughter, with her three younger children, went down to a hired house at Epsom, where they drank the waters, and from thence removed to Bollbrooke, "her house of inheritance by her father," where, says she, "they now continued to lye." It would appear that Lady Thanet had not been to that house since the early days of her marriage, her eldest child having been born there.

Meantime, two of the younger sons, Sackville and George, went abroad for a while. They "did imbarque themselves at Dover in Kent," the old lady says, "and sayled over the Seas into France, whither they came safe and well to Paris within a while after, this being," she adds, "the first time these two Grandchildren of mine were ever beyond the seas, or out of England." Sir Thomas Billingsley⁷ who had been "in the employment of Lord Dorset," went with them, as their Governor. After a short sojourn in Paris, they left for Sedan, and then in the following year she records the fact that they had gone on from Sedan into Upper Germany, to the Prince Elector Palatine's Court at Heidelberg, stating that the reason of this their "so sodaine departure out of France into Germany" was because of the wars "that are now between England and France." It would appear to be likely that they had intended to stay in France for a much longer period, and they were perhaps studying the French language.

⁷ (?) Sir Henry Billingsley or else a Mr. Billingsly given the title of Sir by courtesy or in error.

The second daughter, who had been more than once to see her grandmother, was in 1665 married in the chapel in Thanet House, by Lord Thanet's chaplain, Mr. Hind, to Mr. Henry Drax. This was the daughter who, in the earlier stages of her life, had suffered from rickets. After the wedding, they went into her husband's house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and later on, into the country, as it was then called; to their own house at Hackney, three or four miles from London, but in November following, Lady Frances died in childbirth, to her grandmother's great grief, at Buckwell in Kent, and as the baby also died, they were buried together at Raynham Church.

On the next occasion Lady Thanet came down to see her mother, which was in 1666, the grandmother referred to the fact that Lady Frances had died in the interval, and there were only left the three daughters, Cecily, Mary and Anne. She carefully tells us that Lady Thanet and her daughter Cecily were put in the middle round room at the end of the gallery at Skipton, "where formerly I used to lye myself," and that Lady Mary and Lady Anne were put in the room above, and that it was the first time that either Lady Thanet or these three girls had slept in the Round Tower, in the room which their sister, Lady Frances, had occupied when she was staying with her grandmother. This was the second time Lady Thanet had been to Skipton, but the seventh time she had been to the North to see her mother. The three younger girls had never been to Skipton before, although they had been to Brougham and to Appleby, and their grandmother was very desirous that they should see something of the neighbourhood, so, a few days after their arrival, "These three young Ladies, my Grandchildren, with their three Women, Mrs. Jane Paulett, Mrs. Bridget Billingsley⁸ and Katherine Preston," went in their mother's coach with six horses out of Skipton away to Barden, where they dined. Thence she sent them to Mr. Clapham's house at Beamsley, where they stayed for a while, and visited the Beamsley Almshouses, founded by her "Blessed mother," and afterwards they returned to Skipton, a little before supper that night, "this being" says she, "the first time that any of my said three grandchildren

⁸ Perhaps wife of "Sir" Thomas Billingsley mentioned before.

were ever in Barden Tower, Beamsley Hall, or the Almshouses.' Shortly after that, the whole party had to return to Bollbrooke.

The next visit of the family was one from the new Countess in 1667 and Lord Thanet came up from Hothfield to Gravesend, thence by water in a barge to London, and sent his wife on from London to Londesborough to her mother, then from Londesborough to York, and from York to Barden Tower, "where shee and her two women stayed with me, lying in the two low Rooms at the west end of the Great Chamber there, over the kitchene." After four days' sojourn, Lady Thanet went back again to Londesborough, picked up her mother, the Countess of Cork, and they both journeyed back to Hothfield.

Lord Thanet came back again to Appleby in the following year (1668) on his way to Londesborough, arriving so late that Lady Anne did not see him till the next morning, when, says she, "He came up to mee in my owne chamber and I kissed him with much joy and comfort." He stayed a week and then one night took his leave of her before she retired, and left very early in the morning, going to see Viscount Dunbar⁹ in Holderness and then back to Hothfield.

An important event in connection with the family, which interested her very greatly, was recorded in 1668. To it I refer at length in a separate chapter. Her grandchild, Thomas Tufton, was chosen burgess for Appleby, in the place of Mr. John Lowther. Lady Anne carefully records the fact that he was "the first Grandchilde of mine that ever sate in that House of Commons in the Parliament at Westminster."

In September he came down to Appleby, and up into her room, "where I kissed him," says she, "with much joy and comfort," as she had not seen him for some years. He had come by way of London, York, and Ripon, and the previous day from the inn at "Bowes in Richmondshire," and he stayed with his grandmother for ten nights, occupying the Baron's Chamber. She sent him about in all directions, to see his constituents. He went to Acorn Bank to visit Mr. John Dalston "his fellow-Burgesse," to her house at Julian Bower in Whinfell Park, to Edenhall to see Sir Philip Musgrave, and then she had her sheriff, Mr. Thomas Gabetis,^{9a} receive him at Crosby, take him

⁹ Robert Constable, 3rd Viscount, succeeded 1666, died 1714. His brother was 4th and last Viscount.

^{9a} Thomas Gabetis of Crosby Ravensworth, under-sheriff for the County, died 25th March 1694, aged 86. (See Bellasis' *Westmorland Church Notes*, I., 133.

to Lowther to see Sir John Lowther, and thence to Brougham. The following day he went on to Howgill Castle,¹⁰ to see "the widow Lady Sandford and Sir Richard Sandford her eldest Sonne," and two days afterwards he went to Pendragon Castle and to Brough Castle, at none of "which houses and places above mentioned he had ever been before, except at Brougham, where," says she "he had bin once with me for a time in August and in September, 1658, with his mother and some other of her children." After remaining with Lady Anne for ten days he removed again to Brough, and thence went over Stainmore into the inn at Bowes for one night, and so on towards London.

George, the youngest Tufton son, was lame and not in good health, and all kinds of different remedies had been tried. At length it was decided that he should try some mud baths, and so, in 1669, in May, he took sail at Dover, and after waiting for a fair wind arrived in France, and went on to La Rochelle, staying there for a few days. Thence he went to Bordeaux, and from there journeyed to the frontier of Spain to try the effect of the baths. He was away for about a month and then sailed back from La Rochelle and landed in Kent, journeying to his elder brother Lord Thanet's house at Hothfield, and thence to Bollbrooke to see his mother, but, says Lady Anne, "my grandchild derived little or no benefit by the said baths."

On the next occasion of the visits from the Thanet family to Lady Anne they came to Appleby, but on their way home, she was anxious that her daughter, who was accompanied by her three youngest children, Anne, Mary and Sackville, should go to Pendragon. They had stayed for some time at Appleby, and Sackville had been given the best room in Caesar's Tower, usually allotted to the Judges, but after the visit was over they left early in the morning for Pendragon, "which was the first time," says Lady Anne, "my daughter or any of her three children were ever in it, though most of her other children had been in it before." Sackville went on ahead, as he had never seen Brough, and was to journey there first of all. He met his mother and sisters on the way, and they all travelled over Stainmore to Pendragon together, and then back to London to Thanet House.

¹⁰ This place belonged to the Lancaster family until 1438 when that family ended in four daughters. One of them married Robert Crackenthorpe of Newbiggin. His grandson had daughters only, and one of them married Sir Thomas Sandford.

In the August of that year they all of them had to leave Thanet House rather quickly, "by reason the smallpox was so rife in that part of London," and they went down into the country to Bollbrooke, where they remained for some months. Thomas Tufton, the member of Parliament, had occasion to visit his constituents in 1670 and, of course, stayed with his grandmother. She tells us he came by way of Greta Bridge, and over Stainmore to Pendragon, and while he was there went to visit what she calls the remarkable places about the Castle, "Wilborfell¹¹; Hugh's Seat,¹² Morvill; and Holgill or Hell Gill Bridge."¹³ From thence he went to Edenhall to see his cousin Sir Philip Musgrave, stopping on the way at Acorn Bank to see Mr. Dalston. A couple of days later, he was at Kendal viewing the castle and the church there, spending the night with Mr. George Sedgwick, Lady Anne's steward at Collin Field, where Sedgwick had by that time settled down. Then he came back again to Pendragon, and the following morning left on a much longer journey, namely, into Scotland. There, she says, he saw most of "the remarkable places and cities in that Kingdome, Dumfries, Douglas, Hamilton, and the Duke's Palace there (where he was nobly treated by Duke Hamilton) the City of Glasgow, where he gave a visit to the Archbishop" at the castle, and saw the university, the town and castle of Edinburgh, and thence "to a place called Bask Island (Bass Island) which is so remarkable for Soland Geese." He returned by Berwick-upon-Tweed, Newcastle, and Barnard's Castle to Pendragon, where he stayed for another ten nights, and then, with her great officers, went away through Whinfell Park, by Brougham, to Dacre Castle,¹⁴ thence to "Dunmallerd" Hill,¹⁵ and so to Ulleswater, and back again to Brougham, thence to Julian's Bower, and so to Pendragon to see his grandmother, where he said good-bye to her and left the next morning over Stainmore on his journey towards London.

¹¹ Wild-boar-fell, a very high hill near Kirkby Stephen where the last wild boar was killed in England.

¹² A conical hill overlooking Mallerstang, named after Sir Hugh de Morvill who was one of the four knights who killed St. Thomas à Becket.

¹³ Situate in a deep riven chasm, 60 feet of perpendicular rock, 10 feet wide and having below it an older bridge called the "Devil's Bridge," hence its name. The chasm is concealed and dark even at mid-day and the river Eden rises out of it.

¹⁴ Seat of Lord Dacre of Gilsland, sold in 1716 to Sir C. Musgrave, 4 square towers still standing.

¹⁵ Dunmallogt, at one time a crenellated dwelling place belonging to Lord Dacre.

Lady Anne not only records all these various visits, but also carefully notes the marriages and deaths in the family, for example, on the 18th of July, 1653, she speaks of the marriage of her grandchild, Lady Margaret Tufton, who was married at her father's house in Aldersgate Street, to Mr. John Coventry, whose father, says she, "Thomas, Lord Coventry, was Lord Keeper of the Greate Seale of England." This marriage was particularly interesting to her, because Margaret was the first of her grandchildren to marry, and she accounted it "a great blessing of God to mee and mine." She refers with equal care to the death on the 27th of October, 1661 of Lord Coventry "of gangrene that was in several of his toes," and to the succession of her grandchild and her husband to the dignities connected with the family. Lady Margaret's first child was born in 1654 at Croome, "this being," says she, "the first child that made mee a Great-Grandmother, which I account as a great blessing of God," and just at the time that this baby arrived Lady Thanet had her youngest child at the breast, and Lady Anne speaks of the unusual circumstance in the following words:—"My daughter of Thanett was there att the Birth and Christeninge of this first Grandchild of hers, Soe as he sucked the Milke of her Breast many times, she having here with her her now youngest child, the Lady Anne Tufton, being about nyne weeks old."

There are many references in the diary to the birth and death of infants, the mortality in infancy at that time being at an extraordinarily high figure. In some instances, especially as we shall see when reference is made to the offspring of her other daughter, Isabella, almost all the children died in infancy.

Another grandchild to whose marriage Lady Anne specially refers was Lady Cecily, fourth daughter and seventh child. She was married on Feb. 12, 1668, by Dr. Evans,¹⁶ one of the Duchess of York's chaplains to Mr. Christopher Hatton, the eldest son of Lord Hatton. The wedding took place at Sir Charles Littleton's¹⁷ house in the Mews "he," says she, "that is Cupbearer to the King," but only he and his wife were present on the occasion, so that perhaps the family were not very favourable to the match.

¹⁶ Eventually Bishop of Bangor and then of Meath.

¹⁷ Sir Charles was 3rd Baronet, Governor of Jamaica 1663, of Harwich 1667, and of Sheerness 1680.

George Tufton, who went to try the mud baths, died in 1670, on the 12th December, in London. His death took place owing to a wound which had never healed. Four years before he had taken part in the wars in Germany, and had received severe injuries from shot, but he had never been a strong man, and it seemed impossible for the wound to heal. After his death Lady Anne states that the body was opened, and the surgeons were surprised that he had even lived so long after such a serious wound. He was buried at Raynham, by the side of his father and two of his sisters.

The death of Lady Cecily Hatton is described at some length. She died in Guernsey in December, 1672. "On the 29th of that month," records Lady Anne, "being Sunday about midnight, did there fell a violent storme of thunder and lightning upon the Island of Guernsey, which, takeing hold of the Magazine powther, blew up and destroyed Castle Cornett, which was the Garrison of that Island, by the ruins whereof were killed" says she, "Lady Cecily, who was wife to the Governor there, and with her the Dowager Lady Hatton, his mother, and many officers, soldiers and attendants." Fortunately, the three children and Lord Hatton and some of his relatives were spared. "And" she adds, "the dead bodies of my said Grandchild and her Lord's mother were brought over into England to Portsmouth and interred in the Abbey of Westminster." The three little girls were brought in the following June from Guernsey in the Hatton yacht, and landed at Portsmouth, and taken on to their grandmother, Lady Thanet, at Thanet House in Aldersgate Street to live with her.

The escape of Lord Hatton at the time of the explosion was certainly extraordinary, for the records of the day tell us that he was blown up with the house and fell violently on the top of a wall where he lay unconscious in his night apparel, for many hours, before he was discovered, while the youngest baby was found peacefully asleep in her cradle next day, under a great beam which had fallen across in such a manner as to protect her from all other débris.

On the occasion of the last visit that Lady Thanet paid to her mother Lady Anne mentions specially that she brought down with her one of the Hatton children, the only one of the three that had survived. This journey took place in 1674-5, "On the 3rd of August," says she, "my dear daughter Margaret, Countess Dowager of Thanet, came

down to Appleby Castle with her grandchild, Anne Hatton where in my owne chamber I kissed them with much joy, I never having seen this Grandchild [*should have been Great-grandchild*] of mine before. Lady Thanet stayed for about ten days, and then she and the little grandchild returned to London again, the last occasion upon which either of them saw the old lady. The final reference to any of the Tufton family is in the very year of Lady Anne's death, when she records the fact that her grandchild, Thomas Tufton, had been sworn a Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York.

I must now, in brief fashion, refer to another branch of the family, Lady Anne's younger daughter, Lady Northampton. Amongst the papers at Appleby Castle there are two letters of some special interest. The first was from Lady Northampton to her mother, immediately after the decease of Lord Pembroke, and refers to the mourning which Lady Anne had considered it desirable to adopt upon that occasion. The letter dated February 21st, 1649, reads as follows :—

MY MOST DEAR MOTHER,

We received your letter of the 3rd of February, and I am glad your Ladyship likes so well my sending of mourning. My Lord and I put on mourning within four days after my Lord's death, and went not out of the house till we had it, and according to your letter, wherein your Ladyship desires us to mourn, as is usual in like cases, we will obey your command.

I cannot as yet hear how Baynard's Castle is disposed, when I do, your Ladyship shall hear of it.

I am still in hopes your Ladyship will come to Cambury [Canonbury] and will keep half the house for your Ladyship.

I rest your Ladyship's most humble and obedient daughter,

ISABELLA NORTHAMPTON.

P.S.—I embrace you Ingles is very well. This air kisses her out of Baynard's Castle garden.”

The second letter is a pathetic one which Lord Northampton wrote to his mother-in-law, on May 22nd, 1649, telling her of the death of their eldest child. It reads thus :—

MADAM,

God, that giveth and taketh away, hath pleased to call away my son, yet, Madam, it comforteth me to see my dear wife bear it so patiently. God, that sent this, may send more to be a comfort to us all. There wanted no pains to preserve the life, but the Lord's will be done, so, Madam, not being willing

to demur upon so sad a subject, I take my leave, remaining your most obliged son-in-law and humble servant.

NORTHAMPTON.

This kind of trouble was to come upon the Comptons over and over again. Every one of Lady Northampton's children died young, with one exception. Lady Alethea was the only child who survived to grow up to full maturity. The earliest visit that Lord Northampton paid to his mother-in-law in the North took place soon after the birth of his wife's second child. The little boy was born at Canonbury, christened by the name of William, regarded by all the family as a great source of joy and thankfulness, and by Lady Anne as an "extraordinary great Blessinge and Seale of God's Mercies to me and mine," but in September of the same year, the child died at Castle Ashby. In June, Lord Northampton came over Stainmore to Appleby, and stayed with his mother-in-law, using the Baron's Chamber, for a fortnight. "It was the first time," says she, "that I saw him or any Sonne-in-Lawe of mine, here in Westmoreland, or in any part of mine inheritance." While he was staying with her, he made excursions to Carlisle and Naworth Castle and, when he left, she begged him to go and see the mill at Silsden and the then decayed castle at Barden Tower, and report to her about them, and he visited both on his way south. In 1654, Lord Northampton with his wife and another little boy, Lord William Compton, came to see Lady Anne at Skipton, then occupying "the round chamber above myne, the little Lord in the chamber next to the old Castle." This, she carefully records, "was the first time that my daughter of Northampton, or her Lord, or her child, were at Skipton," and also the first time that her younger daughter or any child of hers had ever been in the lands of her inheritance. The baby was only a year old when he paid this visit. His uncle, his father's second brother, Sir Charles Compton, was with them. She took Lord and Lady Northampton over to see the almshouses at Beamsley, then on to Lady Cork's house at Bolton, as Lady Cork was at that time in Ireland; afterwards to Barden Tower, and a few days later on little Lord Compton was taken away by his Scotch nurse, to Otley, where they rested. Lord and Lady Northampton and Sir Charles Compton met them at Otley, and they all went on by way of York, back to Castle Ashby.

The next occasion when they came down (1657), there were two babies, both boys, the elder Lord Compton, and William, who had been there before, but two girls had been born and died in the interval. This time, they were accompanied by Mr. Henry Compton, Lord Northampton's youngest brother. In 1660, we hear of an important visit. Lady Northampton had lost her second boy, but she had another little baby girl, Anne, and accompanied by these two children, she came down from Edington in Wiltshire, and from Compton in Warwickshire to Barden Tower, where the family occupied "the four Roomes on the west side of the great Chamber." This was the first time on which her grandmother had seen Lady Anne Compton, and while staying at Barden they all made an excursion over to Skipton, Lady Northampton not having seen Skipton since it had been carefully restored. On the 6th of August she and her two children and the servants left Skipton with their whole company for Compton Winyates, Lord Northampton met them there from London, and the grandmother adds with deep feeling that this was the last time she ever saw these two grandchildren, for the little girl died in the following December, and the boy in the September of 1661, nine months after his sister's death, "to my unspeakable grief and sorrow." The girl was five years and five months old, and a child, says her grandmother, "that promised much goodnesse." The boy, "a Childe of great hopes and perfection, both of bodie and mind." He had lived to be eight years and three months old. Lady Anne, however, adds to that entry an even more pathetic one, "It was likewise the last time I saw their Mother, my daughter." When her little boy died, Lady Northampton was in London, under the physician's hands, lying in her Lord's house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and was unable to go down to Castle Ashby, although the child, William, Lord Compton, was then so ill. The news was brought to her that he had passed away, and within a month his mother followed him. "On the 14th of October," says Lady Anne, "in this year, about 8 o'clock in the morning, died his mother, my youngest daughter Isabella, Countess of Northampton, in her house in Lincoln's Inn Fields in London, when she was thirty-nine years old, and some thirteen daies over, her two children (that are now onelie left alive), James, Lord Compton and Lady Alethea Compton, and their ffather the Earl of Northampton, lying then in that Howse."

The news did not reach Lady Anne as quickly as it ought to have done, for she had gone away from Appleby Castle a few hours before the messenger arrived to Pendragon to stay for three nights, and when she came back to Appleby the messenger conveyed the unhappy intelligence to her. The little boy only survived his mother less than a year. By August of the following year he was dead also, the only surviving son of his mother, about three years and three months old. She describes in the Diary the post-mortem examination of his body, and his burial at Compton, mentioning the fact that his father was in London when he died, and was not able to come down even to the funeral, and that Lady Alethea was now the only surviving child of her mother. Lord Northampton, who appears to have been much attached to his mother-in-law, came down soon afterwards to see her at Skipton Castle, and to tell her all about his wife's death. He was accompanied by his cousin, Mr. John Mordaunt, the son of Lord Peterborough's younger brother. They spent some time with Lady Anne at Brougham and then went off to Edinburgh, and various other places, to see his aunt Lady Nithsdale,¹⁸ returning again to Brougham for some few days. She records the fact that the day Lord Northampton came back was a Sunday, and that in the afternoon he went into the chapel at Brougham to hear the sermon there, that being the first time he was ever in that chapel, and a month later, when he was again at Brougham, he went to the church at Ninekirks in the afternoon to the sermon there, that being also the first time that he was ever in that church. In the following month, he and his cousin went away from Brougham to Kirkby Lonsdale for the first night, moving on to Barden Tower for the second, and from thence made their way to Castle Ashby, his family home.

In 1670, she had an interesting visit from Lady Northampton's only surviving child, her "dear grandchild" the Lady Alethea Compton who came down from Castle Ashby to Pendragon Castle, "to me," says she, "where I now kissed her in my own chamber, to my unspeakable joy and comfort, it being the first time that I ever saw her, though she be now nine years and three months old, wanting but some four days." The little girl had come down in great state. She was

¹⁸ Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Wm. 1st Earl of Northampton and wife of Robert, Earl of Nithsdale.

in her coach, attended by four gentlewomen, a gentleman, and many servants, and also by Colonel Carr, "that lives," says Lady Anne, "at Skipton-in-Craven," and whom her grandmother had sent specially to meet and protect her. She had come by way of Stamford, Newark, Doncaster, Wetherby and Knaresborough, and at her grandmother's particular request had stopped by the way at Beamsley to go and see the Almshouses. Thence she journeyed on to Skipton, where the whole party rested, and there she lay for two nights together, says, Lady Anne, "in the highest room of the great round Tower at the end of the long Gallery there, where her father and mother had layne formerly." A separate excursion was made in order that she might see Barden Tower. Then the party moved on to Kirkby Lonsdale, where she rested for one night, and then, the tenth day after she had left Castle Ashby, "she came safe, God be thanked, hither into this Pendragon Castle to me, where she now lay in that Chamber over the great Chamber, which hath windows to the East and South, for 33 nights together." Lady Anne was determined that her grandchild should see many places while she was staying at Pendragon. On one occasion, she sent her "with her four gentlewomen and my two gentlewomen to Hartley Castle, to see her cousin Mr. Richard Musgrave, and his wife and daughter." She also sent her into Kirkby Stephen and to Wharton Hall, and that day she returned to Pendragon about six o'clock in the evening, while on another occasion she was sent to see Mallerstang Chapel, which had just been rebuilt. On her way back she was to see Brough, and then, after thirty-three days' sojourn in the North, "this grandchild of mine, after I had kissed her with her company went from hence to my castle of Brough to see it and so from thence over Stainmoore, onward, on her journey towards Castle Ashby in Northamptonshire, whither she came safe and well (I thank God)," she adds, the 23rd of the month, to her father. While she was at Pendragon, Thomas Tufton, who was member of Parliament for the district, was paying one of his visits to his grandmother, and he was lodged in the chamber over the great chamber, which adjoined the room occupied by Lady Alethea. They were there for ten days together, and probably, no doubt, some of the excursions were taken in one another's company. Thomas Tufton always paid many visits when he came down into that part

of the world, and it was no doubt necessary for him to make himself well known to the important persons in his constituency.

Lady Alethea came once again to see her grandmother only a few months before her death. "I kissed her" she says "with great joy." She had not seen her for five years. She stayed a week at Appleby, and then returned home.

There are a few references to other members of the family in the diary. Elizabeth, Countess of Cork, came to see her in 1656. She had left her husband in Ireland, and had her two sons and her daughter Elizabeth with her when she took the opportunity of coming to the North, and paying a visit to Lady Anne. When she went back to Ireland, she left her two boys, Charles, Lord Dungarvan and Richard Boyle in England, as the latter had just entered as a student at Queen's College, Oxford. Lord Cork and these two boys came to see her also in 1660. They were then staying at their own house at Bolton Abbey, and she was at Barden, so they came over and dined with her, but returned again the same day.

In 1663, she refers at considerable length to the movements of the Boyle family. Lady Cork and her husband, and their five younger children had left their house in Whitefriars and journeyed towards Bristol and Milford Haven, and then passed over to Ireland, to Cork, to Youghal, and to Lismore, for they had residences at each place. They then came back again to England, and stayed there for two years and a half, with the exception of a short journey that Lord Cork and his two sons took to Ireland one summer. The eldest son, Lord Dungarvan, married Lady Jane Seymour, the youngest daughter of the widowed Duchess of Somerset, and she accompanied the family on one of their trips to Ireland, the first time that she "had ever been beyond the seas." She had a sister Mary, says Lady Anne, who "was in Turkie at Constantinople." In 1663, they all came back to Whitefriars, and the reason Lady Anne enters into all these details is the fact that in that year the younger daughter Elizabeth was married to her eldest grandson Nicholas, Lord Tufton, who less than a month afterwards became Earl of Thanet. Then Lord Cork and his wife, with the rest of their children, came down to Bolton Abbey, and Lady Anne seems to have seen them on several occasions, as they came over, both to Skipton and to Barden, to pay her visits. It is

evident that by this time they had made up their minds, either to allow her to remain in possession of Barden Tower, or else they had concluded that it was better policy to be on good terms with her for a while, even though she was forcibly taking possession of a part of their estate. Whenever they came down to Londesborough or to Bolton Abbey, she seems to have seen something of them, and carefully records the fact that they had been over to see her, or that she had visited them. Beyond these references there is little allusion in the Diary to that branch of the Clifford family.

There are but two allusions to her Coventry relatives. In 1679, she tells us that on the 26th of August of that year, her grandchild, Lady Margaret Coventry, with her two surviving children, John and Margaret, came with a great company from Croome to see her, journeying by way of Nottingham, Doncaster, and over Stainmore, and sleeping the first night at Brough Castle. She received them gladly at Appleby, had them up into her room at once, and says "where I now kissed them with much joy and contentment, this being the first time that any of them were in Westmorland, or in any part of the Lands of mine Inheritance, as also the first time that ever I saw any to whom I am Great-Grandmother." She appears to have seen little of Lady Margaret. She says she had only seen her when she was young, and was staying with her at Baynard's Castle, just before she came away to the North, and that she had not been present at her marriage, and circumstances had prevented their meeting until then. She put Lady Margaret in the Baron's Chamber, and her daughter Margaret, with her mother's gentlewoman, in the Sheriff's Chamber near to it, while Mr. John Coventry was lodged in the Green Chamber under the Withdrawing-room. True to her usual habit, she determined that they should see something of the neighbourhood. She sent them one day to Julian's Bower in Whinfell Park, and thence round to the Three Brother's Tree, to Lowther Hall to her cousin Sir John Lowther, where they dined, and in the afternoon they went on to Brougham Castle to see that, returning eventually to Appleby. They stayed with her for eight days, and then went back again by way of Brough, over Stainmore, through Greta Bridge to York, where they stayed for a couple of days, and then made their way to Croome in Worcestershire, resting one night en route at Coventry.

There is no other account of any visit paid by this grandchild to the North, but there are one or two references to her movements. For example, she speaks of Lady Thanet going down to Croome to see her daughter and staying with her for a while, and explains exactly the way of the journey, saying that Lady Thanet rested one night at Wickham, and on her return stayed at Stow-in-the-Wold, and then moved on to Oxford "to see the most remarkable things there," and afterwards to London. She also alludes to Lady Margaret coming up with her own daughter from Croome to see her mother, leaving Lord Coventry behind.

Her other grandchildren, Lady Frances Drax, Lady Mary Walter, and Lady Anne Grimston, do not seem to have come North to see their grandmother after their respective marriages, so far as the records show, but Lady Mary Walter went to see her sister at Gorhambury and stayed there for a fortnight, that visit being carefully recorded, as also her journey back to Thanet House.

Other persons who are recorded in Lady Anne's diary amongst her visitors are various members of families allied and connected with her. I deal with them in succession. Her cousin Philip, Lord Wharton,¹⁹ with his second wife,²⁰ his eldest daughter by his first wife;²¹ his brother Sir Thomas Wharton²² and his wife;²³ and their mother, the widow Lady Philadelphia Wharton,²⁴ came in 1651 to Wharton Hall, and Lady Anne went over to see them. It was the first time she had seen any of them in the North, and she appears to have stayed a little while with them and then invited them all on a return visit to Appleby.

Lord Wharton and three of his daughters by his second wife, Anne²⁵ who was Lady Anne's goddaughter, Margaret,²⁶ and Mary,²⁷ came again to see her in September, 1663, coming, she says, "from their house called Holeigh Manor to Skipton," and remaining for a day or two, and then returning home again. In 1669, in June, she speaks

¹⁹ Philip, 4th Baron 1613-1695.

²⁰ Jane, daughter of Arthur Goodwyn.

²¹ Elizabeth afterwards Countess of Lindsey.

²² Sir Thomas Wharton, K.B.

²³ Mary, daughter of Henry Carey, Earl of Dover.

²⁴ Lady Philadelphia Carey daughter of Robert, Earl of Monmouth.

²⁵ Afterwards wife to William Carr.

²⁶ Afterwards wife to Major Dunch (1st), Sir T. Sulyarde (2nd) and Wm. Ross (3rd).

²⁷ Afterwards wife to Wm. Thomas (1st) and Sir Charles Kemeys (2nd) from whom the present Lord Wharton descends.

also of a visit from her cousin Sir Thomas Wharton, "second and only brother to the now Lord Wharton." He stayed at Appleby for two or three days. Finally, in 1674, Philip, Lord Wharton's two eldest sons, "Thomas²⁸ that was lately married, and Goodwin,²⁹ who is yet unmarried," came from their father in London to Wharton, where they stayed for about a week, meantime coming to see Lady Anne at Pendragon for two or three days. We also hear of his three unmarried daughters coming to see her once during the Assizes, when their father was staying with Lady Anne. Lord Wharton himself came over many times to Appleby, as he frequently had business at the Assizes, and he and his brother used to stay with Lady Anne while the Judges were there. She specially refers to one visit, saying that it was the first time she had seen her cousin after the death of his second wife.

There is a curious reference to Lord Wharton in a letter preserved at Appleby, dated August 7th, 1665. It was written by him to Lady Anne when she was at Brough, complaining in bitter terms that some of her tenants in Mallerstang had boldly and openly killed a sow which belonged to him, and which he was pretty sure came from Wharton Park, and suggesting that she should proceed against these tenants and give them severe punishment. He complains of the obstruction to trade and commerce by reason of the plague, and suggests to her that if she is in any difficulty respecting her rents, and how to receive them, they might be paid to him at his house at Woburn in Buckinghamshire, within six miles of Windsor, and he will arrange to transfer the money to Lady Anne wherever she happens to be, whether in either of her Westmoreland castles or at Skipton.

There are two references to visits from her Russell relatives. In 1666, when she was in Pendragon Castle, William Russell,³⁰ "second Sonne of my Cozen the Earl of Bedford and his wife, came from his journey into Scotland, calling by ye way at Naworth Castle in Cumberland to see my Cozen the Earl of Carlisle and his Ladie that is his Cozen," and apparently just looked in on Lady Anne en route.

In June, 1669, Lord Bedford's third son, who was Lady Anne's

²⁸ Afterwards 5th Baron.

²⁹ M.P. died 1704.

³⁰ Afterwards 5th Earl and 1st Duke of Bedford.

cousin and godson, Edward Russell,⁸¹ with his wife and their children, came to pay her a visit at Appleby Castle. They arrived late in the evening, so she did not see any of them until the next morning, the first time she had ever seen him in any part "of the lands of her inheritance," or that he had been so far northwards, although she refers to the visit of his elder brother William to her, at Pendragon. The party stayed with her for ten nights, and she sent them to see her castles of Brougham, Brough, and Pendragon, "and other the chief places of this country." He had come to her by way of Lancaster and Kendal, but he went back by way of Brough and over Stainmore, and so returned to Woburn, and she had word of his safe arrival there.

Her relatives of the Herbert family are but once alluded to. It was in 1669 when Lord Pembroke's youngest son "but one," Mr. James Herbert, in company with a Mr. Thomas Saunders, came from Oxfordshire to pay her a visit at Appleby, where, says she, "I now kissed them both, it being the first time that ever I saw any of my second husband's children in Westmoreland or any part of my inheritance." They stayed with her, lodging in Caesar's Tower for five nights, and then, having to depart exceedingly early in the morning, took their leave of her the night before and journeyed over Stainmore to the city of York, and so onwards towards Oxfordshire.

There is an interesting letter at Appleby addressed to Lady Anne from this very Mr. Herbert, acknowledging a handsome present she had made to his little boy for whom she stood Godmother. It was on the 7th of December, 1664, that he wrote to her, and she has endorsed the letter, saying that it was the letter from her son-in-law [*meaning of course Step-son*] "when he gives me thanks for the Plate I sent as a gift to his then New-born sonne Philip, to whom I was Godmother. The letter, rendered in ordinary spelling, reads as follows:—

MADAM,

Besides the great honour which your Ladyship hath been already pleased to do me in being godmother to my son Philip, you have now again heaped such high favours upon him and me, in your present of so noble a piece of plate, that your name and family will ever be remembered in ours, and I could wish that your Ladyship's life and happiness might be preserved as long as that

⁸¹ Edward, K.B., married Penelope widow of Sir Wm. Brooke.

piece of plate might last entire, which is the prayer of him who shall ever remain
Madam,

Your Ladyship's most obedient son and humble servant.

There is also a single reference in the Diary to Lady Anne's Sackville relations. On the 28th of August, 1672, Mr. Richard Sackville,³² "third son to the then Earl" of Dorset, "came from his journey out of Scotland from his sister Humes,³³ (who lives there) and from the city of Carlisle (where he lay the night before) hither into Appleby Castle, though I saw him not till the next day, and he came into my chamber to me, where I kissed him, it being the first time that I ever saw him, or that he and any of his parents' children were in any part of the lands of mine inheritance." Mr. Sackville stayed for three days, lodging in the Baron's Chamber, and then resumed his journey to Kendal, and onwards to London.

Twice she mentions visits of members of the Stanley family. In 1656 Charles Stanley, Earl of Derby,³⁴ came to Brougham to see her, and there remained for three or four nights, "being" says she, "the first time that he was ever in that castle, where his Greate Grandmother,³⁵ my ffather's Sister by the halfe blood, was born." Many years afterwards in 1674, in May, her "honourable cousin and godson (by Deputy) Mr. Robert Stanley, second brother to the Earl of Derby," came for one night to Pendragon to see her, and the next day left on his journey homewards to the Countess of Derby, his mother.

She records on three occasions visits from her Howard connections. The first was in 1665, while the assizes were going on at Appleby, her cousin Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle,³⁶ accompanied by "young Mr. ffenwick³⁷ that married his eldest daughter," came to her for one night. They were on their way to York to attend the Duke of York there, and she says it was the first time she had seen her cousin the Earl of Carlisle since he was Ambassador for the King in "Muscovia, Sweden, and Denmark." In 1669, in October, she had a visit at

³² Richard [really] fourth son to Richard 5th Earl of Dorset, born 1646, died 1712.

³³ Anne, his sister, married Alexander 4th Earl of Home.

³⁴ Charles, 8th Earl.

³⁵ Margaret, wife of Henry 4th Earl, only child of Henry, Earl of Cumberland by his wife Eleanor Brandon.

³⁶ Charles 1st. Earl.

³⁷ Sir John Fenwick, Bart., executed for high treason 27th Jan., 1697. His wife was Mary Howard.

Appleby Castle from Edward, Lord Morpeth,³⁷ " (eldest Sonne to my Cozen Charles Howard, Earle of Carlisle) and his Ladie, who was one of the younger Daughters to Sir William Uvedale by his second wife Victoria Carey and widdow to one of the Berkeleys that was killed at Sea in the late Warres." Lord and Lady Morpeth only stayed for one night at Appleby, and were lodged in the Baron's Chamber, and then continued their journey towards London.

The other allusion is at the end of her life, only a few months before she died, on the 1st of September, 1676, when she had a visit from " Henry Howard, Earle of Norwich,³⁸ and Lord Marshal of England," his eldest son, Lord Henry Howard,³⁹ and Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle, both of whom were her cousins. They only came for the day and she invited many of the gentry, both of Westmoreland and Cumberland to meet them at dinner, and then in the evening they left on their journey towards London. She says that it was the first time she had seen the Lord Marshal since he was a child, and that she had never before met his own son, Lord Henry Howard.

On one occasion she refers to a visit of a grandchild of Lord Wenman, who was on his way from Scotland to Wharton Hall, to stay with Lord Wharton, and who came to see her en route, and the only other important guest whose arrival she chronicles, is when in 1669, on the 14th of May, she had a visit from Sir Francis Rodes the third Baronet, of Barlborough. He was accompanied, she says, by his sister, Mrs. Jane Rodes, " whose mother," she adds, " was the widow Lady Rodes, my Cozen german, She haveing bin younger Daughter to my cousin of Cumberland. This was the first time I ever saw any of his generation in Westmoreland." The widow lady to whom she refers was Anne, one of the daughters of Sir Gervase Clifton of Clifton in Nottinghamshire, whose mother had been Frances, the daughter of Francis, Earl of Cumberland, so that Lady Anne had skipped a generation in her reference, and was not quite as accurate as was usually the case. This particular Sir Francis Rodes married Martha Thornton, a Quaker, who was a great friend of William Penn, and their son Sir John Rodes, who was the last Baronet, became a Quaker, and is frequently alluded to in an interesting book which was written under the title of *The*

³⁷ Afterwards 2nd Earl.

³⁸ Henry 6th Duke of Norfolk eventually.

³⁹ Afterwards 7th Duke of Norfolk.

Quaker Post Bag, by the present owner of Barlborough, Miss DeRodes now Mrs. Godfrey Locker-Lampson. With the Rodes visitors came, says Lady Anne, a Mr. Roger Molyneux, "who had bin a Collonell and now also lives in Derbyshire." He was a Molyneux of Teversal, and was the son of the first Baronet of the family, Sir John Molyneux, by his wife Anne, the widow of Sir Thomas Foljambe. He was at that time a Colonel in the army, and he married Jane, the daughter and co-heir of Sir Robert Monson. When the baronetcy in the Molyneux family became extinct, the property passed to the Howard-Molyneux family, one of whom married in 1830 the Earl of Carnarvon, and the estate still remains in the hands of that family. The Rodes visitors and their companion stayed with Lady Anne several days, and then journeyed to their own home, Barlborough in Derbyshire.

CHAPTER XIV.

LADY ANNE'S RECORD OF PUBLIC EVENTS.

THERE are not very many references to events of public importance in the diary, but such as there are, they are worthy of special mention, and it will perhaps be simpler if I group them together, rather than intersperse them with records of other events.

Lady Anne's first allusion to Parliament is in 1660, when she says that the new Parliament began to sit at Westminster on the 25th of April in that year. She says that the members, both for the county and for the borough of Appleby, were elected most part "by her means," and then that the parliament "proved to be a happie Parliament, by calling in our Rightfull Prince Charles the second into England, wherein also Generall George Monck, the Generall of the Armie in Scotland, was a great and a Happie Instrument." She adds that His Majesty, with his two brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, came out of the Low Countries by sea into England, about the 25th of May, that they landed at Dover, and went on to Canterbury and Rochester, and that the day following, which she records was the King's birthday; they all made their triumphant entry into the City of London to Whitehall. The joy, she states, was clouded with sorrow, however, for the death of the younger brother, Henry, Duke of Gloucester, who died on the 14th of September following, of smallpox at Whitehall, in the Prince's lodgings, and was buried afterwards in King Henry VII's. chapel. She also refers to the death of his elder sister Mary, Princess of Orange (1631-1660), who died at Whitehall, and was buried beside him in the same chapel.

There are several allusions to Queen Henrietta Maria in the diary. The first occurs in 1660, when she mentions that about the 2nd Nov-

ember the Queen Dowager of England, as she calls her, daughter to Henry IV. of France, "widow to our late Kinge and Mother to our now Kinge," came to England with her youngest daughter Princess Henrietta. She says that the Queen only remained in England two months, and then left with her daughter for Portsmouth, and so back into France, and very shortly after their arrival the Princess was married to her cousin german the Duke of Orleans and Anjou, "he that is second and only brother to the now King of France." This occasion when Queen Henrietta Maria came to England, was, Lady Anne records, the first time that she had been since her son had been restored to his crown. In 1662, she alludes to the Queen's return. "She landed at Greenwich," she says, "having newly come from her journey from Calais in France, in a great Shipp over the seas, and so by the river of Thames." The reference is of the briefest, merely that the Queen had arrived. In 1665, we have a further allusion to her. She says that on the 29th day of June of that year, being St. Peter's Day, "did our Queen Mary the ffrenchwoman, Queen Dowager and mother to our King Charles the Second, go out of Somerset House and out of London Towne across over the Thames to Lambeth, and so, by easy day's journeys, to Dover in Kent." She tells us that the King and the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, the Duke of Monmouth, and many other of the nobility went with the Queen Dowager as far as Dover, where they took their leave of her, and that then she crossed the seas, in one of the King's ships, and landed safely at Calais, this being, she adds, "the eleventh or twelfth time that she hath passed and repassed the seas, to and fro between England and beyond the seas," while in a footnote she mentions that, just before she left London, the Queen Dowager took her leave of "Queen Catherine, her Sonne our King's wife" at Hampton Court.

Two others complete the list of references to Queen Henrietta Maria. They follow one another. She says that on the 10th day of September "in this year 1669, being now Friday, died Henrietta Maria, Queen Mother of England, in her house called Colombe in ffrance, some four miles from Paris, which house she had lately caused to be built herself, who, if she had lived till the 16th of November following, would have been sixty years old." She then goes on to describe the original landing of Queen Henrietta Maria, and her marriage to Charles I.,

“ who was afterwards unfortunately beheaded ” ; describes the fact that her funeral service took place in the Abbey Church of St. Denis, near Paris, in France, where her dead body was then buried, and says that the funeral was “ after the forme and magnificence as had bin formerly used at the funerals of the Queen Mothers of France.” Finally, she describes her as a “ woman of excellent perfections both of Mind and of Body.”

There is but the briefest allusion to the Coronation of Charles II., merely a mention that on the 23rd of April in 1661, while she herself was in Appleby Castle, Charles II. was crowned the King of England, in the Abbey Church of Westminster, with great solemnity “ for which God be praised.”

In another document, however, an allusion occurs to the fact that she sent up her page Lancelot Machell, then sixteen years old, to London, on this occasion, to take some part in the ceremonial on her behalf. He could not, of course, have taken the seat to which she was entitled in the Abbey, but perchance, as representing a person of such great importance, he may have been allowed a position in the procession. The tradition in the Machell family is that for a long period, ranging over four hundred years, there had always been one of that family in the service of the Cliffords, and if Lancelot was on this occasion sent up to represent Lady Anne, it must have been peculiarly interesting to him, because it would appear that his uncle acted as her page thirty-six years before at the Coronation of Charles I. His father, Hugh Machell, was not present, as he ought to have been, to receive the honour of Knighthood at the Coronation of Charles I., and this is proved by the records of the family, which refer to his having been fined October 28th, 1630, for not having taken the trouble to come to London when summoned to that ceremonial. Lieut.-Col. Machell who, until his recent death, represented that family in Westmoreland, had in his possession a scrap of paper, on which are written some words (not in Lady Anne's handwriting) with reference to the Coronation Day. They read :—

A Ring, on the Coronation Day
Thy friend am I assuredly
And bid him read it
King Charles II.

The gift of the Right Honourable Anne, Countess of Pembroke, after the Restoration of King Charles II. to Lancelot Machell of Crackenthorpe, Esq. 16 years aged.

This sentence would seem to apply to a ring which was always said to have been given to Lancelot upon that occasion. Unfortunately it appears to be no longer in existence.

On the same piece of paper is a further sentence, " Anne, Countess of Pembroke, her own picture on a medal, given him twelve years of age, 1681." This is somewhat puzzling, because if Lancelot was sixteen when Charles II. was restored in 1661, he could not have been the same person who was twelve years of age in 1681, and probably the two sentences refer to two different persons, Lancelot the son of Hugh and Lancelot his son, the boy page, brother to Susan Machell, lady-in-waiting, or else that there is some grave error in the date. The picture and medal are still in existence, the former resembling in many respects the picture of Lady Anne (when Countess of Pembroke) still preserved at Wilton. It is that of a comparatively middle-aged person, and not of an old lady like the portraits of Lady Anne in the days of her widowhood, copies of which she was in the habit of giving away. With the paper is preserved one of the rare silver mendals of King Charles II., one of the Coronation medals of the kind that were given away in the form of *largesse* in the Abbey, and therefore very possibly obtained by Machell in the place itself. The connection between Lady Anne and the family of the Machells was one of peculiar intimacy, Mrs. Susan Machell, an unmarried woman, but given the title of Mrs. by courtesy, being one of her gentlewomen, and Mr. Henry Machell, Susan's father, her chief steward. The medal¹ given to Lancelot has been supposed by some persons to have been struck for use at her funeral. This statement is incorrect, as the paper in question proves. It is rare and precious, few examples of it remaining,

¹The Medal may be thus described :—

- O. Bust of the Countess of Dorset, three-quarter length wearing a veil over the back of the head, deep lace cape with brooch in front and bodice with a jewel
ANN: COVNT: OF: DORSETT: PEMB: &: MOVNTG, &c.
- R. Faith crowned holding a Bible and leaning upon a Cross.
SOLE · DAUGHTER · & HEIRE TO GEORGE EARLE OF · CUMBERLAND.
Mint mark a cross crosslet. Size 1.6.
See *Medallic Illustrations* (2032 e 1885 B.M.), p. 567, No. 233.
See Pinkerton's *Med. Hist.*, xxxiv., 2.

but on one or two of them there are rings attached, by which it is said the medal was worn on the occasion of the funeral. This is of course possible, as also is another statement that the medal was worn by the inhabitants of her almshouses, but it was probably not specially intended for either use but in all probability was struck by Lady Anne in order that she might have some personal object she could present to those persons to whom she desired to pay special honour, and they regarded it as an object of importance and wore it on different occasions.

On the occasion of the Restoration, Lady Anne made a statement, the formal copy of which still remains amongst the Appleby documents, declaring her duty to King Charles II. It reads as follows:—"The Countess of Pembroke certifies that, though her law suits and repair of her decayed houses in these parts have very much exhausted her, yet the zeal and duty she bears to His Majesty and his service are such as (though her ability be less) she would not be behindhand with any of her condition and quality in testifying the great joy she has for the King's happy restoration, she therefore takes the boldness to subscribe for the payment of four hundred pounds at the end of the following November, as soon as her jointure rents shall be received."

Lady Anne alludes twice to Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia. She tells us that on the 17th of May, 1661, the Queen came over the seas, out of the Low Countries to England to the City of London, to visit her two nephews, Charles II. and the Duke of York, and adds that the Queen had been now out of England forty-eight years and a month. She tells us that Queen Elizabeth stayed, for the most part, at Lord Craven's house in Drury Lane until January, when she moved to the new built house called Leicester House in the Fields, not far from Charing Cross, but that she was only in Leicester House for a month, and there it was that she died. The other allusion is in 1662, when she records the fact of the Queen's death. She describes her as "aunt to the King and the Duke of York," and says that she died at Leicester House in the Fields, and that she was buried in Henry VII.'s chapel in Westminster Abbey, near to her father and mother, her nephew, Henry, Duke of Gloucester, and his sister Mary, that she had lived in England since the preceding May, and died on the eve of the anniversary of her wedding day, forty-nine years before. She also adds that none of the widowed Queen's children were with her

when she died, except her son Prince Rupert, who was then in England.

Lady Anne had several times come into intimate connection with the Queen of Bohemia, and amongst the papers at Appleby Castle there is an interesting letter to her, written from the Hague in her own hand by Elizabeth of Bohemia, when Princess.

The allusions to Queen Catherine of Braganza are also short, Lady Anne only mentioning the Queen twice. The first occurs in 1662, when she says that the Infanta of Portugal, daughter to the late King, and sister to the present King of Portugal, after she had taken leave of the Queen Dowager her mother, her brother and her sisters, came on one of the King's great ships riding near Lisbon, and landed safely about the 14th of May at Portsmouth, after she had lain upon the seas in her journey from Lisbon ever since the 23rd of April. She records that the King met her at Portsmouth, and that the following day the wedding took place there in a public manner, she mentions that from thence Queen Catherine travelled to Winchester, then to Farnham Castle, and so on to Hampton Court, and narrates the fact that, soon after the Court had arrived at Hampton Court, Lady Thanet, and her daughter Lady Frances (afterwards Lady Frances Drax), went down to pay their respects to the new Queen. There is also the briefest possible allusion in the following year to Queen Catherine's miscarriage, and a statement that it was the third time that this unhappy event had occurred.

The momentous and most unfortunate visit which the Duchesse d'Orleans paid to England in 1670 is referred to. Lady Anne describes with some satisfaction the fact that on the 16th of May, 1670, "Princess Henrietta Maria, Wife of the Duke of Orleans," came from Dunkirk over the sea into England, landing at Dover, and narrates that the King, her brother, with the Duke of York and Prince Rupert, went to meet her, that later on, the Queen visited her at Dover, but that the Princess made a short stay and then returned back into France. She then goes on to describe her arrival at St. Cloud, when she was taken with "a sudden and violent distemper," "thought to be a kind of bilious colic," whereof she died there on Monday the 20th of the month following, about four o'clock in the morning, which sad news, said Lady Anne, was brought into England to Whitehall the 22nd of the same month by an express from "Mr. Montague, our King's

Ambassador at Paris," to the "great grief of His Majesty and the rest of her relations."

Another visit to the King is recorded, that of His Highness William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, "Oldest and only child to our now King of England's eldest sister, deceased." Three days before this happened, the King had opened Parliament, and Lady Anne had made one of her very rare references to public events in alluding to this. She says that the House reassembled at Westminster, "where our now King Charles was then present in the House of Lords, habited in his Royal Robes, and the Crown upon His head, and having taken His Place with the usuall ceremonies in the Chair of Estate, His Majesty made a gracious speech, in short, to both Houses, leaving the Lord Keeper to open the particulars more at large." Then, three days afterwards, the Prince of Orange arrived. He had taken ship, she tells us, at the "Briol in Holland," and he landed at Margate, from whence he went to Canterbury by post, and then by coach to Rochester. There he stopped for a night, and the following day came on to Gravesend, and so by one of the King's barges along the river to Whitehall, where the King and Queen, his uncle and aunt, and the Duke and Duchess of York, all received him with great demonstration of affection and joy, this being the first time that ever this young Prince came into England. It seems likely that the real reason for narrating this event at such length in the diary is that the Prince of Orange was lodged in the rooms by the Cockpit at Whitehall, which originally were at the disposal of Lady Anne's second husband, the Earl of Pembroke, "wherein," says she, "my late Lord, the Earl of Pembroke, did use to lye, and wherein that Lord of mine dyed." She must have been well acquainted with those rooms and interested in the fact that the Prince of Orange was occupying them. She goes on to state that the Prince went to Windsor Castle for one night, that he visited the Universities both of Oxford and of Cambridge, and that he went to "see Audley End House and other remarkable places in the kingdom." He was attended by the Earl of Ossory, whom the King had appointed to be with him in his voyage, and he left England on the 13th of February, going from Whitehall to Rochester and thence to Sheerness, where he went on board one of the King's yachts "and so," says she, "passed safe and well over seas into his own country."

One can invariably trace in these entries in Lady Anne's diary some reason for the recording of a public event, and that a reason in some way connected with herself or her family. I have just referred to the Prince of Orange having occupied her late husband's rooms at the Cockpit, and the only other entry respecting the visit of a Prince to England is clearly mentioned because he stayed for a while at Wilton. It was in the year 1669, in March, that she tells us that the "Prince of Tuscany who was the eldest son to Cosmo de Medici the great Duke of Florence in Italy," and who married the "Duke of Orleans' daughter by his second wife," came from Spain to England, in the course of paying a series of visits to "the several Princes in Christendom to their several Courts." He had been first in Ireland and then she says "He landed at Plymouth, made his way to Exeter, and by slow journeys to Salisbury, "where," she tells us, "he was magnificently entertained" in April by the then Earl of Pembroke at his house at Wilton, and later on, the Prince of Tuscany came to London to Whitehall and was accommodated in what she calls "the house called the Pell-Mell near St. James's" He went to visit Oxford, Cambridge, Althorp, Hampton Court, Windsor Castle, Audley End and New Hall, and other places, and then left for Harwich and over the seas to Holland.

She alludes briefly to the death of the Duchess of York, styling her "that Anne Hyde that was Duchess of York," evidently implying by this particular phraseology that she did not regard her as a person of great moment. She died, so Lady Anne states, on March 31st, 1671, in one of the rooms at the King's House at St. James's "wherein had formerly dyed Queen Mary," and she mentions that the Duke of York and her three surviving children were present at the death, and that the body, accompanied by Prince Rupert, who was the chief mourner, and many of the English nobility, was buried on the 5th of April in Henry VII.'s Chapel.

The only other reference to any member of the Royal Family that occurs in Lady Anne's diary is when she states that on the 21st of November, 1674, the Duchess of Modena, with her daughter and "many persons of quality," came from their journey "out of Italy (their own country)" and landed at Dover, where, says she, "His

² See the Travels of Cosmo III., Grand Duke of Tuscany, by Count Lorenzo Magalotti (B.M., G, 7411 and 586, g 12, 1821). Magalotti was a friend of Sir Isaac Newton.

Royal Highness the Duke of York met them, and married the said Duchess's daughter for his second wife." She then alludes to the journey up to London to Whitehall and St. James's Palace, and to the fact that the Duchess of Modena only stayed in London three days, and went back from England on her journey into Italy," to her own home there," accompanied by all her retinue.

One curiously odd reference occurs in the year 1670, where she mentions, without any apparent reason, the fact that Cardinal Paul Emilius Altieri was elected and proclaimed Pope by the name of Clement X, and she adds that there had been a vacancy since the 9th of December, and that that was "the longest that there had been in the Papacy since the reigns of Henry IV., V., and VI."

To the two events of the Plague and the Fire she makes the briefest of allusion. Of the Plague she merely says that in that particular year in which she is writing there was "a great plague in the Cittie and Suburbs of London whereof there dyed for severall weeks together above eight thousand a week, the like whereof was never knowne in London before." The Fire, however, interested her rather more, because it consumed both Great and Little Dorset House,³ and spared Thanet House. Of it, therefore, she makes a more lengthy mention. She speaks of the fire breaking out "in several places and houses within the walls of the Cittie of London." She says it "continued rageing there for about four days together before it could be quenched." She speaks of its consuming "that ancient and noble Church of St. Paul's" and the "whole streets of Cheapside, Blackfriars, and Whitefriars," and all the houses in these streets and the river of Thames," but, true to her home and family instinct, specially mentions that it burnt down not only Baynard's Castle but Great Dorset House and Little Dorset House, "in which three places," says she, "I had spent much of my time when I was wife to my first and second husbands," and then she adds that in all this desolation, Thanet House in Aldersgate Street,⁴ "my daughter of Thanet's jointure house, was preserved."

³ Dorset House had been originally the town residence of the Bishop of Salisbury, and was bought from the See in Elizabeth's time by Sir Richard Sackville, who moved into it from Fleet Street. Four successive Earls of Dorset were born in the house, and each generation added on it, until, at length, it became so unwieldy that it was divided into two portions, known as Great and Little Dorset House (see Bell's "Great Fire of London," page 152).

⁴ In later days it was let to Lord Shaftesbury, and during his absence abroad John Locke lived there. It came back after his tenancy into Lord Thanet's hands but retained the name

With regard to the Great Fire, there is at Appleby an interesting letter dated September 12th, 1666, in which Lady Thanet writes to her mother at Skipton, she being at that time sojourning at Stamford. She had only arrived the previous night, having fled away from London, and she says in the letter " I hear it confirmed that Thanet House is safe from the fire, and likewise Aldersgate Street, the nearest that it came my house was Surgeon's Hall on the backside my garden, which is burnt down to the ground." She goes on to say that the Goldsmiths had secured all their money in the Tower, and that she has heard that Dorset House was burnt down, but is not quite clear whether that was the case or not. She adds " whether I have a bed left at Thanet House or not, I do not know." Lord Hatton, she says, had told her that all was " burnt down from Pudding Lane, that is the Bear at the Bridge foot, to Temple Bar." She concludes by saying that she had sent a man up to London to her steward to arrange if the beds had been carried out of the house, some of them were to be got in again, because all round about was dangerous from the plague and the smallpox, there was hardly any accommodation in the neighbouring houses, and it would be better in the circumstances to stay in Thanet House, even if it had been injured, than to try for other accommodation in the district.

of Shaftesbury House. At a far later period of its history it became a lying-in hospital and eventually was pulled down. In 1766 it is described as a " noble and elegant building of brick surmounted with stone " and is then declared to have been " built by the masterly hands of Inigo Jones." From the prints of it one gathers that it had certainly much the appearance of his work. There is a court near by still called Shaftesbury Court. Lord Thanet had a house in the latter part of the 18th century in Great Russell Street, but his earliest residence before he built a house in Aldersgate Street was in Fleet Street near to Childs' Bank where this site is still known as Thanet Place.

CHAPTER XV.

THE LAST FEW MONTHS OF LADY ANNE'S LIFE.

WE are fortunate enough to have full and elaborate details concerning the last few months of Lady Anne's life, since, in the general destruction of papers which took place many years ago, some few were saved, and amongst them the pages from her Day-by-Day book, describing the various events of her life in elaborate detail, from the 1st of January, 1676, down to the 21st of March of the same year. These entries are given verbatim, as they are of special interest, and contain important information concerning Lady Anne's life, and her personal habits. They have never hitherto been printed in full, only a few brief extracts having been made from them by Wm. Jackson, F.S.A. in a paper he read before the Whitehaven Scientific Association in 1873.

They read as follows :—

January, the 1st day, 1676. And this forenoon there came hither from her House at Seatree Park Mrs. Winch, so I had her into my chamber and kissed her, and she dined without with my folks in the Painted Room, and after I had her again into my chamber and talked with her a good while, and I gave her four pairs of Buckskin Gloves that came from Kendal.

And this evening about seven o'clock after I was in bed did Allan Strickland comitt some disorder in my house of which I was acquainted next morning by Mr. Thomas Gabetis my Sheriff but he shewing a regret and compunction for these misdemeanors I was moved upon his ingenious acknowledgement and confession to pardon him.

This morning about ten o'clock did some of my chief folks vizt, Mr. Thomas Gabetis my Sheriff, Mr. George Sedgewick, Mr. Edward Hasell, Mr. Henry Machell ; and the men to the first three, ride on

horseback to my Cousins Mr. John Dalstons at Milbrigg and dined ther with him and his wife and children but came back hither again about five o'clock at night.

I went not out of the House nor out of my Chamber this day. Psa. 121.

The 2nd day, Being Sunday I went not out of the House nor out of my Chamber to-day, but my two Gentlewomen, Mrs. Pate and Mrs. Susan Machell [*daughter of Lancelot Machell*] and Mrs. Thomas Gabetis, my Sheriff, and his wife and three of my Laundry Maids and some of my Chief Servants went to Ninekirks where Mr. Grasty¹ preached a sermon to them and the Congregation.

And to-day there dined without with my folks in the Painted Room and with the Sheriff and his wife, Mr. Grasty, our parson, my two Farmers here, William Spedding and his wife Jeffrey Bleamire and his son, so after dinner I had them into my Room and kissed the Women and took the Men by the hand, and a little after Mr. Grasty, the parson, said Common Prayer and read a Chapter and sang a Psalm as usual to me, and them my family, and when prayers was done they went away.

3rd Day. There dined here with my folks and with Mr. Thomas Gabetis, my Sheriff, and his Wife, Mr. Lancelot Machell of Cracken-thorpe, so after dinner I had him into my Chamber and took him by the Hand and talked with him, and I gave him a pair of Buckskin Gloves and afterwards he went away.

I went not out of the House nor out of my Chamber to-day.

4th Day. By the *Gazette* I this day received from London by the post, the King by his proclamation doth forbid all coffee-houses in selling of coffee publicly.²

5th Day. And by a letter received this day from my daughter, Thanett, dated the 30th December I came to know that she is much troubled with a pain in her head but that all her posterity are well, and that the Lord Hatton was married to his second wife Mrs. Yel-verton the 21st day of last month.

And this afternoon did my Housekeeper Richard Lowes come into

¹ Samuel Grasty, M.A., presented to the living of Brougham by Lady Anne in 1664.

² This refers to the suppression of coffee-houses on the ground that they were "the resort of disaffected persons who nourished sedition, spread reports to the defamation of the Government and disturbed the quiet and peace of the nation."

my Chamber to prayers, whome I had not seen in two months before by reason of his great sickness so I took him by the hand and talked with him.

I went not out of the House nor out of my Chamber to-day, Psa. 23rd.

6th Day. Being Twelfth day there dined here with my folks and my Sheriff and his Wife, Mr. Samuel Grasty, our Parson, and Mr. James Buchanan,³ the Parson of Appleby, and his two sons and also John Webster, so after dinner I had them into my Chamber, and took them by the hand, and afterwards Mr. Grasty said prayers and read a Chapter as he usually did upon Wednesdays to me and them and my family and then prayers ended they went away.

This morning after I was out of bed I was so weak that I had a swoning fitt but God be praised I recovered soon after.

And this morning I set my hand to three good letters of Hasells' writing for me, one to my daughter Thanett, one to my Lord Southampton,⁴ and one to Mr. William Edge all in answer to letters I received the last post.

I went not out of my Chamber all this day.

7th Day. There dined here to-day without in the Painted Room with my folks and my Sheriff and his Wife, Justice William Musgraves of Penrith and I had him into my Chamber, and I took him by the hand and talked with awhile and I gave him a pair of gloves and then he went away.

And this afternoon did my Sheriff and his Wife and servants after they had layen here during this Christmas viz. : for fourteen nights together, rid away on Horseback from me and us here towards there [*sic*] own homes at Crosby Ravenside.

I went not out of my Chamber to-day.

The 9th Day, Being Sunday yet I went not out of my Chamber all this day, Ergo, consequently. (Eccle) but my two Gentlewomen

³ James Buchanan, the son of a prebendary, presented to the living of Appleby by Lady Anne in 1661.

⁴ It is not easy to understand this entry as the last Earl of Southampton died 16 May, 1667. It is probably an error for Northampton; see under date Feb. 17.

⁵ This Judge was the second son of Simon Musgrave of Musgrave Hall in Middlegate, Penrith. He was baptized June 22nd, 1607, married a wife, Elizabeth, had a family of eight children, and died January 25th, 1685-6. The parish register records the fact that he was "buried in Wooline." The Cliffords and Musgraves were kinsfolk, see Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological *Transactions*, vol. xv., pages 82-104.

and three of my Laundry Maids and most of my Men Servants went to the Church of Ninekirks where Mr. Grasty, our Parson, preached a good sermon to them and the Congregation. And to-day there dined without in the Painted Room with my folks Mr. Grasty, the Parson, and my two Farmers here and after dinner I had them into my Chamber and took them by the hand and talked with them, and afterwards Mr. Grasty, our Parson, said Common Prayers and read a Chapter and sung a Psalm as usual upon Sundays to me and to them and to my Family and when prayers was ended they went away.

And this 9th Day did I fix upon a Day to receive the Blessed Sacrament with my Family which I intend, God willing, shall be the 25th of this month.

10th Day. And to-day there dined here with my folks my Cousin Thomas Sandford's Wife of Askham ⁶ and her second son so after dinner I had them into my Chamber and kissed her and took him by the hand, and I gave her a pair of Buckskin Gloves and him five shillings and then they went away.

And about five of the clock this Evening did George Goodgeion bring me 28 books of Devotion he bought for me at Penrith, and I then saw them paid for, and gave them all away but six to my Domestic Servants.

The 12th Day. There dined here in the Painted Chamber with my folks, Mrs. Jane Carleton, the Widdow sister to Sir William Carleton,⁷ deceased, so after dinner I had her into my Chamber, and I kissed her and talked with her awhile, and I gave her 5s. and she went away, and Mr. Grasty, our parson, also dined here as usual on Wednesdays with me and my Family, and after prayer he read the Exhortation for receiving the Sacrament which I intend, God willing, to receive the 25th of this month with my family and then he went away.

I went not out of my house nor out of my chamber to-day. Psa. 23rd.

⁶ The Sandford's of Askham were connected with the Sandfords of Howgill Castle. The family became extinct in the male line in 1730. Askham Hall was a large, old border tower which was enlarged in 1574 by Thomas Sandford, as can be proved by the inscription of that date which appears on the west gateway in conjunction with the arms of Sandfords, Crackenthorpe, Lancaster and English, and the initials in two pairs T.S. and A.S. Thomas Sandford transformed it into an Elizabethan mansion, the building being fully described in Curwen's *Castles and Towers*, page 347. The wife of Thomas Sandford mentioned by Lady Anne was one Elizabeth who, according to the parish registers, died a widow July 11th, 1705.

⁷ Of Carleton, near Penrith, a very ancient family.

The 14th Day. And this morning after the Week Book was paid did Mr. Henry Machell, my Steward, ride away towards Crackenthorpe and the next day towards evening he came back again.

And to-day there dined here without in the Painted Room with my folks, Mr. John Gilmoor and his man William Labourn, my keeper of Whinfall Park, but his man dined in the Hall, so after dinner I had them into my Chamber and took them by the hand and talked with them and then they went away.

And there also dined here Elizabeth Atkinson⁸ daughter of Mr. Warcopp so after dinner she came into my Chamber and I kissed her and gave her two shillings and sixpence and then she went away.

I went not out of the House nor out of my Chamber to-day.

The 17th Day. To-day there dined without with my folks my Cousin Mr. Thomas Burbeck⁹ of Hornby and his wife and their little daughter, and his father-in-law Mr. Catterick and his wife and his Mother, and they also all dined here, Mr. Robert Carleton,¹⁰ only son to the widdow Lady Carlton, so after dinner I had them all into my Chamber and kissed the women, and took the men by the hand and

⁸ It seems to be possible that this Elizabeth Atkinson may have been the widow of Captain Atkinson who was concerned in the Kaber Rigg plot. Atkinson was a man of considerable social influence, and a zealous supporter of Oliver Cromwell. He was one of those who attempted to choose a Round-head mayor for Appleby by force of arms, and he it was who induced the Protector to impose a new charter upon the Borough of Appleby which the Mayor and Corporation refused to accept, and declined to carry out any of its provisions. At the Restoration, Atkinson adhered to the laws which the nation had set aside, rose in rebellion against the constituted authority at Kaber Rigg, was taken prisoner and tried by a Special Commission as a traitor. He had been a bitter opponent of Lady Anne, and she was deeply interested in the trial, and cannot refrain in a certain exultation when he was condemned and executed.

According, however, to her customary habit she had no sooner got her enemy out of her way than she herself did all she could for those remaining behind him. She appears to have been particularly kind to Mrs. Atkinson and to the traitor's children, permitting them to remain on their father's estate at Dale Foot at quite a nominal rent, and it is stated that their descendants continue there to the present day. It is rather a curious fact that the Warcops had sold their property to the Braithwaites only a little while before, and the Braithwaites had moved what little they could of heaven and earth on behalf of Atkinson when he got into his trouble. It seems therefore to be quite likely that this Elizabeth Atkinson, who was a Warcop, was the person in question and belonged to the family not more than two generations away from those who sold the Warcop Manor.

⁹ The Birkbecks of Hornby Hall near Brougham, *not* of Hornby Castle, Craven. The house is near to Ninekirks Church. It used to contain the finest carved oak in the county; all of it is now to be found in Lowther Castle and there is an interesting story concerning its removal to that place.

¹⁰ Robert, the only son of the second wife of Sir Wm. Carleton of Carleton. She was Barbara, daughter of Robert de la Vale of Cowpan.

I gave to my Cousin Mr. Burbeck and his Wife each ten shillings, and his Mother ten shillings, and his Father-in-law Mr. Catterick and his wife each of them ten shillings, and six shillings to the child, and then I gave Mr. Carleton a pair of Buckskin Gloves and then they all went away.

I went not out of my House nor out of my Chamber to-day.

The 19th Day. I remember how this day was 59 years in the withdrawing chamber of Queen Anne the Dane, in the Court at Whitehall did that Queen admonish me to persist in my denyall of trusting my cause concerning the lands of my Inheritance to her husband King James's award, which admonition of hers and other my friends, did much confirm me in my purpose so as the next day I gave that King an absolute denyall accordingly which by God's Providence tended much to the good of me and mine.

I went not out of my House nor out of my Chamber to-day. Psa. 1st.

The 22nd Day. There dined here without with my folks in the Painted Room Mr. Robert Willison of Penrith, the Post Master, so after dinner I had him into my chamber and took him by the hand and talked with him and saw him paid for a Rundlet of Sack another of White Wine and a Gallon of Clarett ¹¹ against my receiving the Holy Sacrament.

The 24th Day. And this day there was none that dined here nor visited me, so I spent the day in hearing some chapters read to me and in preparing myself to receive the Holy Sacrament of Bread and Wine which I intend, God willing, to receive with my family.

The 25th Day. I remembered how this day was 52 years, in the withdrawing Room Chamber at Knowle House in Kent as we satt at dinner, had my first Lord and I a great falling out, when but the day before I came from London, from being Godmother to his Brother's youngest son. Deut., c. 23, v. 5. :—"Nevertheless the Lord thy God would not hearken unto Balaam, but the Lord thy God turned the curse into a Blessing, because the Lord thy God loveth thee." And this Morning about eight o'clock did Mr. Samuel Grasty, our parson, preach a good Sermon in my Chamber to me and my family and a little after he administered the Sacrament of Bread and Wine to me and my family, viz., to Mrs. Frances Pate and Mrs. Susan Machell

¹¹ Was all this Gallon of Clarett to be used for the early Communion next day?

(my two Gentlewomen), Dorothy Demain, Margaret Dargue, Anne Chipendale, and Jane Slidall my four Laundry Maids, Isabella Jordon my Washwoman, Mr. Edward Hasell [*Estate Steward*], Mr. Henry Machell [*Appleby Estate Steward*], George Boodion [*valet*], Edward Forster, Allan Strickland [*Chief Steward*], William Dargue, Jos. Hall [*Chief Groom*], Abraham Fitter [*Postillion*], Isaac Walker [*Stable Groom*], Richard Raynolson, William Buckle, Richard Lowes [*House Steward*], Cuthbert Rawling, Jacob Murgatroids, Arthur Swinden [*Under Butler*], and George Lough, the Clark, which I nor they received since the third of November last, and Parson Grasty dined here with my folks and then he went.

I went not out of my House nor out of my Chamber to-day. Psal. 121.

The 28th Day. And this morning by letters I received from my daughter Thanett and by the packet of this week from London I came to know that she herself my said daughter was well and most of her generation and posterity in their several places and homes.

The 29th Day. And yesternight late did John Bradford come from Skipton and over Cotter and Stake afoot hither, but I did not see him till this morning and he brought the news of Mrs. Sutton's death, the Mother of my Almshouse at Beamsly.

And this morning about six o'clock before I got out of my bed did I pair the tops of my Nails of my Fingers and toes and burnt them in the fire after I was up, I went not out of the House nor out of my Chamber to-day.

The 30th Day. Being Sunday I considered how this was 86 years, then Friday about seven o'clock in the Evening was my blessed Mother with very hard labour brought to bed of me in her own Chamber in Skipton Castle, my Brother Robert, Lord Clifford, then all lying in that Castle, but my Noble Father then lay in Bedford House in the Strand at London.

The 31st Day. And this day did my family keep as a fast the Martyrdom of King Charles the 1st, tho' he was beheaded the day before, the day being commanded by Act of Parliament. And this day about three o'clock in the afternoon did John Twentymen, Gardener, to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle,¹² came from Rose Castle in

¹² Amongst the papers at Appleby Castle, there is a letter from this Bishop of Carlisle to Lady Anne. It is dated Feb. 22, 1663-4, and in it the Bishop says that he understands by

Cumberland hither to this Brougham Castle to look after and order my Garden here,¹³ so he lay in the Bannister Room five nights together, during which time he worked in my Garden here, upon Saturday the Fifth of February, in the morning, he went home again, and I sent by him a Bottle of the Pulp of Pomcitrton¹⁴ to the Bishop of Carlisle.

February the 7th Day. Being Shrove Monday, and to-day there dined without with my folks, Dorothy Wiber, the woman of my Almshouse at Appleby, and after dinner I had her into my Chamber and saw her paid for five dozen yards of Bonlace, but I was very angry with her for bringing so much and told her I would have no more of her.

I went not out of my house nor out of my Chamber to-day. Psa. 121.

And this afternoon about one o'clock, after I had taken my leave of them in my Chamber, did Mr. Edward Hasell and Christopher Rawling ride out of this Brougham Castle, towards Rose Castle in Cumberland to his Uncle and Aunt the Bishop of Carlisle¹⁵ and his Lady, when he and his Man, lay three nights, and on the 14th day they came back again hither.

I went not out of my house nor out of My Chamber to-day.

This afternoon, about one o'clock, did Sir George Fletcher¹⁶ and his lady and her daughter by her first husband, and Mr. Fleming¹⁷ and

Sir Philip Musgrave that she has been pleased to give way to the exchange of Brougham and Calbeck, "whereby," says he, "two worthy men may be pleased, and God and His Church in both places well served." He then begs leave to be excused from coming to see her, and making, as he says, her Castle his inn, as the time that he has at his disposal when in that part of Westmoreland is very short. He was going to take a confirmation at Penrith on the 2nd March, and must, he says, be in Appleby for a similar duty on the following day.

¹³ Perhaps for Topiary work similar to that being introduced at this period at Rose Castle and Levens Hall.

¹⁴ Perchance a kind of apple and lemon marmalade.

¹⁵ Dr. Rainbow. His portrait, and that of Mrs. Rainbow still hang at the Hasells place, Dalemain, near Penrith.

¹⁶ Sir George Fletcher of Hutton and his wife Maria, daughter of the Earl of Annandale. His wife's first husband was Sir George Graham, Bart., of Netherby, she had by him one daughter, Margaret.

¹⁷ This must be Daniel Fleming of Rydal Water (1633-1701), who married Barbara Fletcher, daughter of Sir Henry Fletcher of Hutton, and who had by her fifteen children. He is the hero of Dr. Magrath's amazing work on "The Flemings in Oxford, 1650-1700," a veritable directory of the notable people in Westmoreland at the period. From this book we have had by special permission the privilege of making frequent quotations, all of which are marked thus (F). The eldest daughter was Catherine, who appears to have married in 1677 Roger Moore, afterwards Recorder of Kendal. (F.)

his eldest daughter, come hither, so I had them into my chamber and kissed the women and took the men by the hand, and Sir George delivered to me severall letters of my ancestors, which were sent me by order of my Lord Marshall, and after I had talked with them and given the women each of them an emerald gold ring they all went away.

12th day. In the morning did I see Mr. Robert Willison¹⁸ of Penrith, paid for a rundlet of sack, but I was very angry with him, because I thought it too dear, and told him I would have no more of him, and then he slipt away from me in a good hurry.

The 14th Day. And this day did John Webster come hither into my Chamber so I took him by the hand and talked with him and then he retreated into the Dining Room, and dined with my folk.

And this 14th day early in the morning did my Black Spoted Bitch called Zurmue [*the word may be "Quinne"*] pupp in my Bed and Chamber four little puppies but they were all dead.

I went not out of my House nor out of my Chamber to-day.

The 15th Day. And came hither this afternoon about one o'clock my Cousin Mrs. Anne Howard,¹⁹ sister to Mr. Francis Howard of Corby²⁰ and her cousin Sir Charles Howard's daughter and two other Gentlemen with them, whose names I know not, so I had them into my Chamber and kissed the women and took the men by the hand and talked with them a good while, and a little after they rode away on Horseback to the said Corby Castle in Cumberland.

I went not out of my house nor out of my Chamber to-day.

17th Day. I remember how this day was 60 years when I and my first Lord lay in Little Dorsett House in London Town in the afternoon in the best Gallery in Great Dorsett House did George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury and many others come to my first Lord and mee and did earnestly perswaid mee both by fair words and threatings to stand to the award of the four judges, wou'd then make

¹⁸ This man who supplied Lady Anne with her wine was doubtless a vintner who was at the same time an inn-keeper. There is some interesting evidence to this effect in Bishop Nicolson's diary under date February 27th, 1684-5. The Archdeacon of Carlisle, who was a pluralist, Rector of Salkeld and many other livings, although still residing at Oxford, had to go with the bishop's address to Penrith, and he particularly records that on that occasion he lodged at R. Willisons.

¹⁹ Died unmarried 1683.

²⁰ Governor of Carlisle, died 1702, his brother married a Dalston of Acorn Bank.

betwixt my first Lord and mee on the one part and my Uncle of Cumberland and his son on the other part concerning the land of mine inheritances and thereupon it was agreed that I should go to my Blessed Mother In Westmoreland and begin my Journey the 21st of that month, which I did accordingly. Eccles., c. 3 ; Pro., c. 20.

And this 17th day in the afternoon about three o'clock did my Cousin Mr. Richard Musgrave²¹ oldest son to my cousin Sir Philip Musgrave, and his Lady and their daughter, who is their only child, come in their coach hither from Edenhall, and I had them into my Chamber, and kissed my said Cousin and his wife and the child and also their gentlewomen and I gave to my Cousin, wife and child, each of them a gold Ring, and after they had stayed awhile they went away. And this day did my Servant, Mr. Thos. Strickland, and his man, Lancelot Machell, ride from his own house near Kendal called Garnett House towards Appleby whither they came that night to gather my Candlemas Rents, and he lay in the Barron's Chamber there and his man in the Musty Chamber. And to-day I had one or two very ill fitts. Yet I slept well in the night, thank God.

I went not out of my house nor out of my Chamber to-day.

17th day. This morning did I sett my handwriting to four good letters of Hasell's writing, one to my granddaughter of Thanett, one to my Lord Northampton, one to Sir Thomas Wharton,²² and one to Mr. William Edge, all in answer to letters I received from them by the last post.

The 20th Day. And tho' to-day was Sunday, yet I went not out to Church nor out of my Chamber all this day, but my two Gentlewomen and three of my Laundry Maids and most of my chief men Servants went to this Church called Ninekirks where he preached a good Sermon, vizt., Mr. Grasty, our Parson, so them and the rest conjectured tho' one part thereof seemed to reflect upon the writer, so that I thought he spoke to none but me.

After dinner Mr. Grasty said Common Prayers, and read a Chapter and sang a Psalm as usual upon Sundays to me and to my Family.

The 21st Day. I remembered how this day was 60 years did my

²¹ Afterwards 3rd Bart., he married Margaret, daughter to Sir Thomas Harrison and had only one child, Mary, afterwards Mrs. Davyson of Durham.

²² Of Edlington, York, grandson of Philip, 3rd Baron, whose wife was Lady Frances Clifford.

first Lord and I go out of Little Dorsett House in London Town on our Journey Northwards so as that night we lay in the Inn at Dunstable in Bedfordshire as were in our Journey, I towards Brougham Castle to my Blessed Mother and he to sett me on my way as farr as Lichfield in Staffordshire. Eccle., c. 3rd, etc.

The 22nd Day. I remembered how this day was 60 years my first Lord and I went out of the Inn at Dunstable and so through Stony Stratford and hard by Grafton House, in Northamptonshire, into the Inn at Towcester in that County as we were in our Journey Northwards.

Before I was out of my bed did I pare off the tops of the nails of my fingers and toes, and when I was up I burnt them in the chimney of my chamber, and a little after in this same chamber of mine did George Goodgion clip off all the hair of my head, which I likewise burnt in the fire, and after supper I washed and bathed my feet and legs in warm water, wherein beef had been boiled and brann. And I had done none of this to myself since the 13th of December that George Goodwin cut my hair for me in this chamber of mine. God grant that good may betide me and mine after it.

I went not out of my House nor out of my Chamber to-day.

The 23rd day I remembered how this was 60 years my first Lord and I went out of the Inn at Stony Stratford, into my Cousin Thomas Elmes's House at Lillford, in Northamptonshire, for awhile and so that day into the Inn at Warwick, in Warwickshire, where we lay that night.

And to-day there dined with my folks in the Painted Room Mr. Samuel Grasty, our parson, and afterwards he said Common Prayers and read a Chapter as usual on Wednesdays to me and my Family and there also dined without with my folks Mr. Thomas Ubank of Ormside,²³ the Doctor, so after dinner I had him into my Chamber, and I took him by the hand and I gave him six shillings, and caused him to go up into Arthur Swindon's Chamber to see him and he came up and sayed prayers and then he went away, and afterwards I paid Mr. Samuel Grasty his twenty shillings for saying prayers to me and my family for a month last past, and then they all went away.

I went not out of my House nor out of my Chamber to-day.

²³ There were some Ubanks (or Ewbanks) of Rosgill, Shap, but I cannot trace the family in Ormside,

The 24th Day. I remembered how this was 60 years my first Lord and I after I had been to see Warwick Castle and Church went out of the Inn and so into Guy's Cliff to see it, and from thence that night we went into the Inn at Litchfield where we lay two nights because the next day was Sunday.

I went not out of my House nor out of my Chamber to-day. *Psa. 121.*

The 25th Day. I remembered how this was 60 years and then Sunday. My first Lord and I went forenoon and afternoon into the Church at Litchfield to the Sermon and Service there and afterwards into other the most remarkable places in that town and that night we lay again in the Inn there.

And this day did Mr. Thomas Strickland, one of my chief officers, and his man, Lancelot Machell, ride on horseback towards Appleby Castle, to receive there the rest of my Candlemas rents ; and the 28th day they returned and came back hither to me and us here.

And this day there dined without with my folks my cousin, Mr. Thomas Burbeck of Hornby Castle, and his wife and their little daughter, and his father-in-law, Mr. Catterick, and his wife and his mother, and there also dined here Mr. Robert Carleton, only son to the widdow, Lady Carleton. So after dinner I had them all into my chamber, and kissed the women and took the men by the hand, and I gave to my cousin, Mr. Burbeck, and his wife each ten shillings, and his mother ten shillings, and his father-in-law Mr. Catterick, and his wife each of them ten shillings, and six shillings to the child, and gave Mr. Carleton a pair of Buckskin gloves, and then they all went away. [*See Jan. 17th*].

The 26th Day. I remembered how this day was 60 years I and my first Lord went out to the Inn at Litchfield in Sir George Curzon's House at Croxall in Derbyshire, from whence we went to Burton-upon-Trent in Darbyshire where my first Lord and I then parted, he returning back to Litchfield where he was to stay for four or five days then about a great foot race that was then there, but I proceeded on my Journey towards Brougham Castle and came to Darby and lay in the Inn there.

I went not out of the House nor out of my Chamber to-day.

The 27th Day. I remembered how this day was 60 years did I go out of the Inn at Darby into two Houses at Hardwick now both

belonging to the Earl of Devonshire and so from thence into the Inn at Chesterfield in that County where I lay that one night. And tho' to-day was Sunday yet I went not to the Church nor out of my Chamber all this day. Psa. 23rd, but my two gentlewomen went and two of my Laundry Maids and most of my men Servants, rode on Horseback to Ninekirks where Mr. Grasty, the parson, preached a very good sermon to them and to the Congregation.

The 28th Day. I remembered how this was 60 years I went out of the Inn at Chesterfield in Darbyshire into the Earl of Shrewsberries' House called Sheffield in Yorkshire to see it and that Evening I went to the Inn at Rotherham in that County where I lay that one night.

And to-day there dined here in the Painted Room with my folks Mr. Christopher Dalston of Acorn Bank, oldest son to my Cousin Mr. John Dalston, and his wife, so after dinner I had them into my Chamber and kissed his wife and took him by the hand and likewise talked with them a good while and I gave to his wife a pair of Buckskin Gloves and then they went away.

I went not out of the House nor out of my Chamber to-day.

The 29th Day. I remembered how this day was 60 years I went out of the Inn at Rotherham in Yorkshire into a poor Parson's House at Peniston in that County where I lay that one night. And this afternoon did Mr. Thomas Strickland pay to Mr. Edward Hasell for my use £305 5s. od. of my Westmoreland Rents, due at Candlemass last for which I now gave Strickland an acquittance under my hand and saw the money put up in a trunk in my Chamber.

I went not out of the House nor out of my Chamber to-day.

March The 1st Day. I remembered how this day was 60 years I went out of the poor Parson's House at Peniston in Yorkshire over Peniston Moor, where never coach went before mine, into the Inn at Manchester in Lancashire where I lay that one night.

I went not out of the House nor out of my Chamber to-day.

The 2nd Day. I remembered how this day was 60 years I went out of the Inn at Manchester into the poor Cottage at Chorley where I lay there in a poor Ale House there that one night, which was within three miles of Latham House but I did not see it by reason of the Mist.

And to-day there dined without in the Painted Room with my folks Mrs. Willison of Penrith, and after dinner I had her into my

Chamber and kissed her and took her by the hand but told her I would have no more Wine of her husband because he used me so badly and then she went away.

I went not out of the House nor out of my Chamber to-day.

The 3rd Day. I remembered how this day was 60 years I went out of the poor Cottage at Chorley, though it was Sunday, by reason the lodgings were so bad, into the Inn at Preston in Adersey in Lancashire, where I lay that one night.

I went not out of the House nor out of my Chamber to-day.

The 5th Day. I remembered how this day was 60 years I went out of the Inn at Lancaster town into the Inn at Kendall in Westmoreland where I lay that one night. And to-day there dined without with my folks in the Painted Room Mr. Samuel Grasty and my two Farmers here, so after dinner I had them all into my Chamber, and Mr. Grasty was paid his twenty shillings for saying prayers to me and family for a month last past, and after he said Common Prayers and read a Chapter and sung a Psalm (as was usual upon Sundays) to me and them afforesaid and then when prayers were ended they all went away.

I went not out of the House nor out of my Chamber to-day.

The 6th Day. I remembered how this day 67 years my blessed Mother with many in our company brought me from her house in Austin Fryers to the Court of Little Dorsett House in Salisbury Court in London town to live there with my first Lord, being but married to him the 25th of the month before. Eccl., c. 3, and c. 8., v. 6.

And I remembered how this day was 60 years I went out of the Inn at Kendal to Brougham Castle to my Blessed Mother.

I went not out of the House nor out of my Chamber to-day.

The 7th Day. And this morning died Arthur Swindon, my under Butler, who has served me about fourteen or fifteen years, and the next day about two of the clock in the afternoon was his dead Body burried in Ninekirks Church, where Parson Grasty preached his Funeral Sermon and most of my Servants and others attended the Corps to the Funeral.

I went not out of the House nor out of my Chamber to-day.

The 9th Day. And to-day there dined with my folks in the Painted Room My Cousin Mr. John Dalston of Acorn Bank, and after dinner

I had him into my Chamber and took him by the hand and talked with him and then he went away.

And there also dined with my folks Mr. John Gilmoor, the Keeper of Whinfell Park, and his man, Wm. Labourn, dined below in the Hall, and after dinner after my Cousin was gone from me, I had them both into my Chamber and took them by the hand and talked with them and then they went away.

I went not out of the house nor out of my Chamber to-day.

10th Day. And this morning I saw George Goodgion²⁴ paid for two hundred and forty-nine yards of linnen cloth that he bought for me at Penrith, designed for twenty pair of sheets and some pillow-veres for the use of my house ; and after dinner I gave away several old sheets which were divided amongst my servants, and this afternoon did Margaret Montgomery, from Penrith, the sempstress, come hither, so I had her into my chamber and kiss'd her and talked with her, and she came to make up the twenty pair of sheets and pillow-veres.

The 13th Day. I remembered how this day was 60 years I went from my blessed Mother to Naworth Castle, in Cumberland, to the Lord William Howard, my first Lord's Uncle, and his Wife, the Lady Elizabeth Dacres (my Father's Cousin German) and many of their sons and their Wives and their Daughters and their children and their Grandchildren and I lay there in it for two nights.

I went not out of the House nor out of my Chamber to-day.

The 15th Day. I remembered how this day was 60 years in the morning I went out of Naworth Castle, from Lord William Howard and his Wife into the City of Carlisle where I went into the Castle there, wherein was born into the world the Lady Anne Dacres, she that was afterwards Countess Dowager of Arundale and I went into the Cathedral Church there, wherein was burried my great Grandfather William, Lord Dacres, and from thence I went the same day into Brougham Castle where I continued with my Blessed Mother till the second of the Month following that I went from her and never saw her after.

I went not out of the House nor out of my Chamber this day.

The 17th Day. And to-day nobody dined here by my folks so there is nothing to be superadded.

²⁴This man was a relation of the Machells. See also 10th Day and 22nd Day.

The 19th Day. Being Sunday, Palm Sunday, and this morning I had a violent fitt of the wind, so that it caused me to fall into a sworing fitt for above half an hour together so as I thought I should have died, but it pleased God, I recovered, and was better afterwards. And to-day there dined without with my folks in the Painted Room Mr. Grasty, our Parson, and my two Farmers, so after dinner they came into my Chamber and Mr. Grasty said Common Prayers and read a Chapter and sang a Psalm as usual on Sundays to me and my Family, and after Prayers they all went away.

I went not out of the House nor out of my Chamber this day.

20th Day. I remembered how this day was 60 years did I and my blessed mother in Brougham Castle give in our answer in writing that we would not stand to the award the four Lord Chief Judges meant to make concerning the lands of mine inheritance, which did spin out a great deal of trouble to us, yet God turned it to the best.

Deut., c. 23, v. 5. "Nevertheless the Lord thy God would not hearken unto Balaam, but the Lord thy God turned the Curse into a Blessing unto thee, because the Lord thy God loved thee."

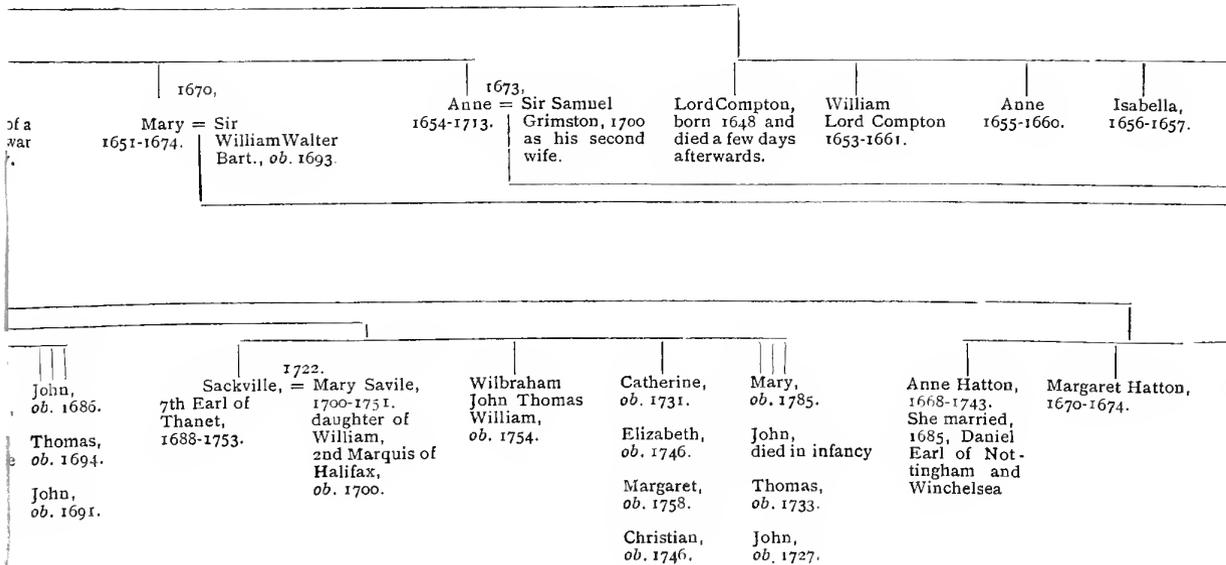
The 21st Day. I went not out all this day.

The 22nd Day the Countess of Pembroke died [*in another handwriting*].

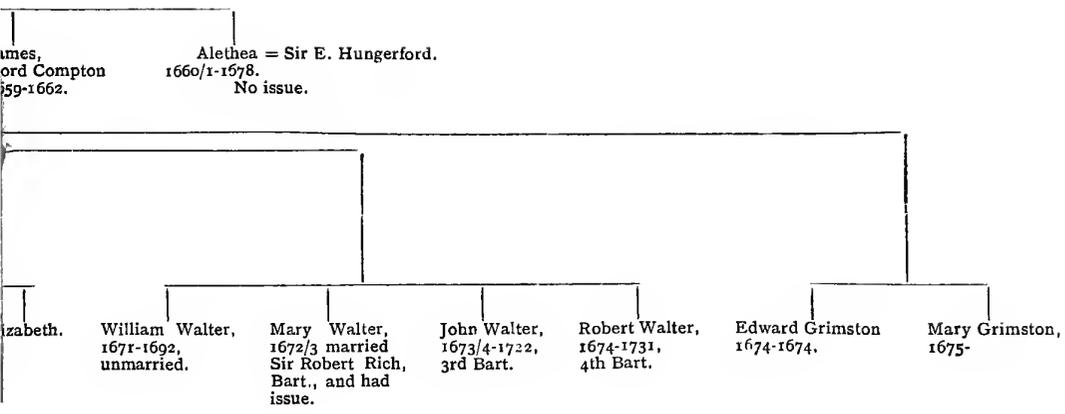
At the end of these pages, we have a final entry in yet another hand, describing her decease, and reading thus :—

"Thus far of this book is a summary of the Countess of Pembroke's, containing a continued, thankful commemoration, as her honour hath often said, of God's great mercies and blessings to her and hers, and were written by her ladyship of her direction but she proceeded not farther, for on Sunday, the 19th March, 1676, it pleased Almighty God to visit her with sickness which wrought so sharply with her all that day and Monday that on Tuesday she was forced to keep her bed, and Wednesday, the 22nd, about 6 o'clock in the afternoon, after she had endured all her pains with a most Christian fortitude, always answering those that asked her how she did, with, "I thank God I am very well," which were her last words directed to mortals, she, with much cheerfulness, in her own chamber in Brougham Castle, wherein her noble father was born, and her blessed mother died, yielded up her precious soul into the hands of her merciful Redeemer."

Family and Descendants.



... on the 14th of April, and at Appleby. One



yielded up her precious soul into the hands

To this may be added some words from a document in the British Museum, which is probably in the handwriting of the Mr. Fisher who made the summary now amongst the Harleian MSS. Alluding to Lady Anne, it says that when "she came to live in the North, her delight was to remove herself and family from one of her castles to another, where she had the comfort of having her daughters and grandchildren often coming to stay with her, and she always set down in her diary the exact time they came, and in what rooms they lay whilst they stayed, and in this settled abode, in her ancient houses of her inheritance, she more and more fell in love with the contentments and innocent pleasures of a country life, which humour of hers she wished with all her heart, if it pleased God, might be conferred on her posterity, for, said she, 'a wise body ought to make their homes the place of self-fruition.' "

She had attained the great age of 86 years, but to her own age, she had ever made little allusion. To a great extent she ignored the passing years, as long as she was able to carry out with strength and pertinacity her intentions. She does certainly refer in 1653 to the fact that she had then attained to what she calls the "climacteric age of sixty-three," and once more, in another place in her diary, speaks of "the strange and marvellous providence of God, that she, at the great age of seventy-three, should be able to lie in her chamber, where she had not been since she was a child of eight weeks old until then." She was in that instance referring to her residence at Barden Tower. In another entry she just alludes in passing to her old age, when she was residing at Brougham. She speaks of the strange and hard fortunes "in the sea of this world," with which she had struggled, and then contemplates the mercies of God, delivering her from so many evils "in this my old age to live happily and peaceably in these ancient places of mine inheritance." Finally in her letter to Lord Arlington (see Chapter XVI.) of February 6th, 1668, she mentions that she was 78 years old. With all her love of reminding herself of anniversaries, the one that as a rule she steadily ignored was her own birthday, regarding the question of her actual age as one of small importance, compared with the remembrance of the different events through which she had passed.

Her funeral took place on the 14th of April, and at Appleby. She

was buried in the tomb which she had herself erected for that purpose in the Church of St. Lawrence, Appleby. It is stated that there was a vast attendance at the interment, all her neighbours, and almost every land-owner in Westmoreland and Cumberland, either being present in person, or represented, and that the procession was of enormous length, for the whole of her tenantry took part in it. Neither Lord nor Lady Thanet were able to be there, the chief mourner being her favourite grandson, John Tufton. The sermon on the occasion was preached by Edward Rainbow, then Bishop of Carlisle, and it is said to have taken nearly three hours in delivery. More or less it is an eulogy of the deceased lady, but we obtain from it many pieces of important information concerning her character.

Bishop Rainbow when he preached the sermon was sixty-eight years old. He published three sermons, one dedicated to Sir John Wray, Bart., and his brother, the second preached at the funeral of Susannah, Countess of Suffolk, May 13th, 1649, and the third, the one preached at the funeral of Lady Anne. This latter has been reprinted more than once, but the best issue of it appeared in the *Carlisle Tracts*, issued in 1839, and it has appended to it a brief account of Lady Anne, with her portrait, and a memoir of the Bishop.

Lady Anne's will was made only two years before her decease. It is a lengthy document, and is given in full in the Appendix. It bequeaths to her daughter, Lady Thanet, who was her only remaining child, a life interest in the whole of the estates, entailing them, after her decease, to her grandson, John Tufton, and then in succession to his brothers, Richard, Thomas and Sackville, and afterwards to the eldest son, Nicholas, Lord Thanet, "whom" says she, "I name in the last place, not for any want of affection or goodwill in my thoughts towards him, but because he is now, by the death of his father, possessed of a great inheritance in the southern parts."

After his death, the estates were to pass to her grandchildren in entail, starting with Lady Margaret Coventry, then descending to Lady Cecily Hatton's children, thence to other grandchildren, and finally to Alethea, the only remaining child of her younger daughter Isabella. Lady Thanet only lived for two years after her mother's death, and by her will of 1676, she repeated her mother's instructions with respect to her second son, making every effort that the estate

should go down to him. All, however, was of no avail, for immediately upon the decease of his mother, Nicholas, Lord Thanet, took possession of the whole of the estate, and claimed that the entail which had been made in previous years, entitled him to hold the whole property, as the eldest son, to the exclusion of his brother. There is a curious piece of evidence to be seen concerning the dispute which ensued. He presented to John Coates of Kildwick Grange, and to Roger Coates his brother, of Royd House, who were both of them attorneys, sets of silver beakers, because they had "well and carefully" assisted him in "recovering his estates in Craven which were forcibly held by his brother, Sir John Tufton, and especially by prevailing upon the tenants of Selsden to pay their manorial fines to him." The set of beakers presented to Mr. John Coates had Lord Thanet's arms engraved upon them, those given to Mr. Roger Coates were plainer, and the first were in the possession of the Swire family (descendants from Mr. John Coates) in 1878, but I have not been able to trace their existence down to the present day. Those who have descended from the Swire family say that they do not now possess them.

Nicholas, Lord Thanet, not only took possession of the estate, but held it to the exclusion of his brother. He, however, was only in possession of the property for three years, for in 1679 he died, and was succeeded by the brother John whom he had defrauded of his rights. By this time, the estates had considerably increased in importance, because in 1678, Lady Alethea, the only surviving child of Lady Anne's second daughter Isabella, who was then wife of Sir E. Hungerford, also died, leaving no issue, and her share of the estates, with her jointure and portion, devolved upon the new Lord Thanet, who now came actually into the possession of the entire property as originally held by Lady Anne, her own jointures from her two husbands having of course ceased. He was, however, only able to hold this vast property for five months, and a considerable part of this time was taken up in the legal arrangements necessary for the transfer of Lady Alethea's part of the estate, inasmuch as she had died just before he succeeded. John, fourth Lord Thanet, died in 1680, and leaving no issue, was succeeded by his next brother Richard, who became fifth Earl. He held the property for four years only, and

then came Thomas, the sixth Earl, who, as a man of forty, had married a girl of eighteen, Lady Katherine, the daughter and heir of Henry, Duke of Newcastle. The marriage was one of extreme happiness, and Thomas, Lord Thanet, declared, when his wife died, that it had been almost inconceivable to him that any woman could have made him so happy, or that so much happiness could have been the portion of any two persons. He held the estates for forty years, for he did not die until 1729. He was successful in the claim he made against the House of Lords with respect to the ancient barony of Clifford. It was declared to have been possessed by his grandmother, and that his father and three brothers had all been entitled to it. He accordingly became eighteenth Lord Clifford, in addition to being sixth Earl of Thanet. He outlived his only other brother, Sackville, and was in consequence succeeded in the Earldom by that brother's son, again a Sackville, who became the seventh Earl. His own children were all daughters, Katherine, Anne, Margaret, Mary and Isabella, the only three sons, John, Thomas, and John, having died in infancy. The barony of Clifford, as mentioned in another chapter, fell into abeyance between the daughters, being eventually called out in favour of Margaret, Lady Lovell, and afterwards Countess of Leicester. The earldom, however, passed, as we have stated, to his nephew, from him to his son Sackville, who became the eighth Earl, and then to three of his sons in succession, Sackville, Charles, and Henry; the last-named being the eleventh and last Earl of Thanet, and on his decease in 1845, that title became extinct.

1629.
 John = Lady Margaret,
 1609-1664, II. Earl. d. and heir of Richard, Earl of Dorset; ob. 1676, by Lady Ann Clifford.

ob. 1628
 1609-
 1612-1634
 ob. 1635
 1617, ob. 1617

1664.
 Nicholas III Earl: 1631-1679 and 15th Lord Clifford. = Elizabeth, d. of Richard, Earl of Burlington, ob. 1725.

1658. Christopher, Viscount Hatton, 1666-1706.
 George, 1650-1670. unmarried.
 Mary, 1651-1674. = Sir William Walter, Bart., ob. 1693.
 1673. Anne = Sir Samuel Grimston, Bart. 1654-1713.

1709.
 Catherine, 1692-1733. = Edward Viscount Sondes, M.P., ob. 1722.

||| Catherine, ob. 1731.
 ||| Elizabeth, ob. 1746.
 ||| Margaret, ob. 1758.
 ||| Christian, ob. 1746.
 ||| Mary, ob. 1785.
 ||| John, died in infancy.
 ||| Thomas, ob. 1733.
 ||| John, ob. 1727.

Lewis, II. Earl of Rockingham, 1709-1749.
 Thomas, 3rd Earl Rockingham, 1715-1745.

John, ob. 1734. A.E. 9.

1792.
 Caroline, 1771-1832. = John Foster Barham, ob. 1832. issue.
 John, 1773-1799.
 William, 1777-1786.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE WALPOLE LETTER.

THE one story of Lady Anne that is known to all the world relates to the celebrated letter which she is said to have written either to Lord Arlington or to Sir Joseph Williamson, for the statement is made about both persons. Almost every book of reference that alludes to Lady Anne speaks of this letter, generally in terms of praise, and it has been cited as a striking example of her determination (and incidentally of her disregard of courtesy), as well as a fine example of a laconic, stern, decisive letter. It forms the subject of an important chapter in a work on Rhetoric, and several authors who have written on the art of letter-writing have referred, and with some enthusiasm to it. It first appeared in English literature in 1753, in the issue of *The World*,¹ for April 5th, and, according to the printed inscription inside vol. xiv., that particular issue was entirely the work of Mr. Horace Walpole. It was published of course by Dodsley of Pall Mall. In the course of an article on letters, Walpole writes thus :—“As a contrast to this scrap of Imperial folly, I shall present my readers with the other letter I mention. It was written by the Lady Anne, widow of the Earls of Dorset and Pembroke (the life of the former of whom she wrote) and heiress of the great houses of Clifford and Cumberland, from which, among many noble reversions, she enjoyed the borough of Appleby. Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State to Charles II., wrote to name a candidate to her for that borough. The brave Countess, with all the spirit of her ancestors, and all the eloquence of independent Greece, returned this laconic answer :—

“I have been bullied by a usurper, I have been neglected by a Court, but I will not be dictated to by a subject. Your man shan't stand.—

Anne Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery.”

¹ B.M., 629 1, 4, xiv, 84.

The story is an interesting one, and the letter remarkable for its abruptness and discourtesy, but more than one author has raised serious doubts about its authenticity. Walpole does not say that he possessed it, and surely he would have done so if he had it in his portfolios. He does not even say that he had seen it. Sir Joseph Williamson moreover was not Secretary of State until 1674, and during the period of time from the date of his appointment to the death of the Countess, there does not appear to have been any vacancy in the representation of Appleby. Again, Walpole says that Lady Anne wrote the life of the Earl of Dorset. He is the only person who makes that statement, and we have nothing to corroborate it. She certainly, as we have already seen, referred many times to her husband in her diary, but there is no scarp of evidence either in English literature or amongst the papers at Knole, to indicate that she had written his life. The writer of the article on Lady Anne in the Dictionary of National Biography carefully points out that no reference to the original letter was given at the time of its first publication, which was seventy-seven years after the death of the Countess, not has any trace of it been discovered since, and alludes to other discrepancies which make it probable that the letter is not authentic.

Lodge also, in 1791,² questioned the authenticity of the letter, and he, as well as a later author, based their chief objections upon its phraseology. Into the question of this phraseology I have made careful investigations, and upon the authority of Sir James Murray, and of other learned writers, am in a position to state that there is no known use of the word "bully," as a verb earlier than 1723, when Defoe, in one of his works, says that a certain person began "to bully" someone else. The word is also used as a verb in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1747, and the word "bullied" once appears in Richardson's "Clarissa Harlow" in 1748, and also in a letter from Doctor Johnson in 1783. But although the noun "bully" was perfectly well known and in frequent use in the seventeenth century, no one has been able to trace its use as a *verb* at that time.

Again, one can find no use of the word "stand," by itself, as Walpole quotes it "Your man shan't stand." There are a few seventeenth

² Illustrations of British History, 1791, B.M. 9502, h, 6.

century uses of the word, but always in conjunction with another word, such as in the phrases "stand for," "stand in" and "stand by." This is especially the case when Lord Roos in 1676 said that he should "stand *for*" Leicester, and that he should "stand *as*" the candidate, but the use of the word "stand" alone, belongs to a very much later period than that of Lady Anne.

Finally, as to the phraseology, it may be pointed out that Lady Anne was hardly likely to have said "Your man shan't stand," because she could not have prevented him from doing so. She might have prevented him from being elected, but it was surely absolutely beyond her power to prevent him from standing as a candidate. As a matter of fact, the man to whom the actual letter applied did stand as the candidate for the borough, although he was not elected.

In the Public Record Office, moreover, there is the explanation of the whole matter. In it are preserved a quantity of Williamson documents, and these, supplemented by other Williamson documents at Queen's College, and by two papers amongst the Skipton MSS., enable me to set forth the whole story of the Williamson candidature, and I hope to explode the bubble upon which this celebrated letter rests.

Sir Joseph Williamson was *not* the person to whom the letter was addressed, but he himself was the candidate for the borough of Appleby, and was particularly desirous of being elected for that place. There was a vacancy in 1668, owing to the decease of Mr. Lowther, and as Appleby was close to Williamson's native county of Cumberland, such family influence as he possessed could be brought to bear upon the proposal. He was at that time private secretary to Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, and he was Keeper of the State papers, and editor of the *Gazette*. He had also on his side two influential persons in the district, the Bishop of Durham and Colonel Tempest. His particular friend in Appleby seems to have been a Dr. Smith, who is spoken of as the brother of the Mayor. He was resident in Durham, and on the 6th of December, wrote to Sir Joseph to the following effect.³ "I have been told the Bishop is more inclined to yield than formerly to the desires of the country of sending up knights and burgesses to Parliament on condition, however, that they will hearken to his

³ S. P. Dom. Car. II, 224-52.

recommendation in the choice of the persons. I am extremely glad," he goes on to say, "he has you in his eye for one, and hope he will manage the affair so that it shall not miscarry, but to make short work, I advise you to gain Colonel Tempest as your friend, for, under the rose, he is the factotum here, both in town and country. If you secure him, your work is done." He then tells Sir Joseph that although his own interest is very small, it will be employed to the utmost to serve him.

On the 10th of the same month,⁴ he writes again, congratulating Sir Joseph upon having "made an interest" in Colonel Tempest, but impresses upon him the fact that the Colonel is, in his opinion, "a subtle man," and that he must get a real hold of him as quickly as possible. He says that if Colonel Tempest is firm, and the Bishop is also firm, the business "will be done." He speaks of having told but one other person about the whole matter, but says that he has taken every fitting occasion to speak to the townspeople respecting Sir Joseph, and to give him a good character. It must be remembered that the Bishop of Durham, as Prince Palatine, had great influence, and that Colonel Tempest was a large and important landowner, but it would rather seem as though Sir Joseph at that moment was thinking of a Durham or Cumberland seat, rather than of a Westmoreland one. However, by January, 1668, there were steady preparations made with a view to his obtaining the seat for the borough of Appleby, but the moment Lady Anne heard a suggestion that a stranger should occupy the seat, she sent word to the Mayor and Corporation of Appleby that they were not to commit themselves in any way until she had communicated with them. There is a letter in existence from a Mr. Thomas Povey⁵ to Sir Joseph, dated January 16th, and written from Appleby. It is clear that he had been approached with a view to obtaining the influence of Lord St. John, in order that he should write to Lady Anne, because it was recognised that she had the chief voice in the election. Lord St. John, however, had already written on behalf of someone else, and he had understood that Lady Anne had already committed herself. On the same day, Mr. John Dalston⁶ of Acorn Bank wrote to Williamson, to say that he had been to see the Mayor and Corporation of Appleby, that he had told them of Sir Joseph's desire to

⁴ S.P. Dom. Car. II, 224-115.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 232-147.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 232-148.

serve them as burgess, but they had at once shown him the letter from Lady Anne, in which she had requested them to suspend any engagement until they heard from her. He says that they wished to gratify her, and thought that the party (whom she was going to name) was her grandchild John Tuffton. Mr. Dalston goes on to say that there will be "many competitors," that all "will apply to the Countess," that "her request will prevail more than any others," but he tells Sir Joseph that, if she does not name anyone, he is to apply to Dr. Smith, the Mayor's brother (with whom, we have already seen, he was in communication) and to Mr. Gabetis, the under-sheriff.

Then comes an important letter from Lady Anne herself,⁷ addressed to Sir Joseph Williamson. It is from Brougham, dated January 16th, 1667-8, and the address, superscription and signature, are in her own writing, while the body of the letter, evidently dictated by her, is in the handwriting of George Sedgwick. It is in exceedingly courteous terms. She says:—

I received your letter of the 11th of this month by the last post, as also my cousin Mr. John Dalston of Acorn Bank his designs to me, to the same effect on your behalf, that I would employ my interest at Appleby to procure you to be chosen burgess there in the place of my cousin John Lowther, lately deceased. I should have been very willing, Sir, to have done you service therein, but that I had a prior engagement upon me, both for my own grandchildren in the southern parts, and some of my own kindred and friends in this, which I hope you will take in good part, as a reasonable apology for myself in this business.

Sir,

Your assured friend,

(Signed) ANNE PEMBROKE.

The letter is addressed to "Mr. Secretary Williamson, at the Court at Whitehall." It appears to have been carried about in Sir Joseph's pocket, because he has made more than one memorandum upon it. He seems to have commenced one note, which he did not finish, "That wheras &c." and in another place alludes to the equipment in sending to sea of a "Fleet of ships for the defence of the Spanish Low Countries," or any "war that may ensue therefrom." He has folded the paper lengthwise, and on the exterior has put the date, a number, and a statement to the effect that it was from the Countess of Pembroke.

⁷S.P. Dom. Car. 11, 149

This courteous letter sufficiently, we think, disposes of the statement that the letter to which Walpole alludes was addressed to Williamson himself.

Meantime, Lady Anne had written to her daughter concerning her three sons, desiring that one of them should take up this position. On the other hand, the supporters of Sir Joseph Williamson had also been busy. They had been writing a great many letters, for in one case it states that the magistrates many of them "sat up all night writing letters,"⁸ and the whole county, as far as their personal predilections were concerned, appears to have desired to have their own neighbour from Bridekirk as their representative. Lady Anne was also approached by two or three of her neighbours. The day after she had written to Sir Joseph, she wrote from the same place (Brougham Castle) to Sir George Fletcher,⁹ at Hutton, acknowledging receipt of a letter from him. She says :—

I have received your letter of the 15th instant, and as to your desire therein concerning the election of Mr. Williamson as a Burgess for Appleby, in the place of my deceased cousin, John Lowther, I have already given an answer by letter to Mr. Williamson that I am engaged for some of my own grandchildren, who are capable of the place, if they will accept of it, so as, till I know their resolves, I cannot determine any way concerning it, and so, wishing much happiness to you and your worthy Lady and your children, I commit you to the Divine Protection of the Almighty, and rest, Sir,
Your assured true friend and humble servant,

(Signed) ANNE PEMBROKE.

Meantime, Lord Arlington is believed to have written to her, perhaps through Lord Anglesey or Lady Thanet, and as I have no copy of his letter nor of her reply, it may be argued that the letter Walpole quotes was a possible reply from her to him, but I think that this position cannot be accepted in view of a letter to be presently mentioned, which I know Lady Anne herself wrote to Lord Arlington. What Lady Anne said, about this time, to her daughter, Lady Thanet, we do not know in its entirety. There is only a small scrap of paper, about five inches by two and a half, cut out of a letter, which now remains at the Record Office. It is, however, important, for it shows that Lady Anne *had* written to Lord Arlington, although possibly

⁸ S.P. Dom. Car. II, 232-191.

⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 232-160.

not direct, and that Lady Thanet had also made a request concerning Sir Joseph. The little bit ¹⁰ reads thus :—

I have also sent you, herein enclosed, a copy of the letter which I lately sent to my Lord Arlington, in answer of one I had from him in the behalf of Mr. Joseph Williamson concerning the said burges-ship, whereby you may perceive I intend not to recede from my first resolves, and if you think fit, you may acquaint my Lord of Anglesey so much in answer to that note of his which I received in your letter, wherewith I hope his Lordship (whose civilities to you I do own with all due thankfulness) will rest well satisfied, and the rather, because the said Mr. Williamson, being, it should seem, a person of eminent ingenuity and having so many wealthy friends, cannot miss a burges-ship elsewhere upon another vacancy.

This scrap of paper is in George Sedgwick's handwriting, and it shows us that Lord Anglesey had taken up the matter, had been courteous to Lady Thanet, and had asked her to write to her mother, which she had done. It also tells us, that in the letter a copy of Lady Anne's reply to Lord Arlington had been enclosed. It is not dated, but the State Paper Officials regard it (from other evidence) as having been written on January 17th.

Then, in course of chronological sequence, we come upon other letters to Sir Joseph. His own brother ¹¹ writes to him on the 18th of January, to say that the town of Appleby had assured Lady Anne that "they will elect whom she pleases," and they consider that if her grandchild resigns, she will think him as "fit as any other candidate" so that he will have a good chance if Mr. Tufton can be persuaded to withdraw. George Williamson says that the whole town was for his brother, "if," he adds, "they may have their own mind," but he mentions that Sir John Lowther has approached Lady Anne concerning his nephew, Anthony, in case neither of the Tuftons would serve.

From Kendal there came a letter from Mr. Fleming,¹² in which he tells Sir Joseph that Sir George Fletcher had written to the Countess and to Mr. Dalston, that the Countess is being "well plied with letters," but that he is afraid to write to Sir Richard Sandford, in case that it might put him in mind of standing for the position himself. Fleming enclosed with his letter two copies, one was a letter ¹³ from the Justices,

¹⁰ S.P. Dom. Car. II, 232-161.

¹² *Ibid.*, 169.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 232-168.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 169, 1.

signed by himself and three others, saying that they support the wish of Williamson to be burgess of Appleby, and saying that it was likely to be "a great advantage for the Corporation," the other was Lady Anne's letter¹⁴ in reply to this petition. In it she informs the magistrates that she was already "engaged to the three younger sons of her daughter, Lady Thanet," and if they refuse, to other of her kindred, and she says that she has written to Sir Joseph to that effect.

Dated the very next day, there is a letter from Sir George Fletcher¹⁵ to Secretary Williamson, telling him that he had used his influence with Lady Pembroke, and had failed, and advising Sir Joseph to write to Lord Thanet and see whether he could bring any influence to bear upon Lady Anne. It evidently occurred to some of the officials that, as Mr. Tufton, who appeared to be a likely candidate, had been at one time a pupil to Sir Joseph, some pressure might be brought to bear upon him, with a view to his withdrawing in favour of the Secretary.

Dr. Smith also wrote to Sir Joseph thus :--

¹⁶ The whole county wishes to have you chosen. The Countess has pitched upon Mr. Tufton, a quondam pupil of yours, and they of Appleby, having so absolute a dependence upon her, it would be vain to strive against that stream. If Mr. Tufton could be taken off, the work is done. I have written to him and to his brothers, if the town could be left to its free choice, it is a good opportunity to benefit itself.

He also encloses a copy¹⁷ in his letter. It is a petition from the Sheriff of Cumberland and ten of the magistrates, assembled at quarter sessions, and is addressed to Lady Anne, recommending Sir Joseph Williamson as a burgess, saying that he was "their countryman," that he had "grand opportunities to serve his country," that "his sole dependence was on her favour."

Sir Joseph also appears to have himself approached the Lowthers, but Sir John wrote to him,¹⁸ regretting that he had not written at an earlier date, and saying that as his kinsman Anthony wished to succeed his late son, he had already applied on his behalf to Lady Anne, and she had consented to support Anthony Lowther if none of her own grandchildren would come forward. He was therefore quite unable to help the Secretary in his candidature.

¹⁴ S.P. Dom. Car. II, 169, II.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 191.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 191, 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 232-180.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 192.

Now we come to an important communication. It is clear, from what has already been stated that Lord Arlington had already applied to Lady Anne, but probably he had not done so personally, for Lady Thanet's letter would almost imply that the application had been made through Lord Anglesey or through her, but on the 25th of January, from Whitehall, Lord Arlington writes himself to Brougham Castle, a charming and courteous letter :—

Madam,¹⁹

I am become a suitor to your Ladyship in the behalf of Mr. Joseph Williamson, my secretary, a gentleman who hath deserved so well from me that I cannot but be concerned, with some other friends of his, who are very desirous to see him a member in this Parliament. I have heard of the influence your Ladyship hath on the borough of Appleby (where a burgess's place is lately become void by the death of Mr. John Lowther) and of the general inclination of the gentlemen of the country and those of the corporation, and to the gaining so much of your Ladyship's favour as may render him as capable, as they hold him worthy, of their voices or their assistance, they having a value of him, as he is of their country, and who by his civility, and good interests here at Court, hath been very happy to oblige them. I would desire, and he very humbly seeks it, that he may owe this obligation principally to your Ladyship's good graces towards him, to be expressed only by your Ladyship's declaration to the town that you leave the election to their freedom, which may sufficiently preserve your Ladyship's interests and there nobly oblige the electors and Mr. Williamson. I shall forbear to give any further character of him here, not doubting but that he hath been justly represented to your Ladyship as a person of eminent ingenuity, and use to His Majesty, as well as to his friends, for whom I shall be glad to merit when my services shall be useful to your Ladyship or any of your family, I being already, Madam,

Your Ladyship's most humble servant,

ARLINGTON.

It is inconceivable, knowing what we do of Lady Anne, that in reply to this delightful letter, she should have sent the rude epistle which Walpole quotes, but at the outset it is a little puzzling to know why her reply to this letter does not appear to have been sent until the 6th of February. This, however, she explains in the letter. Meantime, it is clear that someone had told Lady Anne that Lord Arlington had an idea that her action had been suggested by her daughter, Lady Thanet, and that she was not acting on her own

¹⁹ S.P. Dom. Car. II, 233-55.

responsibility. On the 6th of February, she herself replies to Lord Arlington, and expressly states that her letter is in reply to his of January 25th. There is therefore no room for surmise whether any laconic epistle such as Walpole gives had been addressed to him in the interval in reply to his courteous letter. Lady Anne's reply²⁰ is exactly what one would have expected her to have said. It reads thus :—

My Lord,

I had the honour to receive a letter from your Lordship dated at Whitehall the 25th of the last month, but it came not to my hands till the 3rd of this month, and then I meant to have returned an answer to it by that post, but he was gone before I could do so, which made me commit the incivility of deferring it till now.

I must confess to your Lordship that it was myself, and not my daughter of Thanet, nor any of her children, that made me attempt the making of one of her younger sons a burgess for Appleby, she having four that are all of them past 21 years old a piece, and are capable and fit for it, so that I think I am bound in honour and conscience to strive to maintain my own deed as far forth as it lies in my power, but if it should happen otherwise, I will submit to it with patience, but will never yield my consent. I know very well how powerful a man a Secretary of State is, throughout all our King's dominions, so I am confident your Lordship, by your favour and recommendations, might quickly help this Mr. Joseph Williamson to a burgess-ship, without doing wrong or discourtesy to a widow that wants but 2 of fourscore years old, and to her grandchildren, whose father and mother suffered as much in their worldly fortunes for the King as most of his Majesty's subjects did.

And so, committing your Lordship to the Divine Protection of the Almighty, I rest, my Lord,

Your Lordship's humble servant,

(Signed) ANNE PEMBROKE.

The concluding sentence, signature and superscription for this letter are in Lady Anne's own handwriting, the rest was written by Mr. Sedgwick. It is addressed "To The Right Honourable the Lord Arlington, one of His Majesty's chief Secretaries of State, in the Lodgings in the Court at Whitehall," and sealed by the Clifford seal.

Nothing could have been more delightful, and at the same time, nothing could have been more determined, and it may be suggested that perhaps the terms in which the old lady states that she will never

²⁰ S.P. Dom. Car. 11, 234-91.

PART OF A LETTER
TO LADY THANET

covering a copy of Lady
Anne's letter to Lord
Arlington, January, 1668
(see page 290).

I have also sent you herewith a Copy of the Letter w^{ch} I
I take to be my Lord's Answer in answer of one that had from
him in behalf of Mr Joseph Williamson concerning his
Burgessship; which you may perceive I intend not to
recede from my first Resolution. And if you think full you
may command my Lord's Anger, so much in answer to that
hope of his w^{ch} I have in your Letter w^{ch} I hope his
wise replies to you I do own with all due thankings
I will not well satisfy; and of rather, because of said M^r
Williamson, being it should seeme a piece of an unusual
miserable, to see so many w^{ch} by officers, cannot miss
of a Burgessship the which upon any reasonable

My Lord,

I had the honor to receive a Letter from you dated at Whitehall the
25th of the last month, though it came not to my Hands till the 3rd of this month, and
then I meant to have returned an answer to it by that Post, but he was gone before I
could see her; which made me commit the civilities of deferring it till now.
I must confess to you self that it was my self, and not my Daughter of Thanet, or
any of her Children, that made me attempt the making of one of the youngest of some a
Burgess for Appley, she having four that are all of them past 21 years old a piece,
and are capable and fit for it; so that I think I am bound in Honor, and conscience,
to strive to maintaine my owne Word, as far forth as it lies in my power; But if it
should happen otherwise, I will submit to it with patience, but will never give my consent.
I know very well how powerful a Man a Secretarie of State is, throughout all
our Kings Dominions; so as I am confident you self by your favour, and recommendations,
might quickly help this M^r Joseph Williamson to a Burgessship, without doing wrong
or discourtesy to a Widow that wants but 2. of fourscore years old, and to her
Gracious Children, whose Father and Mother suffered as much in their worldly fortunes
for the King, as most of his Majesties Subjects did.
And so, committing you self to the Divine Protection of the Almighty's best

My Lords

Your L^{dy} Humble Servant

J Anne Pembroke

Brougham Ca. this 6. of February
1667. 1668

161

To face page 295.

177.

17. 10. 1667
 in Barbadoes 2^d of your Pleas

SS

Bromham Co. the 17th of
 January 1667 1668

I have received your letter of the 15th Instant, and as to your
 desire therein concerning the election of Mr. Williamson as a
 Burgess for Charles in your place of my deceased Cousin John
 I have already given an answer by Mr. Williamson, that
 I am incapable for some of my said Grandchildren who are
 capable of the place, if they accept of it, so as he & those
 his Relations & some others may have concerning it
 had a writing under his hands to the end of every one
 and so (if you will) I will give you to be done & taken
 of thoroughly and so ft

To my worthy friend
 Sir
 George Fletcher, Kt. Barons
 of the Kings Honour &c. &c.
 in Barbadoes

5^v

your obliged friend
 Humble Servant

J. Anne Kerbrooke

LADY ANNE TO SIR GEORGE FLETCHER,
January 17th, 1668 (see page 290).

18th Jan 1667 20
 in Barbadoes

SS

Bromham Co. the 16th of January
 1667 1668

I received your letter of the 11th of this
 month by your Cousin John, at which my Cousin Mr. John
 Dawson of the same name, but different to mine, is
 affected only in that I would not give my interest
 for him, nor to procure the place for chosen Burgess
 in the place of my Cousin, to the contrary I have
 I should have been willing to give you a
 your Cousin, but that I have a young man upon
 me, both by my said Grandchildren in my death time
 parts, and some of my own, I would not give in
 for it, nor will I take a good part at a reasonable
 price, nor my said Cousin John

5^v

your obliged friend

J. Anne Kerbrooke

LADY ANNE TO SIR JOSEPH WILLIAMSON,
January 16th, 1667 (see page 289).

yield her consent, may have been the starting point for the legend which evidently grew into the letter quoted by Walpole.

Meantime, strenuous efforts were being made in Cumberland and in Westmoreland. Dr. Smith wrote on the 26th of January from Cockermouth²¹ telling Sir Joseph that his friends would be firm to the last, that they would work with all diligence, and that they would not give over until they were beaten. He says that applications were daily made on his behalf to Lady Anne, who, he adds "has the power of life and death in the matter." Then he goes on to say "It will be impossible for you to succeed, unless her grandchildren the Tuftons can be prevailed with to desist. You must apply your intelligence, therefore, and use some means to delay sending down the writ for a new election. In fine, do your own work above, and let us alone with it here."

Daniel Fleming of Rydal wrote on the 27th of January²² to Sir Joseph telling the same story. He says "Unless you can be able to fix my Lady for you, which I fear will be hard to do, you'll have a cold appearance of the electors of Appleby, since I am informed they dare not go any way but that which is chalked them out by my Lady, she is (I believe) as absolute in that borough as any are in any other." He recommends Sir Joseph to apply to Lady Thanet, and to try to get Lady Anne to be "neuter," and then says that he is confident he will carry the election.

The Secretary's brother George,²³ who writes the very same day from Bridekirk to his brother, conveys the unwelcome intelligence that Thomas Tufton *had* decided to stand. He says that "John and Richard were out of town," but "Thomas returned her Ladyship thanks for the honour, and declared if his two brothers refused it he would not, but stand for it," and he says that Lady Anne thereupon sent one of her Gentlemen to Sir John Lowther, asking him to desist for his cousin, and declaring "her interest for that Gentleman of her grandchildren" who decided to be the candidate. "But," he adds "the town is all for you and most of the gentry and persons of quality in the barony," and speaking in blunter language than the other correspondents, adds "They have left no stone unturned for you with the old woman but all to no purpose for she is resolved

²¹ S.P. Dom. Car. II, 233-79.

²² *Ibid.*, 233-84.

²³ *Ibid.* 233-85.

wholly to stand for her grandchildren." He mentions that Sir Richard Sandford of Howgill Castle had decided after all to become a candidate, as had been feared would be the case, and at the conclusion of his letter says that he is sending up to his brother two char pies, one for him, and the other for a friend, and adds "there is no good to be done with an old woman."

A couple of days after, he writes again to his brother,²⁴ to similar effect, again recommending that Lady Thanet should be asked to withdraw her two sons from the candidature, but says that the town and the gentry were heartily wishing that Lady Anne "would leave them to their liberty," and he encloses in his letter a copy²⁵ of one from Lady Anne's secretary, George Sedgwick, who was evidently himself a little predisposed in favour of Sir Joseph, but who says, "I must confess that Lady Pembroke appearing so strongly and firmly for her relations, I am forced to acquiesce and submit to that, above all interests whatsoever."

There is another letter from Dr. Smith,²⁶ giving the same information, and reminding him that Lady Anne wrote immediately after Mr. John Lowther died, to the Mayor and Corporation, warning them that she intended "to recommend one of her own grandchildren, or one of her relations for the seat." He says that there is not the slightest use in going in opposition to her.

A Latin note,²⁷ which does not bear any date, appears amongst the papers, stating that the writ for Appleby had been issued, but that the writer of it, whose name is not given, was only ready to deliver it to the Sheriff of Cumberland when Sir Joseph desired it should be sent. It was evidently being held back in order that all possible pressure should be brought to bear upon the Tufton sons, but it was not desirable that this information should be known, hence the note was not written in English, and does not bear any signature.

Still the Secretary's brother pressed for an application to the Tuftons. He writes on the 3rd of February,²⁸ "You should get the Tuftons to decline and then leave it to me and others," and he says all the people about there are doing their very utmost for his candidature.

Fleming writes from Rydal²⁹ exactly to the same effect, saying that

²⁴ S.P. Dom. Car. II, 233-177.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 118.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 234-36.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 233-117, 1.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 160.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 234-60.

the letter from the Cockermonth Quarter Sessions was being extensively signed, and carried to Brougham in person, but that "the Dowager Lady Thanet, or any of the Tuftons," should be got at, and should be pressed to write to Lady Anne, and that, if all this was impossible, the writ should be held back.

Again, an application was made to Lowther Castle, and Sir John, then an old man,³⁰ wrote to Sir Joseph saying that, with reference to his kinsman, he was unwilling "that a pupil should seem to oppose his tutor," adding that he was somewhat disposed in favour of Sir Joseph's candidature, that his own influence was not being exercised on behalf of his kinsman, but that all depended upon whether Mr. Tufton could be persuaded to decline. The same thing appears in a letter from Dr. Smith which was written from Hutton on the 5th of February.³¹ He had seen Sir George Fletcher, who had waited upon Lady Anne, and she had shown him her letter to Lord Arlington. He says, "The town, if left to themselves, are for you, but against her, it cannot be expected they will ever do it."

At length the Tufton brothers made a decision, and this was conveyed to Sir Joseph in a letter from his brother.³² He says that he has heard that "John Tufton declined it, resolving of a country life, Mr. Richard is for travelling, Mr. Thomas doth stand still for it," "but," he adds, "I perceive my Lord Arlington hath been with him to resign to you, which is apprehended he would do, if he did not lose my Lady's favour by it, and so far as I apprehend, this post brings a letter to him not to desist, and further, I am confirmed she will appear for Lowther, as yet there is no appearance further to the Mayor and Aldermen, but Mr. Lowther relies upon my Lady's presentment." "Dr. Smith," he goes on to say, "is agoing to make them more sensible of her condition, that if Mr. Thomas Tufton refuse it, you may have their second thoughts." He then adds a few words to show how earnestly they were all working for him, although he says he somewhat doubts whether Mr. Gabetis, who is the under-sheriff, is really in earnest and whether he is not committed to Lady Anne. He considers that "she is wilful," and he is pretty sure that, but for her firm letter to her grandson, he would be almost willing to withdraw from the can-

³⁰ S.P. Dom. Car. II, 61.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 62.

³² *Ibid.*, 63.

didature. He therefore urges his brother to try to see Thomas Tufton before the letter from his grandmother reached him.

John Dalston of Acorn Bank³³ wrote to exactly the same effect, because Sir Philip Musgrave the Sheriff of Cumberland, had been down to see Lady Anne about the matter, and had told him the result of the interview.

Another correspondent, a Mr. Duckett,³⁴ also wrote in the same way. He said that he found the town of Appleby "ready voluntarily" to comply with Sir Joseph's desires, if they were only left to their liberty, but he does not hold out any hope of such liberty being given them.

A few days afterwards, Fleming³⁵ writes again to the secretary, and sends up two char pies "his yearly present" to him by the carrier, promising every possible assistance in the proposed election. With regard to the pies, he says that the carriage of them is paid, and if they did not arrive, Sir Joseph was to make inquiry for them. He was sorry that they had not been sent before, but with his wife he had been away from home. He says that he has a document in readiness to present to the Corporation of Appleby, naming Williamson for the position.

George Williamson³⁶ also writes, and says, with regard to Lady Anne, if "she is not to be wrought upon, the people are undone, and they dare not help themselves," and he encloses in his letter a notable communication from Dr. Smith³⁷ dated February 9th and addressed to him, in which he mentions that he had been at Acorn Bank with Mr. Dalston, and that the next day was in Appleby, and found the town, so far as the members of it were able to have "their own inclinations" in favour of Sir Joseph, and in his opinion, if they were left to their freedom, he would certainly carry the day, "but," he goes on to say, "I doubt the Countess will never let it come to that, being resolved to present one of them, and if none of her grandchildren will accept of it, I am confident she will pitch on Mr. Anthony Lowther, if she have not done it already, nay," he says, "I am told she hath been heard to say that if they all refuse it, she will stand for it herself,"³⁸ by which you may easily imagine what the issue is like to be." In his

³³ S.P. Dom. Car. 11, 234-84.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 117.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 118, 1.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 92.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 234-118.

³⁸ A foretaste of the Weman's Suffrage question I

final sentence he says that he will tell George Williamson more when they meet, but he considers that this is enough "and too much for the present. I am extremely sorry for it," he adds, "but see no possibility of helping it."

It is clear from these letters that Lady Anne had made up her mind that one of her grandchildren was to represent the place, and had written to Thomas, who had been got at by Lord Arlington, telling him that if he did not carry out her wishes, he would forfeit her regard.

Meantime, Anthony Lowther's candidature had been withdrawn. Dalston of Acorn Bank,³⁹ wrote on the 13th of February to say "I went this morning to Lowther, to discourse with Sir John, whom I found in bed, and not in good condition of health, but, by the little discourse that passed, I perceived (that the night before) he had writ a letter to you (in answer to one of yours) which (he told me) would very much comply with what I then moved to him, and give you full satisfaction. To move the Countess in anything that is averse to her own resolutions (as Sir Philip Musgrave can tell you) would not only be labour in vain, but even a prejudice to those should press it to her, but Sir John Lowther, having her engagement for his cousin Anthony Lowther, in case none of her own grandchildren did appear for the place, he only may, and I hope will (if there be an opportunity for it) effectually do your work with her, and therefore your further application to him (if there be occasion for it) will (in my judgement) be not so amiss."

The letter to which Mr. Dalston alludes, as having been written by Sir John Lowther, is also in existence,⁴⁰ and reads thus:—

This day I had yours of the 8th instant, and I presume before this, you will have received my last, being a full answer to this of yours, for I had taken off, not only my cousin for whom I wrote you I stood first engaged, but prevented the thoughts of any other of my nearer relations, in compliance to your desires. But still I told you, and yet I do believe, that if my Lady continues still her resolutions for some of her own relations, it's probable she will prevail, in what she'd resolved upon, which I mention, not otherwise, but that you may know better how to proceed or desist, as resolved that my interest shall not turn to your prejudice, or be for any other than yourself after her, to whom I stood obliged, when she first favoured me with her approbation after her own, but to tell you truly my thoughts, I think she will neither desire, seek, nor need, anybody's help to make whom she desires at this time, since I have had under

³⁹ S.P. Dom. Car. II, 234-167.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 168.

the Mayor's hand to myself, manifesting no less than their consent and submission to her, which may manifest my clearness and readiness to approve myself.

Your very humble servant,

(Signed) JOHN LOWTHER.

To this letter there is added a postscript in Lady Lowther's writing, referring to the visit of Mr. Dalston. She says :—

Sir,

Since writing of this my cousin Dalston has been here, and my husband being indisposed and in bed, could not add more than this signifieth, much was in full of what you desired by my cousin Dalston before he came to move in it. I beg your pardon for this scribble, and subscribe myself.

Your servant,

(Signed) E. LOWTHER.

No one appreciated more fully the determination of Lady Anne than did her cousin Sir John Lowther. He realised that to try to move her to do what she had determined she would not do was not only useless, but unwise. She had made up her mind that one of her grandchildren was to represent Appleby, and that, although he had withdrawn the other candidate whom, in the absence of a Tufton, she had proposed to support, and had made it quite clear that none of the Lowthers would come forward, it had only strengthened her in her determination that her grandchild should be the Member of Parliament for the place, and she had insisted that he should carry out the undertaking he had made to her to take his seat.

The only other letter which bears upon this interesting controversy, is from Thomas Gabetis, Lady Anne's under-sheriff. It is addressed to Sir Joseph Williamson, and is written from Appleby on the 23rd of February.⁴¹

What you found in my letter to my worthy friend Mr. Musgrave, that gave you to believe me either worthy, or able to serve you in the present affair, was no less but that which I really designed for your service, and had made it my study, if by endeavours or interest I could accomplish the same, which I have cause to believe might have operated to that end, had not the inclination and desires of my honourable Lady Pembroke interposed, to have that vacancy supplied by one of her Ladyship's grandsons or kinsmen, which, when the time

⁴¹ S. P. Dom. Car. II, 235-54.

comes, is like to work that way. The Corporation being generally disposed to gratify my Lady's recommendations, especially her relations, appearing for her great nobleness and bounty to the place. My station may tell you I am under an obligation of high rate to render service with obedience to my Lady's commands, especially in this particular, otherwise, my apprehension of your worth and merit was bespoke aforehand to have served you, though a perfect stranger, which is my unhappiness. However, I beg your charitable and good opinion of me, and to believe I shall ever own your commands by a due and right compliance when you think fit to express the same to, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

(Signed) THOMAS GABETIS.

P.S.—Sir, I received a letter from my honourable friend my Lord Ranisford ⁴² for your services, which had a great influence upon me with your own, which might easily have prevailed to perform that which now I find impossible, which troubles

Your servant,

(Signed) T. GABETIS.

Here is the explanation of the action of the Deputy Sheriff. His personal inclination was to support Sir Joseph Williamson, and he was recommended by his friend "Lord Ranisford" to do so, but was bound in the first place to his patron Lady Anne, to whom in fact he owed all his position, and he knew that she had been so bountiful and so generous to Appleby that the Corporation would certainly accept her wishes, and would not dream of opposing them. Therefore, although inclined to have helped Sir Joseph to the best of his ability, and probably having done so to a certain extent, he could not throw his influence against Lady Anne, nor let it be seen that he was working in any way for the person whom she opposed. The result was of course a foregone conclusion. The Corporation was ready to do as she wished, and as Thomas Tufton was not prepared to forfeit her regard and the Lowthers had withdrawn in his favour, Tufton was elected burgess, and Lady Anne carried her own way. We believe; however, that she did not do it in a rude or discourteous fashion.

The letters we have quoted give even one more piece of evidence against the authenticity of the Walpole epistle. It will be noticed that every one of them is signed "Anne Pembroke," and that other letters that appear in this volume are signed either "Anne Clifford" or "Anne

⁴² Richard Ranisford or Rainsford (1605-1680), Justice of the King's Bench, 1668-9; Lord Chief Justice, 1776-1678. (F.)

Dorset." I have found no document whatever signed in any other way, and so far as I am aware, she never signed " Anne Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery," nor even " Anne Dorset and Pembroke."

It may perhaps be suggested that in conversation someone may have said that, judging from her determination,⁴³ they would have written in such and such fashion, or it may even be that a letter was invented and forged and shown to Walpole, who had expressed an opinion as to her habit of writing, but whatever was the reason of the invention of this letter, it may, we hope, be now safely stated that the letter was an invention, and has no authority whatever to support it.⁴⁴

⁴³ The old saying bears upon this :—

If she will, she will, you may depend on't

If she won't, she won't, and there's an end on't.

⁴⁴ Some of the letters referred to in this chapter were quoted by Mrs. C. C. Stopes in the *Athenaeum* of June 2nd, 1894, and were referred to by her in her book entitled *British Free Women*, published in 1894 and again in 1907.

Unfortunately, however, the quotations are not quite accurate, and, contrary to her usual habit, the author does not appear in this instance to have examined the documents themselves with her customary care. It should also be mentioned that Mrs. Stopes' allusion to Horace Walpole is not accurately stated, and the quotation which she gives from Dr. Donne should have been given from Dr. Rainbow.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CHARACTER AND HABITS OF LADY ANNE.

IN reviewing the story of Lady Anne Clifford, there are certain characteristics of her life which stand out in a marked degree.

Her ruling passion was her attachment to her family, and to the estate and titles which had belonged to it. We have already seen what a determined front she presented to any attempt made to deprive her of what she regarded as her rights, and how she contested every inch of her privileges with slow and insistent action. She was eventually successful in obtaining all that she fought for, and then, having succeeded to the property, the titles, and the position to which she had looked forward from childhood, she set herself resolutely to improve her property, and to protect all her rights.

Allusion has been made to the trials at law which she started when she came into the estates, and we know that the object for which she fought was the recognition of her rights, and for these rights she was prepared to fight valiantly and to the very end. She refers at length in her Diary to some of these trials. One, which is alluded to in 1656, appears to have been only for a very small property, but she was perfectly satisfied with having obtained it. It was with regard to certain Westmoreland tenants, and was heard in the Court of Common Pleas, before three judges,¹ Atkins, Wyndham and Hale, and her counsel were Serjeants Maynard, Newdigate and Barnard, who were opposed by Serjeants Earle and Evers.² Almost immediately she obtained a verdict, and then there came a second trial the following day, which went by default, because the tenants

¹ Edward Atkins, Hugh Wyndham, Mathew Hale, all Puisne Justices of Common Pleas.

² John Maynard, Serj. 1654; Richard Newdigate, Serj. 1654; Robert Barnard, Serj. 1648; Erasmus Earle, Serj. 1654; and Sampson Evers, Serj. 1640. Maynard and Newdigate afterwards became Judges.

would not plead, and so she obtained what she sought for and her costs (£250) certified under the seal of the Court. In the following year she had another case, which she says was for one estate near Appleby, in respect to certain leases for one and twenty years, James Walker being the person selected by the various tenants to represent them. This was heard before four judges, the three already named, with the addition of Oliver Lord St. John,³ who was then Lord Chief Justice. This she won and obtained £100 costs and "the land adjudged to be myne and not the Tennants." In the same year and in the same Court, she fought a fourth case, which also she won and so obtained possession of the Westmoreland land notwithstanding the long leases on it which her uncle and cousin had illegally executed. She made reference with precision to her ejections, "many leases of ejections" she says, "did I cause to be sealed in 1653, in order to make a Tryall with my Tenants," and in characteristic fashion adds, "God send them good success," while in 1657, finding considerable trouble with the same James Walker, who was always a thorn in the flesh to her in Westmoreland, she made a definite ejection with respect to his property. This she describes in the following words, "The 3rd day of February in this year 1657, did Mr. Thomas Gabetis, my Deputy Sheriff in the County of Westmoreland," and her four head bailiffs, enter into James Walker's house in Netherbrough, commonly called Kirkbrough "where they fairly and gently Dispossessed the said James Walker's wife and family of the said house and lands thereto belonging." She then goes on to say that, having dispossessed the Walkers she let the property to John Salkeld of Brough for twenty-one years, at a yearly rack rent, adding finally, "and by that means I altered the tenure of this land, which was the very thing I aimed at in my suits in law with my Westmoreland tenants, as being a great Benefit and advantage to me and my Posterity, and not only to me, but to all the landlords and Tenants in that County."

I may in this place refer back to a quotation made in the previous chapter, in which Lady Anne distinctly stated that, providing a tenant would accept her regulations and regard any alleviation of them as coming from her bounty, she was prepared to deal smoothly and easily with the person in question, but she was tenacious of her

³ Appointed 1648.

own rights and position. There is a well-known story told of her with regard to certain lands which were held in an unusual tenure. The tenure involved the annual payment to the lady of the manor of 800 brood-hens at Appleby Castle and 800 at Skipton in addition to the monetary rentals. The tenant who held one small piece of the property refused to pay over the one hen at which he was assessed. He regarded it as a very small matter, and thought that it would be overlooked. He little knew with whom he had to deal. Lady Anne is reported to have gone to law immediately concerning the hen, and to have spent a considerable sum of money (over £400) to enforce the fact that she had the right to this particular fine. She won the day, claimed and obtained the hen, and then forthwith invited the tenant to dine with her, had the fowl in question cooked as part of the meal, and offered him his share of the bird, explaining to him that now she had won her right, she was prepared to be on pleasant terms with him. She would share the bird with him, she said, for she had obtained that for which she had fought, the distinct declaration that she had the right to this privilege.

The second characteristic which stands out with regard to her character is that connected with her religion. She was a devoted adherent to the Church of England, much attached to its Liturgy, and prepared in face of all obstacles to hold to that attachment. There were many threats of sequestration made against her for using the Liturgy of the Church of England. She did not give in for one single moment.⁴ She appointed and paid chaplains for each of her residences, she attended the services of the Church of England, wherever she resided, having them said in her own room, when she was unable to attend the parish church. She carried with her in her progresses her own chaplains, and they frequently officiated for her and her household. Religion was to her a matter of daily and constant life, and Bishop Rainbow tells us that she had a chapter of the Bible and morning prayers read to her every day. She was well read in the Bible, quoted Scripture upon all occasions, and gave Scriptural

⁴ With reference to the Communion, Rainbow tells us that when there was a kind of interdict on the land, a forbidding to administer the Sacraments according to the Book of Common Prayer, she refused, whatever danger might happen, to communicate in any other way, and kept most definitely to what he calls "the rules and forms of sound words, prescribed by the Rubrics."

references for many of her actions. Her diary abounds with references to Scriptural texts, in which, we find, she quoted both from the new Authorised Version and also from the Coverdale and from the Bishop's Bible, and even on the great picture she had painted there are many allusions to passages of Holy Writ.

Coupled with this strong religious feeling came her generosity. Wherever she was, she gave daily alms to the poor. She allowed ros. a week to be given to twenty poor people round about each of her castles. She supported divinity students at the University,⁵ especially one, a Doctor Fairfax, to whom she allowed an income which he was at Queen's, of £40 a year. Her first husband's chaplains, Dr. King⁶ and Dr. Duppa,⁷ were also given allowances of £40 a year, and Bishop Morley, of Winchester, received the same amount from her, and was furthermore substantially remembered in her will. It is said that when two or three of her chaplains had to flee from the country, and were in considerable distress, she sent a thousand pounds to them, to be distributed amongst them according to their needs.

It was probably her interest in Holy Scripture which explains two curious entries in the Knole diary. In one she says that a Mr. Asken came with a letter of introduction from Lady Grantham, and she promised to give him £7 when he came back from Jerusalem, whither he was going, while the other entry refers to her presentation of ten pieces of gold to a person whom she calls Mr. Beat, who had just come back from Jerusalem, and who told her news concerning the city, and gave her some information about the Holy Land which appears to have interested her.

During her lifetime at Knole, she frequently mentions the names of the preachers, referring on two or three occasions to the visits of Dr. Donne, and also in one place, alluding to the fact that another cele-

⁵ One of her reasons for assisting Divinity students was because she had great pride in the fact that her family had furnished the diocese of Carlisle with one of its Bishops, a member of the Vipont family. It is also stated that it was due to her persuasions that Bishop Morley took up a religious career, and became a very devoted clergyman. He was her godson, and one of her chaplains. She helped him in many ways, rejoiced when he became Bishop of Winchester, and remembered him in her will.

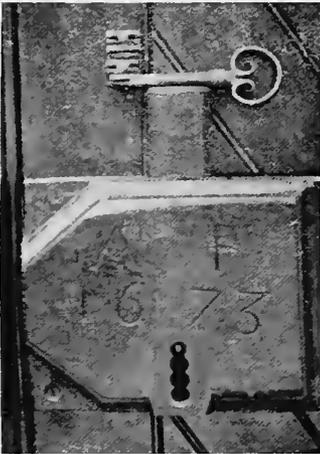
⁶ Tutor to Charles II. when Prince of Wales, Fellow of All Souls 1612, Dean of Christchurch 1626, Bishop of Chichester 1630, of Salisbury 1641 and of Winchester 1660.

⁷ Henry King, Dean of Rochester and Bishop of Chichester 1641, when Duppa went to Salisbury.



Photo—Mrs. Paul Mason.

NINEKIRKS' CHURCH
(see page 307).



THE LOCK AT ROSE CASTLE
dated 1673 (see page 311).



Photo—Mrs. Paul Mason.

THE PORCH OF MALLERSTANG
CHURCH (see page 309).



Fletcher—Photo.

INTERIOR OF NINEKIRKS' CHURCH
(see page 307).

brated preacher of the day, a Mr. Chantrell, had been sent for to preach the sermon. She was always punctilious in taking the Sacrament, and often arranged that her whole household should take it with her at the same time, in several places mentioning the names of those who presented themselves with her at the altar. The first occasion upon which she took the Sacrament at Brougham was in 1661. In alluding to her residence in the Castle at the time, she says "I received the Sacrament there, once at Christmas in the Chapel, once at Ninekirks on Easter Day and in July at Brougham Chapel which I have recently built," and then tells us that this was the first time she had ever received the Sacrament in the Chapel. It appears that, as soon as she had completed the restoration of the several churches, there was a special dedication service, and on that occasion the Sacrament was administered, and arrangements were always made with a view to opening the church at Easter. For example, in 1662, she says that on Easter Sunday "I received the Blessed Sacrament in the church called Ninekirks, this being the first time that I came into it, after I had repaired and new built the said church."

There are two churches in the parish of Brougham. One is usually known as Ninekirks, and is in a very remote part of the parish, far away in the centre of a field from any houses. It is dedicated to St. Ninian, and the Rev. Thomas Lees, in an article he wrote about it in 1779 gives it as his opinion that it stands on an ancient British foundation, because, he says, the probabilities are against any dedications being made to British saints after the visit of St. Augustin to England. The church contains some remarkable incised stone slabs, which it is believed cover the graves of Odard and Gilbert de Burgham, father and son, *circa* 1180. On one can be seen the circular shield called the Rondache which appears in the Bayeux Tapestry. It was Gilbert de Burgham who made over the advowson to his feudal Lord, Robert de Veteripont, lineal ancestor of the present patron. The interior of the church has most fortunately not been restored since Lady Anne rebuilt it. Her initials and the date 1660 are in relief plaster work at the east end. The Table of Ten Commandments with chosen texts and Hebrew heading is in her manner. It is on painted wood with gilt lettering, and was probably supplied by her. The date on the font is 1662, that on the quaint poor-box, 1663.

The pews are of oak and several of them are canopied in the manner adopted in the seventeenth century for the pews of a Lord's family and household. The pews, canopied and often screened, are all well carved, and the whole interior presents a delightful example of the family chapel of the period.

The other church is smaller, and is usually known in the parish as the Chapel. At one time Lady Anne's initials and dates appeared at the east end, where the rose window now is. On the west, high up, may be seen the shield of Clifford impaling Veteripont. The building is situated close to Brougham Hall, and was repaired, refitted and decorated at considerable cost by Lord Brougham and Vaux, who declared that he was a lineal descendant from the De Burghams just mentioned.

In Brougham Hall are preserved some interesting vessels which are generally supposed to have been anciently used in this Chapel. They are not mentioned in the Diocesan terriers, as they were probably regarded as private property. It is stated that for a very long time they were lost, as they had been buried, and then were found. They are silver gilt, and the chalice and paten, undoubtedly Pre-reformation vessels, are inscribed "Adrien. P" (probably priest). With them is a censer, part of an altar cross, the stem of a monstrance or reliquary, and several other objects, some of which are Byzantine in character, and all appear to be of considerable antiquity.

Lady Anne's attachment towards her religion showed itself in the restoration she undertook in various churches. She spent a considerable sum of money upon Appleby Church, where she set up her own monument and built the vault in which she intended to be buried. Her initials and the date 1665 can still be seen in the church.

Skipton Church was in a very bad state when she came into possession of her property. She says it had been largely pulled down in the time of the late Civil War, so she built it all up again, repaired and leaded the roof and substantially repaired the chancel, erecting, as we mentioned in a separate chapter, in it a splendid tomb to the memory of her father.

Bongate Church, near Appleby, she had pulled down and "new built up again att my owne charge."

Ninekirks, the church near to Brougham, she treated in the same

way. "It was new built up again," she says "at the same place, larger and bigger than it was before, and this church of Ninekirks," she adds, "would in all likelihood have fallen down, it was soe ruinous, if it had not bin now repaired by me."

Mallerstang (as I mention in another chapter) she practically rebuilt; and this she endowed, for there appeared to be no funds whatever to sustain its parson, and finally, she carried out some heavy expenditure upon the chapel of her castle at Appleby, and upon the private chapel inside her castle of Brougham. All these works Lady Anne did "ad majorem Dei gloriam," but at the same time, she carefully recorded all the restorations in her diary, and furthermore put up in each church her initials⁸ and the date, and in some instances a lengthy inscription, stating that she had been responsible for the work.

She insisted upon her relatives visiting the churches that she had restored. There are many allusions to the Tufton grandchildren being sent with Lady Thanet to see her various churches, and at times she refers to the fact that her visitors partook there of the Sacrament on the Sundays that they spent with her.

Her generosity she carried into all the details of her daily life. It has already been recorded how almost invariably when receiving persons in whom she was interested, she made them some present. Sometimes it was gloves, sometimes books, frequently money, often jewels, rings and suchlike. That was a characteristic which had belonged to her in earlier days. In her Knole diary, we read of her sending a "little jewel of opal to Lady Trenchard's⁹ girl," and on another occasion "a token to my Lady Somerset," and in return she received a letter and a token from the Tower from Lady Somerset. One of the few precious things still in existence, which belonged to her, is a beautiful jewel representing a group of flowers, wrought in gold and in enamel, exquisitely finished, which she presented to the

⁸ These initials A. P. still appear with the dates 1658 and 1659 in the church at Bongate, and also in Ninekirks and Mallerstang, as already mentioned. Furthermore, there are the arms of the Clifford and Veteripont family in the church at Kirkby Thore, rather implying that Lady Anne carried out some work to that place also, because the arms are placed in exactly the position which she adopted for the achievement in other churches, such as Brougham, Bongate, and St. Lawrence's, Appleby, for which she carried out extensive repairs.

⁹ Probably the wife of Sir Thomas Trenchard, knighted at Theobald's 1613.

wife of one of her great officials, and which still remains in the possession of his descendants. To the man himself, who was responsible to her for a great part of her Westmoreland property, she made several presents, notably a fine silver porringer, with its cover, the cover having four attachments which serve as feet, when it is removed and used as a stand for the porringer, and the whole thing, which fortunately remains in the hands of the descendant of this official, is a piece of the finest quality English silver, suitably engraved and inscribed. Another of her presents which deserves record is that which she made to the parish of Dacre, near to the residence of Sir Edward Hasell, who was her chief steward.¹⁰ To him she presented a fine cup¹¹ which had belonged to her father, George, Earl of Cumberland, and he passed it on to Dacre Church. It is probable that she was aware of his intention to do so, and possible that it may have been given him for that purpose, since Dacre was not a church that she was in the habit of attending, and indeed it lay some miles away from her nearest residence Brougham Castle.¹² To that very same church; and also to Sir

¹⁰ Knighted May 15th, 1699, having refused a Baronetcy. In his house at Dalemain near Penrith, still inhabited by his descendants and enclosing an ancient Pele Tower, Lady Anne often stayed.

¹¹ "The cup and cover have been gilt. The cover is of the usual cover-paten class, very flat, with button, and is 1½ inches high. The cup stands 7½ inches high. The stem is conical, with moulding round the feet, and has no knob. The bowl is a frustum of a cone, with slightly curving sides. A line is engraved below the lip with fleurs-de-lys dependent therefrom, and an Elizabethan band of ornamentation is round the body. The marks are four:—1. Lion passant; 2. Leopard's head crowned; 3. Roman capital F. London date letter for 1583-4; 4. Maker's mark: illegible, but resembles the letters Sc or Tc, in a plain shield." Vide—*Church Plate of Cumberland and Westmorland*.

¹² There is a very remarkable cup belonging to the parish of Brougham, which may perhaps have had some connection with Lady Anne. It is a fine piece of Nuremberg silver of the type, known as the pine-apple cup, belonging to the early part of the seventeenth century, and it was presented to the parish by Mr. James Bird, who was one of Lady Anne's stewards, and who is also mentioned on several occasions in the list of her officials and servants as her attorney. He is believed to have presented it to the church in 1660, on its rebuilding and consecration, and there is an inscription close up to the rim, without date, stating in Latin * that it was presented to the church by him. It is of course quite possible that he had it for some time in his possession, but there is some evidence that he received it as a gift from Lady Anne because she is particularly recorded as having given a great cup to him, and she made him several presents in connection with the work for the estate, and purchased from him a certain part of his land, with which she endowed her almshouses at Appleby.

The cup is an unusual one to have been the property of a person of his standing, but Lady Anne herself was particularly fond of fine cups, possessed several, and bequeathed some of them to her various relatives. It seems to be very likely, therefore, that she may have been responsible indirectly for this gift, inasmuch as just at the very time of its presentation, she

Edward Hasell's own house, Dalemain, she presented a large stock lock with a fine key to it, and having marked upon it her initials A.P. and the date. These stock locks, she obtained from a man named George Dent of Appleby and she paid him 20s. each for them, for in her accounts for 1673 we have an entry to the following effect, "Paid then to George Dent of Appleby for two great large stock locks he made for me to give away, £2." George Sedgwick possessed one of these locks, and it is still to be seen on the front door of the house which he occupied at Collinfield near Kendal. The Bishop of Carlisle had another, and it too, is still *in situ* in Rose Castle. Then there is the one at Dalemain, the one at Dacre Church, and one, which I believe to be of the same character, on a door at Appleby Castle. There is another of these locks, bearing her initials and the date 1670, on a door at Great Asby Pele Tower. This was probably presented to the then owners of this fortified tower in commemoration of an occasion on which Lady Anne with the whole of her suite in attendance took refuge in the house during what she calls "a mighty storm" which overtook her on one of her progresses. She spells the name of the place in her papers in two different ways, once as Hasby and once as Ashbeigh, but it is clear that both the allusions are to the same place, as she only refers to this storm and the place of refuge in 1670. Probably there are other locks in the neighbourhood, because there are many traditions of the presentation of these locks to persons for whom she had a regard.

She gave George Sedgwick her portrait, and she gave it also to the Bishop of Carlisle, and to Sir Edward Hasell. Those at Dalemain

had been carrying out the restoration of the church and particularly narrates the heavy expenditure upon it.

It has been stated that the magnificent cup which belongs to Bongate Church, near Appleby, also belonging to the early part of the seventeenth century (*circa* 1612) a steeple or standing cup, was her gift, and it has even been suggested that it was one of the steeple cups she bequeathed in her will. It is of course quite a possible thing that at some time or other this cup may have been in her possession, but it was presented to the parish by Dr. Nicholson (*circa* 1730) who was then Bishop of Carlisle, and he appears to have received it as a gift from a Mr. Wilfrid Lawson, who committed the cup to his Lordship's disposal, and he, being desirous of testifying his satisfaction with the laudable work of restoring this church, gave the cup to the parish. It is an exceedingly handsome one, twenty-one inches high, and nearly five inches of steeple above the cover, but it is quite impossible for use in the parish, and is always preserved at the bank.

* Ex dono Jacobi Bird, in usum Sacro sanctae Eucharistiae in Ecclesia Sancti Wilfridi de Brougham. Vulgariter appellata Ninekirkes in Comitatu Westmerlandiae.

and Rose Castle are still to be seen, the one at the former house in the actual position she is said to have selected for it. She was in the habit of staying at intervals with some of her chief officers, and on these occasions, desiring to be properly accommodated, presented a suitable bedstead for her own use. There was a fine one at Collinfield, but that appears to have vanished, the one, however, which she used at Dalemain still remains in the house, and part of it is of special importance. It has, unfortunately been altered and added to, but the head and canopy are original, and are decorated with embroidery, which enables one to determine its exact period. There are four figures at the corners of the canopy in heavy appliqué work represented as holding up the canopy, while in their hands they each of them carry a pineapple. Evelyn refers in his diary to tasting the first pineapple that had been introduced into England at the table of Charles II., and there is a picture in the possession of the Earl of Dysart at Ham House, which represents Rose, the Hampton Court gardener, presenting to the King the first pineapple grown in England, and which came from the suckers of the plant from Barbadoes to which Evelyn is said to allude. Almost immediately after the introduction of the pineapple, it was regarded as the most popular object to represent in decoration, especially in embroidery, and thus one can safely date the embroidery in this state bed at Dalemain to that very time.

Lady Anne, however, carried her generosity far beyond those of her immediate circle. She not only gave the Bishop of Carlisle a bottle of her own "pulp of pomcitron"¹³ and her stewards and great officers locks and bedsteads, but she behaved with generosity to all her servants and to those who were about her.¹⁴ She is declared to have given £50 to each of her own maids whenever they married, as a portion. Her wages lists reveal the fact that, in addition to the ordinary wages, she constantly added extra sums for special services, and rewarded any particular kindness with a gift of money. She

¹³ Probably some kind of Apple and Lemon marmalade.

¹⁴ With respect to her presents, Bishop Rainbow expressly says that seldom any person came under her roof, who did not carry away "some mark or memorial of her, some badge of her friendship or kindness, she having always in store such things as she thought fit to present." He goes on to say that "she did not always consider what was great, or what might by value, make the present worthy of acceptation, or how it suited to the condition of the person, but what, as her pleasant memory suggested, might make her memorable to the person who was to receive it."

purchased all the food and fodder and wine required in each of her castles locally, declining to send to London for anything that her own people could possibly procure or supply, and for all this, she was insistent upon paying cash, setting her face against delays or credit. Proof of this is evident in the regulations she made respecting her almswomen, who were in danger of losing their positions, if they ventured to take up any credit whatever in Appleby or at Skipton.

She carefully records the names of her servants, and when her chief servants died, she makes special reference to their decease in her diary, expressing her grave concern at having lost them. Marsh, to whom she addressed many of her letters, was a specially trusted servant. He was the chief officer of her estate in Sussex, and she addressed him as her "dear and assured friend" so when in 1656 he died at Baynard's Castle, she writes of his death as having happened to her "great grief," she calls him her "Deare ffriende" and particularly with curious love of detail, records the fact that he was buried the same night that he died in the church near to Baynard's Castle, "called St. Bennet by Paul's Wharf."

About another servant, we have four entries, worded in graceful fashion. In 1657, on the 1st October, Lady Anne tells us that she had a visit from Mr. John Turner, with his wife Elizabeth, who she says, "had served mee even from her childhood till now." They came down to see her at Skipton, and she stated that, although Mrs. Turner was too old to continue in her service, her husband was to continue to receive her jointure rents "as long as ever he shall please." She records his death at Ramsbury in January, 1663. Later on, she asked Elizabeth Turner to come down and see her at Skipton and to stay for a week. "Elizabeth, the widow that had served me so many years." Mrs. Turner married again, and became Mrs. Gilmore, and in 1669, in May, she had her down once more to see her. "The 11th day of May," she wrote, "my old servant, Mrs. Elizabeth Gilmore, whose first husband was Mr. John Turner, came down to see me." They came down in a hired coach, for which it is pretty clear Lady Anne paid the cost. At York, Lady Anne's own coach-horses met them, with two of her servants, George Goodgion and John Hall, and brought them to Greta Bridge, over Stainmoore, to Brough. There they stayed for a night, and then they came on to Appleby,

being accommodated in the Baron's Chamber. Thence they journeyed to Julian's Bower, and then on through Whinfell Park to Lady Anne at Brougham, and there she says, "I kissed Mrs. Gilmore, I not having seen her since she had been a while at Skipton Castle with me."

Another of her chief officers was William Edge, the receiver of her Sussex rents. He came down to see her at Skipton, and lay, she says, "in the Withdrawing chamber, next the gallery." He stayed with her for some few days, and he and Mrs. Turner went away together on their journey towards London. Edge lost his wife, and when he had taken to himself a second one, Lady Anne asked him down to come and see her. This was in 1670, in September, and she tells us that Mr. William Edge "who had bin formerly my Domestic Servant, and is now Receiver-Generall of my Southern Rents, came with his second and new-married wife (who was a widow, and whom I never saw before)" to stay with her at Appleby for seven nights. They came through Staffordshire and Lancashire to Kendal, were lodged in the Baron's Chamber, and after a pleasant sojourn with her, they went back again to London, "and I had not seen William Edge" she says, "these good many years before, till now."

Another servant to whom there is frequent reference is Gabriel Vincent, who was in charge of all the repairs at Skipton Castle, and in whom she placed a vast amount of confidence. He died in 1666 at Brough, to her "great grief and sorrow," she says, and particularly refers to his faithfulness concerning her.

Lady Anne kept up a large establishment, surrounding herself by many servants, but they all appear to have been devotedly attached to her, and she carefully records the names of them.¹⁵

¹⁵ She alludes to a fairer who was her constable, Harrison, who house-steward at Brough, Johnson, who held a similar position at Appleby, Braithwaite, house-steward at Pendragon, and Mrs. Demaine, who was the housekeeper at Barden Tower. Guy was her gardener at Appleby, Edward Smith coachman, George Paget baker, John Harrison brewer, Henry Bonson herdman, James Bird attorney, F. Mason warrener (to whom she paid 16s. 3d. a quarter for feeding his ferrets) and Lancelot Machell, who began life as her boy page, her constant attendant and personal servant. Others who were mentioned were the valet and hairdresser Goodgion Hall, chief groom, Isaac Walker stable groom, Richard Lowes, general house-steward, Abraham Fitter postillion, Dorothy Demaine, Margaret Dargue, Anne Chippendale, Jane Slidall, laundry-maids, and Isabel Jordan, washerwoman, besides other servants named Raynolson, Buckle, Rawling, Murgatroyd, whose position is not specially mentioned, and Arthur Swindon under-butler, who was a specially faithful servant, and had been with her since boyhood, and died only a week before she herself passed away.

We hear frequently of her two gentlewomen or ladies-in-waiting, Mrs. Pate and Mrs. Machell, constantly of her sheriff, Mr. Gabetis, to whom, in her will, she made a handsome bequest, and almost as frequently of the Stricklands, two of whom served her, Thomas being the receiver of her rents and her draughtsman, and Alan her steward.

Another of her characteristics seems to have been a certain dry, caustic wit and upon one occasion when she was pressed to come up again to Court, "to glut her eyes" as a friend told her, "with the sight of such happiness as transpired at Court, and to see the sights of gallantry and glory," she said that she could only consent to do so, if she was allowed to go to Court wearing blinkers, lest, said she, "I should see and censure what I cannot judge of, give offence to others, or be offended myself."

Bishop Rainbow refers to her humility, speaking of her habit of dining with the old almswomen, and to her insistence that those of her relatives who came to see her at Appleby, should also go and pay visits to the almshouses and take a meal with the old women. He also alludes to her great consideration for her servants and dependants, and to the way in which she looked after them, and helped them in any time of distress. All this, it is evident, is true, but the pages of her Day-by-Day book show that she never forgot her position, however scrupulous and careful she was to assist those who were in trouble, and to take part with them in their pleasures. She particularly records, however, in this Day-by-Day book, the fact that her folk, meaning her own servants, dined as a rule by themselves in their hall, and that others, the superior servants and great officials, in what she calls the Painted Chamber at Brougham, and with them were the parson of the place and his wife, and several of the guests of lower standing who came to see her, and who were afterwards received with great dignity by herself in her own room. At the same time, she makes it clear that when her own personal family came to see her, they dined with her, that is to say, her own children and grandchildren, and some of the special guests, such as the Lord Marshal of England and the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Derby and others of her own rank, whom she received with her. The distinction is clearly drawn with a definite hand between those persons who were of her own standing, and others who occupied positions rather beneath

it. It does not in any degree detract from the character Bishop Rainbow gives of her, and only shows that laws of precedence and regulations regarding family distinctions, were even more tenaciously upheld in those days than in later times, and that it was quite possible for Lady Anne, with all her humility and courtesy, to behave in benevolent fashion to those who were about her, and yet at the same time to be almost austere in marking the differences between her own people and those who served her or were casual acquaintances. She was the great lady of the district, the owner of the entire estate, which embraced a large part of Westmoreland, a woman of considerable means for those days, and the leading person in the county. That position was a cause of pride to her, and her journeys to and from her castles were conducted with all the elements of great state. She herself went in her horse litter, her ladies-in-waiting, her gentlewomen, were in her coach drawn by six horses, her other great officials, her menservants, on horseback, her womenservants in another coach, and all the paraphernalia that accompanied such a vast crowd followed on behind. It must not be forgotten that in those days the bedding was carried from place to place, in addition to which, chairs, carpets, curtains and tapestry hangings were moved away from one castle and placed in position in the next, ready for her use. In addition, however, to her own people, she was in the habit of being accompanied on several of these journeys by her neighbours and friends. In some instances she seems to have demanded their attendance, as she was the High Sheriff of the county and Lady of the Manor, and they were in many instances her tenants, and perhaps, in almost every case tenants under her manors, paying to her some kind of manorial rent. She therefore appears to have had the privilege of summoning them to accompany her, and they did so on horseback when she made her progresses. She speaks of the neighbouring gentry, of the magistrates, of her own relatives, Sir Richard Lowther, Sir Philip Musgrave and others, who came with her, and she appears to have been accompanied by all these people, sometimes over 300 in number, until she reached the castle where she was going to reside, and then receiving them singly in her own room, she gave the "men her hand, kissed the women" and dismissed them all, and "they returned home." Sometimes she took her leave of them in the court, although her own relatives, such

as the Lowthers and Whartons, seem generally to have come inside the house, and then, having all of them taken their leave of her, she herself says, with reference to Pendragon, "I came upstairs, and through the great chamber into my own chamber," and with reference to Brough, "I came away into my own chamber in Clifford Tower," rejoicing once more at being back in her own home. It must have been a large company that wended its way from Brougham to Appleby, from Appleby to Brough, Pendragon and Skipton, and from Skipton to Barden Tower in those numerous journeys from place to place.

In removing from one castle to another, as a rule, she describes the route which she followed. She appears to have been anxious to view certain parts of her property in these progresses, and in consequence did not always follow the same route. She had also a great desire to travel by unfrequented roads, and more than once alludes to the fact that her coach travelled along a particular road which no coach had ever been on before. She generally mentions the place where she spent the night, and took the opportunity of paying visits on these occasions to several of her neighbours. We have descriptions of her journeys from Skipton to Brougham, to Pendragon, and to Barden Tower, and vice versa, also to journeys from Appleby to Barden, to Pendragon, to Brough and to Brougham, and vice versa, as well as those from Barden to Pendragon, from Brough to Pendragon, and in the reverse direction. The journeys from Appleby to Brougham were the simplest and easiest, those from Appleby to Skipton, or to either of the intermediate castles, such as Brough, Barden or Pendragon, more complicated. It will be of interest, especially to those who reside in that part of the world, if we examine the routes by which she travelled from place to place. One of the earliest journeys to which she alludes is that which she took in 1656 from Skipton to Brougham, almost the only occasion upon which she travelled this long journey. The first night she spent at the Inn at Kirkby Lonsdale, having travelled, she wrote, by way of Ingleton, and she then appears to have gone right across Shap Fell to Melkinthorpe,¹⁶ where she stayed, she says, at Mr. Dalston's house, being the "first and last

¹⁶ Melkinthorpe is a manor in Lowther parish, which originally belonged to the Musgraves from whom it passed to the Fallowfields and by marriage of the heiress of that family, to the Dalstons of Acorn Bank, who are frequently referred to in her diary.

tyme that I was ever in thatt Howse," and that evening entered Brougham.

On two occasions she narrates in detail her journeys from Skipton to Pendragon. In 1663, after having been at Barden Tower for some months, she moved on to Skipton, and leaving there, spent the first night at Mr. Cuthbert Wade's house, Kilnsey,¹⁷ a property not very far from Skipton Castle. Then, she says, she went on "through Kettlewell Dale, upp Buckden Rakes, and over the Staks into Wensleydale" to stay with her cousin¹⁸ Mr. Thomas Metcalf, at his house at Nappa. This route must have been attended with some difficulty, because, on what is known as Stake Moss, there have been very few roads, and many of them were always of an unsatisfactory character. Nappa was just a mile south of Askrigg, and the house where Lady Anne stayed, an important one, where Sir Christopher Metcalf is said twice to have entertained Mary, Queen of Scots. The Metcalfs of Nappa¹⁹ were great people in that neighbourhood, for we read in Camden of Sir Christopher when High Sheriff attending York Assizes in 1556 at the head of three hundred mounted followers, who were all members of his family or important tenants on his estate "men of his own name or kin." For two nights Lady Anne remained at Nappa, and then she says she went over Cotter in her coach, "where I think never did coach went before," and crossing Helgill Bridge (an erection of some importance, as she sent her nephew more than once to see it) she entered Pendragon by Mallerstang. The particular route that she adopted on this occasion can easily be traced. She left Hawes rather to the north, and followed a road across what is now called Cotter Riggs, by Thwaite Common to Helgill, and then high up on the mountains, dipping down into the main road, by a place now known as Deepgill, and approaching Pendragon on the main road. It is rather puzzling to know why she adopted this difficult road, which, although easily to be found at the present day,

¹⁷ Sir William Wade (or more usually Waad) of Kilnsey (1546-1623) was Lieutenant of the Tower, Clerk to the Privy Council, and a Diplomatist. The family presented the Church Plate to the parish of Arncliffe in Craven. Mr. Cuthbert Wade was a Captain in the army of Charles I., a magistrate for York, and a Captain in the Trained Band for the County of York. He died August 17th, 1665.

¹⁸ His great-grandmother was a daughter of Henry, 1st Earl of Cumberland. He died about 1684.

¹⁹ The Metcalf arms are *argent* three calves passant *sable*.

is no more than a bridle path, and almost impossible of access for any wheeled vehicle. She says it was the first time she was ever in Kettlewell Dale, or went over Buckden Rakes, or the Stake or Cotter, or in "any of those dangerous places," and she evidently was impressed by the difficulties of the journey, for she says, "Wherein yet God was pleased to preserve me in that journey." It is almost inconceivable, when one regards the road at the present time, to believe that her coach and six horses could have travelled over it, or could have made a safe descent from this mountain bridle path (for it is really little more than that) down to the main road $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Pendragon.

She took much the same road in 1666, when she was going in the reverse direction. She left Pendragon and first of all visited the chapel at Mallerstang, the first time she had ever been into that chapel, and then journeyed over what she calls "Cotter and those dangerous Wayes" to Bainbridge, where she halted "at Mr. John Colbeye's²⁰ Howse," and stayed there that night with her women servants, the first time she had been there. Some of her menservants remained also at Bainbridge, others she sent further on their way to Askrigg. Then, the following day, she went "over the Stake, downe Buckden Rakes," and again to Mr. Cuthbert Wade's house at Kilnsey, eventually reaching Skipton in due course. Still referring to what may be called her Yorkshire journeys, we have two allusions to her travelling from Barden to Skipton. On one occasion, she says she came the nearest way through the Haw Park. On the other she entered into a little more detail concerning her route. It was in the reverse direction, 'by Haw Park, by Skibden and Halton and those waies,' she in her horse litter, her chief women in her coach with six horses, and her menservants on horseback. There is one account of a journey from Barden to Appleby, which took her through another part of the country. Then, she says, she spent three nights on the way, the first at "Paiteley Bridge," the second "at Street²¹ House not farre"

²⁰ Colby Hall is near Bainbridge. It is an old grey stone gabled Farm House (*circa* 1550-1600). For some time the Rt. Hon. Francis Acland, M.P., used to reside in part of it. There are monuments to various members of the Colby family in the church near by.

²¹ Street House is now a Farm House. It is in the parish of Hornby and is situate on Watling Street, hence its name. It is $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles from Bedale and belongs to the Duke of Leeds, part of his Hornby estate. The present house was not the one seen by Lady Anne. It is an 18th century erection.

from Bedell, and the third at Bowes²² "at a poor inne" whence she came over Bowes Moor and Stainmore, passing by Brough, and so into Appleby. This was a long and dangerous journey, over a very wild part of the country. She narrates that on her way, she went for the first and only time in her life, "hard by Snape,²³ a house of the Earl of Exeter's," and she also reminded herself that the only time she had been at Bowes Common before, was when she journeyed back from Brougham Castle to her first husband, after she had made the eventful trip to see and consult her mother respecting the estates.

Journeys from Pendragon to Barden, or in the reverse direction, were taken by way of Ravenstonedale and Sedbergh, which was probably the easiest way, but which does not at the present day strike one as being the most direct. She stayed en route with a Mr. John Otway, a lawyer, at Ingmor (now known as Ingmire Hall), close to Sedbergh. Thence she went by the direct road towards Kirkby Lonsdale, but did not actually touch that place. She says she was within "sight thereof," then, turning aside, travelled over Cowen Bridge, Ingleton, and across Clapham Bottom to Clapham, where lived her old friends the family of that name, one of whom became one of her chief officers, and was intimately concerned in the administration of Beamsley Almshouses. She did not stay with Mr. Clapham, but went on to Settle, and slept the night at the Inn there, having never seen that place before, and then journeyed over the moor, by what she calls "Mawham Water²⁴ Tarn," now Malham Tarn, and so into Barden. On the return journey, when she left Barden, she stayed a night with Mr. John Symonson at his house at Starbolton in Craven for the first and only time, then straight on to Wensleydale, where she stayed again with Mr. John Colbeye, and eventually travelled up by Cotter

²² It is said that the school from which Dickens took the idea of Dotheboys Hall was at Bowes.

²³ Snape Castle still stands and the entire south front is inhabited. It belonged to the Cecils, Earls of Exeter till 1793, having come to them from the Latimers, one of whose heiresses, Dorothy Nevill, married the first Earl in 1564. It has since belonged to the Milbank family, and now (1919) belongs to William Cresswell Gray, Esq. It is an imposing turreted structure containing an interesting chapel with a ceiling painted by Verrio.

²⁴ Malham Cove is a stupendous limestone crag 286 feet high. Above it on the moor is Malham Water or Tarn, said to be the source of the river Aire. It is 3 miles in circumference. Lady Anne in 1650 claimed the Tarn as part of the Percy Fee and so of the Craven estate, and all her life insisted on having Keeper's rights over it. This claim was continued by some of her descendants but the Tarn, so far as I can ascertain, was never actually Clifford property.

Hill, over Helgill Bridge, round by Mallerstang Chapel, into Pendragon.

On four separate occasions, Lady Anne alludes to the journeys from Brough to Pendragon, or in the reverse direction. These were the shortest of all the journeys she had to take, and were comparatively simple, besides giving her an opportunity of staying with her own relatives, the Whartons at Wharton Hall. She travelled, of course, through Brough Sowerby and Kirkby Stephen, and the road was an easy and straight one. She did not always stay at Wharton Hall.²⁵ On one occasion she specifically states that she did not "go through the Parke," on another that she only came "within sight of Wharton Hall," and she speaks of crossing the river Eden, and over a part of Askefell, and of approaching "the town" of Brough, through a part of which she rode into her Castle.

When she went from Brough to Appleby or in reverse direction, she had an even simpler journey, and it was by a main road, through Warcop, she says, and Bongate, and over Appleby Bridge, into her castle of Appleby, not, of course, ascending the hill through the town, as is the usual access now, but the winding one behind the castle, and entering at what is now the entrance at the rear of the castle. The road from Pendragon to Appleby, when she had no intention of stopping on the way at Brough, was a long but fairly direct route, and one she adopted on many occasions. She went by Mallerstang and Askefell, in sight, she says, of Wharton Hall and Hartley Castle, so travelling by way of Kirkby Stephen, and then passed through Waitby and Soulby, over what she calls Soulby Mask. She speaks of being within sight of Brough Castle, an allusion not easy to understand, because Soulby was the nearest approach she made to Brough, and the distance was considerable, unless perchance it was just the tower which could be seen in the distance as she looked over Great and Little Musgrave. The first part of this journey, when she left Pendragon, was through what was called at that time the forest of Mallerstang.

Her principal journeys were between Brougham and Appleby. These were her two favourite places of residence, and were also the most convenient of access one from the other, the route being simple

²⁵ This is now a farm house close to the Midland Station. The title of Wharton has lately (1916) been called out of abeyance by the Crown.

and direct. As a rule, when she left Brougham, she tells us that she went through Whinfall Park, round by the Hart's Horn Tree to Julian's Bower, in the Park, where sometimes she stopped, but occasionally, she mentions that she "did not alight to go into it," and then travelling over the Edenbridge she went through what she describes as "the town" of Temple Sowerby, Kirkby Thore and Crackenthorpe, down the Slape Stones,²⁶ over Appleby Bridge, near the church, and through Appleby town, again turning to the road already mentioned, near to what she calls High Cross by Scattergate, in order to curve round at the back of the castle, and not ascending the hill to the entrance which is now used. Some of these journeys from Appleby to Brougham or vice versa are described with particular care, and about one or two of them there are incidents of some special interest. In 1670, when she had been in Appleby Castle for a considerable time, having come thither from Pendragon, she speaks of her passing through the withdrawing-room and the great chamber, into the chapel, where she spent a little while, and so through the hall, where she took her litter at the hall door in the court. She then alludes to her route through the town of Appleby, over the bridge through Crackenthorpe, Kirkby Thore, Temple Sowerby, Woodside, and by the Hart's Horn Tree, specially mentioning that she "stopped and looked at it for a while," and so into Brougham, and then, taking leave of all those who had accompanied her, "several of the gentry of this county, and of my neighbours and tenants, both of Appleby, Brougham, and Penrith, in the hall of the Castle," she went up through the great chamber and Painted Chamber, and the little passage room, into her own room, which of course she describes in her customary manner as that in which her noble father was born, and her blessed mother died. On the return journey, when she left her own room, she said she went for a little while out of it into the room adjoining, which she describes as the middle room of the great Pagan Tower, and as the place where an old servant named "Jane Bricknell had died," and then came back into her own chamber. It would appear to be likely that this was the occasion for a visit to the chapel, because the chapel at Brougham seems to have been approached from her own room through

²⁶ Another name for Battle Barrow. There is a small house there still called Slape Stone House—close to Appleby.

what she calls the middle room. Then, having paid this customary visit, she came downstairs about eleven o'clock, so she tells us, "through the little passage room, the Painted Chamber, and the great chamber, into the Hall," and thence passed into "the garden for a little while," came back again into the court, where she took her horse litter. On this occasion she particularly tells us that she rode round by the Pillar "that I erected in memory of my last parting there with my blessed mother," and then again we have the same regular route over the Edenbridge through Temple Sowerby, Kirkby Thore and Crackenthorpe, down the Slape Stones, over Appleby Bridge, near by the church and through the town. She says that many of the chief gentry were with her, and when she alighted at Appleby, and had bid farewell to all her friends, she went through the hall up into the chapel of the castle for a little while, to return thanks for her journey, thence "into the great chamber, and so up the green stairs, through the withdrawing chamber," into her own room.

Towards the end of her life, the journeys became rather more difficult. In 1673, leaving Appleby Castle in exactly the same manner, she went through the withdrawing-chamber and great chamber into the chapel, but was taken with what she describes as a "swoounding fitt," evidently a very serious faint,²⁷ She was carried into the green chamber, and after a while recovered, but, far from relinquishing her purpose, "after I was, by God's blessing, recovered of it, I came from thence again down the stairs, through the hall into the court," where once more the same trouble befell her and she fainted away. Then she was carried into the Baron's Chamber, and one would have naturally supposed that the whole excursion would have been given up. But such was not her habit. "Having," she says, "also by God's blessing, gotten past it, I went down again into the court, where I took my horse litter," and then she starts the same journey again, by exactly the same route, into the court of Brougham Castle, where, says she, "I came safe and well, I thank God, about four o'clock that afternoon." There she alighted, went up stairs into the hall, where she states, "all the company of my neighbours and tenants and others that came along with me, took their leaves of me and

²⁷ In March 1662 she had suffered in similar fashion, "I had a swoounding fitt" she says, "whereby I was in great danger of death, but it pleased God to restore me to Life and health againe in a very short space."

went away, and I came upstairs, through the great chamber and Painted Chamber and passage room, into my own chamber."

Bishop Rainbow, in the funeral sermon, gives us some further details regarding this particular incident. He tells us that the day was "very cold," that there was a frost, and that it was misty. He says that Lady Anne had very much company coming to attend her removal, and that it was in the chapel where the first faint occurred. She was "at or near a window," he writes, sending "up her private Prayers and Ejaculations," when immediately she fell into a swoon, and could not be recovered until she had been lain for some time upon a Bed near a great fire." He then goes on to state that her neighbours and the gentlemen who attended her "used much persuasion that she would return to her Chamber, and not travel on so sharp and cold a day; but she, having before fixed on that day, and so much company being come purposely to wait on her, she would go." He then alludes to her second faint, which happened as she came to the horse litter, and to the fact that she was carried back again into her room, he says "Yet, as soon as that fit was over, she went." Furthermore, he tells us what Lady Anne herself does not mention in her diary, that at the end of her journey she had a third attack, "a swooning seized on her again," from which, he says, "being soon recovered, when some of her servants and others represented to her, with repining, her undertaking such a journey, foretold by divers to be so extremely hazardous to her Life," she replied, "she knew she must die, and it was the same thing to her to die in the way as in her house, in her litter as in her bed," and so, concludes he, "she would not acknowledge any necessity why she should Live, but believed it necessary to keep firm to her Resolution." He tells the story as an example of her fine courage.

The last journey which she took was on just the same lines. She had been in Appleby from May till October, and then journeyed by the customary road, by way of Crackenthorpe, Woodside, etc., to Brougham, where she had not been since July three years before. She arrived there in October, went away to her own room, and there it was that she died in the following March.

It is of interest to be able to trace the route which, in most cases, she adopted on these long journeys, and to understand the determina-

tion with which she travelled across lonely unfrequented ways, in order to have a good knowledge of her estates in different parts of the county. She also took an infinite pleasure in going by some road which had not hitherto been used for coach traffic, perhaps in order to prove that she was able to journey wherever she pleased, and the knowledge of difficulties only seems to have emphasised her determination to take a particular route.

Bishop Rainbow tells us that one of the reasons she adopted for travelling by unfrequented roads was that she might confer bounty upon the people near by. "She strewed her Bounty," he says, by the way, "and for this end it was that she so often removed; and that, not only in the Winter season, less fit for travelling; but also that she chose to pass those uncouth and untrodden, those mountainous and almost impassable ways; that she might make the poor people and labourers her Pioneers, who were always well rewarded for their pains." "Her paths," he goes on to state in allegorical fashion, "dropped fatness, even upon the pastures of the wilderness and the barren mountains." "If she found not Mines in these Mountains, I am sure the Poor found Money in good plenty whensoever she passed over them."

Her character is summed up by Rainbow in the following words:— "I might first tell what advantages she had for intellectual Virtues, even from Nature itself, which had endowed her Soul with such excellent Abilities as made her ready to build up herself in the knowledge of all things decent and praise-worthy in her Sex. She had great sharpness of Wit, a faithful Memory, and deep Judgment, so that by the help of these, much Reading, and conversation with Persons eminent for Learning, she had early gain'd a knowledge, as of the best things, so an ability to discourse in all Commendable Arts and Sciences, as well as in those things which belonged to Persons of her Birth and Sex to know."

Going on to refer to her personal habits, Rainbow adds, "Yet here I may be bold to tell you something to wonder at: That she much neglected, and treated very harshly one Servant, and a very Antient one, who served her from her Cradle, from her Birth, very faithfully, according to her mind; which ill-usage therefore her Menial Servants, as well as her Friends and Children, much repined at. And who this

Servant was, I have named before. It was her body, who, as I said, was a Servant most obsequious to her Mind, and served her fourscore and six years.

It will be held scarce credible to say, but it is a truth to averr, that the Mistris of this Family was dieted more sparingly, and I believe, many times more homely, and clad more coarsely and cheaply than most of the Servants in her House ; her Austerity and Humility was seen in nothing more, than in neglecting of the body, not in any honour to the satisfying of the Flesh."

Yet again he refers in the same sermon to her costume, in which he says that " her dress, not disliked by any, was yet imitated by none," and we understand from various letters and papers, that almost invariably she dressed in a rough black serge, and spent very little upon her own costume after she came North, in order that she might have the more to give away.

Finally, he sums up her character in the following words, " She was absolute Mistris of her Self, her Resolutions, Actions and Time ; and yet allowed a time for every purpose, for all Addresses, for any Persons. None had access but by leave, when she called ; but none were rejected ; none must stay longer than she would ; yet none departed unsatisfied. Like him at the Stern, she seemed to do little or nothing, but indeed she turned and steered the whole course of her Affairs."

Some 13 odd pages of Lady Anne's account book for 1673 have been saved from the general destruction which seems to have overtaken many of her papers, and were copied by the Rev. Joseph Whiteside in the *Transactions* of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological Society.²⁸ Several of the entries are of considerable interest, especially as they constitute almost the only record that we have of her own petty cash expenditure during the time that she was residing in the North. For some of the entries, there are not the actual figures. Her claret she bought from Thomas Carlton, the Mayor of Appleby, and gave 4s. a gallon for it, and the same for white wine, but Sack from the same man cost 10s. a gallon. She evidently herself indulged in the luxury of smoking, because the account book includes an entry of one pound of best Virginian tobacco " for my owne taking," 4s.

²⁸ Vol. v N.S., Art. xvi, p. 188 ; 13 pp. foolscap, August to October, 1673.

Her expenditure on her dress was not very serious. She paid William Marshall the tailor of Bongate "for making a black cloth gown for mee and for things for ye making of it up, 39s. 6d." She purchased gloves in Kirkby Stephen to give away, buying at one time four dozen "ruffelles" for men at 5s. 6d. a pair, and three dozen for women at 1s. 4d. a pair. There is also an entry of fifty-five books of devotion by the Rev. John Rowlet of Kirkby Stephen which she bought to give away. They cost £3 5s. 4d. the lot. She gave "the lame women of my almshouse here at Appleby" 2s. 6d., and she gave to Dorothy Wilber, "the deafe woman of my almshouse here at Appleby, for eighteen yards of bonelace" to give away, 12s. To the barber, George Goodgion, "for clipping off all the Haires of my Heade in my chamber at this Appleby Castle," she paid 6s. To the parson, James Buchanan, "our parson, when he now preached a good sermon to me and my family, in my chamber at this Appleby Castle," she presented 20s. and she gave him 20s. more, "when he administered the Blessed Sacrament of bread and wine to me and them," and to the Parish Clerk 5s. She bought a "pair of bodyes for mee for my own use," and paid 3s. 8d. for them, and at the same time as these were purchased, the same servant obtained 10 yards of fustian for her at 1s. 3d. a yard. Another entry was for "white thread for making me four pairs of stockings, 5s. 8d." She sent her servant into town to buy some groceries, and the entry reads "Two sugar loaves he bought mee for the preserving of Plumms, 7/2, and for six Gally Potts to put them into, 1/6." She then paid Arthur her under Butler for assisting Mrs. Rate, one of her Gentlewomen, in preserving of the plums, 2s. 6d.

For her cheeses, she appears to have sent to Brougham Castle, to the wife of the vicar, Rev. Samuel Crasty, who made them for her. She bought sixteen cheeses at a time at 4d. a pound from Brougham, and gave the servant who brought them 2s. 6d. Oats she bought at 2s. 6d. a bushel, and malt 5s. 0d. a bushel.

She notes down that she has paid for some repairs to a fence, and also 9s. 8d. for mending the park wall. A Mrs. Brane had sent her a present of sweetmeats. She gave the servant 6s. 0d. Furthermore, she bought some more sweetmeats from a Mrs. Cleburn and Mrs. Brass, and gave them 10s. 0d. for them. To the steward who

brought her her Craven rents, she for his "paines and care" gave 30s. od., to the servant who accompanied him, George Goodgion for his "paines and assistance," 10s. od., and to a man who was with them for protection, 5s. od. more. To the auditor, Mr. Gabetis her Sheriff, when he went over the accounts and she signed them, she presented 40s. od. She bought some quinces and some apples for 40s. od. She gave Edward Sandford, "the deafe gentleman" a gratuity of 20s. od., and she sent George Sedgwick into Kendal to obtain some $2\frac{3}{4}$ yards of scarlet cloth and 30 yards of Linen cloth to give away. She paid 29s. od. a yard for the scarlet and 2s. 8d. a yard for the linen. Her coal came from her "owne Pitts on Stainemoor" and only cost her 1s. od. per load for cartage to Appleby. Wood she had in plenty from her park and she paid two men 1s. od. each for cutting it up.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE MYSTERIOUS DEDICATION.

ONCE certainly in Lady Anne's life she had a book dedicated to her, and appears to have resented very strongly the author's indiscretion. It is an interesting story, especially to bibliographers, and does not seem to have been hitherto in print. In fact, it was only by an accident that the dedication was recently discovered, and considerable investigation has followed upon this discovery. What is perhaps still more important is that, as far as this investigation can determine, but one copy of the little volume with its dedication complete seems to have survived.

The author was that eccentric person Anthony Stafford (1587-1645?), a writer of strange and unusual devotional works. Of his life and career very little is known. He matriculated as a Gentleman Commoner at Oriel in March, 1605, entering as a student at the Inner Temple in the following year. In Oxford he was declared to be a good scholar "well read in ancient historians, poets and other authors." He took his Master's degree in 1623, and was then said to be "a person adorned with all kinds of literature." His ideas of publishing books appear to have started in 1609, when he received some special permission which allowed him to study in the public library in Oxford, and he issued several theological and devotional treatises, some of which are said to have given great offence to the Puritan party.

The work to which I am alluding was one of the first, if not actually the very first, treatises from his pen, and was entitled "Stafford's Niobe, or his age of Teares, a Treatise no less profitable and comfortable than the Times Damnable." It was issued in two parts, and it is to the second part that I make special allusion. In the following year he issued his "Moral, Divine and Political Meditations," and followed

that with other works, for example, "The Day of Salvation, a Homily upon the Sacrifice of Christ" (1635). "Honour and Virtue triumphing over the Grave" (1640) and especially "The Female Glory, or the Life and Death of the Virgin Mary," which was sometimes described as "The Precedent of Female Perfection." This came out in the same year as the "Day of Salvation," and met with very bitter opposition, specially amongst the Puritans.

The date of Stafford's death is not known, he was certainly living in 1645, and is said to have died during the time of the Civil Wars. His work was not specially notable, but his books are on the whole scarce, because they met with such strong disapproval that they were destroyed, and in consequence are not often to be met with. The "Niobe," as I have already stated, was issued in two parts. On the title page of the first part, he went on to state "Wherein Death's visard is pulled off, and her face discovered not to be so fearful as the Vulgar makes it, and withall it is showed that death is onely bad to the bad, good to the good." The second part bore a different title. This he calls "Stafford's Niobe dissolv'd into a Nilus; or, his Age drown'd in her owne teares, serving as a Second Part to the former Treatise. Wherein the Vanitie and Villanie of the Age, and the miserie of Man are so painted to the life as that it will make a man long to leave this painted life to go to that true and eternall one." The first part of the book was dedicated to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, because, says the author, "my father was a neighbour of your father, being much obliged unto him, and my whole family unto yourselfe." The second part was dedicated to the "admired Lady Anne, Countesse of Dorset, daughter to the right Honorable George, late Earle of Cumberland." Following the dedication of this second part, there came a rather striking address, "To the younger Gentry of England," and this was followed by a still further address "to the long-ear'd Reader." The address to the younger Gentry of England was perhaps one of the best pieces of writing which Stafford ever executed. It was an appeal to the younger men of his day to place before themselves a higher ideal, and act up to the position to which they had succeeded. There are a few striking sentences in it. In one he says "A Tailor cannot cut out nor make a Gentleman, unmake him he may." In another, he desires to admonish

these younger gentry, "whom God," says he, "hath placed above others that they should not descend below yourselves, and do things unworthy of man." In this phrase he addresses them, "Study not so much how to discourse with women as how to do like men. Glory no longer to be praised by women for jiggging, jesting wits, but submit your spirits to the censure of that vast Virgin Europa. Do it, Gentlemen, O! do it quickly, and fulfil the wish of Erasmus *Angli ingeniosi utinam laboriosi.*" He complains of their immorality, their folly and their extravagance, and in rebuking someone who appears to have accused him of somewhat similar faults, says that he had vowed never to marry, "lest I should get such puppies as you are, and to be constrained to drown the whole litter."

It is, however, with the dedication of the second part that one is specially concerned. It is couched in terms of fulsome and almost abject flattery. In one phrase addressing Lady Anne, after expressing surprise at his "actually admiring a woman," he goes on to say, "I am astonish't, Madam, I am astonish't, and could find in my heart to pray you, and such as you are (if there be anie such) to desist from doing well, for I am afraide that (ere long) you will disable my sex, falsifie the Scriptures, and make Woman the stronger vessel." I give the whole of the dedication in the appendix, but the remarkable point about it is that it evidently so annoyed the great lady to whom it was addressed, that she adopted some sort of procedure by which it could be removed from the various printed copies before they reached the market.

The copy of the book in the Bodleian Library ¹ is declared by Dr. Madan, the then librarian, to have come to the library direct from the Stationers' Company, for, says he, "the whole book is carefully and honestly bound with all blank leaves. It came straight to us," he concludes, "from the Company, and was bound here by our own binders at once." Almost all, however, of the first two pages of the dedication, is missing in this Bodleian copy. One other copy contains a part of the dedication leaves. It is now in London, and for sale, but of the first page there are only about eight perfect words remaining

¹ Its collation is 12mo. pp. [24] + 263 + [1.] + 42 + [6.]

The prefatory matter is pp. [1-2.] blank [3] title [4] blank [5-12] Dedication [13-23] Younger gentry [24] blank.

and a few portions of other words, insufficient to have proved that the dedication was addressed to Lady Anne at all, while of the next page of this dedication about twenty more words only remain, all the rest having been torn away. These are, however, the only two copies which I have been able to trace, and which contain *any portion whatever* of the first pages of the dedication. Both of them are fortunate, however, to have the bulk of the dedication left, that is to say, the six pages which follow the torn leaf. The British Museum copy, however, lacks the whole of the dedication, and it has evidently been very carefully removed from the volume before it was bound. The copy at Britwell Court was in the same condition, not a trace of the dedication remaining, while the same remark applies to at least six other copies of the book which have been traced, for in none of them is there the least evidence, so far as the book at present stands, that there ever was a group of dedication pages at all. But for the assistance kindly rendered by Mr. Huth, the owner of the library, and by Messrs. Sotheby & Co., it would have been impossible to supply the letterpress of the first leaf, for the only perfect copy that seems to have survived is the one that was in the Huth library, and which I have been permitted to examine and to photograph.

It is clear, therefore, that Lady Anne was able to exercise some kind of influence, by which these objectionable dedication pages were removed from almost all the copies of the book, and that in the one or two instances where they were not actually taken out before binding, their first pages were so mutilated as to render it practically impossible to know that the book had been dedicated to her, or to read the first part of the dedication at all. By some fortunate circumstance just the title of the dedication, saying to whom it was addressed, remain in the Bodleian copy, and by still more fortunate circumstances, one single copy of the book, with its dedication pages complete, passed into the possession of the Rev. G. Maskell, and eventually into the Huth library. But for the existence of this particular copy (which was described in the Huth catalogue) it is probable that it would have been forgotten long ago that the book was ever dedicated to Lady Anne at all. So skilfully have the pages been removed from the various copies which have been inspected, that no one who was unaware of the history of the book would have

To face page 333.



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SNAPE CASTLE
(see page 320).

Rev. J. Redmayne—Photo.



STREET HOUSE
(see page 319).

C. G. Hare—Photo.

suspected that there ever were several pages of dedication preceding the two addresses to which reference has been made.

Milton is said to have been acquainted with the book, to have read it, and to have made some rather remote allusion to it, but I have failed to identify this allusion, and Milton's great biographer, Professor Masson, does not allude to Stafford's work. Inasmuch as he appears to have referred to almost every book which was definitely known to have been consulted by Milton, it is possible that the statement just made may be based upon error. On the other hand, *Niobe* is just the sort of book which would have interested Milton, and to which he would have very likely made allusion, and it is possible that Professor Masson, indefatigable student as he was, may have omitted to notice the book, and perhaps was unaware of its very existence.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE GREAT PICTURE.

WE learn so much about Lady Anne and her people from the great picture which covers the end wall of the entrance hall at Appleby Castle, that it is fitting that one chapter of this book should be devoted to the consideration of this extraordinary work. It may first be stated that there were two copies of the picture in existence, and that one has always remained at Appleby, while the other was at Skipton. Which of the two was first painted cannot now be ascertained. The Skipton one was allowed to get into such a bad condition that only the central panel could be removed to Hothfield, where it now hangs, but the two side panels were destroyed, for they were in such a state of decay, that nothing but complete destruction could be their fate. As far as can be ascertained, the central panels of the two pictures correspond, save that on the prayer book held by the Countess of Cumberland are the words, on the Hothfield picture, "The Psalms of David," and these words do not appear in the central panel of the Appleby picture, although there are indistinct traces on the book as though there had originally been an inscription of some kind upon it. It is just possible that this may prove the Hothfield picture to be the original, and that at Appleby the copy, but in all other respects, the two pictures appear to be identical.¹ It is strange that there should be no reference in Lady

¹ In 1835 G. P. Harding appears to have gone to Skipton and made a careful water-colour drawing from the picture, with a view, probably, to its being reproduced as an engraving. He made many such water-colour drawings, and they were used in books of engraved portraits that were issued about that time. This water-colour, signed by Harding and dated, is still in existence, and has been lent to me by its present owner Mr. S. Christie Miller of Britwell Court, Burnham. Its peculiar importance consists in the fact that it is the only existing copy of the two missing side wings which were destroyed, but it has another interest, in the fact that four of the inscriptions which appear on the great picture at Appleby have been omitted

Anne's diary to these pictures. She was so punctilious in referring to everything that she did which seemed to her to be of importance, that one naturally expected to find a considerable space devoted to the history of these two pictures.² On the contrary, there is not one single word about them. She may perhaps have thought that, with their very long and elaborate inscriptions, they would speak for themselves.

On the central panel appears the statement that the eight pictures contained in the frame were "copies drawn out of the Original pictures of these Honourable personages, made by them, about the begening of June, 1589, and weare thus finished by the appointment of Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, in memoriall of them in 1646." The inscription also states that when these originals were drawn Lord and Lady Cumberland and their two sons were staying with Lord Wharton "in Channell Row in Westminster." It is evident from this statement that the pictures were composite works, and that the persons represented in them did not sit to the artist for their portraits. There were many painters at that period who were in the habit of making such composition or furniture pictures, as they were sometimes called, and Dr. Lionel Cust, His Majesty's Surveyor of Pictures, makes the happy suggestion that these great compositions were either the work of John van Belcamp or of Remigius van Lemput. The former painter was employed under Vanderdort as a copier, and Walpole gives us a list of very many portraits which he copied,

by Harding in his representation of the central panel, and on comparing the photograph of the Appleby picture with the central panel now hanging at Hothfield, it is found that Harding was quite right in his copy, and that there are four inscriptions which appear on the Appleby picture which are not on the one at Hothfield. Furthermore, the detail, notably in the column of the archway of the Hothfield picture, is more elaborate than in the Appleby one, and this fact Harding sets forth clearly. In other respects, the two pictures were probably identical, but if Harding's copy is to be trusted, the Skipton (now Hothfield) picture must have been inferior in many respects to the one at Appleby, as his copy of the two missing side panels proves them to be far inferior in workmanship and in detail to the two existing side panels which remain at Appleby. Harding did not copy the frame of the picture, and he makes certain additions, in the way of inscriptions and numbers, which he places over some of the inset portraits, in order to explain his own allusions to them, which are to be found in his own handwriting at the back of the water-colour copy. The copy is one of remarkable skill, and considering the complexity and difficulties of copying such an elaborate work, is of extraordinary excellence. It is only 26½ by 13½ wide, and is painted upon cardboard.*

* It was bought by Mr. W. Christie at Harding's sale at Christie's in 1853 for £21 10s. 0d.

² It must, of course, be remembered that it was commenced by her parents and when she was only a child, although she completed the task.

especially of remarkable persons in the reigns of Henry VIII., Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. Belcamp was one of the trustees of the sale of the King's goods in 1649, and the directions for the sale in 1650, Walpole says, were witnessed by him. He states that it is believed that Belcamp died about 1653. The other painter, van Lemput, was born at Antwerp, and was especially clever in copying the works of Vandyck, but Walpole tells us that he also copied pictures by Holbein, Raphael and other painters, and adds that van Lemput died in November, 1675, and was buried in the churchyard of Covent Garden, leaving behind him a daughter who was also an artist, and who had married Thomas, the brother of Robert Streater, who was also a copyist, but who was especially known as a ceiling painter. It seems to be likely that these pictures were the work of one or other of these three artists, and of the three, Belcamp is the most likely. There is a curious proof that the picture was not an original work, when one examines the face of Lady Anne herself in the left panel, representing her when she was a child. Comparing the portrait with those which were certainly *ad vivum* portraits, it is quite clear that the likeness which appears in the great picture at Appleby, is not a true one. It has certain resemblances to the early miniature of Lady Anne painted by David des Granges, now in the possession of Lord de Clifford, and to the oil painting of the same lady which hangs at Appleby, but the portrait of the girl in the big Appleby picture represents her with an ordinary, conventional, somewhat wooden type of countenance, and the pearls which are scattered over her headdress are clearly an invention of the painter, and not those which she was in the habit of wearing, as in all her own true portraits, a string of pearls (to which reference is made later on) is seen adorning her headdress, and not the odd detached pearls which the painter has introduced perhaps from a casual glance at the actual portrait. The costume in which Lady Anne is represented in the Appleby portrait is also not that of the period when she was fifteen, and is clearly an adaptation from a picture painted by Marcus Gheerardts. It has all the characteristics of that artist's work. On the other hand it is quite possible that the portrait of Lady Anne on the right panel *might* have been taken from life, although even that is doubtful, but there is a much closer resemblance between that portrait and the accepted and

accredited portraits of the old lady, than between the juvenile portrait at the other end of the picture, and those which are known to represent Lady Anne as a girl. The drawing of the dog and the cat and many of the accessories in the picture, all reveal the hand of a painter of portraits who was accustomed to composing pictures from other portraits, and do not indicate a skilful portrait painter who painted from life. Notwithstanding all these statements, the picture remains as the most important and authentic record of Lady Anne and her family, although its value rests more upon the inscriptions which it contains than upon the actual portraits in it.

It is, however, time for me to describe the picture, and to deal with one of the questions which have been raised concerning the representation in it of the Earl of Cumberland. The central panel represents, in stiff and formal manner, George Earl of Cumberland (1558-1605), his wife Margaret (1560-1616), and their two children who died in infancy. Lady Cumberland is depicted in a dark green over-dress with a paler green under-dress embroidered in gold, and adorned with a double row of buttons, each apparently formed of five emeralds and four pearls. She is wearing upon her neck a double or triple row of what were probably imitation pearls as ornaments, she has a large ruff, and inside it, close to her neck, is another row of pearls.

Her husband is in armour, and wears a velvet coat with a red and yellow shot effect over the armour, crossed by a blue silk ribbon, which supports the sash to which is fastened the scabbard of the sword. It has been stated that the date (1589) for the original portrait from which this was painted must be an error, inasmuch as Lord Cumberland in the big composition is said to be wearing the ribbon of the Garter, and he was not made a Knight of the Garter until 1592, four years after the original picture was painted. The blue sash which crosses his breast, is not, however, the ribbon of the Garter. The ribbon of that Order is represented in the small portrait of Lord Pembroke which appears in the right wing, and is worn, as was the habit in those days, double, in a V shape, in front. The blue sash thought by Whitaker to be the ribbon of the Garter is clearly an ornamental support for the sword belt. At a later date, however, someone has painted on to this portrait a representation of the Garter itself. It is

clear that this is an addition to the original painting, as the details of the armour over which it is worn can be seen underneath the painting of the Garter, and it is therefore probable that the composition was brought up to date in 1592, when Lord Cumberland was installed as K.G., by this addition being painted on to it.

The armour worn by Lord Cumberland is alluded to in the Appendix.

By the side of Lord and Lady Cumberland are the two children, Francis (1584-1589) and Robert (1585-1591), successively Lords Clifford, both of them dressed in green, embroidered with gold, and having yellow sleeves, and long pendent handkerchiefs fringed with lace suspended from their belts. The younger boy carries a white ostrich feather trimmed hat in his hand. They wear similar jewels composed of four red stones and a pearl. They are bare-headed, and by the side of the elder one is a shield-shaped scroll of parchment, on which appears one of the longest and most elaborate of the inscriptions. The details of these inscriptions are given in full in the appendix to this book. Ralph Thoresby copied the inscriptions in 1684. In his diary³ under date 9 June of that year, he says that he "rid to Skipton where for six hours he was hard at work, transcribing the pedigrees of the ancient and noble family of the Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland, with others they married into, from the inscriptions upon the folding pictures in the Castle." We are surprised that he was even able to copy the long and elaborate inscriptions in so short a space as six hours!

It does not follow that these inscriptions were painted by the artist who was responsible for the picture. He may have left the necessary space, and another man, more accustomed to lettering, a sort of scribe, may have written in the inscriptions. By whoever they were done, they constitute a *tour de force*. Every word is readable and distinct. The inscriptions are of great length, and adorn not only the panels themselves but also the smaller pictures which appear in these panels, and are furthermore to be found on the two margins of the larger picture, underneath all the coats of arms of the different families connected with the Cliffords. Every heraldic achievement has its own separate and lengthy inscription, giving in most cases the dates

³ Thoresby Diary, vol. II, p. 433.

concerning the person whose arms are depicted, and information respecting his wife and his children.

To return now to the description of the centre panel. Rather above the head of the Countess is represented a little shelf on which are three books, all folios, one being the Bible, another the works of Seneca⁴ and the third, a manuscript book of a medicinal character, dealing with Alchemy, distillations and Electuaries.⁵ A little to the left of the head of the Earl is his coat of arms with full quarterings, encircled by the Garter, and surmounted by an Earl's coronet, above which is the very long inscription concerning him and his wife, surmounted by the family crests of Russell and Clifford. Above the bookshelf bearing the three volumes are two other portraits, one representing Anne, Countess of Warwick (1548-1604), which is rather to the left, with the arms of Dudley impaling Warwick, and the other Elizabeth, Countess of Bath (1558-1605), almost immediately above the head of the Countess of Cumberland, with the arms of Bouchier impaling Russell. Each of these has its own separate inscription, Lady Warwick being described as the eldest daughter of the second Earl of Bedford, born at Chenies, and Lady Bath as the sixth child of the same earl, born at Moor Park. The three ladies, Lady Warwick, Lady Bath, and Lady Cumberland, are stated in the inscription, to have been "the three sisters of the greatest renown, for honour and goodness, of any three sisters that lived in their tyme in this kingdom."

Above the portrait of Robert, Lord Clifford, are two other small pictures, the uppermost representing Lady Wharton (1556-1592), and the lower one, Lady Margaret Clifford, Countess of Derby (1540-1596). They also, like the other two pictures, have their separate inscriptions, each is represented as enclosed in a gold frame, and upon the upper left corner of each picture is the owner's coat of arms, the only difference being that in the portrait of the Countess of Derby there are two shields of arms, instead of one, Brandon impaling the Royal coat and Stanley impaling Clifford quartering Vipont. The inscriptions state that Lady Wharton, whose coat is Wharton impaling Clifford quartering Vipont, was Lady Frances Clifford, the sister of

⁴ Thomas Lodge's Translation, 1614. Folio, Engr. Frontispiece by Hole; Printed by Stainsby.

⁵ Possibly the very book now at Appleby which I found at Skipton in the Muniment Room,

the Earl of Cumberland, and it gives the details concerning her husband and her children, and refers to her as "a woeman of great witt and much esteemed for virtue."

Lady Margaret Clifford, Countess of Derby, is described as being the eldest child of the second Earl of Cumberland by his first wife, Eleanor Brandon, the only child of her mother "that lived any tyme." She was married to Lord Strange, afterwards Earl of Derby, was his wife for thirty-eight years, and his widow for three years, and by him the mother of two successive Earls of Derby. The inscription tells us finally that she was "virtuous, noble and kind-harted, full of goodness, a deere lover of hir brother by the halfeblood, George, Earle of Cumberland, and his worthy wife and their children." Both ladies are in black with white sleeves and Lady Derby wears a rich chain around her neck supporting a miniature portrait.

It is from the shield-shaped scroll held by Francis, Lord Clifford, and from the third and lowermost inscription upon it, that we learn that the picture was drawn from original portraits, and that it was made in 1646.

Around the right and left margins in this great central panel, are a series of thirty-four coats of arms, each with its separate inscription, telling the whole history of the Clifford family, from the time of Robert de Veteripont of the reign of King John, down to, on one side, the marriage of Lady Anne to the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and on the other side, to the marriage of her two daughters to the Earls of Thanet and Northampton respectively.

In addition to these rows, there are two other small inscriptions, also dealing with the pedigrees, one close to the head of Robert, Lord Clifford and the other near the gauntlets and sword point of the Earl of Cumberland.

The left picture represents Lady Anne Clifford when a girl, and is the panel to which already some reference has been made. She is depicted in a greenish satin dress with long peaked body and tight slashed sleeves, the skirt embroidered down the front and along the bottom edge, as also are the body and sleeves, with a floral decoration composed of red roses and pinks, and greenish-blue cornflowers with red centres, the decoration at the front of the skirt being in four rows. She has a long gold chain enriched with jewels looped about the neck.

Close by her is a table covered with a scarlet cloth with gold lace and fringe, and upon it is a piece of embroidery, upon which she has been apparently working, composed of some green ornaments and pink and green sundew flowers. On the table are also the appliances for her embroidery, an open music book, and an hour glass, while leaning against the table supported by the table-cloth, is what has been described as a lute and also as a theorbo, but which is certainly neither of these instruments, but a viola da gamba, the leg, or gamba, of which is clearly to be seen. On the floor at her right side, are four books with their titles, Camden's "Britannia,"⁶ "Maps of the World," by Abraham Ortelius,⁷ Cornelius Agrippa on the Vanity of Science,⁸ and "Don Quixote,"⁹ while against these books rests a pair of dividers. Just above the hour-glass on the table are the arms of Lady Anne in a diamond, quarterly Clifford and Vipont, and above that, is suspended an antique shield, from which hangs by a ring and staple the coat of arms just referred to, on which is an exceedingly lengthy inscription, dealing with the whole history of Lady Anne, down to the time of her widowhood, and interspersed, as was customary with her inscriptions, with references to many texts in the Bible. Here is the only instance in the picture in which there is any vacant space left for a continuation of the inscription, although there appears a somewhat similar space in the shield held by Francis Lord Clifford, but that has been filled up by a scroll ornament. In the one in Lady Anne's own portrait, there is a distinct space left, in which it was no doubt intended some day to fill in some further details concerning the last years of her life. Near to this shield, which is suspended by a ribbon from an iron pin, are neatly arranged upon two shelves supported by iron brackets, the various books which formed the young lady's library, each book carefully inscribed with its name. On the lower shelf, there are four books standing up, three volumes of the French Academy,¹⁰ and one of the Courtier by Baldassare Castiglione.¹¹

⁶ Edition 1578 or perhaps 1600 or 1607.

⁷ *Theatre of the Whole World*, by Abraham Ortelius, tr. M. Coignet, 1603. Ob. 8vo., printed by Shawe.

⁸ *The Vanity of the Arts and Sciences*, tr. J. Sandford, 1575; 4to.

⁹ Probably 1612 edit. Translated by Shelton, 4to.

¹⁰ By Peter de La Primaudaye. Bishop's ed. 1589 or 1602.

¹¹ *Castiglione*; Thos. Hoby, tr. 1561; 4to.

Near them are other volumes lying on their sides, entitled "Godfrey of Boloigne,"¹² "The Variety of Things," by Loys de Roy,¹³ "The Chronicle of England in prose," by Daniel,¹⁴ who is styled, in the title, "Tutour to the young lady," Montaigne's Essays,¹⁵ and Gerard's Herbal.¹⁶ On the shelf above, there appear first, from the left, three books lying on their sides, Sidney's "Arcadia,"¹⁷ Spenser's¹⁸ works, and Ovid's "Metamorphoses,"¹⁹ Then we come to four stately folios standing upright, and handsomely bound. They are the Bible, St. Augustine's "Cittie of God,"²⁰ Eusebius's²¹ "History of the Church," and all the works of Dr. J. Hall.²² Upon these four folios lie, on their side, three more books, The Manual of Epictetus,²³ The Philosophical Comfort of Boetius,²⁴ and all the works in verse of Daniell again styled "Tutour to this young lady." Then, to the right, on the shelf, are three other folios, lying on their sides, Downham's "Christian Warfare,"²⁵ the works of Du Bartas,²⁶ and the works of Chaucer.²⁷ Above the books are two portraits in plain black frames, very different from the elaborate gold frames to which reference has been made in the centre panel. These two pictures represent Lady Anne's tutor and governess. One is of Samuel Daniel, the poet (1563-1619) in a black dress with a high linen collar, his portrait being to the left, and the other Mrs. Anne Taylour, in a black gown, with large falling linen collar, and a close black cap tied under her chin. To both these pictures there are inscriptions, stating who the two persons were, and referring to the death and burial of Daniell.

¹² Probably Caxton's edit. 1481. Folio.

¹³ Louis Le Roy, *Variete des Choses* tr. R. Ashley, 1594.

¹⁴ History of England, by S. Daniel, 1612 and 1617.

¹⁵ Tr. by John Florio, 1603 or 1613. Folio, with portrait of Florio.

¹⁶ 1633 edition probably, or 1636. Folio. Enlarged by G. Johnson.

¹⁷ Editions in 1593-1598. Folio; printed by Waterson & Young.

¹⁸ Probably 1609 or 1611 editions; folio.

¹⁹ Sandys' translation 1626 or 1632. Sandys was godson to George, Lord Cumberland her father; or possibly Golding's translation, Black Letter, 1565.

²⁰ Tr. by J. H[ealy] 1610 and 1620; folio, dedicated to Lord Pembroke, Lord Arundel and Lord Montgomery.

²¹ Hammer's translation 1577 or 1619. Folio.

²² Editions in 1621, 1628 and 1634. Probably 1621. Folio—21 parts with title by Elstrack.

²³ The Manual, tr. J. Healey, 1616. Printed by Purslowe; 12mo.

²⁴ *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, 1556 or Caxton 1477. Folio.

²⁵ John Downham's *Christian Warfare*, 1612 or 1634. 4to.; printed by Kyngston.

²⁶ *Divine Weekes and Workes of Du Bartas*, 1605-6 or 1611, tr. by J. Sylvester, 4to.

²⁷ Bishop's edition, 1602 or possibly Stowes edition, 1561. Folio, black letter.

To him, by the way, Lady Anne erected a memorial in the church of Beckington, which will be alluded to later on.

The right picture represents Lady Anne when Countess Dowager of Pembroke and Montgomery, a stately, but masculine figure, dressed in a black satin gown with loose sleeves, slashed and turned back with white, and edged with rich lace. She wears a large falling collar, double-edged with lace, and a pearl drop at her neck, a double row of what are probably imitation pearls as a necklace, and a twisted double row of pearls, probably of the same character forming a girdle. Her hair is in ringlets, and over it is a black veil. Lady Anne rests her right hand upon two books, which are upon a table, and are inscribed "Charron's Book of Wisdom, translated out of French into English,"²⁸ and the Holy Bible; on the thumb of her hand is a ring. Underneath the two books is a long parchment scroll, on which is the lengthy inscription giving the details concerning her life when Countess Dowager of Dorset. The table is covered with a richly embroidered cloth with gold fringe. On the floor, close against the fringe of the table cloth, lies a black cat facing to the front, and to this animal reference will be found in the chapter dealing with the household accounts. Jumping up towards the Countess's left hand is a little white Italian greyhound, the fashionable dog of the period, known both then and now as a whippet, and probably one of the breed in this class of dog which was exceedingly popular in those days, and is still popular in the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland. High up above the Countess's head are two shelves of books, arranged in curious disorder. The shelves are supported by iron brackets, and below them is represented, in somewhat feeble fashion, a rich curtain with embroidery, and its cord and tassels. The painting of this accessory is the least satisfactory part of the picture. On the lowermost of the two shelves appear George Strode's²⁹ "Booke of Death," Plutarch's Lives³⁰ and Plutarch's Morals. "An Apology for the Providence and Power of God,"³¹ by Hakiwell; Gurcherdine's French History,³² the works of Sir Fulke

²⁸ By Pierre Charron, tr. S. Lennard, 1615; 4to.

²⁹ Geo. Strode's *Anatomy of Mortality*, 1618, 4to.

³⁰ Editions in 1603, 1612 and 1631 and of the 3 Moral Treatises in 1580; 8vo.

³¹ *Apology of the Power of God*, Geo. Hakewill, 1627; folio.

³² Francesco Guicciardini, translated by G. Fenton, 1579 or 1599. Folio, or in French 1568, folio.

Greville,³³ and Sir Henry Wotton's *Booke of Architecture*,³⁴ this last being the only one of the volumes depicted in the picture that has come down to the present day. It is still preserved in the library at Appleby. On the upper shelf, tumbled about, are other books, George Sandys' translation of the Psalms³⁵ in verse, Philip de Comines in English,³⁶ More's *Map of Mortality*,³⁷ Benjamin [*sic*] Jonson's works,³⁸ Donne's *Poems*,³⁹ Hy. Cuffe's "*Ages of Man's Life*,"⁴⁰ George Herbert's *Poems*,⁴¹ John Barclay's *Argenis*,⁴² "*The Meditations of Antoninus*"⁴³ and the *Meditations of William Austin*,⁴⁴ Donne's *Sermons*,⁴⁵ and King's *Sermons*⁴⁶ and a Roman history translated⁴⁷ into English by Philemon Holland. Near to these, and on the spectator's left, are portraits of Lady Anne's two husbands, represented enclosed in gilt frames of rich and elaborate character. The upper, nearest to the books, is the portrait of Richard, Earl of Dorset, surmounted by a shield of the arms of Sackville within the Garter, surmounted with a coronet, while on the other side of the portrait are two other shields, each with an Earl's coronet, one of Sackville impaling Howard, the other of Sackville impaling Clifford and Vipont quarterly. Lord Dorset is represented in yellow velvet, with a rich gold band crossing his breast, and he wears an elaborate lace collar. Underneath this picture, on a tablet, is the inscription giving his history, speaking about his parentage, his wife, his children, his travels, and his decease, and ending by stating that he was "by nature of a just minde, sweet disposition, and very valiant in his own person," and that he "attained to be a great scholar for his ranke" when he was at Oxford. It goes on to tell us that he was "so bountiful to souldiers, schollers, and

³³ Published in 1633. In folio. Certain Learned and Elegant [Poetical] Workes. Printed by E.P.; or perhaps *The Five Yeares of King James*, 1643.

³⁴ Published in 1624: *The Element of Architecture*, 4to. Printed by Bill.

³⁵ Geo. Sandys' Paraphrase upon the Psalms, 1636. Sm. 8vo.; printed at the Bell.

³⁶ His History, 1596 and 1614. Folio—or if in French, black letter edit., 1539.

³⁷ Perhaps R.B.'s Map or possibly Henry More on the *Immortality of the Soul*.

³⁸ Ben Jonson's Works 1616, sm. folio. Printed by Will Stansby; Title page by Hole.

³⁹ Donne's Sermons, 1622-1634-1640, and Poems, 1633; 4to. and 12mo.

⁴⁰ *Differences of the Ages of Man's Life*, 1607 and 1633; 8vo.

⁴¹ *The Temple*, 1631 or 2, 18mo; 1633, 12mo.

⁴² Translation by K. Long, 1625. Folio.

⁴³ Casaubon's translation, 1635; 4to.—a very popular book.

⁴⁴ *Devotionis Flamma* 1635. Certaine devout, early and learned Meditations; folio.

⁴⁵ See ³⁹

⁴⁶ Published in 1606, 4to.

⁴⁷ *Ammianus Marcellinus*, tr. by Philemon Holland, 1609. Folio.

others which were in distress, that thereby he much empairod his Estate," that he was "a zealous Patriot to this Kingdome," that he was the only builder and one of the chief founders of the hospital "at East Grinstead," and "truly religious in his latter tymes." Below that portrait Lord Pembroke is also represented in a gold frame, but wearing the blue ribbon of the Garter supporting the George, and having the cloak of the order thrown over his arm. He has long fair hair, and wears an elaborate lace collar. This picture is not surmounted by the coat of arms, as was the other one, but has two similar shields in it, one on either side of the head, each surrounded by the Garter and surmounted by the coronet. One of them is Herbert impaling Vere, the other Herbert impaling Clifford and Vipont quarterly. That picture also has its tablet with a lengthy inscription, giving the history and parentage of Lord Pembroke, the statement about his first wife and his children, and coming down to his marriage in Chenies church to Lady Anne, after she had been a widow for six years, two months and six days, and he a widower for one year, four months and three days.

The great picture itself measures 8 feet, 4 inches high, exclusive of the frame, each end being three feet ten broad. The frame goes round the middle part entirely, and also separately round each of the two sides, the two smaller pictures being hinged, so that they fold over the centre picture as a triptych. The frame is adorned with fleurs-de-lis, harps, Tudor roses, and the picture as a document, giving full and elaborate information which concerns the whole family, has an importance which can hardly be surpassed.

The volumes in the picture were evidently represented from the actual books. and in many cases (as mentioned in the notes) it is not difficult to identify the actual edition that Lady Anne must have possessed, by reason of the size in which it is represented. It has been of some interest to prove that it was possible for her to have had copies of each book illustrated in the picture, at the time when the painting was executed. The artist has been, as a rule, successful in denoting whether the book was in octavo or in folio, and, although his rendering of the types is at times somewhat extraordinary, it has been possible to identify every book so delineated.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PORTRAITS OF LADY ANNE.

HAVING set out a study of the character of Lady Anne, and dealt with the great family picture, it remains now to examine her other portraits and decide whether they represent in adequate fashion a person of such marked characteristics.

The earliest with which I am acquainted is the signed miniature painted when she was a girl of about fifteen, by David des Granges, now belonging to Lord de Clifford, and preserved in the custody of his mother, Mrs. Arthur Stock. It bears a marked resemblance to the portrait of Lady Anne as a young girl, hanging at Appleby Castle, and both of them give evidence that the portrait in the large picture, as already mentioned, was not taken from life, but was the work of a picture-maker, and drawn from other portraits. The miniature by David des Granges represents her as a quiet, placid-looking child, but with determination clearly marked both in the lips and in the eyes. She is, in my opinion, distinctly younger in this miniature than in the portrait at Appleby. The miniature may perhaps represent her at fifteen, the portrait, say, at eighteen. The arrangement of the drapery is not identical. In the miniature she wears a costume exceedingly plainly cut, composed of some brocaded material, with a narrow formal border of embroidery. In the larger oil painting at Appleby, the costume is of silk, arranged in rich folds, and fastened in the front by a square brooch. The oil painting bears an inscription stating that it is a portrait of Lady Anne Clifford, and also has upon it her shield of arms in a diamond, Clifford quartering Vipont. There is one remarkable feature about these two portraits. They show, fastened about her headdress, a string of pearls, having in its centre a large round-shaped pearl of somewhat unusual character.



Gray—Photo.

MINIATURE OF LADY ANNE
by David Des Granger, Signed
(see page 346).



Gray—Photo.

MINIATURE OF LADY ANNE,
by an unknown artist
(see page 349).



Gray—Photo.

LADY ANNE'S PEARL NECKLACE
AND EAR-RINGS
(see page 347).



Gray—Photo.

OIL PORTRAIT OF LADY ANNE
at Appleby Castle (see page 346).

To face page 347.



Jukes—Photo.
LADY ANNE AS COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.
Part of the great family group by
Vandyke at Wilton
(see page 349).



Jukes—Photo.
See below
(see page 469).



THE SILVER MEDAL OF 1562,
bequeathed by Lady Anne to
her grandson, by her will,
March 1st, 1674.



Jukes—Photo.
LADY ANNE AS COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE,
from an Oil Portrait at Wilton, by Dobson
(see page 349).

They also both of them depict her as wearing pearl earrings, pear-shaped. It is interesting to be able to record that the pearls which she wears about her hair are still in existence. They have been handed down direct from her in the female line, and came to their present possessors with the title of Clifford or De Clifford. This famous necklace and the pair of beautiful earrings, perhaps as important as any pearl jewelry in England, are the property of Lord de Clifford, and worn by his mother, Mrs. Stock. Unluckily, the necklace has been lengthened by having added to it another pearl necklace,¹ also belonging to the family, but which has no particular historic importance.

Furthermore, there is attached to this necklace a large round-shaped pearl, with its original mount, forming a pendant which is, I am inclined to believe, of even greater importance than the necklace itself. It has always been a tradition in the family that Henry VIII. gave to his sister's child, Lady Eleanor Brandon, a pearl, as a wedding present, and in more than one of her portraits there appears a large circular pearl identical in shape and character with the one on this necklace. Moreover, there is upon the pearl in the necklace a curious pear-shaped blemish, and I believe that I can identify that very blemish upon a pearl pendant illustrated in more than one picture, not only those of Eleanor Brandon, Countess of Cumberland, but also in those of Lady Anne's mother, Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, while the same blemish is to be traced in one of Lady Anne's portraits, where she is represented wearing the pearl.

It is indeed bold to differ from Dr. Lionel Cust with regard to any picture. His knowledge of portraiture is so overwhelming that one hesitates to hold an opposite opinion. I am, however, venturing to do so with regard to one picture. In the possession of Captain Bruce C. Vernon Wentworth of Wentworth, is a picture which was

¹I have been permitted to photograph it, and to turn over out of sight, the additional necklace, the pearls of which can be clearly distinguished from the older ones, in order to show only the pearls which belonged to Lady Anne. The smaller pearls, which are between each of the larger ones, are also in all probability an addition to the original necklace, but there is little doubt that the pearls of the necklace, and those forming the earrings were those actually worn by Lady Anne, and in consequence, they form a precious treasure connected with her. To the earrings, which have their original mounts, certain diamonds have been attached, but here again I have been allowed to remove from the photograph these modern stones, and show only the pearl earrings.

exhibited at South Kensington in 1866 (198), and at the Tudor Exhibition in 1890 (455, page 136), and then attributed to Lucas de Heere. It is by the artist known as Hans Eworth H-E, concerning whom Dr. Cust has written an illuminating article, illustrating this very portrait.² He states that the portrait has always been described and exhibited as that of Lady Eleanor Brandon, the younger daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and Princess Mary Tudor. She was married in 1537, at Brandon House, Bridewell, to Henry Clifford, second Earl of Cumberland, but the portrait has on it an inscription "AETATIS—X—LXV(?)" and he goes on to say that, as she died in 1547, the picture "cannot represent" her. On the opposite side of the picture to the inscription (which is not very clear and is incomplete, because the panel has been cut down) is a coat of arms under an Earl's coronet, which Dr. Cust says "appears to be original," and "denotes a Clifford of Brandon descent." Having stated that the picture does not represent, in his opinion, the Countess of Cumberland, Dr. Cust goes on to suggest that it may be that of "Eleanor's only child and heiress, Margaret Clifford, wife of Lord Strange," but in this suggestion he surely overlooks the fact that the coat of arms, which he says is original, is surmounted by an Earl's coronet. The arms are undoubtedly those of a Clifford of Brandon descent. In the first quarter are the arms of Clifford, Roos, Bromflete, and Atton, in another the arms of Dacre, Clifford, Fitzpeter and Bromflete, in a third the arms of Vescy quartered with a coat which I cannot identify, and there are also the arms of Vipont, and of St. John. These are all in addition to the Brandon arms, and to me it is inconceivable, if the coat or arms is original, that the picture can represent any other person than Eleanor Brandon, Countess of Cumberland. Moreover, the lady holds in her left hand a black ribbon, from which is suspended a carved locket, having below it a pendent pearl, and this pearl I believe to be the same that can be seen on Lady Anne's headdress, and now in the possession of Lord de Clifford. I believe also that the same gem can be identified on a picture of the Countess of Cumberland, which was exhibited at the Tudor Exhibition in 1890 by Mr. John Leveson-Gower (No. 445, page 133).

Of Lady Anne during the time that she was Countess of Dorset,

² See Walpole Society Annual, vol. 11, p. 34, plate lxiiia.

we have a three-quarter length figure to the right, holding a rose, painted by Mytens, which was engraved for the folio edition of Lodge's portraits, and has often been reproduced. The original portrait is at Knoke.

I am also inclined to attribute to this time of her life another miniature belonging to Lord de Clifford, which was the work of one of the Olivers, probably of Peter. As a portrait it cannot be regarded as of great importance, as a decorative work of art it is of considerable beauty. The face is so free from modelling and shadows as to be almost uninteresting. The eyes clearly resemble those in the early portrait by David de Granges, the mouth is the same, and the face is very youthful. It is inconceivable to me that this portrait can represent Lady Anne at any other period of her life than quite early in her first married career, as Countess of Dorset. Her hair is long, and flows in loose fashion over each shoulder. The portrait is surmounted by an Earl's coronet. She is wearing a very rich costume, adorned at the neck and sleeves with magnificent lace. She does not wear her pearl necklace and earrings, but a necklace and earrings and a hair ornament, apparently all en suite, and of diamonds. Judging from the richness of her costume, and from the fact that her hair is loose, she may perchance have had the miniature painted when she was about to take part in one of the masques to which reference has already been made.

She appears of course in the great Vandyck picture of the family group of Lord and Lady Pembroke and their children, which occupies the end of the double cube room at Wilton House. In this picture she is seated with her hands folded and crossed. She wears a pearl necklace round her neck, and earrings, but no pearl ornament over her hair. She is dignified in appearance, not perhaps quite so determined as she appears in later pictures, but a woman of noble presence and grave countenance. Vandyck has cleverly arranged, in representing her seated, to avoid drawing attention to her short stature. There is another portrait of her at Wilton, simpler in form, just a head and shoulders, painted by Dobson. It had been forgotten for many years, and was not included in the great catalogue of the Wilton pictures, but was found in an upstairs room, and has recently been restored to a place of importance on the staircase. It bears a long

inscription, stating that it represents Lady Anne, and the likeness to that in the great Vandyck is quite unmistakable, although the portrait depicts her more cheerful in appearance, and not quite so stiff and formal as she is in the larger work. In both these portraits she wears her hair in ringlets falling on to each shoulder, in each of them she has a pearl necklace, and in the one by Dobson she has suspended from the front of the corsage a miniature of Lord Pembroke. As she is in a black dress, it is possible that this portrait may have been painted immediately after Lord Pembroke's decease.

She is represented in gayer costume in the large oval oil painting at Appleby. There, she wears a rich gown, ornamented with a double chain of what were, in all probability, imitation pearls, similar to those worn by her mother in the pictures at the National Portrait Gallery and at Gorhambury, and also in the large triptych. The dress is ornamented with bows of ribbon, and trimmed with splendid lace, while a magnificent ruff surrounds her neck. The hair is worn in simpler form, not in ringlets, and adorned with pearl and diamond ornaments. Her name appears upon the picture, and also her coat of arms, Clifford impaling Herbert and Sackville, surmounted by an Earl's coronet.

The miniature which bears her name in the Duke of Buccleuch's collection at Montagu House, and which is declared to have been painted by Hilliard, is an important work of art, but cannot be regarded as a portrait of Lady Anne.

The remaining pictures show her in her old age. The oval oil portrait at Appleby is very important although I am quite unable even to suggest who was the artist responsible, or who painted the other two oval pictures of her which hang on the same wall. In this she is in a black dress, and wears a long, falling white collar, adorned with two rows of lace. At the point of the corsage is a square brooch, and another very similar brooch fastens the collar. She wears a black lace veil over her hair, which falls on to each shoulder. The portrait bears her name, and her coat of arms, Vipont impaling Sackville and Herbert quarterly, under an Earl's coronet. She is said to have been over seventy years of age when this portrait was painted, and she had many replicas made from it which she gave to different persons of her acquaintance. On the one presented to the Bishop of Carlisle



National Portrait Gallery.

LADY ANNE
(see page 350).

Emery Walker—Photo.

To face page 350.

which hangs at Rose Castle is the statement "ÆTATIS SUAE 80 ANNO Dom. 1670." There are similar portraits at Dalemain, at Naworth Castle,³ and in the possession of the Le Fleming family. There should be other similar copies in existence, because Lady Anne gave a picture of herself to the Musgraves at Edenhall, and she also gave one to Mr. Sedgwick, which was at Collinfield, but that is declared to have been dated 1650, with the inscription "ÆTATIS 60." At one time her portraits also hung at Featherston Castle, at Hornby Castle, and at Hutton Hall, but neither of these can be traced, nor can the miniature be found which was at one time inlaid in the door of a cabinet at Blaze Castle. The painting at Lowther is not an original as that was destroyed by fire in 1703.

Furthermore, there are two portraits of Lady Anne at Bolton Abbey, one with the arms of Herbert impaling Clifford, the other with the arms showing both marriages, and an inscription giving inconsistent dates "Æt. Suae 60," and "A.D. 1672."

At Howsham Hall, there is another portrait, inscribed "Æt. Suae 30. Anno 1620," and bearing upon it the arms of Clifford impaling Vipont above a Countess's coronet.

There is said to be a portrait of Lady Anne also at Lilford Hall, but about this I am a little uncertain. There is the one in Wales, which was originally at Collin Field, while at Hothfield Place there are several other portraits of her, more or less resembling those already mentioned, and evidently copies of them.

The oval portrait at Appleby is believed to represent Lady Anne at the age of seventy-five, and it is stated that on a replica of it there is the inscription "ÆTATIS 75" but on those at Rose Castle and Naworth Castle, which almost exactly resemble it, there are, as just stated, inscriptions to state that she was 80 years old. It is therefore probable that the original picture was painted when she was seventy-five, and that the copies she gave to the Bishop of Carlisle and Earl of Carlisle were made from it some years afterwards. The artist who painted the great triptych at Appleby has been more successful in his later portrait of her than in the earlier one, possibly Lady Anne herself was there to sit to him at the time. The repre-

³ See Lord Liverpool's catalogue 37 p. 61. It measures 29 by 24 and is inscribed Æt. 80, 1670.

sentation of her in that panel of the triptych is excellent, although perchance a little too smooth in the features.

By far the most interesting of the portraits of Lady Anne is the one supposed to have been the last that was painted. It is a fine work of art, and now hangs at Hothfield Place. The portrait is in an oval, head and shoulders only, the costume black, the head being shrouded in a sort of hood, lined with white, and hiding all the hair. From it, the features stand out in sharp relief. The face is one of imperious dignity, inflexible and stern, but not without a certain lurking humour and kindness. Determination is, however, its outstanding characteristic.

This portrait has never been engraved nor copied, nor has it ever been photographed until the work was done for these pages. It is a wonderful summing up of all the characteristics of the remarkable woman it represents.

Finally there is one perplexing picture to mention. It hangs at Woburn, in the north corridor (157) and is declared to be a portrait of Lady Anne at the age of sixty-four in 1637, the two dates being inconsistent with one another. If she had been sixty-four in 1637, she must have been born in 1573, whereas she was not born until 1590. There is another inscription on the portrait, stating that it represents Anne Clifford, referring to her titles, and to her parentage, but this is not in the same handwriting as are the words "Ætatis Suæ 64, 1637." Careful examination, moreover, reveals the fact that the "Ætatis Suæ" seems to have been painted after the completion of the picture, as it stands in quite a different relationship to the varnish of the picture to that which is borne by the longer inscription. There is therefore some probability that the Ætatis Suæ inscription has been added.⁴ The picture does not however resemble Lady Anne, except with regard to the eyes, and even they are not much like those in other pictures. The hair is not curly, there is no sign of any ringlets, such as are clearly noticeable in the picture in the triptych at Appleby, and also can be seen to a certain extent both in the oval picture at

⁴ It has been suggested as a possible explanation to this difficulty that the "6" and the "4" in the inscription may have been by accident reversed, for if the age had been 46 instead of 64, it would have been approximately correct. Such mistakes have been known to happen, even with careful people, and in recent times, and it would explain the discrepancy, and enable one to accept the portrait as one representing Lady Anne.

To face page 352.



Gray—Photo

LADY ANNE.

Oil Portrait at Appleby Castle (See page 350).



Gray—Photo.

LADY ANNE IN OLD AGE.

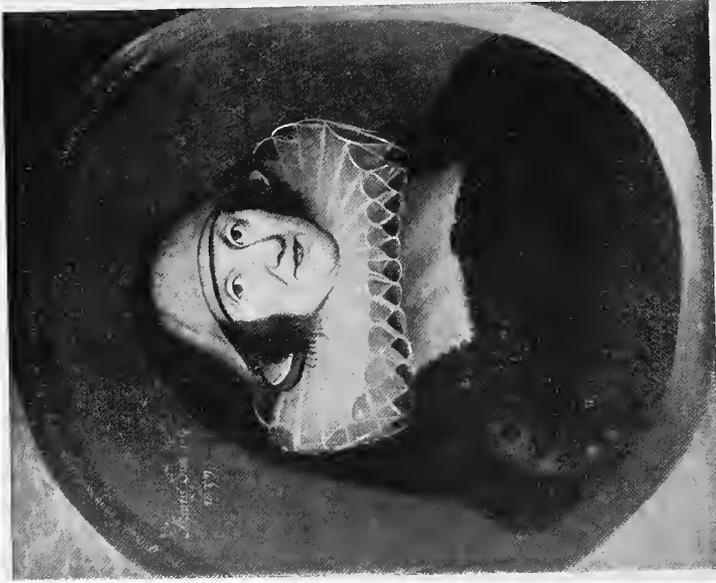
Hothfield Place, once at Skipton Castle (See page 352).

To face page 353.



Gray—Photo.

PORTRAIT IN OIL OF LADY ANNE.
Appleby Castle (see page 350).



By permission of the Duke of Bedford.

PORTRAIT CALLED LADY ANNE
at Woburn (see page 352).

Appleby, and in one which much resembles it in the National Portrait Gallery. In the picture at Woburn, the lady is represented as wearing a double honey-comb radiating ruff, and having a dress of dark brocaded material, cut somewhat square in the throat, and edged with lace. She wears, moreover, a curious grey muslin cap, from which falls, at the back, a heavy black crape veil. If the portrait is one of Lady Anne, it must represent her at a different period of life to any other portrait, and in a brighter, more cheerful frame of mind than she seems usually to have adopted when she sat for her picture. I can conceive of no other person whom it is so likely to represent as Lady Anne, and although I have searched various records, I can find no one connected with the Russell family of that period and age from whom it is likely to have been painted. The tradition in support of its name is one of very long standing, and it so appears in various old catalogues of the Woburn pictures.⁵ The name and the long inscription upon the canvas appear to be contemporary, whereas the statement respecting the age and the date, although in the shape of the letters and figures belonging to an even earlier period than the inscription on the picture, has very much the appearance of having been added. I do not like to reject an old tradition, and I do not care to accept the picture, save with a certain hesitation (see footnote as to her age) but it is that of a clever, witty, determined old lady, and it is so pleasing that I would rather accept it than otherwise, supported as the attribution is by a long and steady tradition.⁶ It is by the way attributed to Gilbert Jackson, the remains of whose signature are said to be visible on the lower right-hand corner of the spandril, and there certainly appears to be some such signature upon the picture. If that is the case, the picture acquires an added interest, as works by Gilbert Jackson are exceedingly rarely to be seen. There is a portrait by him of William, Bishop of Lincoln in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, and there is one of his portraits in the National Portrait Gallery, but very few of them are known to exist.

There are several portraits of Lady Anne at Knole. Two once

⁵ See B.M. 7855, ff 47, 1834, and 59 i., 26, 1800.

⁶ It is illustrated in Mr. Collins Baker's book on *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, 1912, vol. 1, p. 54.

hung in the Brown Gallery, representing her and her husband, and were attributed in the old catalogues of the Knole pictures to Cornelius Janssens. They are now in the Ball Room. I am rather disposed to find in these two pictures the work of Van Somer rather than Janssens, more especially as we know, from Lady Anne's diary, that Van Somer did paint both her and her husband, and also that he was responsible for a portrait of Lady Margaret. Critics have in recent years agreed in attributing Lord Dorset's portrait to Van Somer, but they cannot make up their mind respecting the one of his wife. In this picture Lord Dorset is represented wearing the sword of his grandfather, the initials T.S. being seen in monogram on the sword-guard. Both portraits measure 84 by 50.

Another picture of Lady Anne attributed to Mytens, used to hang in the Parlour Passage, and one of Lady Margaret,⁷ is to be found in Lady Betty Germaine's room. This is probably the Van Somer portrait but some critics are even yet disposed to question whether that painter executed it. It may perhaps be well to mention in this place, that there was a portrait of Lady Margaret as Countess of Thanet, by Romney, in the private rooms of the same house, and another one of her in Lord George's Passage, but the artist who painted the latter cannot be identified.

It is declared in the catalogue of the Dalkeith portraits,⁸ that there is a portrait by Vandyck of Lady Anne at that place. It is described as No. 168, measuring 6 feet 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 4 feet 1 $\frac{1}{2}$, and it is stated to be a full-length picture to the right, in a dress of green silk, with puffed sleeves, holding a rose in the left hand, and a fold of the dress in the right. This picture I have not seen.

It is also stated that at Castle Ashby, there is a portrait of Lady Anne at the age of thirteen. This also I have not been able to see, but, from the account given by those who have seen it, it appears to resemble very closely the portrait at Appleby, which represents her somewhat later in life, say at the age of about eighteen.

There is a portrait of her attributed to Vandyck, half-length, in a red dress, at the Dulwich Gallery.

According to the Strawberry Hill Catalogue, Walpole had a portrait

⁷ It is on panel, 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 17 and inscribed *Ætat. Svae. 4. A° D°: 1618.*

⁸ See B.M., K.T.C. 5. b. 4., 1911.

of her, which is not particularly described, but Walpole states "There is a medal of the lady, taken from this picture." In that case, it probably resembled the one at Appleby, and the almost similar one at the National Portrait Gallery, because, in the arrangement of the lace collar and the two brooches, and the veil over the head, these pictures offer a very close connection with the portrait on the medal. This picture was sold on the 21st day of the Sale, Lot 113, for fifteen guineas, to a Mr. George Soaper. Walpole also is declared to have possessed a miniature of Lady Anne by Dixon, which came from the collection of Lady Isabella Scott, daughter to the Duchess of Monmouth. This was sold on the 14th day of the sale, Lot 95, to Hor. Rodd for £6 16s. 6d., but, as there is no description of it in the catalogue, we cannot identify it with any existing miniature.

There are various prints of portraits of Lady Anne, and for the convenience of research, details of them are given at the end of this chapter.

PRINTS OF LADY ANNE

1. Head and shoulders to the right, in an oval. Arms in a lozenge below.
R. White, sculp.
The Lady Anne Clifford, the only daughter of George, Earle of Cumberland. Aetat 13. 1603.
9 $\frac{1}{2}$, height, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ width.
This is from the original picture at the Marquis of Northampton's Castle Ashby. Mentioned by Granger.
2. Exactly the same as above, but without arms.
7 inches in height, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in width.
3. Head and shoulders to the left, in an oval.
Inscribed, "Anne, Countess of Dorset and Pembroke. From a painting in miniature by Ozias Humphry, R.A., after the original at Knole."
Published 1st June, 1803.
4 $\frac{1}{2}$ height, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ width.
4. The same plate, with some curls added on the forehead, published 1st of February, 1807.
5. Three-quarter length figure to the left, holding a rose.
Title below, "From the original by Mytens, in the possession of the Duke of Dorset. Engraved by E. Scriven."
15 inches in height, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in width. Plate mark.
This is a plate to the folio edition of Lodge's Portraits, published by Lackington, and is in stipple, the print itself being 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ by 6. Mentioned by Granger,

6. Exactly the same as the preceding but engraved by H. T. Ryall. Published in 1830.
The plate measures $9\frac{7}{8}$ by $7\frac{3}{8}$, the engraving $4\frac{7}{8}$ by $3\frac{7}{8}$.
This is a plate to the octavo edition of Lodge's Portraits which was issued in 1835.
7. Head and shoulders to the right, in a half-oval, wearing a black veil over her head. Two shields of arms above. In the top corners are XLIV and 358. Engraved by P. Mazel.
Inscribed "Anne Clifford, Countess of Cumberland" (the title being false) aet. 81.
This was taken from an original portrait in the Strawberry Hill collection. The plate is from Pennant's "Tour through Scotland," 1771, Vol. II.
The plate $7\frac{3}{8}$ by $5\frac{3}{8}$, the portrait $5\frac{3}{8}$ by $4\frac{3}{8}$.
This is mentioned by Granger.
8. Exactly the same as above, but with the title Pembroke substituted for Cumberland.
9. Head and shoulders to the left in an oval, with a seal and autograph below.
Plate mark $7\frac{3}{8}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$.
10. Half-length figure, by Van Dyck, from the Herbert family.
Engraved space, $3\frac{3}{8}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$.
11. Full face, as a child, in an oval, wearing jewelled head-dress, earrings and necklace.
Inscribed "Lady Anne Clifford, the only daughter and heir of George Earl of Cumberland, aetat 13, 1603."
Published by W. Richardson, Castle Street, Leicester Fields. This appears as in illustration in Granger, vol. II., 176, and differs slightly from No. 1.
12. There is a portrait engraved by Park after the original at Knole, which appears in Walpole's "Noble Authors." Mentioned by Granger.
13. Granger refers to an engraving by Harding, but does not give any details.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE GREAT DIARY.

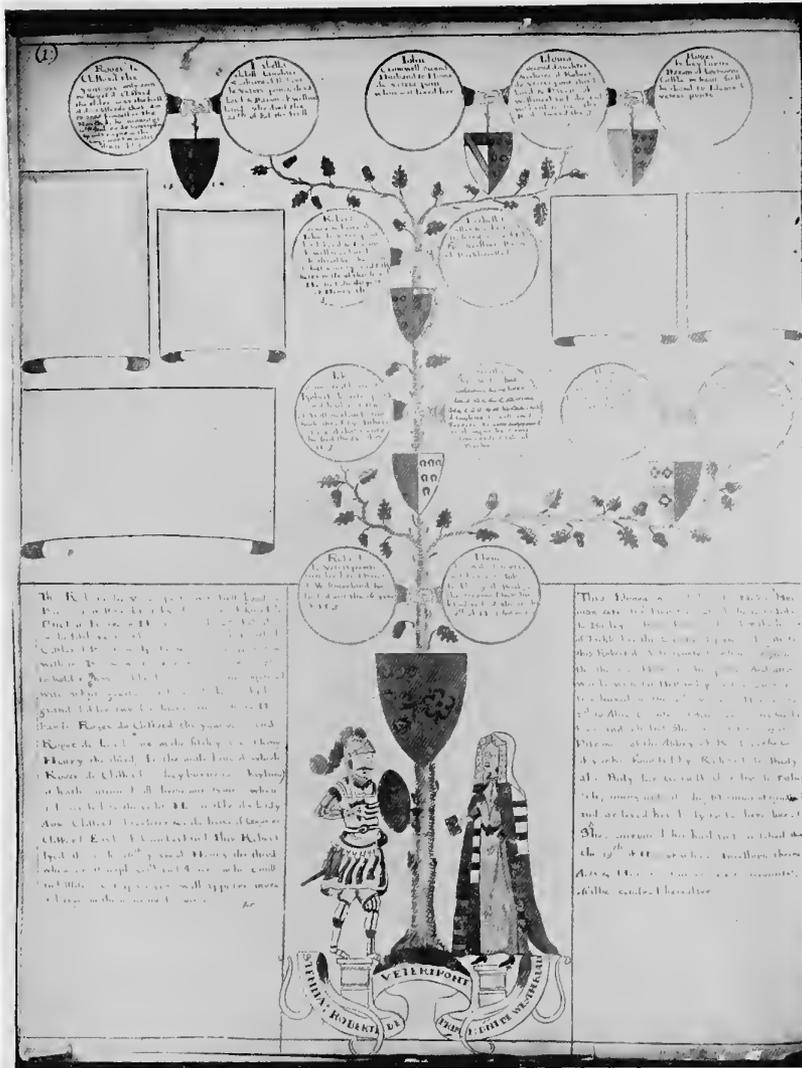
IT is fortunate for those who are interested in the life of Lady Anne Clifford, that her diary should have survived the many vicissitudes to which such documents are liable, and should have come down to the present day, available for our purposes, but, notwithstanding the great importance of this document, there must at one time have been in existence other diaries kept by her, which were probably of even greater value, but they seem to have disappeared entirely. There are three sets each of the three great books of the Diary, one copy at Appleby Castle, another at Skipton Castle, and a third at Bill Hill, Wokingham. This third set is alluded to by Thomas, sixth Earl of Thanet¹ (1649-1729), in a note which he appends to the concluding volume of the series at Appleby. In it he states that he has a third set of the volumes, that it was at that time in London, and that it was intended for the use of his daughters, who would succeed to certain of the dignities to which it makes reference. Again, the two series at Skipton and at Appleby are not exactly alike, nor are they wholly in the same handwriting, nor even written by the same set of persons, and it would almost appear as if the volumes were written up not only by the various secretaries whom Lady Anne employed, but by her chief officers on the occasions of their visits to her, because I can trace in the volumes the handwritings of Sedgwick, Marsh, Edge, and Clapham, as well as that of a person who was, in all

¹ The statement in Lord Thanet's handwriting is as follows:—"There being one sett of these Books at Skipton, another sett at Applebee Castle, and this sett at Hothfield, I thought it proper to keep one sett at London, for the use and benefit of my daughters or those concerned for them, since they will hereafter have an interest in the Northern Estate, and as the Barony of Clifford after my decease will be in them, by my order the whole proceeding in the House of Lords is herein entered, as all other concerns relating to that Estate, during my life, shall also herein be inserted." (Signed) Thanet.

probability, a subordinate to them, a secretary perhaps employed for the very purpose of compiling the books. In all probability, this secretary, who is responsible for the greater part of the writings, was a certain Edwin Langley, because, in a letter written by Lady Anne from Appleby, April 19th, 1649, there is an interesting reference to Langley and to the books when Lady Anne writes " And take a care thatt there may be some greatt paper be Bought for Ed. Langley to writt in, for the finishing of my 3 Greatt written hand-Books, one of them, whiche is the first parte was brought well to mee withein this few dayes hether, And, I pray you, haste the 2 parts, whiche is the Bigest of them, done hether to mee as sone as Langley hathe done itt." It is clear that this is a reference to the actual books, because she calls them " the Great Books " and states that, of the other two parts one is the biggest of them, and the second volume, in both the two groups, is nearly twice the thickness of either of the first or the third.

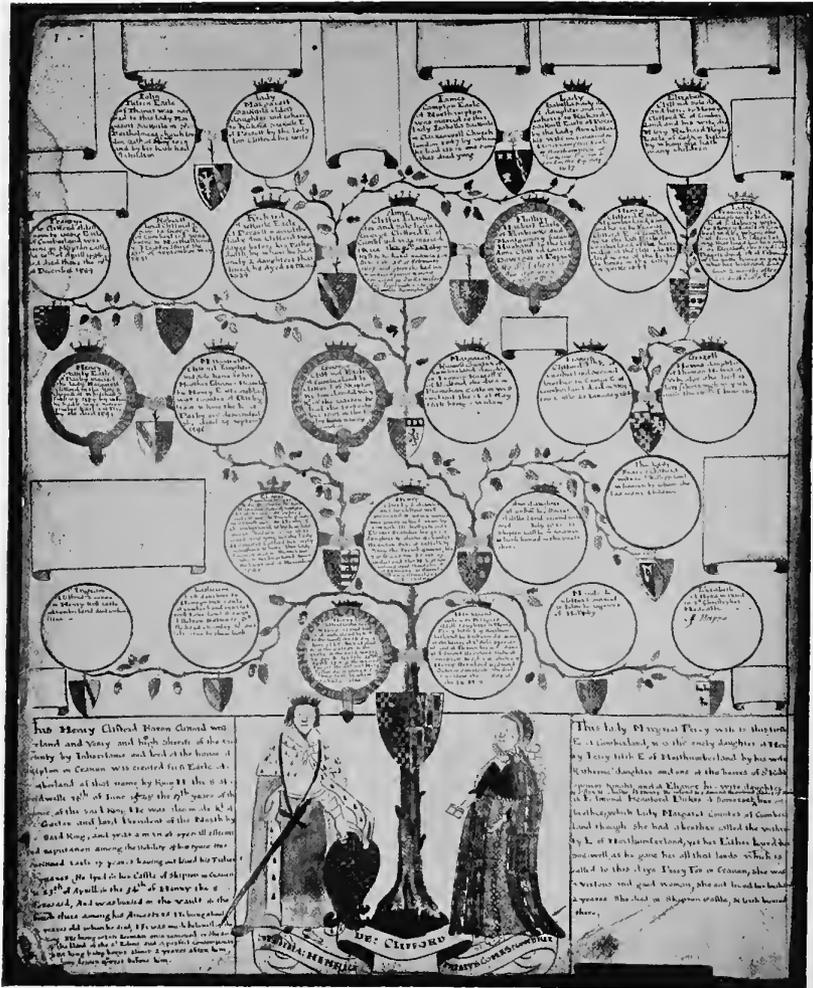
There is another reference to these volumes in a letter Lady Anne wrote to Mr. Christopher Marsh from Appleby Castle at Christmas, 1649. She says, with reference to Sir Matthew Hale (then Mr. Hale) and his clerk Poynes, in whose possession she had left the books, that they might refer to them and use them in the lawsuit that was then pending. " Entreat them to be careful in this business of mine concerning my three Great Books, in which, whatsoever Mr. Hale pleases to be written, I would have it to be kept by itself, just on scribbling hand, and not written out fairly in the book till I come to London." At that time she expected she might have to attend at the Law Courts herself as a witness, but the case was settled without her presence, and the great books were then sent down again into her own custody. There are one or two sheets in a rougher hand fastened into one of the sets, and these may perchance be the ones she alludes to. There is very little of Sir Matthew Hale's writing to be found in either volume, but there are some places in which he has corrected certain legal documents, which have been copied into the books, by another hand, and has added notes and cross-references of his own.

The volumes are not wholly occupied with the diary, in fact it fills a subordinate place in them. The main purpose of the creation



TITLE PAGE OF VOLUME I OF THE THREE GREAT VOLUMES

It refers to the Veteriponts (see page 359).



TITLE PAGE FROM VOLUME II OF THE THREE GREAT VOLUMES, giving the Ancestors of Lady Anne (see page 360).

of the three books was to note down all the records concerning the families of Clifford and Veteripont, in order to have all the material ready to hand for the contest which Lady Anne and her mother were making for the estates. She was particular to give on the title page of each volume, the chief credit for the work to her mother. She says in every instance that the records were "by the great and painful industry of Lady Cumberland gotten out of the several offices and courts of this kingdom to prove the right title which her only child had to the inheritance of her father and his ancestors."

The books are what would be probably called at the present day either demy folio or medium folio. They do not exactly correspond to either size. The pages measure about $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height and from that to 18 inches, and they are, as a rule, about 14 inches wide. The first and third volumes are practically similar in thickness, the second more than thrice as thick as either of the others. The system adopted is the same in each of the two sets.² It takes each important member of the family in succession, gives all the records concerning him or her, rendering them both in Latin and in English, has, following that, a summary of the records concerning the person in question, his wife and his children, and a brief statement of the details of their career. Then follows an index, a genealogical tree in colour, and a blank page, and following that, a similar set of statements referring to the person who occurs next in the historical succession. The frontispiece of each volume is an elaborate genealogical tree, very carefully prepared in colour, and dealing with the branch of the family specially referred to in the volume. The first contains the genealogical tree of the Veteriponts, the second that of the early Cliffords and the third, that of the later Cliffords down to the marriage of the first Earl of Cumberland. In addition to these coloured genealogical frontispieces, there is the separate pedigree, more simply drawn out, but also coloured of most of the persons to whom the special records relate. These separate pedigrees give the coronets and badges of chivalry with every possible detail. It is possible that the writing upon some of these pedigrees was executed by the

² The third set, at Bill Hill, has not been collated with the other two. It appears to resemble them in almost all its main features. It has passed in direct succession from Lady Harold to its present owner.

same person who was responsible for the inscriptions on the Great Picture, because in certain instances, there is a close resemblance between the formation of the letters in the inscriptions on the picture, and those in the volume.

The first volume commences with records concerning Robert de Veteripont, and continues down to the time of Roger, Lord Clifford, commonly called "Roger the Elder." The second commences with records of Roger de Clifford the younger, and his wife Isabella de Veteripont, and goes down to the mother of Henry the first Earl of Cumberland. The third commences with the first Earl of Cumberland, gives all the details concerning him, continues on with reference to the second Earl and his two wives, Lady Eleanor Brandon and Lady Anne Dacres, and then refers at considerable length to George, third Earl, and to his wife, Lady Margaret Russell, has some allusions to the history of Francis, fourth Earl, and to that of Henry, fifth Earl, and then begins to narrate the story of Lady Anne Clifford herself, and to give the various records concerning her suits, and the petitions that she made for her rights and titles in the three baronies of Clifford, Westmorland and Vescy, detailing very minutely all the various claims and entries which she made for her inheritance in 1628 and in 1632, and giving her own genealogical tree. Then, on page 223, commences the diary, which is the principal source of our information respecting her. This, however, is particularly headed as "a summary of the records, and a true memorial of the life of mee, the Lady Anne Clifford." It is in the first person, and copious extracts have been made from it in the preceding chapters. I have compared the two copies of this diary, line by line, and while there is no serious discrepancy between them, they are not alike, and here and there, they contain pieces of information supplementing one another, not of special moment, but still possessed of interest. What is of importance, however, is to notice that both the sets of three volumes have been gone over by Lady Anne herself, because in each case there are additions made in her own handwriting, and rather more of these additions appear in the copy that is now at Skipton, than in the copy preserved at Appleby. As a rule, the additions written in by Lady Anne consist of a heading to each year, so as to make it quite definite and clear as to which year is referred to. She has

A Summary & memoriall of my owne life.

Ben Dalton his fellow Conqueror: And the 5th of the month following after he had laid him, and he taken his leave of me he rid away from hence towards his journey towards London again, and the Southern parts.

The 27th of July about 8 a clock in the evening was my Grandchild the Lady Anne Grafton youngest child to my Daughter of Mount and second wife to her Husband M^r Saurwell Grafton brought to bed of her own chamber at y^e Rolls in Chancery; Cause of London of her first child which was a Sonne, who was christend the 4. of y^e month following by the name of Edward.

The 31st day of August being Monday And S^r Richard Rainsford one of y^e Justices of y^e Kings Bench, and S^r Timothy Littleton one of y^e Barons of the Marches Exchange, they being appointed the 2nd day of this yeere for the Northward Circuit, came from the City of London in Cumberland from holding the Assizes there, & so by Brougham Castle and thence wayes into my Castle of Appleby in Westmore-shire within y^e hand some of my y^e wants before they came thence from London, and there remaining still at Pendragon Castle and there at Appleby y^e said Judges held y^e Assizes for this Countie: the 2nd night in my Castle there, y^e said Rainsford in the Barons Chamber & Judge Littleton in y^e Court Room in the Countie Town. And when they were past the 2nd of y^e month following they with their Attorneys returned from hence towards the Southward they lay that night, and y^e next day they went to Lancaster to hold y^e Assizes there: all for y^e County, and to refresh their Circuit. And my Lord S^r John Gresham y^e Justice, and my Lord S^r Philip Musgrave of Lincoln in Cumberland lay most part of y^e time of this Assize in my Castle of Appleby as usual at such times.

And the 21st of May in this yeere did my Hon^{or}able (son and Gueson (by Deputy) M^r Robert Stanley second Brother to this Earl of Derby, come to Knowsley in Lancashire come thither to Pendragon Castle to see me, and lay here one night and y^e next day went away againe towards the Countie Town of Leycester his Mother.

And the 26th day of August did my Lord Philip Gresham twice best some Thomas y^e lastly marryed, and Gresham who is yet unmarried, come from this latter to his House at Wharfedale Hall in this Countie: where they lay one a week, in which time viz y^e 29th and 31st of the same month they came severally thither to Pendragon Castle to see me a while.

The 24th of September being Thursday about a clock in the forenoon after I had layen in my chamber in Pendragon Castle in Westmoreland for some y^e 20th of March last did y^e same from thence being all ended by my death: some in my conscience with my mother and my ministers on her back, and some of y^e Gentlemen as also of my knights and some of Multington, Appleby, Brough, & other places, and so I did in my heretike cross y^e River of Ure, and thence to Wharfedale, and thence to Brough, Brough, & so I did in my Chamber in my Castle of Brough, which y^e same day I did with thence: about a clock in y^e afternoon, and so I did in my Chamber in Westmoreland, which was in this Castle, had not been since y^e 15th of August 1672: until now, & so I did a new contentment to be had y^e 11th day of May following that I needed to apply Castle to be there for a time.

And the 19th day of October about 2 a clock in the morning when my Father y^e Lord Stattons House of Rybbly in Northamptonshire did my great grandchild M^r Edward Statton and youngest daughter in child to my said dear Grandchild the Lady Cecily Statton deceased.

And the 27th of November about a clock at night in y^e same House of Rybbly in Northamptonshire did my sister M^r Margaret Statton second daughter and child to my said dear Grandchild y^e Lady Cecily Statton deceased.

And the 23rd of December about 12 a clock at noon died at y^e Rolls in London my great grandchild Sir Goddard M^r Edward is a young first and only child to my dear Grandchild the Lady Anne Grafton, and was buried the 28th of y^e same month in the Vault of St Michaels church at St Albons Hall forshire, where some of his Fathers Buried: and was buried in the same Vault: and was also was buried my Ancestors Thomas Lord Bishop who was killed there in the first battell between the 2nd Houses of York & Lancaster in Henry y^e 6th time. And when to my great grief & sorrow there 3 great grandchildren of mine dyed as aforesaid, the 1st of y^e said time in my chamber in Westmoreland at Brough Castle.

In the Years of our Lords God 1674 1675

The 24th day of March in this yeere died in his House at Washin in Oxfordshire William Walter who was Grandfather to two of my great grandchildren for my said child y^e Lady Mary Gresham had been married to his Sonne M^r William Walter about 4 yeeres agoe, and dyed (he was) the 15th of March past about 12 yeeres agoe, leaving two children behind him, the one was M^r John Walter who was 2 yeeres old y^e 23rd of February last, and M^r John Walter who was one yeere old y^e 20th of January last. And now at y^e time of his death his said Sonne M^r John Walter was in Italy.

The 11th day of May 1675: about a clock in y^e forenoon after I had layen in my chamber in Cliffords Tower at Brough Castle in Westmoreland for some the 24th of September last did I remove from thence with my children going to Westcepp Brough and so to Appleby Bridge into my Castle of Appleby in the same Countie within y^e same day: and so I did think good about 2 a clock in the afternoon, having been accompanied by a great company of y^e Gentlemen and of my Knights: and so I did take this leave of me there, and then I went thence to y^e Hall and up into y^e great chamber and with drawing my bed into my own chamber there, where I had not bin since y^e 20th of March 1672: till now, and where I now continued to lie till y^e 5th of October following that I removed from thence to Brough Castle in y^e same Countie to be in it for a time.

The 11th day of June in this yeere was conferred upon my Sonne in law James Compton Earl of Northampton, by our new King Charles y^e second y^e command, and trust of Constable of y^e Town of London.

A PAGE FROM THE VOLUME CONTAINING INFORMATION CONCERNING LADY ANNE.
The line below the rule is in her own handwriting
(see page 360).

AN UNUSUAL REPRESENTATION OF THE CAPTIVITY OF LADY ANNE DURING HER WIDOWHOOD

... the great widowhood was the cause of her misfortune...
 ... the great widowhood was the cause of her misfortune...
 ... the great widowhood was the cause of her misfortune...

THE TOWER

The tower was the place where she was kept...
 ... the tower was the place where she was kept...
 ... the tower was the place where she was kept...

The tower was the place where she was kept...
 ... the tower was the place where she was kept...
 ... the tower was the place where she was kept...

A PAGE FROM ONE OF THE GREAT BOOKS, giving an account of Lady Anne's life during widowhood (see page 360).

George Clifford Earl of Cumberland & the Lady Margaret Howard his wife

... the great widowhood was the cause of her misfortune...
 ... the great widowhood was the cause of her misfortune...
 ... the great widowhood was the cause of her misfortune...

ELIZABETH I DEI GRATIA ANGLIE FRANCIE ET HIBERNIE REGINA

ELIZABETH I DEI GRATIA ANGLIE FRANCIE ET HIBERNIE REGINA

... the great widowhood was the cause of her misfortune...
 ... the great widowhood was the cause of her misfortune...
 ... the great widowhood was the cause of her misfortune...

ONE OF THE DOCUMENTS COPIED IN THE GREAT BOOKS. A Charter of Elizabeth (see page 361.)

written on several occasions the statement, for example, "For the year of our Lord God 1670, as the yeare begins on New Yeare's Day," in other instances, she has made a slight alteration in the wording, "In the yeare of our Lord God 1652, as the yeare begins on New Yeare's Day." Many of the references to the texts of Holy Scripture which appear sprinkled about the pages on the diary, are in her own handwriting. In one or two instances she has altered the quotation entered by her secretary to a somewhat different one, but there is hardly anything of real importance which she has actually in her own handwriting added to the diary, except on page 233, where she writes in "And now, on this 24th of July did Mr. George Sedgwick come hither from London to me as my secretary, and one of my chief officers." The particular attention which she herself paid to this diary, and to the records concerning her own parents, gives it a special interest, and makes it of greater importance as a document than any other part of the three great volumes, the transcribing of which she appears to have left quite contentedly in the hands of the various secretaries or amanuenses who were responsible for it, although even there she has herself in many places corrected dates or Christian names. On the whole, the writing is of extraordinary beauty, and very legible, the initial letters occasionally decorated, while the Great Seals, badges, smaller seals and coats of arms, appearing on the various records, are reproduced in pen and ink with more than ordinary skill. It is clear, however, that the information in the diary was a part, "a summary" as she herself calls it, from a very much fuller diary or Day-by-Day Book, which certainly, long after her time, was in existence, but which has now disappeared. It has been stated that her grandson Thomas, sixth Earl of Thanet, who succeeded to her property only eight years after her decease, had these volumes destroyed as they appeared to him to be too critically outspoken for safety, and Whitaker, in his "History of Craven" distinctly states that he saw at Skipton several memoranda relative to large parcels of papers "sent away," and probably destroyed, by this Earl. But since, however, I find parts of this rough diary quoted by various writers for more than a hundred years after the time of Thomas, Lord Thanet, he must either be acquitted of this act of vandalism, or else copies of parts of these volumes must have been made, and possibly, may be

still in existence, although at present they cannot be traced. John Baynes (1758-1787) who at one time contemplated writing a history of Craven, wrote to a friend that he had access to the papers of Lady Anne, "and," says he, "I have found still more and more reason to admire the spirit and industry of Lady Anne, having seen the collections made by her orders, and under her inspection, relative to the Clifford family, which are such as, I will venture to say, no other noble family in the world can show." He goes on to state "They are comprised in three enormous volumes folio" and contained not only pedigrees of every branch of the family, but "every grant, charter or document concerning the Cliffords which could at that time be procured or met with." "The usefulness of such a record," he adds, "is not to be described, it has ascertained their rights so clearly as to have settled numberless disputes, not to mention those it must have prevented."

Dr. Kippis says in 1784 that this Mr. John Baynes gave him a "transcript of the original narrative life of herself by the Countess of Dorset," but although it is clear that Kippis refers to the three volumes still in existence, yet both he and Baynes mention certain small isolated facts which are not in these volumes, and therefore would appear to have had access to some other book, which has now disappeared. As recently as 1848, there must have been at Skipton a small quarto volume, containing another abstract or summary of the three great books of records, and this was evidently prepared in the time of Thomas Earl of Thanet, as it speaks of him as still living, and adds "whom God long preserve in health and happiness." It was copied by Mr. Edward Hailstone, F.S.A., communicated to the Historical section of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, and printed for the Institute at the end of the second part of the York volume, which commemorates the meeting held in the city of York in July, 1846. It would appear likely, from this printed copy, which only fills 16 pages, that the summary was prepared from the Great Books. It may have been prepared from the third set, or have been supplemented by extracts from the rough diary, which cannot now be traced, because there are in it several little odd pieces of information, which do not appear in the great books now at Appleby and at Skipton. For example, the printed copy con-

tains references to the work executed by Lady Anne in the windows of Skipton Church, and for the steeple, and tells us the cost that she incurred in repairing Appleby Church, giving also a more accurate statement respecting the first persons who were presented to the almshouse at Appleby. It narrates rather fuller details of the story of the repairs at Skipton, and has a statement about the soldiers who were lodged in the castle, which differs from that in the Great Books, going also rather more carefully into details concerning the endowment for Mallerstang Chapel and it has added to it, some genealogical information respecting Lady Anne's children and grandchildren, which must have been compiled at the time. On the whole, however, the book does not contain much more than what we possess in the Great Volumes.

A memoir of Lady Anne, however, which Seward prints in "Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons" in 1804, and which relates to the year 1603, refers to a special diary of that year, the original of which can no longer be traced. Seward does not tell us where he got the information, or where he copied the diary, but he implies that it was at Skipton. It is no longer there. Furthermore, there is a diary relating to the three years 1616, 1617 and 1618-19, which was at one time amongst the MSS. at Knole, and which Hastings, ninth Duke of Bedford, had copied by special permission. This also seems to have disappeared. The original is not to be found amongst the Knole MSS., but a careful and verbatim copy of each of these two documents made by some unknown person has been found in the library at Knole and placed at my disposal by Lord Sackville.³

In the British Museum is another summary, copied on the 29th of December, 1737.⁴ This was made by one Henry Fisher, and at the end of it is Fisher's statement concerning the death of Lady Anne and her funeral. It is in the first person, and is a careless and somewhat inaccurate copy of the latter part of the third volume at Appleby, but it is not identical, either with the third volume at Appleby, or with the third volume at Skipton, and it may therefore have been copied from the third set already referred to, or the omissions in it may be due to the carelessness of the copyist, and to his inability

³ There are a few curious errors in them in proper names.

⁴ 6177 Harleian MS.

to read the manuscript from which he was copying. There are several instances in which this British Museum copy omits pieces of information which are to be found in the books at Appleby and Skipton. They are not of special moment, but there are a few detached facts which the incompetent copyist has omitted or misread, and, curiously enough, there are certain places in the British Museum MS. where the arrangement is different from that of either of the two extant copies. This particular British Museum MS. has lately been published for the Roxburghe Club, with a portrait and most important introduction by Mr. J. P. Gilson, keeper of MSS. in the British Museum. It forms the volume presented to the Club in 1916 by Baroness Zouche.

This does not, however, complete the list of Lady Anne's diaries, for George Watson, who wrote as recently as 1901, must have had reference to some copy which cannot now be traced, for in his little paper on Lady Anne Clifford, published in 1901 at Penrith, at the offices of the *Observer*, there are certain unimportant extracts made from what he calls "The Countess's Diary" which are not in any of the volumes to which reference has already been made. In Tullie House, Carlisle, in the Jackson library, there is a MS. copy of what is stated to be the "diary of Lady Anne, from the book of records preserved at Skipton." Generally speaking, this seems to be a copy of the volume now in existence, but I have not collated it page by page, as it was not practicable to bring over the Great Volumes from Appleby, and examine them against this MS. It is possible that the entries made by Watson may have been taken from this MS., and that it may be a copy of the third volume in the Bill Hill set rather than of the two other originals, but from a general survey of it, I did not find in it anything of real importance different from the books at Appleby and Skipton.

At the very end of it, however, is an extremely valuable record of the last few months of Lady Anne's life, a very small part of which was used by Jackson⁵ in an article he wrote styled "The Diary of a Westmorland Lady." The greater part of it, however, has never before appeared in print, and is accordingly given verbatim in this

⁵ Papers and Pedigrees, by W. Jackson, 1892, vol. 1.

volume, It is a record of the highest interest, and must have been copied from certain odd pages of the Day-by-Day Book before they were destroyed, if that was their ultimate fate. There appears, however, to be just a possibility that these actual pages are still in existence.

Even this does not, however, complete the list of the various papers relative to Lady Anne, although as far as we are aware, those I am about to mention relate solely to the claims for her estates. Roger Dodsworth, 1585-1654, the well-known antiquary, who was the son of the registrar at York Cathedral, examined the Clifford papers at Skipton Castle in 1646, and made long and elaborate extracts from them. 160 volumes of his MSS. were deposited by Thomas, third Lord Fairfax, to whom they had been bequeathed, in the Bodleian Library, in 1673, and volumes LXX, LXXI, LXXIV, and LXXXIII, refer to the Clifford documents, and are more particularly described in the catalogue of the Dodsworth manuscripts prepared by the Rev. Joseph Hunter and published in 1838.⁶ They contain much valuable material relative to the pedigree and the estates of the Cliffords, especially vol. LXXXIII, which is full of transcripts of deeds which were in Skipton Castle in 1646, and to a student who was making an exhaustive study of Clifford pedigree would be of considerable importance.

Amongst the Williamson MSS. in Queen's College, Oxford, left to the College by Sir Joseph Williamson, there is an important one, concerning the claim and title of Lady Anne to the Baronies of Clifford, Westmoreland and Vescy,⁷ and then, finally, in Lincoln's Inn library,⁸ there are two volumes, one entirely devoted to pedigree, and the other dealing with the title of Lady Anne to the Baronies, in each of which there appears a great deal of Sir Matthew Hale's handwriting. Concerning one of these MSS. there is an interesting story told, to the effect that it was the only thing that remained after a great fire which occurred at the Law Courts in Sir Matthew Hale's time, when he was acting for Lady Anne, in the suit she brought against her Westmoreland tenants with regard to the tenure with a fine under which

⁶ B.M. 620. g. 32, 1838.

⁷ See *Catalogus Codicum in Collég aulique Oxoniensibus*, Par. 1, B.M. 824, K. 11-12, also 35. b.

⁸ Hale MS., LXXXIII and civ.

they held the land. It is said that large quantities of original deeds and papers were brought up from Appleby and Skipton to London, to be made use of in this trial, and that a fire broke out, and everything was destroyed, with the exception of this one document which Hale saved, and which finally he deposited in Lincoln's Inn library, with the rest of the MSS which he bequeathed to that establishment. There are many references to Hale in Lady Anne's letters, and there is one important allusion to Dodsworth, which occurs in a letter which she sent to her agent Mr. Marsh on the 15th of July, 1650, in which she says that she had received through him a letter from Mr. Dodsworth, making a certain certificate concerning her cousin, Sir Richard Lowther, but the reference is not a very clear one. The words are as follows:— "I know when yours was brought me, a letter from Mr. Dodsworth, wherein he certifies me that my cousin Richard Lowther takes the wrong course about the business for the Under-sheriff of Westmoreland was brought me, and it seems my cousin Richard Lowther thinks the same of Mr. Dodsworth. I know not what to think of it, except you set it right. I have written to them both about this matter." In this same letter, Lady Anne expresses her confidence that all will go well in her suits "Under God's help, I must trust to you and Mr. Hale in it."

It would be peculiarly interesting to know what has become of the important Sedgwick MS., from which Nicholson and Burns⁹ make many quotations, and which gives us information respecting Lady Anne which can be obtained from no other sources. These authors must also have had access to the *Day-by-Day Book*, written by Lady Anne during the last few months of her life, because they make certain extracts from it, very similar to those I have discovered at Carlisle.

It is believed that some fifty years ago, certain papers which up to that time had been preserved at Appleby Castle, were unintentionally destroyed. They were in dirty condition, and in the opinion of Admiral Elliott, then the chief agent for the estate, were useless, but the instructions concerning them appear to have been misunderstood, and, instead of their being more carefully examined, they were burned.

⁹ Nicholson and Burns' *History of Westmorland*, 1777. See B.M., 578, i, 30—109, b. 11 and G. 3484-85.

Fortunately, there are still many documents at Appleby in the muniment room which I have had the privilege of examining and copying, and amongst them some notable letters already referred to. The muniment room at Skipton also contains large quantities of documents, but nothing of any special importance concerning Lady Anne. The contents of both muniment rooms have recently been rearranged by me with the invaluable aid of Miss D. O. Shilton, and all the documents classified and sorted. Amongst the treasures which rewarded the search were an interesting map of a part of the estate, a book on alchemy and the philosopher's stone, which probably belonged to Lady Anne's father, and is possibly the very one depicted in the Great Picture ; a treatise on the same subject ; a carefully written list of the various members of parliament for the Borough of Appleby ; the original contracts for the erection by Lady Anne of her father's tomb ; two pedigrees, one of which is of unusual importance ; a curious exercise or scribbling book for a child which contains some of the hand writing of Samuel Daniel ; a precious little volume in manuscript with receipts for medicines, electuaries, cordials and tinctures with annotations and corrections in Lady Cumberland's handwriting ; some civil war tracts ; part of a long manuscript poem on alchemy ; an important volume of Lady Anne's accounts for 1665, with separate sheets for 1667-1668 ; and many other documents which are specifically alluded to in an article on these discoveries by Daniel Scott, contained in Vol. xviii (new series) of the *Transactions* of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE ALMSHOUSES.

THERE are two interesting almshouses, associated with Lady Anne, the one founded by her mother, Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, at Beamsley (originally known as Bethemsley), and the other at Appleby, founded by Lady Anne herself. Both are remarkable buildings, founded under unusual circumstances, and substantially endowed, and both are still pursuing the even tenor of their way, carrying out the arrangements originally made by their munificent founders, and in every way successful from philanthropic and charitable points of view. Furthermore, the building occupied by each of these foundations, has an interest of its own. With regard to that at Beamsley, it was founded by Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, under a special charter granted to her by Queen Elizabeth, on March 16th, 1593 (in the 35th year of her reign), and is for a mother and twelve sisters. The original charter is still in existence, and is a very handsome and lengthy Latin document, with the Great Seal attached. It refers to the fact that there were many poor women in and about Skipton, decrepit and broken down by old age, who were in the habit of begging for their daily bread, and that the Countess had pity upon them, and, desiring to establish almshouses for their protection, had moved Queen Elizabeth to grant a special charter for the establishment of the foundation. The first Mother and Sisters according to the charter, were to be appointed by Lady Cumberland, or by her husband, or either of them, or by their heirs, and were empowered with the advice of the Lord Keeper or the Archbishop of York for the time being, to make fitting statutes for the government of the hospital. The succeeding vacancies in the hospital, according to the charter, were to be filled up by a vote of the remaining Sisters,

but at the same time the fullest possible powers were given to the representatives of the Countess of Cumberland to appoint Sisters to the almshouses. It would therefore appear as though it was intended at first that the *selection* of the new Sisters should be made by the existing almswomen, and that out of the selected number, the patron or visitor of the hospital was to make the final election. In any case, selection by the almswomen themselves, appears speedily to have become a dead letter, and the management of the hospital came into the hands of the heirs of the founder and continues to the present day to be exercised by the representative holding the Skipton estates. The Earl and Countess and their heirs were, by the charter, invested with the power of holding an annual visitation, in order to audit the accounts, to inquire into offences, to expel the criminous and disobedient, and to confirm the election of any new Sisters. The successive Earls of Thanet, as owners of the Skipton estates, exercised all their rights of visiting and appointment, and their successor, Lord Hothfield, is in possession of the same privileges. Lady Cumberland endowed this hospital with some farm lands, and until recently, the endowments remained intact. One portion of the estate, however, has been sold to advantage to the Earl of Harewood, and the proceeds invested in Consols, so that in addition to one farm of about 142 acres, which is let at £155 a year, the hospital possesses rather more than £6,000 in Consols, which yields about a similar amount, and the endowment admits of the payment to the Mother of rather over £20 a year, and to each of the Sisters of a sum rather exceeding £18 a year. In addition to these charges, a small sum of money is paid, according to the regulations of the hospital, to the neighbouring clergyman for administering Holy Communion to the inmates of the almshouses four times a year, and there is a reader appointed who receives rather over £20 a year for officiating in the chapel of the hospital on Sundays, and also on weekdays twice during the week. Lady Anne took considerable interest in this hospital, founded, as she states in her papers, "by my deare and blessed mother, Margaret Russell, Countess of Cumberland, in the year 1593." and she made a series of regulations to be carefully obeyed by the inmates of the hospital, and these are practically still in force. Amongst them, she required that, when prayers were said in the chapel, the Mother and all the twelve Sisters should give

their constant attendance, and none of them should be absent at any time, except in case of sickness or other urgent occasion. She forbade any of the Sisters being out of their houses without the consent of the Mother or the Reader. She stated definitely that none of their children or grandchildren should be with the Sisters in the almshouses, without the leave of the reader or the mother, and that this leave should not be granted except in case of illness, or for some other reasonable cause. She enjoined the Sisters to live peaceably and quietly amongst themselves, particularly cautioning the Mother to be careful to preserve order in the almshouse, and she stated that, if any difference shall arise between them, the matter shall be determined by a majority of the Sisters with the Mother, and in case that they cannot then agree, it must be referred for a final settlement to the owner of Skipton Castle. She was particular that the almshouse court should be kept swept once a week and that all the gullies and waterways should be scoured and kept clean and she gave instructions that the almshouse was to be closed at nine in the summer and at eight in the winter, and was not to be opened until seven o'clock in the winter and six in the summer. Her most emphatic instruction was that none of the Sisters were to get into debt in the town, what she calls in her orders "run on score, because," says she, "they have their allowance quarterly and constantly," and it is well to note, in reference to this, that she made regulations which are still carried out, that the payments are made *in advance*, so that there should be no excuse for the Sisters getting into debt. If the rules were to be broken, they were to forfeit a fortnight's allowance, and half the sum they forfeited was to go to the poor of the town, and the other half to the informer, so that by this means, everybody was on the alert to see that no resident in the house was permitted to break any of these regulations. The second offence meant expulsion from the almshouse altogether. There are two interesting letters written by Lady Anne, preserved in the Fairfax correspondence. One was from Whitehall, written to Lord Fairfax at Denton, on the 14th of May, 1634, with reference to a certain Widow Ramsden, about whom there had been serious complaints. She was one, as Lady Anne called her "of my worthy mother's almshousers," and the complaint against her morality had evidently been referred to Lady Anne herself. She sent back the papers to Lord

Fairfax for him to settle the matter, and says that "for the business itself, I will neither meddle one way or another, but leave it to God in Heaven and law and justice in earth. It is true that I am sorry any of that house should be accused of so foul a crime, but if she be guilty, let her suffer, in God's name; if innocent, my trust is that through Providence above, and your goodness and wisdom in this world will acquit her." The other letter was addressed to the reader of the hospital, and referred to a vacant place that had occurred in the almshouse by the death of a sister, who was referred to under her initials as "E.B." The reader sent to Brougham a petition from a certain widow (spoken of as "D.G." and probably a Mrs. Gill), asking for the position, and Lady Anne sent a warrant to the reader from Pendragon Castle, dated the 12th of June, 1666, for the placing of this person in the almshouse "which warrant I desire may be communicated by you to the mother and sisters, that shee may be settled therein accordingly." There was, however, some kind of anxiety concerning this new inmate, who perhaps was inclined to Freethought, for Lady Anne adds a postscript to her letter in the following words "provided that this widow Gill (evidently the D.G. referred to) goe to church, and to heare com'on prayer in ye almeshouse or otherwise itt will bring the house out of order."

To the same reader (Mr. Brogden), she addressed another letter in somewhat sterner terms. There was evidently some carelessness on the part of the Mother and Sisters in collecting the rent from one of the farms with which her mother had endowed the hospital. It is possible that some of the inhabitants of Beamsley were interested in the person who held that part of the estate, or had been moved by his supplications, and were disposed to give him extra time for the payment of his rent. Lady Anne was, however, quite determined to allow no such laxity, and she writes thus :--

"Good John Brogden,--I have received your letter, and in itt one from L. C. to the Mother and sisters of Beamsley desiring ye forbearance of ye rent due to them for some season, which mocion of his I doe utterly dislyke, and will by noe means give my assent to, for if I, or they, should hearken to such mocions they should be in a very sad condition. Therefore I charge you, and give you attorety under my own hande forthwith to distrayne for the saydd rentte and iff itt bee nott thereupon payde I will use the strictest course I cann to turqe

him outt of the farme. And I praye you to shoue him thees lines of mine, to wit, this my purpose and intention, and so committing you to the Almighty, I rest,—Your assured friend,

(Signed) ANNE PEMBROKE.

Appleby Castle, 26th of May, 1655."

It is clear by this letter, that she was determined to safeguard the interests of her mother's endowment in every possible way.

The building at Beameley is a curious one, unique in its arrangement, so far as I can tell. It is circular, about 30 feet in diameter, with a chapel in the centre, 15 feet in diameter, and a passage leading to it. There are seven rooms radiating round the chapel, five opening with doors directly into the chapel, and two into the entrance passage, so that practically the apartments of the Mother and Sisters can only be approached through the central room, which is the chapel. This appears to have been the building first erected, but adjoining it there are six other cottages completing the accommodation for the Mother and twelve Sisters, and over the entrance archway is the inscription in delightful Roman capitals in similar fashion to the other inscriptions erected by Lady Anne, and reading as follows :—

THIS ALMS-HOUSE WAS FOUNDED BY THAT EXCELLENT LADY MARGARET RUSSELL, COUNTESSE OF CUMBERLAND, WIFE TO GEORGE CLIFFORD, THIRD EARLE OF CUMBERLAND, 1593, AND WAS MORE PERFECTLY FINISHED BY HER ONLY CHILD, THE LADY ANNE CLIFFORD, NOW COUNTESSE DOWAGER OF PEMBROKE DORSETT, AND MONTGOMERY. GOD'S NAME BE PRAISED.

It would rather appear, from an examination of the deeds relating to the hospital, that, although the charter was given for a Mother and twelve Sisters, yet the only building erected by Margaret Countess of Cumberland herself was that for the Mother and six Sisters, and that Lady Anne either built or completed the work for the second group and thereby finished that commenced by her mother.

It is quite clear from Lady Cumberland's will, dated April 27th, 1616, and is even more definitely stated in a previous will, which she made on the 18th of May, 1613 (now to be found in the muniments at Appleby Castle, never having come into force) that she did not

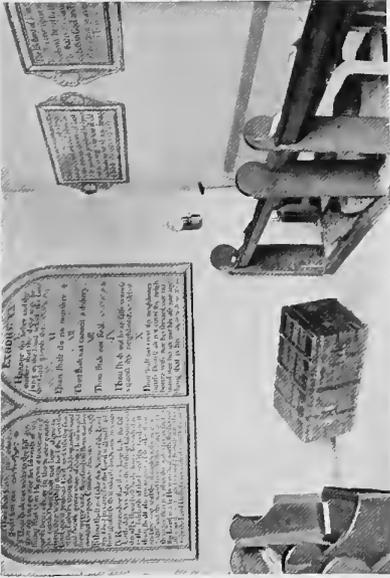


THE SEAL OF ST. ANNE'S HOSPITAL
(See page 376)



Gray—Photo.

THE COURTYARD,
HOSPITAL OF ST. ANNE, APPLEBY (See page 376).



Gray—Photo.
INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. ANNE,
APPLEBY (See page 378)



BEAMSLEY HOSPITAL, SKIPTON
(See page 372).

complete in her lifetime the erection of the entire group of buildings. To quote from her last will, she says " I desire that the almshouse which I have taken order for may be perfected, and for the maintenance thereof I give all my lands, etc. in Harwood and Stockton, York, by me of late purchased of Albony Butler, Gent., & Elizabeth his wife."

It also seems pretty clear, from the style of the architecture, that the building which had been completed is the circular one, and the perfecting of the almshouse, which was an instruction laid upon her daughter, involved the smaller block, and the erection of the entrance archway with its inscription.

An interesting feature concerning this hospital, is one which it shares with the similar foundation at Appleby, that the Mother and twelve Sisters form a body incorporate, with perpetual succession, and have the power to sue and be sued, insomuch that, though there are trustees for the estate, the actual sale of any property connected with the almshouses, both here and at Appleby, has to be done under the common seal and with the consent of the actual residents in the hospital. The deeds at Beamsley are very interesting. They are preserved in two original leather deed-cases, and in one delightful wood deed box of Stuart period, handsomely decorated in colour. These boxes, whether in leather or in wood, are rarely to be found, and the Beamsley examples are particularly good of their kind. There is an interesting book of accounts relating to the management of the hospital dated from 1681, and it refers to the purchase of the tankard, the cup and the plate for the administration of the Holy Communion, which were bought in August, 1683, and to the purchase of the hour-glass in the following year. The expenses are not of any serious character, they are for small repairs in connection with the almshouses, for the reader's journey annually into Skipton, in connection with the audit ; for ink and paper for keeping the accounts, for small expenses when Holy Communion was given annually, generally not exceeding two shillings on each occasion, and for work attending to the well, the hedges and the brick and stone work of the buildings, or of the entrance gate. Amongst the deeds themselves is one dated 1661 signed by Lady Anne, appointing her bailiffs as her attornies in the presence of two of her chief officers, George Sedgwick and Thomas Strickland, both of which persons were mentioned in her will.

There is an interesting Elizabethan deed with the Great Seal, a charter of 1585 relative to one of the farms, and there is an exemplification of a fine under Oliver Cromwell, a rather unusual deed, dated 1657.

Of later papers, it is of interest to record the fact that the inventory of fixtures of the hospital, dated the 24th of August, 1810, was signed by Thomas Holmes, the Reader, who was 77 years old, and had been forty-one years in his position, and by Sarah Crowther, the Mother, who was eighty-three years old, and had been twenty-four years in the hospital. Amongst the other documents is a letter dated the 28th of October, 1686, from Lord Thanet, describing a murder which had taken place at the Royal Oak Lottery in Fleet Street. In the same letter he says that the Earl of Bridgewater¹ had died on the previous day, and adds "Last night was a play of Alexander the Great acted before Their Majesties at Whitehall, Mr. Goodman,² the Countess of Castlemaine's friend, performing the part of the great monarch, which he did to admiration, the Duchess of Portsmouth and most of the Court ladies being present." He goes on to refer to the fact that a pardon was preparing to pass the Great Seal supplementary to the late General Pardon, and then makes reference to the trunk-maker Percy's claim on the Earldom of Northumberland, finishing up the letter by saying that "great preparations have been made for some time against the Lord Mayor's Show to-morrow, and particularly for building a pompos chariot wherein a maiden virgin is to sit, according to an old custom of the Mercers Company, one of whose members, dying many years since, bequeathed £150 portion to be given to a maiden³ that shall ride on the triumphant chariot in any year as a

¹ John Egerton, second Earl. His death is usually (and probably in error) recorded as having taken place on December 26th, 1686.

² Cardell Goodman (1649?-1699). He was Polysperchon in this play called *The Rival Queens or Alexander the Great*. He had been one of the Pages of the Backstairs to Charles I. before he took to the stage. Eventually he was the paramour of the Duchess of Cleveland but attempted to poison two of her children and being detected was heavily fined.

³ Lord Thanet was not quite correct in this statement. The Lord Mayor in 1686 was certainly a Mercer. He was Sir John Peake, who represented at first the Ward of Billingsgate, and then the Ward of Bridge Without, and who had been Sheriff ten years previously, when he was knighted. He was Master of the Mercer's Company in the year that he was Lord Mayor, was President of Christ's Hospital in 1687, and died in 1688. The "Virgin" did take a prominent part in the pageant that year, and is described as having been "a young beautiful gentlewoman of good parentage, religious education, and unblemished reputation." She is

member of their company is sworn Lord Mayor. This maiden now chosen," he says, "is said to be a country parson's daughter, her father having seven children."

Lady Anne erected a hospital at Appleby in similar fashion to the one founded by her mother, and this was incorporated by Royal Charter of 13th Charles II.⁴ under the title of the Hospital of St. Anne of Appleby. The charter runs on much the same lines as that already referred to granted by Queen Elizabeth to the Countess of Cumberland. It states that Lady Anne had told the King that near to Appleby there were very many women decrepit and broken down by old age, who were "supported by begging their bread, and being without any Receptacle or Relief, lead an idle and vagrant life." It goes on to say that the Countess, being moved with pity, and desiring to "provide for such poor women," who, on account of their "great old age, and great debility of body," are not able to "gain their food and clothing by labour," desires to found in the town of Appleby, "a hospital of thirteen" of them, and beseeches the king that he would condescend to make and establish the hospital which she proposed to erect. The King consents thereto, and by his charter constitutes the mother and sisters in the same way as his predecessor constituted the mother and sisters at Beamsley, into a body incorporate, with perpetual succession, power to sue and be sued, and grants the charter with the use of a common seal without fees. The common seal is still in existence, and is an exceedingly fine piece of engraving. It is inscribed :—

referred to in Taylor's History of the Twelve Great Companies (see Vol. 1., pp. 255-259) ; and in Taubman's Pageant of 1686 and Elkanah Settle's Pageant of 1701 the maiden chariots are fully described. Considerable importance was attached to the selection of the Virgin, which was made by a committee appointed for the purpose, but there was no bequest to the Mercers' Company for the £150 portion, so far as can be ascertained, and there is no bequest of that kind at present in the possession of the Company. The Mercers were, however, in the habit of making a handsome present to the girl who was selected to take part in the pageant, and that custom, it is understood, is still in force. There has not, however, been a Lord Mayor selected from the Mercer's Company since Nathaniel Newnham, who was the last member of the Company who became a member of the Court of Aldermen, in which, for more than four centuries, 1298-1711, it was only unrepresented for the brief space of three months. Alderman Newnham was Lord Mayor in 1782-3, and Master of his Company in 1786.

⁴ It should be noted that the hospital was founded in 1650, but the Charter was not obtained till 1661 as Lady Anne disdained to apply to or recognise Cromwell and waited till the Restoration.

THE SEALE OF THE MOTHER AND 12 SISTERS OF THE ALMSHOUSE IN APPLEBYE IN THE COUNTIE OF WESTMERLAND, WHICH WAS FOUNDED, BUILT, AND LANDS PURCHASED FOR IT IN 1651-1652 BY YE LADY ANNE, BARONESS CLIFFORD, WESTMERLAND AND VESCIE, COUNTESS DOWAGER OF DORSETT, PEMBROOKE AND MOUNTGOMERIE. GOD BE PRAISED.

On the seal are two shields of arms, each surmounted by an Earl's coronet, one of Clifford impaling Vipont, and the other of Clifford impaling Russell.

It has been stated that a similar seal, probably even finer in workmanship, had been prepared for Beamsley hospital, and that Lady Anne's seal for Appleby was to a great extent a copy of the Beamsley one. Unfortunately, however, the Beamsley seal has been lost for more than a generation, and I have been unable even to find any deed bearing the impression of it, from which the necessary details could be obtained. As might be expected, the deeds possessed by the trustees of the Beamsley hospital, are the counterparts, bearing other seals, and the ones which would have borne the Beamsley seal are doubtless in the possession of one or two families to whom at different times charges in connection with the hospital have been transferred. When the sale of land to Lord Harewood took place, the lawyers found that it was necessary for a seal to be attached to the deed giving the consent of the Mother and Sisters, and as the old seal was not in existence, and had not been required for a very long space of time, a new one was made, but it is of quite unimportant character, and simply bears an inscription stating that it is the seal of Beamsley Hospital. On the other hand, the silver seal for the Appleby almshouses is in excellent condition, unusually large, and a fine piece of contemporary engraving. It is contained in its original box.

Some years after the almshouse was opened, the Royal Charter came to hand, and Lady Anne tells in her diary that on the 10th of September, 1661, she sent down to the almshouse " the King's Letters Patents under the Great Seale of England for making the sayd Almshouse a Corporation, being a perpetuities granted to me for the founda'con thereof, dated at Westminster the 2nd day of the last

month, which was now layed up in the Chest or trunk in the Mother's chamber there, under lock and key, to be kept amongst the rest of the writings and Evidences concerning the founda'con of the sayd almshouse, and the Landes of St. Nicholas neare Applebie and the Mannor of Brougham, which I purchased for the maintenance thereof."

The site of the hospital was bought by Lady Anne from a certain Mr. George Bainbrigg "of Appulby" on the 31st of December, 1650, at a cost of £36, and the conveyance deed describes the purchased premises in full, and explains that the piece of land contained by estimation about an acre, and that it abutted upon the river Eden upon the one side, and upon the main street of Appleby upon the other. The whole of the existing buildings upon the piece of land were pulled down, and Lady Anne erected on the site the various buildings as they exist to-day, one three-roomed dwelling for the Mother, and twelve dwellings, each with two rooms, for the twelve Sisters, all of them set round a court-yard, well and skilfully built.

There was also erected a wash-house, to be used by all the Sisters in common, and in the extreme left corner a chapel. In the rear of the dwellings is a large garden, and in the centre of the court-yard a circular flower-bed, while similar flower beds are set close to the doors of each of the dwellings. There is a series of interesting heraldic achievements carved in sandstone on the exterior of the various houses, the shields, in most cases, set fairly close to the side of the entrance doors. The carving of each is bold and clear. Against house No. 1 are the arms of Clifford impaling Herbert, *Gules*, three lions rampant *or*. Against house No. 3 the arms of Robert de Vipont who married Idonea, the daughter of John de Busby, *Gules* 6 annulets *or* impaling *gules* a cinquefoil *or* pierced of the field. Against No. 6 are the arms of John de Vipont in the time of Henry III., who married Sibella the daughter of William, Earl Ferrers, and who therefore impaled, *argent* six horseshoes *sable* for Ferris or Ferrers. Against No. 7 are the arms of Robert de Vipont, who died in 1264, and who married Isabella the sister and co-heir of Richard Fitzpeter or Fitz Geoffrey. He impaled quarterly *or* and *gules*, with a border *vair azure* and *or*. Against No. 8 are the arms of John the 9th Lord Clifford, who died in 1461, and who married Margaret, the daughter and heir of Henry Bromflete, Lord Vesey, and impaled for her, *sable*

a bend flory-counter-flory *or*. Against No. 9 are the arms of Henry, the tenth Lord Clifford, who died in 1523, and married Anne the daughter of Sir John St. John of Bletso, incorrectly blazoned as "impaling *argent* on a chief *gules* two mullets *or* and beneath a bend *gules*." The bend should not have appeared in this coat. Against No. 10 are the arms of the eleventh Lord Clifford, first Earl of Cumberland, who died in 1542, and who married Margaret Percy, and impaled a quarterly coat, 1 and 4 *or* a lion rampant *azure* 2 and 3 *gules* three lucas hauriant *argent*. On No. 12 are the arms of Thomas 8th Lord Clifford, who married Joan the daughter of Thomas Lord Dacre of Gillesland and he impaled her arms *gules* three escallops *argent*, while against No. 14 are the arms of Richard third Earl of Dorset, the first husband of Lady Anne, impaling quarterly *or* and *gules* a bend vair *azure* and *argent*.

The entrance gate-way leading into the courtyard is new, having been erected by the late Lady Hothfield, but it replaces a somewhat similar gate-way which existed in earlier days, and above it are two shields, one of Vipont impaling Clifford, and the other of Clifford impaling Russell, the latter being the arms of Lady Anne's mother. The coat of arms on the new doorway are those of the Earl of Dorset bearing Lady Anne's arms on an escutcheon of pretence, and a similar one of the Earl of Pembroke's, bearing her arms in similar fashion.

The chapel is interesting, the pulpit clearly belonging to the period of the original building, the oak work wrought with an adze, and in good condition. In the chapel stands the splendid brass nailed box which Lady Anne sent over to the almshouse, for the reception of the deeds and papers belonging to it. They are not now kept in this chest, but in a substantial iron safe, but the original box is an unusually good example of the workmanship of the period, and bears a long inscription in brass nails, stating that it was the gift of Lady Anne to the almshouse in 1655. It has two locks, and is bound at the sides and the corners with wrought iron. On the walls are painted various texts of Scripture and the Ten Commandments, but all these tablets are of very much later date than the chapel itself, and belong, in all probability, to the time of George II. Early in Queen Victoria's time, however, the walls of the chapel were cleaned and some of the

whitewash was removed. There was found revealed upon the wall a portion of the original decoration of the time of Lady Anne, showing beneath the later Georgian tablets. In all probability, the same texts and moral maxims appeared on the walls as at present, but the tablets containing them were larger and bolder, and the lettering of a better character than is to be found in the tablets that can now be seen.

Lady Anne took considerable interest in the erection of this almshouse. She tells us in her diary in 1651, on the three and twentieth day of April, 'I was present at the laying of the first foundation stone of my Almshouse or Hospitall here in Aplebie Towne, for which I purchased Lanes, the Mannour of Brough the 4th daie of Februarie following and the landes called St. Nicholas nere Aplebie the twentie nyth daie of December in 1652, which was finished in Jan. and March 1653.' Further on, she refers to the fact that the almshouse was quite finished, and the Mother and twelve Sisters were placed in it, in January and February, 1653.

From one of the lost documents, the small quarto volume referred to in my chapter on the diary, I learn that in the beginning of the summer of 1653, Lady Anne put into her almshouse, twelve poor women, eleven of them widows, and the twelfth 'a maimed Maid and the mother a minister's widdow.' After George Sedgwick became her Secretary he was able to recommend to his patron a certain Mrs. Gilbert Nelson, a widow, whose husband had been his schoolmaster, and very kind to him in his youth. Lady Anne appointed her as the Mother at the almshouse and took one of her daughters into her employment as one of her own maids. George Sedgwick speaks of this kindness in terms of the utmost gratitude.

The property with which it was endowed was not, as she states in her diary, the manor of Brough, and the lands called St. Nicholas, for the clerk who wrote out the diary has made a slight mistake in the word Brough, because the manor which was purchased was the manor of Brougham, and he has omitted the two final letters of the word. It included a mansion house and other lands known as Brougham Hall, and various lands round about it, and had been purchased by Lady Anne from James Browne, late of Brougham, but the charge in the first trust deed was not only in favour of the

almshouses which she had erected, but also in favour of a certain payment of £4 a year to the poor of the parish of Brougham in connection with the pillar which Lady Anne erected, and to which we refer in another chapter. The trust deed purports to convey the whole of the manor of Brougham to the trustees, but, as a matter of actual fact, the interest which Lady Anne had purchased in the manor, only extended to one third of it, the remaining thirds being in the hands of the Bird family. In 1676, an exchange was effected with regard to this manor, whereby, for a sum of money and a silver cup,⁵ James Bird of Brougham, who was then one of Lady Anne's Stewards, and who owned the other two-third parts of the manor, acquired the remainder, and by an indenture dated September 27th, 1676, he granted a perpetual rent charge of £4 a year out of certain lands at Yanwath, to provide the pillar charity just mentioned. The residue of the Brougham land continued in the hands of the trustees until 1891 and then it was sold to the present Lord Brougham, for a sum of about £9,000, which is now invested in Consols.

The other property which Lady Anne purchased for her almshouse, and which she calls the lands called St. Nicholas, are more clearly defined in the trust deed as "the late dissolved Hospital Farm or Grange of St. Nicholas near Appleby" which she "bought from William Fielding of Startforth in the County of York, and of Susan his wife." These were lands which prior to the dissolution of the monasteries had belonged to the Abbey of Shap, to whom they were given by John de Veteripont for the maintenance of three lepers. After the dissolution, the lands were granted by Henry VIII. to Thomas Lord Wharton, and were sold in the 12th year of King James, by Philip, Lord Wharton and Sir Thomas Wharton his son to a certain Israel Fielding for £700. Lady Anne, when she bought them, on December 30th, 1652, gave £900 for them. There was at one time something of the nature of a chapel standing on the lands, as it is referred to in a survey taken in the 42nd year of Elizabeth, when the chapel, which up to that time had been a hay house, was ordered to be made into the dwelling house of the land, as the dwelling itself had been destroyed. These St. Nicholas lands still belong to the

⁵ See Chapter xvii., page 310.

charity. At the end of the seventeenth century they were let for £44 a year, and now bring in an income of nearly £350 a year.⁶

Similar regulations to those made by her mother were made by Lady Anne on May 16th, 1653, for the management of her own almshouse, the wording being slightly different. She ordered as definitely as did her mother that none of the Sisters should lie out of the house without leave of the Vicar of Appleby (who takes the place of the reader at Beamsley) and the Mother; and that none of the Sisters' children or grandchildren or anyone else, should remain in the hospital without leave of the Mother, and that this leave should not be granted, except in the case of sickness or some other reasonable cause. She made the same regulations about the opening and closing of the almshouse, and about the cleanliness both of the court and of the water-courses as we have found in the Beamsley regulations, and she ordered the Mother to observe the orders carefully, and the Sisters that they are not to run in debt, and all of them, that they are to endeavour to live quietly and peaceably amongst themselves, and then she made some arrangement about the settling of offences, referring it to the owner of Appleby Castle, the permanent visitor of the almshouse, whose decision was to be final. There is also a similar arrangement about forfeiting a fortnight's allowance for a first offence, and about expulsion for a second. In short, the orders which she made and signed on the 18th of May, 1653, are still in existence, and are those now observed. A few additions have been made to them to the effect that the Sisters must not be allowed to let rooms, and that no trade or calling shall be exercised in the hospital, and that if either the Mother or Sisters marry, they shall cease to be entitled to the benefits of the charity, while the regulation as to forfeiting the fortnight's allowance, and dividing the money between the informer and the poor of the place, has been varied, and in lieu of it there are definite instructions that if either of the Sisters are guilty of wilful disobedience or other offence, they may be removed by the Visitor, whose decision is to be final. The original orders, signed and sealed by Lady Anne, are still in existence, and with them are all the important documents

⁶ I am indebted to the then Mayor of Appleby, Mr. Alex Heelis, for much of the information contained in this narrative, for facilities afforded me in examining deeds and papers and also permission to quote from his paper on the Almshouses read at Appleby, September 10th, 1908.

relative to the foundation of the charity. It is now regulated under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners, made in 1871, and in addition to having their habitations free from rent, rates, taxes and repairs, each of the Sisters receives £30 a year, a plot of garden ground, free medical attendance, medicine and food, as may be prescribed in time of sickness, and the Mother has £5 a year more than the other almswomen. There is a small sum given to the Vicar of Appleby, who acts as chaplain of the hospital, and who reads prayers in the chapel every morning, and a substantial sum also is allotted for providing coal for each of the almswomen.

The original trustees were many in number, and included Mr. Howard of Naworth Castle, Sir Francis Howard of Corby Castle, Sir Philip Musgrave of Hartley Castle, Sir Thomas Sandford of Howgill Castle, Sir John Lowther of Lowther Castle, and representatives of the families of Dalston, Dudley, Crackenthorpe, and others, together with the Mayor of Appleby, but although they were the holders of the hospital lands, they had no power to part with any of them, without the consent of the Mother and Sisters, as testified by their seal, the actual possession of the lands being in the hands of the body corporate and politic, the commonalty incorporate for ever, which is constituted by the charter in the name of the Mother and Sisters. The right of nomination, however, was settled by Lady Anne to rest in the hands of the owner of Appleby Castle, and in the hands of the present owner it still remains. The present trustees, fifteen in number, are practically the descendants of all the various persons who were originally nominated as trustees of the charity, and they have been given under the new Charity Commissioners' scheme full liberty to use the corporate name and the common seal of the hospital, for all such purposes as they shall think fit.

Lady Anne was exceedingly interested in this hospital. She visited it many times, and gave personal attention to the Sisters and to the consideration of their difficulties, and to the settlement of their squabbles. In her will in 1674, she specially mentions it, and requests that her daughter should not in any way interfere with the lands which she had bought and settled for the maintenance of the "Mother, Reader and twelve Sisters for ever in the almshouse at Appleby which I caused to be built there in the year 1651, 1652 and 1653."

In the same will, she refers to another charity which should be mentioned in this chapter. She purchased a house and some lands called Kittigarth at Temple Sowerby, which in her time yielded a yearly rent of £7, and presented this house and lands to the Borough of Appleby, desiring that the income should be spent on repairs for the church, and on the repairs of the tombs of her mother and herself in the church, and that any surplus income should be expended on repairs to the Grammar School house, the Moot Hall, and Appleby Bridge. The deed of endowment is dated the 2nd of February, 1656, and it would appear that she expected that the value of the land would increase, otherwise she would not have mentioned so many objects upon which its income was to be expended. The income is still devoted to the repairs of the church, the two tombs and the Grammar School, but it is seldom indeed that there is a sufficient surplus to spend anything upon the Hall or the Bridge. There have, however, in past years, been occasional opportunities of this expenditure. She particularly requests her daughter in her will, not to interfere with this property and she also refers to the endowment for the pillar, to which I give fuller reference in another chapter. Some of the accumulated funds of this charity were of great service when the Grammar School in Appleby was rebuilt and an amount of nearly £1,000 was available for the assistance of the school on its new site.

Finally, it would be well to notice what she did for Mallerstang Chapel (as she calls it) near to her castle of Pendragon. In 1662, she came to the conclusion that the church was in a serious condition, and needing extensive repair, and on the 20th of February of that year she received an estimate from a builder, slater and glazier, for the carrying out of the work. This estimate is still in existence, and the total sum amounts to £46 15s. 6d., probably equivalent to about £180 at the present day. The estimate is not given in very close detail, but the expenditure is lumped together. The work was carried out, and then came the question of some sort of endowment for the old chapel, which had been left by her predecessors to go into disrepair, and had been wholly neglected, and therefore on the 22nd of November, 1667, she prepared a trust deed while she was in residence at Brougham Castle, endowing "the Chapell of Mallerstange" with certain lands at Wards in Cantley in Sedbergh

which she had bought on the 14th of January and on the 29th of February, 1663, of Reynald Cooke, and which then were of the yearly value of £11⁷ or so. The cost to her of the purchase had been £220, and the endowment was to be for the maintenance of a Reader, who was to read "prayers and the Homillies of the Church of England," but who was furthermore to educate "the Children of the Dale in Mallerstange Chapel for ever in the first beginnings of reading and writing English." She appointed the Rev. Rowland Wright to be the first incumbent under the new endowment, he having been at the church for three or four years before; and by her trust deed enjoins her heirs to continue Wright in that position, as she was satisfied that he was a suitable man for the purpose, and can "teach Schollers there." It would appear from one of the deeds of the Mallerstang endowment that the education of the poor children of the parish in the primary subjects of reading and writing was to take place on Sunday afternoon in the chapel itself, and if that is the case, Lady Anne must be considered as one of the earliest persons to have suggested the idea of a Sunday-school or Catechism Service, and in that case to have forestalled Robert Raikes, usually regarded as the person who initiated this particular type of Sunday education.

The trust deed for the endowment is one of considerable interest, inasmuch as there are two groups of trustees, one of them being certain of the gentry in the immediate neighbourhood, and in the other group, persons who were evidently either tenant farmers or small tradesmen in the immediate neighbourhood, but Lady Anne is particular, in arranging this deed, to state in it that all these persons, whether gentry or tenant farmer, are tenants of one of her manors, in her great inheritance of the Clifford lands. It was eminently characteristic that she never lost any opportunity of pointing out that she was the great person of the county, and owner of a vast heritage of lands, and that even such important persons as the Branthwaites, Lowthers and Musgraves, all held manors under her and paid suit and service to her as the supreme owner of the Clifford estates.

The initials A.P. with the date 1663, which still remain in the sacred edifice commemorate the action she took in the restoration and

⁷ In 1883 it produced £32 a year,

endowment of this interesting little church, while over the entrance she placed a stone bearing the following inscription :—

THIS CHAPPEL OF MALLERSTANG AFTER ITT HAD LAYNE
RUINEOUS AND DECAYED SOME 50 OR 60 YEARS WAS NEWE
REPAYRED BY THE LADY ANNE CLIFFORD COUNTESSE DOWAGER
OF PEMBROKE DORSETT & MONTGOMERY IN THE YEAR 1663
WHO ALSOE ENDOWED THE SAME WITH LANDS WHICH SHE
PURCHASED IN CANTLEY NEAR SEDBERGH TO THE YEARLY
VALUE OF ELEAVEN POUNDS FOR EVER. ISAIAH CHAP 54 VE 12
GODS NAME BE PRAISED

She thus left for future generations to read, the whole story of her work in the remote parish. The chapel was entirely restored in 1879, and a vestry built and the gallery removed, at the cost of the present patron Lord Hothfield. Lord Thanet in 1714 and Lady Gower in 1772 had made important additions to the endowment.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE COUNTESS'S PILLAR.

AN outstanding trait in the character of Lady Anne is the intense affection she had for her mother. To her, as a rule, she refers in her diary as "my Blessed Mother," and to her she was indebted, not only for her early training, but for the action which Lady Cumberland took, after the decease of her husband, with a view to establishing the claim of her only daughter to possess the lands of the Clifford estates. Lady Anne never tires of referring to her mother, and early in the first of the Great Volumes she writes that she escaped the wicked devices of her enemies, and passed through her troubles almost miraculously "by the help of the prayers of my blessed mother, who incessantly begged of God for my safety and preservation." A little further on, she speaks of the affectionate care of her "deare mother," who started an action in her name in the Court of Wards for her right to all her father's lands. She was careful to record, as mentioned in another place, in the Great Volumes, that the effort to bring together all the deeds therein recorded was at the instigation of her mother, and that the work was carried out originally under her mother's instructions, while down to the very end of her life, when she has to refer to a room in Brougham which she was in the habit of occupying, she tells us, that it was the room where her father was born, and where afterwards her blessed mother died. It is pathetic to notice on the very last page of her diary that she herself was then resting in that particular room, and there, in all probability, she passed away. Almost the last sentence in the diary refers to that room. She says "Where I now continued to lye as usuall, in the chamber wherein my Noble Ffather was borne, and my Blessed Mother dyed." Following this, there is only the entry

respecting the death of her cousin Sir John Lowther, and then comes the addition made by her secretary, recording her own decease.

When her first husband was anxious to come to a settlement respecting the estates in 1615, Lady Anne refused, as we have seen, to have anything whatever to do with the matter, until she had been down to Brougham to see her mother. "I went," says she, "to Brougham Castle in Westmorland, to my deare Mother, to ask her Consent therein. Butt shee would never be brought to submitt or agree to it, being a Womman of an high and great Spirritt. In which denyall shee was directed for my good." By the time that the second attempt at a settlement had arisen, Lady Cumberland had passed away, and Lady Anne had to act entirely on her own judgement, but she inherited her mother's determination, and acted all the way through the controversy, on the advice which her mother in past years had given to her. In the inscription on the great picture, she states that her mother "was much opposed by the King and greate ones of this kingdome, yet by industry and search of records of this kingdome she brought to light the then unknown title which her daughter had to the Ancient Baronies, Honors and Lands of the Vipounts, Cliffords, and Veseyes." Further on, in the same inscription, she says, "Soe as what good shall accrew to her daughter's posterity by the sayd Inheritance, must next, under God, be attributed unto her," and then, finally, in summing up the character of her mother, she states in the same inscription that Lady Cumberland "was of a greate naturall witt and judgment, of a sweete disposition, truly religious and virtuous, and indowed with a large share of those 4 morrall virtues, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude and Temperance." She records in the Diary the last occasion upon which she was with her mother in Appleby Castle. It was on October 8th, 1607. "My deare Mother," says she, "and I went out of Apleby Castle on our Journey towards London, it being the last tyme I was ever with her in the sayd castle, though I was after with her in Brougham Castle, in the yeare 1616," and then it was, on this eventful journey to London, that she and her mother would have stopped at Skipton to have seen the castle, but were not permitted to do so, as the doors of it were closed against them by the new Lord Cumberland's officers "in an uncivill and disdaynefull manner." Lady Cumberland did, however, see her almshouse at Beamsley, and

Lady Anne saw it for the first time, because she tells us that "on the 13th of that October was the last time that my Mother was in her Hospitall of Beamsley, and the first time of my being there, for then we lay in Master Clapham's howse there, it being the last time my Blessed Mother ever lay in Craven, or was in that Countie."

When Lady Anne journeyed down to Westmoreland to talk the whole matter over with her mother, it was the last occasion on which she saw her. "I took my last Leave," says she, "of my deare and Blessed Mother, with manie teares and much sorrow to us both, some quarter of a myle from Brougham Castle in the open aire after which time shee and I never saw one another," and then, after referring to her own journey back again to Knole, she adds, "and the Month following, the four and twentieth daie (1616), that Blessed Mother of myne dyed, to my unspeakeable greife, in that Castle of hers in Brougham aforesaid in Westmorland, in the same Chamber wherein my ffather was borne. Myselpe at the time of her death lyinge in Knowle House in Kentt, and a little after her death, I went downe into Westmorland againe and was present at her buryall in Applebie Church the eleaventh of Julie following. The Remembrance of whose sweete and excellent vertewes hath bene the cheife companions of my thoughte ever since shee departed out of this life." Not satisfied with recording in her diary, with such deep and evident feeling, all her attachment to her mother, Lady Anne in later years erected a monument which still stands, a striking example of filial gratitude and attachment. After succeeding to her estates, she had a great deal of work to do in the restoration of the various castles and churches, but no doubt the idea of commemorating the occasion upon which she last saw her mother, was already present in her mind, and some forty years after, on the very spot on which they parted, about a quarter of a mile from Brougham Castle, she erected the famous monument which has always been known as "The Countess's Pillar."

It stands by the side of the highway, on a grass-covered mound, elevated somewhat above the road itself. It consists of an octagonal shaft of hewn masonry, surmounted by a cubical head, having a pyramidal termination, the whole structure being about twelve feet high. On the east, west and south faces of the head are sundials, the southern one being now partially incomplete. On the north face,

which can be clearly seen from the road by any passer-by, are two heraldic shields, carved in the stone-work, and accurately coloured. One is of Clifford impaling Veteripont, the other of Clifford impaling Russell, and as a recent writer said, the selection of persons commemorated by these two shields is a little remarkable, as the one was the most remote of Lady Anne's progenitors, and the other the shield of Lady Anne's own parents, the first being that of Roger Clifford who married Idonea Veteripont in 1269, the other the heraldic achievement of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, and his wife, who was born Lady Margaret Russell.¹

On the southern face of the cubical head, combined with the sundial, which is of smaller size than the other two dials, is a copper plate, upon which is engraved the following inscription :—

THIS PILLAR WAS ERECTED IN ANNO DOMINI JANUARY, 1654 BY YE RIGHT HONOBLE ANNE, COUNTESS DOWAGER OF PEMBROKE, ETC. DAUGHTER AND SOLE HEIRE OF YE RIGHT HONOBLE GEORGE EARL OF CUMBERLAND, ETC. FOR A MEMORIAL OF HER LAST PARTING IN THIS PLACE WITH HER GOOD AND PIOUS MOTHER, YE RIGHT HONOBLE MARGARET, COUNTESS DOWAGER OF CUMBERLAND, YE 2nd OF APRIL 1616, IN MEMORIAL WHEREOF SHE ALSO LEFT AN ANNUITY OF FOUR POUNDS TO BE DISTRIBUTED TO YE POOR WITHIN THIS PARISH OF BROUGHAM, EVERY 2nd DAY OF APRIL FOR EVER, UPON YE STONE TABLE HERE HARD BY. LAUS DEO.

It is curious to notice that more than one historian who referred to this column, has given the wrong date for its erection, quoting the inscription as 1656 instead of 1654 ; the latter is certainly the correct date, the figures 1654 appearing under the two shields of arms, one of which is surmounted by the crest of the Cliffords, and the other by the Earl's coronet, while, between them is a curious ornament, resembling a scroll. In the deed of foundation for St.

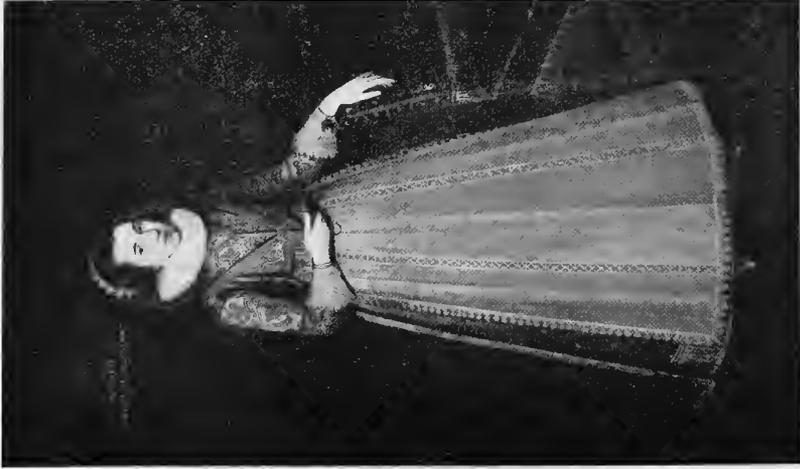
¹ There is an interesting reference to the Countess's pillar in Bishop Nicolson's diary, September 18th, 1684. It appears that on his lordship's progress to Hutton, he was met by Sir George Fleming, Mr. Musgrave and other persons at what the Bishop called the Countess of Pembroke's monument, and from thence was conducted by the whole party with some state to Hutton, where it is evident he was to spend the night.

Anne's Hospital at Appleby, Lady Anne conveyed the lands for the endowment of that hospital to trustees for the purposes of the Mother and Sisters, but she went on to provide in the same document for the four pounds to be given and distributed to the poor on the 2nd of April, according to the inscription just quoted. The parchment stipulates that the money is to be distributed "at a certain Pillar at the foot of Winter Close, by the Highway side, about a quarter of a mile from Brougham Castle, towards Whinfell in the said parish of Brougham, where a Sun Dyall is now lately erected in memory of that said Countess and her blessed deare Mother, Margaret Russell last Countess of Cumberland, deceased, did there last part, and took their last farewell." I refer to the fact in the chapter on the almshouses that a somewhat different arrangement respecting the £4 was made in 1676, and when a part of the manorial lands of Brougham were exchanged for other property, the person who acquired them, Mr. James Bird (who already owned the other two-third parts of the manor), granted a rent charge of £4 a year, out of Riddings Field, Yanwath, to provide for the annuity. This land has now passed from the possession of the Bird family, and belongs to the Lowther estate, and it is from the trustees of the present Earl of Lonsdale that the £4 is received annually by the Vicar of Brougham, and distributed to the poor women who are entitled to receive it.² Mr. Alex. Heelis, the then Mayor of Appleby, in his paper on the Hospital,³ points out that the original draft of the trust deed provided for a rather larger distribution of money than was eventually settled, as it stated the distribution was to be £5 12s. od. to 56 poor persons, two shillings each, "for that her blessed mother was of the age of 56 when she died the 24th day of the month, after their parting in 1616." For some reason or other, perhaps because the endowment did not yield as much as Lady Anne originally expected it would have done, there was a change made in the trust deed, and the £5 12s. od. was altered into £4. This is the sum which is now distributed year by year on the 2nd of April to the poor of the parish, but the parish is so thinly populated that it is not easy to find the requisite number

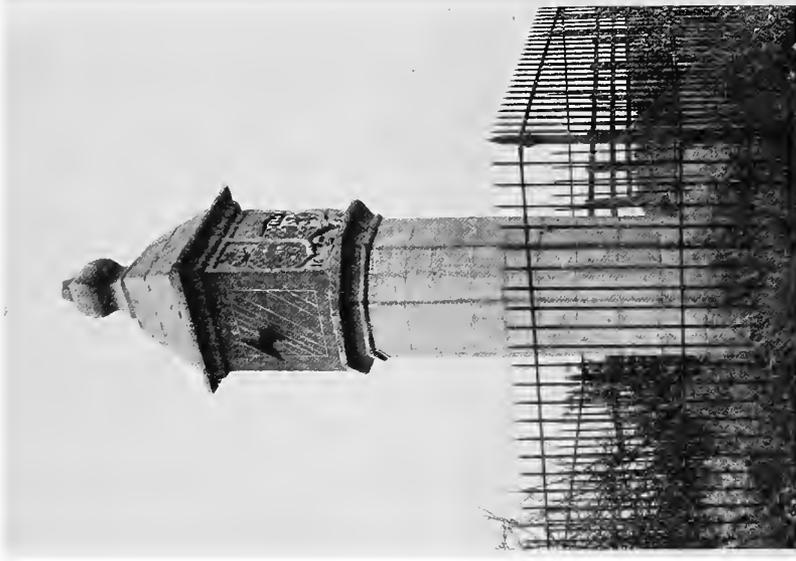
² "Ninekirks and the Countess's Pillar." Kendal 1903. A paper read by the Revd. A. J. Heelis, vicar of Brougham, August 28th, 1902.

³ St Anne's Hospital at Appleby. Kendal 1909. A paper read September 10th, 1908.

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Gray—Photo.
**FULL-LENGTH OIL PORTRAIT OF LADY CUMBERLAND,
LADY ANNE'S MOTHER.**
Hothfield Place (See page 37).



Gray—Photo.
**THE COUNTESS'S PILLAR
near Brougham Castle (See page 386).**

of persons who are legally entitled to the money. By dint, however, of some special care, the Vicar is usually able to find persons to whom this gratuity is very acceptable. For many years the distribution was carried out strictly in accordance with Lady Anne's desire, at the stone table close to the column, but then for a while the table was covered up by the foliage that grew about, and eventually was buried in the earth of the mound. In later days, however, through the efforts of the Vicar, and some local antiquaries, investigation was made, and the table, composed of two flat stones dowelled together with chamfered sides, was discovered *in situ*. It was repaired, and now the distribution takes place in accordance with Lady Anne's instructions.

She does not actually give us, in her diary, any details concerning the erection of the column, but in 1671, when she removed from Brougham to Appleby, she mentions it. She tells us that she had lain in her Castle at Brougham, ever since the previous 14th of October, "In the chamber wherein my noble father was born, and my blessed mother died," and then, at about eleven o'clock on this 17th day of August, she narrates how she passed through the various rooms of Brougham Castle, went down into the garden for a little while, and from thence back again into the court, "where I took my Horse Litter, in which I rid by the Piller that I erected in memory of my last parting there with my blessed mother; and so through part of Whinfeild Park." She then continued her progress through Temple Sowerby and Crackenthorpe, over Appleby Bridge, near the church, through Appleby town, into her castle.

There is a further reference to the pillar in her will, dated May 1st, 1674, where she bids her daughter to have nothing to do in the way of interference with "the fineable rents of Brougham Hall Mannor, which I have assigned to be distributed every second of Aprill yearely for ever, att the pillar neare unto Brougham Castle to the poore of the parish of Brougham, which pillar was some yeares since sett up there by my direction, in memory of the last parting betwene my blessed mother and me." There are few memorials relative to the affection felt by a daughter to her mother, that are of greater interest than is this Pillar, and naturally, it has been referred to, both in prose and poetry, as a striking example of filial piety. Mrs. Hemans wrote

a long poem entitled "The Memorial Pillar" specially referring to it, and the whole of this poem is quoted by Watson in his brochure on Lady Anne published in Penrith in 1901.

It is interesting to notice that in April, 1916, occurred the three hundredth anniversary of the distribution of alms at this historic pillar.

It might be mentioned that this was not the only pillar that Lady Anne erected, as she put up monuments on several heights near to her castles. One still stands on Hugh's Seat overlooking Mallerstang with an inscription upon it--A.P. 1664.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE SHERIFFWICK.

ALREADY brief reference has been made to the fact that in the representative of the Clifford family there resided the hereditary right to be Sheriff of the County of Westmoreland. The chapter in English history concerned with this right is of great interest, for the special privilege was unique. In all the other counties, save of course the Counties Palatine, in which other arrangements existed; the Crown had the right to appoint a Sheriff, but in the County of Westmoreland, the representative of the great Clifford family, whether male or female, held and exercised with pertinacity the office of Sheriff year by year, for many generations. The privilege actually lasted for 645 years. It had been granted by King John in 1202 to Robert de Veteripont and made hereditary in his family in 1204. Twenty-two of his descendants held it, and it was not until 1849 that this interesting and picturesque privilege passed away from the representatives of the Cliffords to the Crown. It was bequeathed as a hereditary right by the eleventh and last Earl of Thanet to his son, Sir Richard Tufton, but the question was raised whether or not it could be made the subject of a bequest by will. A legal argument ensued between the nephew of the Earl, the Rev. C. H. Barham—the representatives of Sir Richard Tufton—and the Crown, but it was not thought desirable that the question should be fought out to the bitter end, as there was a wish on the part of the Government that the County of Westmoreland should fall into line with all the other counties of England. An arrangement was therefore made, when Sir Richard Tufton received his baronetcy, that the privilege of being Sheriff of Westmoreland should be surrendered into the hands of the Crown, and so, in July, 1850, there came an end to this

interesting right, which had been exercised for such a very long time. The Seal, however, of the hereditary Sheriffwick still remains at Appleby Castle.

There was at least one other instance, besides that of Lady Anne, in which the privilege was exercised by the women representatives of the family. In the time of Edward I., the power rested in the hands of Isabella de Clifford, widow of Roger de Clifford. On this occasion, it is said that the lady "satte in person as Sheriff of the County." Previous to that date, there had been a contest between the two daughters and heiresses of the last of the Veteriponts, Isabella and Idonea (the former of whom had married Roger de Clifford), as to who should exercise the right, and it was finally decided that a substitute should be appointed, one sister presenting and the other approving, the appointment. In this way Robert de Moreville and later on Gilbert de Burneshead were appointed, and then Isabella ceased to sit on the bench, and the substitutes were answerable to each sister. After their decease, Isabella's son Robert succeeded to the office, and the Cliffords held it in direct succession down to the time of the attainder in 1461. Then for a while, nominees of the Crown were Deputy Sheriffs, till the attainder was reversed in the time of Henry VI. and the Cliffords resumed their ancient proud position.

This Sheriffwick carried with it important patronage. The Sheriff of Westmoreland for a while controlled the Abbey of Shap, and its presentation was in his gift, till Henry VIII. transferred that privilege to the Whartons, and some of the Shap deeds and letters, prior to Tudor encroachments, still rest at Appleby Castle. It would also be a mistake to think that, even in later days, the exercise of this privilege was in any sense a mere form. It is but seventy years ago that, on the occasion of Baron Alderson (whose daughter was the wife of the last Marquess of Salisbury) visiting Appleby, the whole Court had to wait for several days because Lord Thanet was absent in France, and had forgotten about the Assizes, while a messenger had been sent in great haste to obtain from him the formal signed authorisation for a deputy sheriff to act in his stead, and for summoning the jury.

In Lady Anne's diary, she makes repeated reference to the Assizes,

attaching much importance to her position with regard to them, and to the privilege she possessed of entertaining the judges, and being the chief representative of the county on that occasion, no one daring to say her nay. Year by year, after she had succeeded to her Westmoreland estates,¹ she records with the utmost care the dates when the Assizes were held at Appleby, tells us who were the Judges, states where she herself was residing at the time, and, as a rule gives a list of the guests who stayed with her on the occasion of her entertaining the representatives of the King. She received them (Judge Puleston² and Judge Parker) for the first time in 1653, but not till the following year was she able to lodge them in the keep of Appleby Castle, generally known as Caesar's Tower, the suitable place in which to accommodate at least the Senior Judge. Up to that time, they had been in other parts of the Castle, one of them occupying the room then called and still known, as the Baron's Chamber, but in that year, she speaks of accommodating the two Judges, Richard Newdigate³ and Hugh Windham, and says "this being the first time that any of the Judges or other person of note or quality, lay in the great tower called Caesar's Tower, since I lately repaired itt to my exceeding great cost and charge." Thereafter, down to the very time of her decease, we learn that invariably one of the Judges occupied the principal room or rooms in Caesar's Tower, the other being accommodated in another part of the Castle. The Judges came, as a rule from Carlisle to Appleby, and on the conclusion of the Assize, which lasted for five or six days, left Appleby for Kendal, and from thence journeyed to Lancaster, where generally, so Lady Anne tells us, the Assizes terminated. She was in the habit of residing at Appleby in the late summer or autumn of the year, and on several occasions, moved from another place in order to be in Appleby at the time for receiving the

¹ During the five years that Lady Anne was prevented from leaving London and taking possession of her Westmoreland estates, she had necessarily to appoint Sheriffs to act for her in the county. One of the documents appointing a Sheriff is still preserved at Lowther Castle, and is particularly interesting inasmuch as it bears the signature both of Lord Pembroke and of Lady Anne, showing that at that time the right to nominate a Sheriff was supposed to exist in the two persons jointly. The appointment in question, is dated August 7th, 1647, and appoints Sir Richard Sanford of Howgill Castle as deputy Sheriff.

² John Puleston and John Parker, the former a Justice of Common Pleas, the latter a Baron of the Exchequer.

³ The former of the King's Bench, the latter of the Common Pleas.

Judges. The records imply that on several occasions she went herself to meet them, riding "before them" says one, "on a white charger," accompanied by a considerable number of her tenants and neighbours, and by some of the principal gentry of the district, but we have no actual statement in the diary to that effect, although the implication is a clear one, and the tradition in the neighbourhood is quite definite that she did so, paying all possible honour and respect to the Judges. In 1671, she was unable, for some reason or other, to carry out her customary procedure, and particularly tells us that, on this occasion, her under-sheriff,⁴ Mr. Thomas Gabetis, took her place. The entry is of interest. The Assizes of that year were in September, the Judges, Sir Timothy Littleton, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and Sir William Wild, a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. There had evidently been a considerable amount of business to carry out at Carlisle, and one of the Judges, Sir William Wild, was "detained in Carlisle longer by occasion of much business." Sir Timothy Littleton came on first alone, therefore, "over the rivers Emont and Lowther, neare my castle of Brougham in Westmorland, where he was mett by my under Sheriffe Mr. Thomas Gabetis and several of my servants with my coach and six horses, in which he came about 5 o'clock in the afternoone hither into this Appleby Castle." That was on a Saturday. On the Monday, Sir William Wild was free to join him, and he was "mett by the way at Emont Bridge by my said Sheriffe, and others with my coach, in like manner as the former Judge was, and so came hither into Appleby Castle to him and mee and us here." There is only one other reference to the Judges being met by Lady Anne's servants, and that occurs in 1674, when she was in residence at Pendragon, and not in good health, besides being eighty-four years of age. The Assizes that year were in August, on the 31st, on Monday. One of the Judges was Sir Timothy Littleton, who has just been mentioned, and the other Sir Richard Rainsford, a Justice of the King's Bench, and they were met again at Brougham Castle, close to the river Emont by some of her servants, whom she had sent to Appleby Castle "to entertain them (myself with the rest remaining

* Amongst the documents at Lowther there is one dated 21 Henry VIII., 1529, by which Henry, Earl of Cumberland appointed Sir John Lowther as his Under-Sheriff, and at that time it is recorded there was a fee of 20 marks attached to the position, which Sir John was to have for executing this office.

still at Pendragon Castle)." Once when she was unable to go to Appleby the Judges seem to have come earlier in the day from Carlisle. It was in August, 1658, and she was in residence at that time at Brougham, so when they arrived there, they stopped and dined with her at Brougham Castle, and then went on to Appleby, accompanied, in all probability, by the under-sheriff and certainly by her servants. As a rule, there were two Judges who took the Assizes of the Northern Circuit, but on two occasions in 1662 and 1665, she specially tells us that one Judge ⁵ only came north, Sir Christopher Turner in 1662 and Sir Richard Rainsford in 1665, but whether because of the few cases there were to adjudicate or whether Judges were needed in other directions, the diary does not inform us. In 1664, there were two Assizes in the year, and this appears to have been the only case during her life in which this happened. The first was on the 17th of January, and she tells us that in the evening Sir Thomas Twisden, one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, and Sir Christopher Turner, a Baron of the Exchequer, came from Kendal, and so from Lancaster, to Appleby, for the Assizes, which lasted five days. They were sitting there, she says, "by special commission from the King, upon the tryalls of divers of the traitors in this Countie that were ingaged in the late Plott and Riseing against His Majesty; so as three of them were hanged, drawn and quartered here at Appleby, ffor otherwise except upon such occasion, the Assizes are but kept once a yeare for this countie." After these Assizes were over, the Judges left for York. In the summer of the same year, Sir Thomas Twisden and Sir Christopher Turner came back again, having journeyed from Newcastle and Carlisle for the ordinary Assizes in the Moot Hall in Appleby, and on that occasion Lady Anne states with evident strong feeling that "Robert Atkinson,⁶ one of my tenants in Mallerstange,

⁵ Lady Anne draws special attention to the circumstances in these words "he was now the onelie Judge for this Northern Circuit, though heretofore two Judges used always to come the Circuit hither."

⁶ This Robert Atkinson was a Captain of the Militia, and a man of considerable social influence in the district. He is said to have been the owner of an estate at Wharton and one at Dale Foot. He was a zealous supporter of the rule of Oliver Cromwell. At the Restoration, he gathered a band of followers together, and rose in rebellion at Kaber Rigg, but he was taken prisoner, and tried as a traitor. It is stated that he was hanged within the grounds of Appleby Castle. There is a curious tradition respecting him still preserved in the neighbourhood, to the effect that, on the very morning of the execution, one of the King's officers arrived at Stainmore,

and that had been my great Enemy, was condemned to be hanged, Drawn and quartered as a Traitor to the King for having had a hand in the late Plott and Conspiracie so he was executed accordingly the first day of the Month following."

It is of interest to notice that this was the occasion when Appleby Castle was already full of guests, because the Countess Dowager of Thanet, with four of her children, Cecily, Mary, Anne Tufton, and John Tufton, with all their servants and company, had arrived on a visit, and were sent away from Appleby for four nights to Brougham, in order to make room for the Judges and for the various important persons from the neighbourhood whom Lady Anne was in the habit of entertaining at that time if they had any causes to come before the Assizes. She tells us that "by reason of the two Judges coming hither to keep the Assizes" the whole party went away into Brougham Castle "where they lay four nights during the time of the Assizes." When the Judges had left for Kendal, to go on to Lancaster, the party of guests returned to Appleby Castle.

Towards the end of her life, it seems probable that she was often confined to her own room, and unable to take as active a part in entertaining the Judges as in previous years she had been in the habit of doing. In 1672, she particularly states that the Judges "took their leave of me" at the close of the Assizes "in my owne chamber," and then went away towards Kendal en route, as usual, for Lancaster, the two who are mentioned at this time being Sir William Wild, a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and Sir Timothy Littleton, Baron of the Exchequer. Very carefully does she note on every occasion who are the Judges, and at times adds personal information of interest. For example, in 1660, she refers to the first appearance at the Assizes of Sir Thomas Twisden with Sir Robert Barnard. She says that this was the first time that this Sir Thomas Twisden was ever in Appleby Castle, "or in any part of mine inheritance, whose great Grandfather was that Sir Thomas Hennige that was Vice-chamberlaine to Queen Elizabeth, and in great favour with her the

and made inquiry concerning Captain Atkinson. Hearing he had been executed that morning, he replied, "I have his reprieve in my pocket." It is added that Atkinson's eldest son eventually entered into the employment of the Earl of Thanet, and that the widow and the children lived at Dale Foot, paying a very nominal rent for it, and that on this estate some of his descendants continue to this very day.

most part of her reign." "My ffather and mother" she adds, "loved that Vice-chamberlaine extreamly, and he them." It was evidently an occasion of considerable interest to Lady Anne to receive Sir Thomas Twisden as a Judge of the Assize. In the troublous times in 1659 there were soldiers lodged in her various castles. On the 21st day of August, in that year, the Assizes were held, but, for a wonder, the Judges arrived on a Sunday. She says, "This summer, by reason of the troubles now afoot in these Northerne Parts, though it were Sundaie, yet did the two Judges of Assize ffancis Thorp and John Parker; come to Appleby to keep the Assizes there," and then she adds that "notwithstanding these Judges now lay here, yet there was there a garrison of soldiers in the castle," referring to the old tradition that troops should never be quartered in the building in which the Judges are accommodated, and a little further down in the record of the same year, she speaks about the garrison of foot soldiers, who were put into Appleby Castle, into the great tower called Caesar's Tower, "which I lately repaired," but she says "after they had layne a while there, they went away and quitted it, and after they were gone, others came in their Roome, but stayed not long, as likewise into Brougham Castle for a while, both which Castles those Soldiers not long after quitted and went away." Skipton evidently had the same visitation, because in the same year she speaks about the repairs which had been executed in her castle of Skipton, and said that they had been for the most part well finished, even better than she had expected, but that she could not go and stay in the castle "partly by reason of the smell and unwholesomenesse of the new walles [*evidently the smell of the mortar and size*] and partly by reason of the Garrison of foote soldiers, which was put in there about the 4th of August, under the command of Ensigne Robert Farmer, for the secureing thereof, by reason of the troubles now in England." She records with much satisfaction in 1667 that at the conclusion of the Assizes, peace was proclaimed at Appleby "as elsewhere throughout the Kingdome which had bin concluded but the last month at Breda betweene our King, Charles the Second (by his Ambassadors Denzill Lord Hollis and Mr. Henry Coventrie) on the one part and the States of the United Provinces, and the two kings of ffrance and Denmarke on the other part, to the generall good of Christendome

and the joy and satisfaction of our King and all his good subjects, after there had bin hott warres betweene them by sea for almost three yeares last past."

The annual visit of the Judges for the Assizes appears to have been the occasion for the neighbouring gentry to have paid their respects to Lady Anne. On some occasions, they were concerned with trials that were taking place before them, but inasmuch as she particularly mentions when this was the case, it is clear that some of her friends made use of the festivities in connection with the Courts to come and see her and spend some time in her castle. Her cousins, Sir John Lowther and Sir Philip Musgrave, came often, and she also records the visit of the Earl of Carlisle, of different members of his family, and Lord Wharton, and of various persons connected with him. In 1673, she particularly records that her cousin Sir Philip Musgrave, although he came to see her and was in Appleby most part of the day, went home in the evening, and was not able to stay with her, while her other cousin, Sir John Lowther of Lowther "lay there most part of the time of these Assizes, as usual." One of the last entries in the diary, only a few months before her death, refers to the Assizes. In the last August which she spent in this world, Sir Richard Rainsford and Sir Timothy Littleton came as usual to hold the Assizes in the Moot Hall at Appleby. "They lay," the one of them she says, "in the Baron's chamber, the other one in the best Roome in Caesar's Tower." They held the Assizes in the Moot Hall, and afterwards they left for Kendal, and then on to Lancaster "where they likewise held the Assizes for that Countie and so ended their Circuit," and then, on the very same page of the diary, she records the death, in the November following, of her worthy cousin, Sir John Lowther, who died at Lowther Hall at the age of 73, "and was buried the 4th of the month following in the church there at Lowther, where many of his Ancestors lye interred, and by his death his Grandchild and heire, John Lowther, my Godson, came to be Baronett, who that 4th day as chiefe mourner attended the Corps to the church, where Dr. Smallwood, parson of Graystock, preached the funerall sermon, there being present at the whole solemnitie a great many of the gentry of this and the neighbouring counties, as also most of my cheife servants."

This, the last entry in the diary, immediately preceded the record entered by her secretary, of her own decease, and has a special interest, when one remembers how year after year, this worthy cousin of hers had come over to be her guest at the time of the Assizes, and had been referred to with great joy and much satisfaction in very many pages of these extraordinary volumes.

It has already been noted how deeply attached Lady Anne was to Sir John Lowther, but a document at Lowther Castle dated July 18th, 1668, gives us a still more striking example of her interest in him. She was evidently so anxious that he should always come to Appleby to stay with her at the time of the Assizes that she executed a formal deed, conveying over to him for his life the use of a room in the Castle during such time. She declared that he was to have the use of the chamber in the Castle, next adjoining to what was called the Great Chamber, the one commonly known by the name of the Green Chamber for himself to lie in, and that he was also to be entitled to use the little room next to it for his servants, whenever the Assizes or Sessions were held, and that this document was not only to run during her life, but during the whole term of her cousin's life. She prepared it in very formal terms, signed, sealed and endorsed it, and as we have seen, Sir John Lowther was her constant visitor on this occasion, and living to a considerable age passed away a very few months before his cousin, with whom he was on such close terms of friendship.

There is also preserved at Lowther an autograph letter from Lady Anne addressed to Sir John Lowther's wife, the lady who was responsible for the postscript to the letter I have quoted in Chapter XVI. It would appear that her son Ralph Lowther had been ill, and that she had written enquiring concerning his health, or had sent over her servant for that purpose, and then she writes 3rd October, 1671, in the following terms :—

Madam,—I have received your Ladyship's kind letter wherein you are pleased to afford me more thanks than my poor civilities may acquire towards your son Mr. Ralph Lowther, who in my judgment is very hopeful and may live to be a great comfort to you and your wise husband which that he may shall be the continued and hearty wishes of, Madam, Your Ladyship's affectionate cousin and humble servant.

It may be well to mention for reference the names of the other Judges who came to Appleby, and to whom Lady Anne makes but a casual reference.

They are as follows :—The Lord Chief Baron Steele (appointed 1655) and five Serjeants-at-Law, Erasmus Earle (Serj. 1648), Unton Crooke (Serj. 1654), Thomas Waller (Serj. 1659), Serjeant Ellis (whose Christian name is not given) (William Ellys Serj. 1659) and Sir Robert Bernard, Knight (Serj. 1660). Mr. Justice Parker, who came many times to Appleby, was, on his first visits, alluded to as Serjeant Parker, before his elevation to the Bench. In 1656, both the Judges were Serjeants, Earle and Crooke, but on all other occasions, if there was a Serjeant, he came as junior Judge with a senior who was a man of higher rank.

It was of course part of Lady Anne's duty as High Sheriff to return the writ of the election of the Member of Parliament, and she particularly refers to the fact that in 1660, Sir Henry Cholmeley and Mr. Christopher Clapham were returned as members for Appleby, "most part by my means," as she carefully says, and Sir Thomas Wharton and Sir John Lowther, also by her means, as representatives for the county of Westmoreland. Later on, she records the fact that John Lowther, Esq. and John Dalston, Esq. were returned as members for Appleby, and that, owing to the death of Mr. Lowther, her own grandson, the Honourable Thomas Tufton, in 1668 (see chapter XVI.) took his place. The writs for these elections, and for the succeeding ones down to 1676, were all signed by her, and so proud of the fact was she, that she had a careful list drawn out of the members for the borough, recording the fact that at three separate elections, she, as High Sheriff, signed the writ. This list was amplified by Thomas, Lord Thanet, her successor, and amongst the papers discovered at Skipton was a document, drawn out for Lord Thanet, based upon the one prepared by Lady Anne. The phraseology of this document is unusual, and as the names have considerable interest, we have given it in full in the appendix.

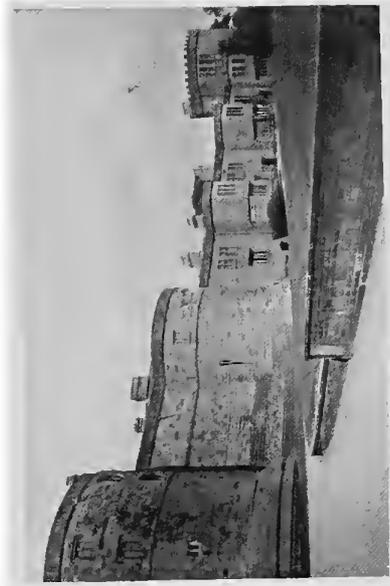
It was the custom for the claim to exercise the office of Sheriff to be made before every Sovereign as he succeeded to the throne, and in these formal claims long references are given to the exercise of the privilege during past generations. The deeds by which these claims were constituted were numerous, and many of them under

Great Seal are still preserved at Appleby Castle. After the time of the Stuart monarchs the practice fell into disuse, and one of the latest of these exemplifications was in use for nearly 150 years. It bears upon its reverse the signatures of the various Judges who came to Appleby during that long period, and was evidently presented for their signature whenever necessary. It is dated December 19th, 1681, is under the Great Seal of Charles II., and recites not only the original but all the later grants. The back of it is almost covered with signatures of Judges and high officials, coming down to 1740.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE TOMBS.

SOME of the tombs of those who are referred to in the preceding chapters are to be found in Skipton Parish Church, others are at St. Lawrence's Church, Appleby, while some have disappeared. The group of tombs at Skipton Parish Church is an important one, and the tombs themselves are extraordinarily fine. The original vault was intended only to receive the bodies of the first Earl of Cumberland and his second wife, but it actually contains also those of the Lady Eleanor Brandon; the second Earl; Francis, Lord Clifford, Lady Anne's baby brother; his father George, third Earl; Francis, fourth Earl; Henry, fifth Earl; and one more coffin, which Whitaker believed contained the remains of Lady Anne Dacre, mother of the fourth Earl. The great marble tomb which commemorates Henry, the first Earl and Margaret Percy his wife, and which stands above their remains, is a handsome monument, and has on its upper surface a fine series of brasses, all of which were presented by the late Duke of Devonshire, and are accurate copies of the original ones which were stolen in the civil wars, the inscriptions upon them having—fortunately—been copied by Dugdale in 1665. The epitaph, which is a lengthy one, commemorates the burial of Henry Clifford, first Earl of Cumberland, K.G., and states that he died in Skipton Castle the 22nd day of April, 1542. It also records the fact that, interred in the same vault, were the remains of his wife Margaret Percy, his eldest son Henry, second Earl, and his two wives, the Lady Eleanor Brandon, and Anne Dacres. It is a high tomb of Purbeck marble, richly panelled and ornamented with shields of arms, each within a Garter, and the very interesting brass, representing his son Henry, second Earl of Cumberland, and his wife, Anne Dacre, with their



SKIPTON CASTLE
(see page 415).



TOMB OF HENRY, 1st EARL OF CUMBERLAND,
AND OF MARGARET PERCY, HIS WIFE,
in Skipton Church (see page 404).



Lord Hobfield's MSS.
INSCRIPTIONS ON THE TOMB OF MARGARET,
COUNTESS OF CUMBERLAND
(see page 408).



PLATE ON TOMB BELOW.



CHAIR AT SKIPTON CASTLE,
with Arms of Dowager Countess of Cumberland,
Clifford, quartering Veteripont and impaling Dacres
(see page 22).



TOMB OF FRANCIS, LORD CLIFFORD, LADY ANNE'S BROTHER.
Skipton Church (see page 44).

children, three sons and four daughters, stands vertically upon the slab at the head of it.

The small altar tomb near to it is that of Francis Lord Clifford, the eldest son of George the third Earl, who died in infancy. It originally had an inscription, stating that he was an infant of "most rare towardness in all the appearance that might promise wisdom and magnanimity." Following this was a lengthy Latin inscription in eight lines. These plates, however, were stolen, and have been replaced by a smaller inscription, describing the fact that the little boy was the eldest son of George Clifford, third Earl, by his wife Margaret, and that he was born and died in Skipton Castle. His brother, who, with him, is commemorated in the great picture at Appleby Castle, and who, like him, died in infancy, lies buried in the vault at Chenies, with various members of his mother's family.

On the opposite side of the communion rails is the magnificent altar tomb of Lady Anne's father, a stately erection of black marble, which was at one time enclosed with iron rails and upon which is a long inscription. It states that in the tomb was buried George, the third Earl of Cumberland, K.G., "who by right of inheritance, from a long continued descent of ancestors, was Lord Veteripont, Baron Clifford, Westmoreland and Vescy, Lord of the Honour of Skipton in Craven, and Hereditary High Sheriff of Westmorland," and that he was the "last heir male of the Cliffords that rightfully enjoyed those ancient lands of inheritance in Westmorland and in Craven, with the Baronies and Honours appertaining to them." It goes on to state, with rather questionable taste on Lady Anne's part, that he left but one *legitimate* child behind him. It describes her, and adds that she, "in memory of her father, erected the monument in 1654." Furthermore, the inscription refers to the fact that Lord Cumberland was born at Brougham on the 8th of August, 1558, that he died penitently in the Duchy House by the Savoy on the 30th of October, 1605, and that he was buried on the 13th day of March following. It alludes again to his honours, states that he was "one of the noblest personages of England in his time," that he undertook "many sea voyages at his own charge for the good and honour of his country," and finally refers to his marriage, to his two sons who died young, to his daughter Anne, and to the death of his wife at Brougham

Castle in 1616, and to the fact that she lies buried in Appleby Church. Around the tomb is a superb series of coats of arms. The three principal ones, which were at the very head of the tomb, now stand vertically on a slab above it. Those three are surmounted by coronets and two of them are encircled by the Garter. The first is Clifford quartering Veteripont, and impaling quarterly Percy and Lucy, the second is Clifford quartering Veteripont, and having on the dexter the arms of Lady Eleanor Brandon, and on the sinister, the arms of Anne Dacre, the second wife, and the third is the coat of arms of Lord Cumberland himself, Clifford quartering Veteripont, and impaling Russell. The other coats of arms are as follows :—

1. Clifford and Veteripont impaling Berkeley.
2. Clifford and Veteripont impaling Neville (these two being at the end of the tomb).
3. Clifford and Veteripont impaling Beauchamp.
4. The same impaling Roos.
5. The same in a Garter, impaling Percy and Lucy.
6. The same impaling Dacre.
7. The same impaling Vescy.
8. The same impaling St. John (not quite accurately blazoned, as the bend is an error).

On the other side of the tomb are :—

9. Veteripont impaling Buly or Busley.¹
10. Veteripont impaling Ferrers.
11. Veteripont impaling Fitzjohn or Fitz-Peirs.
12. Veteripont impaling Clifford.
13. Veteripont and Clifford impaling Clare.
14. Veteripont quartering Clifford.

Whitaker says, with reference to this splendid series of arms, "I much doubt whether such an assemblage of noble bearings can be found on the tomb of any other Englishman."

It has been of peculiar interest to find amongst the records in the muniment room at Skipton Castle, two bills relative to this tomb "in memory of my noble ffather" Lady Anne employed a certain

¹ There is a ruined castle opposite to Crackenthorpe Hall which was originally the seat of this family and where Idonea de Builly lived. In later years it belonged to the See of Carlisle.

John Ellis, a stone cutter, of Skipton, on the 9th of October, 1654 to finish the tomb, and the bill states that the coats of arms in alabaster, seventeen in all, were to be fastened on to the tomb with cement, that the black marble was to be set up, and that the iron grating was to be painted in oil. For this the sum of £3 10s. od. was to be paid to Ellis. The other bill is dated the 29th of December, the same year, and in it, it is stated that Lady Anne brought to Skipton at her own cost the marble cover to the tomb, that Ellis was to cut polish, and glaze it, and put it into position, that he was to emblazon in proper colours all the coats of arms, and was to paint in oil the iron grating. For this work he was to have a sum of £20, and half of it was to be paid him when the work was half completed, and the remaining moiety on the entire completion of the work. It would not appear that the two bills superseded one another, since the first refers only to fixing the coats of arms, and to setting up the marble, although both of them relate to the painting of the iron grille. It was perhaps proposed to have the grille simply painted, and later on, it may have been decided that the iron-work should be decorated in a somewhat different fashion. Both bills, however, must have been in addition to the cost of the marble tomb itself and the black marble slab, and I have not at present been able to find out what expenses were incurred by Lady Anne for these. There are many accounts at the castle, paid by successive Earls of Thanet for keeping the tomb in order, and for cleaning it.

It should be mentioned that, although the burial of Lord Cumberland was stated on the tomb to have taken place on the 13th of March, it actually took place some time earlier, although no doubt the funeral ceremony was celebrated on the day mentioned on the tomb. Lord Cumberland died on the 29th of October, 1605. His body was embalmed, and, according to the parish register quoted by Whitaker, it was "honourably buried at Skipton on the 29th of December," but the funeral "was solemnised the 13th day of March next following." The discrepancy between the date, the 30th, on the tomb, and the 29th in the parish register is not very easy to explain, but probably the death occurred in the night, and some persons called it the 29th and others the 30th. There is an actual reference to the decease in a letter from Sir Edward Hoby to Sir Thomas Edmondson dated 19th

November, 1605. In it he says, " On Wednesday, the 30th of October, the Earl of Cumberland died, and it is said the body of the Council is in no way weakened thereby. His wife and he were reconciled before his death, and she is left a lady able to pleasure the communion of saints, having a jointure of 1200 a year, confirmed in the 39th of Elizabeth by Parliament."

Although Lord Cumberland is buried at Skipton, his wife's tomb is at Appleby, and a certain mystery attaches to the question of her remains. Lady Anne erected a very handsome monument to her mother's memory, a large tomb of alabaster, with a recumbent effigy of the Countess, which now stands on the north side of the chancel. The effigy is life-size, beautifully executed, and quite perfect; the figure being represented as clad in a gown and bodice fastened down the front with small buttons, a hood or cloak which is drawn over the head and confined by a coronet of brass, and a pleated ruff about the neck. At the foot is a small lamb, "sculptured out of a separate piece of marble." The inscription states that interred in that place is " THE BODY OF THE LADIE MARGARET COUNTESS DOWAGER OF CUMBERLAND, YOUNGEST CHILD TO FRANCIS RUSSELL, SECOND EARL OF BEDFORD," who lived the wife of the third Earl of Cumberland twenty-nine years, and " DIED HIS WIDOW AT BROUGHAM CASTLE, THE 23 OF MAY, 1616, TEN YEARS AND SEVEN MONTHS AFTER HIS DECEASE." It goes on to refer to her issue of two sons who died young, and one daughter, Lady Anne, and adds, respecting her, that she " IN MEMORIE OF HER RELIGIOUS MOTHER, ERECTED THIS MONUMENT ANNO DOMINI 1617." On the north side is this inscription:—

WHO, FAYTH, LOVE, MERCY, NOBLE CONSTANCIE,
TO GOD, TO VIRTVE, TO DISTRESS, TO RIGHT,
OBSERV'D, EXPRESS'T, SHOW'D, HELD RELIGIOVSLIE
HATH HERE THE MONVMENT THOV SEEST IN SIGHT.
THE COVER OF HER EARTHLY PART, BUT, PASSENGER,
KNOW, HEAVEN AND FAME CONTAYN THE BEST OF HER.

On the east end on a lozenge under a Countess's coronet is a coat of eight pieces.

This shield is surrounded by an Earl's coronet, and has for supporters a red wyvern and a red lion.

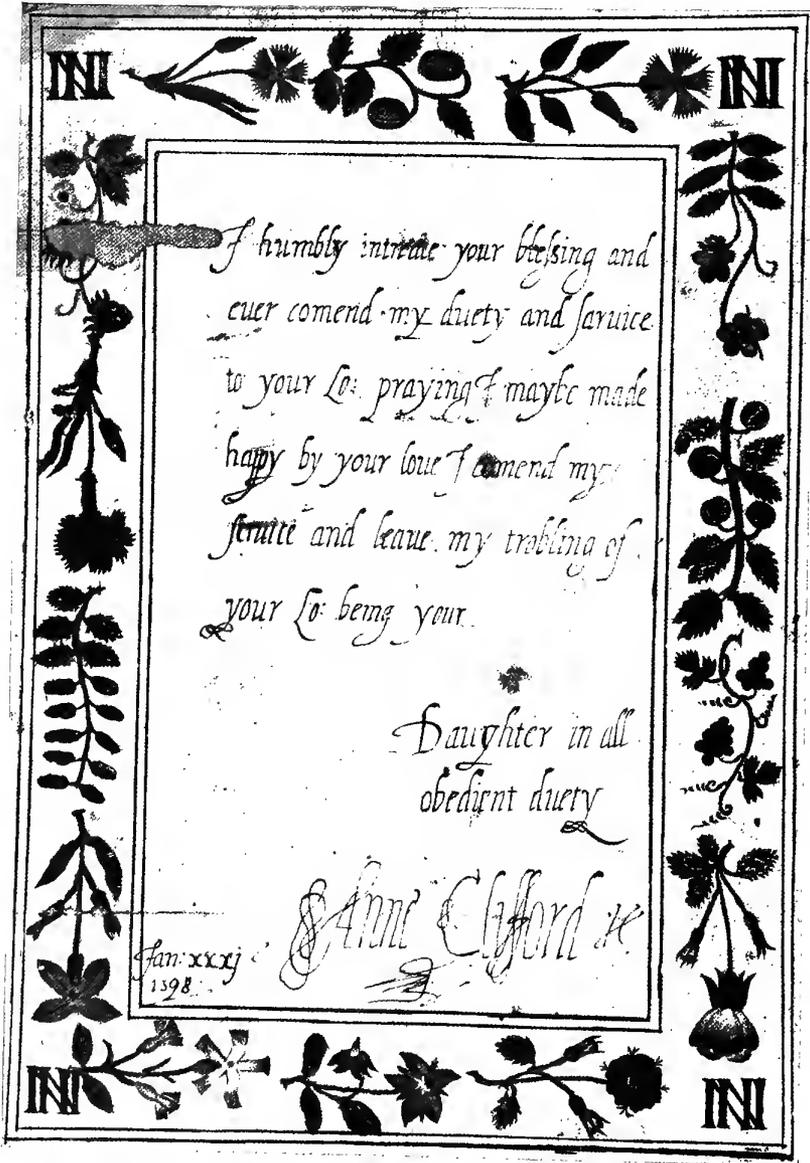


THE TOMB OF LADY CUMBERLAND
Appleby Church (see page 408).



THE TOMB OF LORD CUMBERLAND
Skipton Church (see page 405).

To face page 409.



LETTER FROM LADY ANNE CLIFFORD TO HER FATHER,
written when a girl of 8 years old, on January 31st, 1598,
the day succeeding her own birthday

At the east end there is in a lozenge quarterly of eight Russell and family quarterings.²

This altar tomb for a considerable number of years stood almost in front of the communion table (which originally stood east and west) in a position curiously inconvenient, and prominent; at the urgent request of the parishioners, it was, however, some thirty years ago, moved to its present position, affording a much easier access to the Communion rails.³ When the removal took place, it was found that the tomb was not over the remains at all, nor over any sort of vault, such as might have been expected. I quote from a letter written to me by the Rector of Appleby of that day, who had a great deal to do with it, and who is probably the only person now living who can speak definitely respecting the vault. He says that the tomb was "built upon a large stone slab, inscribed to the memory of a pre-Reformation Vicar." (Robertus B., probably Robert Baynes 1379). "This," he adds, "had cracked across with the weight of the tomb built over it, and had thus let the tomb down," and it was "cracking all to pieces for want of support." It should be mentioned that the very reason why the removal was carried out at this time was because the tomb was in such very bad order, cracking and breaking away in various directions, that important repairs were necessary, and the opportunity was thought to be a suitable one for the long desired removal to take place. When the tomb was removed, it was found that there was no vault or masonry or brickwork under it, "nothing but fine dry mould" underneath the slab upon which it had been erected, and although the utmost attention was paid to this mould,

² The quarterings are :—1 Russell ; 2 De la Tour ; 3 Muschamp ; 4 Herring or Herringham ; 5 Foxmere ; 6 Wyse ; 7 Sapcote ; 8 Semark ; at the west end, surmounted by an Earl's coronet with supporters, a griffin segreant and a lion rampant both *gules* is a coat of nine piece impaling another of the same number, the quarterings are thus :—1 Clifford ; 2 Clifford, the augmentation ; 3 Bromflete ; 4 Vesey ; 5 Flint or Fitzpiers ; 6 Veteripont ; 7 Aton incorrectly blazoned, as there should have been three bars *azure* instead of two *gules*, and the canton should have been *gules* with a cross *argent* instead of *sable* with a cross *or*. 8 St. John, also incorrectly blazoned as the annulets and mullets are wrongly arranged. 9 Clifford.

The impaled coat is the same as those on the lozenge save that the first quartering is repeated and the Foxmere coat is in error three crosslets instead of two.

³ The faculty for this removal was readily granted, as its position had always been considered very inconvenient, but its issue was strongly denounced by certain persons who were in a remote degree connected with Lady Cumberland, on the ground that it was exceedingly wrong for the tomb to be removed away from the remains. The place of actual interment so far as it is known is now marked by a stone and inscription.

nothing whatever could be found of any bones or remains. There had been "a tradition current in Appleby that Lady Cumberland was not buried in that place at all, and that the tomb was a cenotaph." This discovery tended to support the tradition as regards that position, but as it happens I do know for a certainty, from Lady Anne's diary, that the burial actually took place at Appleby, although of course it does not enter into exact details as to where in the church the corpse was deposited. Some day or other the corpse, "wrapped in lead" as Lady Anne says, may be discovered in quite another part of the Church!

I now come to the question of Lady Anne's own tomb, which she prepared and arranged for, in 1655, long before her decease. It is a handsome monument of unusual character, placed against the north wall of the chancel, and consisting of an altar tomb, covered with a plain slab of black marble, and a large upright slab also of black marble, standing upon the tomb and fixed to the wall. Upon this last mentioned slab is a complete series of coats of arms, chronicling the main descent of the Cliffords, twenty-four shields in all, emblazoned in colours, and having engraved in the marble above each of them the names of the husbands and wives whose arms are depicted, together with, in certain cases, information respecting the persons, but without any dates. The coat of arms are as follows:—

1. Veteripont impaling Buly, or Bewly or Busley, with an inscription stating that it was to this Robert de Veteripont, whose wife was Idonea de Builly, and to his heirs that King John gave first of all the lands in Westmoreland and the Sheriffwick of the County.
2. Veteripont impaling Ferris or Ferrers.
3. Veteripont impaling Fitz Peter or Fitz Peirs.
4. Clifford impaling Veteripont, commemorating the marriage of Roger de Clifford, fourth Lord of Westmoreland, with Isabella de Veteripont.
5. Clifford and Veteripont quarterly, impaling Clare.
6. Clifford and Veteripont quarterly, being the coat of Roger de Clifford, who died unmarried.
7. Clifford and Veteripont quarterly impaling Berkeley.
8. The same, impaling Neville.
9. The same, impaling Beauchamp.
10. The same, impaling Roos.
11. The same, impaling Percy and Lucy, for Elizabeth Percy.
12. The same, impaling Dacre.

13. The same, impaling Vescy.
14. The same, impaling St. John.
15. The same, impaling Percy for Lady Margaret Percy, the wife of the first Earl, and under an Earl's coronet.
16. The arms of Brandon, under an Earl's coronet.
17. Attached to the foregoing, Clifford and Veteripont quarterly, under an Earl's coronet.
18. The arms of Dacre, under an Earl's coronet for the second Earl's second wife, attached to No. 17.
These three shields are set in the centre, so as to give separate shields of arms to the two wives.
19. Clifford and Veteripont quarterly, impaling Russell for the third Earl of Cumberland.
20. Tufton impaling Sackville for John, Lord Tufton, Earl of Thanet, whose wife was Lady Margaret Sackville.
- 21, 22, and 23. Three shields under Earl's coronets fastened together in the same way as 16, 17 and 18, being the arms of Lady Anne herself, the central shield Clifford and Veteripont quarterly, the dexter Sackville, the sinister, Herbert.
- Finally 24. Compton impaling Sackville, being the arms of the Earl of Northampton, whose wife was Lady Anne's other daughter, Lady Isabella

The whole group of heraldic achievements represents the family from the time of King John, down to that of Lady Anne and her two daughters.

The inscription, which Lady Anne herself prepared, records the fact that she is there buried, refers to her father and mother, to her own birth, to her two marriages, to the two daughters whom she left behind, and then adds "WHICH LADY ANNE CLIFFORD, COUNTESS DOWAGER OF PEMBROKE, DORSET AND MONTGOMERY, DECEASED AT HER CASTLE OF BROUGHAM, THE 22 DAY OF MARCH IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1675, CHRISTIANLY, WILLINGLY, AND QUIETLY, HAVING BEFORE HER DEATH SEEN A PLENTIFUL ISSUE BY HER TWO DAUGHTERS, OF THIRTEEN GRANDCHILDREN, AND HER BODY LIES BURIED IN THIS VAULT."

To the correspondent before mentioned I am indebted for information respecting the body itself. He says in January, 1884, he had "to investigate whether the roof of the vault was strong enough to bear the weight of another monument which it was proposed to put over it." He went then "down into the vault, with the architect

and mason, to investigate." "We found," says he, "the corpse not interred nor in any coffin, but lying in a close-fitting leaden shroud, on a rough stone trestle or bench about three feet from the ground, immediately under the elaborate monument on the north wall of the church, which, it was always said, was erected in her lifetime." He adds that she must have been a tiny woman, as the lead case exactly fits the figure, and is very short, and in a further letter he states that the dimensions of the Countess's shroud were "just about 4 ft. 10 in." She must therefore have been a person of extraordinarily small stature.⁴ He made a very careful copy of the inscription on the plate attached to the shroud. This he gives, as follows :—

The body of ye most noble
 vertuos & religious Lady Anne
 COUNTESS DOWAGER of PEMBROKE
 Dorset & MONTGOMERY DAUGHTER AND
 sole HEIR to ye late RIGHT HONO^{ble}
 George Clifford Earl of CUMBERLAND
 BARONESS Clifford WESTMERLAND
 & VESCY Lady of ye honour of
 Skipton in CRAVEN & high
 SHERIFFESS by inheritance of ye
 county of WESTMERLAND who
 departed THIS life in HER Castle
 of BROUGHAM in ye COVNTY ye 22nd
 MARCH 1675 HAVIN ATTAINED ye
 age of 86 years THE 30th of JANUARY
 before ⁵

He is probably the only person now living who has seen the body, as he states that "both those who went down with him are dead," and the stone "which closes the vault is exceedingly difficult to remove."

It is interesting to possess this evidence of an eye-witness respecting the figure and burial-place of Lady Anne, and in connection with it,

⁴ Perhaps owing to the usual shrinkage of the cartilages in old age it might be stated that in the prime of her life she was about 5 feet high. She was 86 when she died.

⁵ Certain of the letters are conjoined in monogram fashion in the original.

it may be noted that Whitaker, who wrote the History of Craven, was able in similar fashion to obtain permission, on the 29th of March, 1803, to examine the interior of the Clifford vault at Skipton to which I have just referred. He describes the figure of Henry the first Earl as that of "a very short and a very stout man," and says that the coffin was corroded and that his long head with flaxen hair gathered in a knot could be seen. He speaks of the figure of Margaret Percy in the second coffin, as that of "a slender and diminutive woman," of Lady Eleanor Brandon, as "a tall and large-limbed woman." He says that Henry, the second Earl, was "a very tall and slender man," and that his figure was covered with "a thin envelope of lead, more resembling a winding sheet, and folded like coarse drapery over the limbs. He says that George, the third Earl of Cumberland, was in a lead coffin, "a body closely wrapped on folds of cere-cloth," and that "the face was so entire as to recall his portraits." The only two that were buried in coffins were Francis fourth Earl, and Henry, fifth Earl. There was evidently a family regulation concerning the burials in lead, because we read in Lady Anne's diary of her instructions that her mother's body was to be wrapped in lead, and the evidence of the then vicar of Appleby proves that the same arrangement was adopted with regard to her own body, and that in her case, as in that of some of her ancestors, no coffin whatever was used.

Lady Anne's first husband, as I have already mentioned, was buried in the Sackville chapel attached to Withyham Church. By his will, he directed that his body should be buried there, and added that a monument was to be erected there for him "and for my most deerlye beloved wyfe," as his executors Lord William Howard his uncle, and Sir George Rivers, his "very good friend" should think fit and convenient, and that "a thousand pounds, or thereabouts," should be spent upon this monument. It is stated that when the will was read, Lady Anne protested in forcible language against the bequest, giving utterance to a determination that she would never be buried in Withyham Church, and that there was no need for the executors to leave any space, either on the tomb or in the inscription, for her effigy or name, as she intended to be buried on her northern estates. It is said, however, that the tomb was carried out by the executors with the required space for her effigy and name, but, whatever it was,

it was destroyed at the time of the serious accident which took place when Withyham Church was struck by lightning, June 16th, 1663, and the fire which ensued melted the bells and destroyed all the early monuments of the Sackville family. In the same chapel of Withyham there was buried Lady Anne's daughter, Lady Thanet,⁶ who died in the same year as her mother, 1676, and also the heart of the latter's sister Isabella, Countess of Northampton, Lady Northampton's body being buried amongst the Compton family tombs near to Castle Ashby. It seems curious why Lady Thanet should have been buried with her father instead of at Rainham, where her husband's ancestors all lie, but possibly she had expressed a wish not to be buried with the Tuftons, and preferred to rest near to her father, unless there was a possibility of the body being taken away to the north and buried near to that of her dearly beloved mother.

The Sackville Chapel is worthy of note, and contains many important tombs of members of that family, but the details about the burials of several of them are unknown, because the registers do not commence until 1672, all the earlier ones having been destroyed in 1663, on the occasion of the destructive fire.

Lady Anne's second husband, Lord Pembroke, lies with his ancestors in Salisbury Cathedral.

⁶ She bequeathed money for the benefit of the poor of Withyham, founding the apprentices' charity which still does excellent work in the parish. She also built almshouses near by, at Holtze in 1691, for seven persons.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SKIPTON CASTLE.

LADY Anne's favourite residence appears to have been Appleby Castle, and that still continues to be the principal seat of those who represent her direct successors. She spent, however, considerable time at Skipton, and always had a great fondness for this house, as it was her birthplace. The other four castles which she restored, and where also she frequently resided, Brougham, Brough, Barden Tower, and Pendragon, are now in a state of ruin, but will be dealt with in another chapter. Skipton Castle still remains in use as a residence, and there are few more dignified or imposing buildings in England. Its history is long and interesting, indeed the building tells its own story of the way in which successive members of the great Clifford family have altered, enlarged and embellished it. The situation is extraordinary. It stands on the summit of a high rock, and the fall from its windows down to the river at the foot exceeds two hundred feet, while the rock on that side is so steep that the building must have been inaccessible and almost impregnable from that particular point of view. Doubtless, the original builder was a Norman, but beyond a triple semi-circular arch, there is little remaining in the present building which can be attributed to that period. The seven great round towers which form its imposing feature, and which, in their dignity, are almost unparalleled in England, are Edwardian, and were probably erected by Robert, the first Lord of the Honour of Skipton, one of the greatest Barons of his age. To him Lady Anne refers in her record as having been the "chiefe builder of the most stronge parts" of Skipton Castle. The domestic dwelling which grew up inside the mediaeval fortress is very largely fifteenth century work, but its most notable feature, The Conduit Court, bears evident marks of sixteenth century alteration, and the present beautiful interior may fairly be attributed to Henry, the Shepherd

Lord. One would have naturally supposed that the heraldic achievements in this Conduit Court would have enabled us to speak definitely on this point, but it is not so, and the coat of arms for which one would have naturally looked, that of Henry Clifford impaling the arms of his wife, a St. John of Bletso, does not appear, the two principal shields being those of Henry, Lord Clifford's father, and of his mother.¹ The architectural evidence being, however, against the attribution of the work to the ninth Lord, one is led to believe that Henry the tenth Lord, deeply attached to the memory both of his father and his mother, inserted in the work which is attributed to him, their heraldic achievements. The part of the castle which contains the beautiful Conduit Court is not now in use, but it is kept in excellent order, and the building itself is so fine that it forms one of the chief attractions to the neighbourhood, while one room in it is annually used for a festive gathering of the tenantry. Although it is several generations since any of the owners of the Clifford estate made their permanent dwelling-place in Skipton, yet a great part of the Castle has been kept as a residence for some considerable time, and is still so used, and to this fortunate circumstance, and to the fact that the present and the last owners of the Clifford estates have taken great

¹ These two shields are unusually interesting from a heraldic point of view. That of the father, John Lord Clifford, is quarterly :—

1. The ordinary Clifford coat, checky *or* and *azure*, a fess *gules*.
2. The augmentation granted to the Clifford family, at a time or occasion not definitely known, and usually described as "three chain shots."
3. *Vert*, three flint stones, *argent*, says Whitaker, borne by the family of Flint. He tells us he obtains the information from Gwillim, but why it is quartered in the Clifford coat, neither Whitaker, nor Gwillim states.

The declaration is constantly made in books of reference that this is the Flint quartering, but no one has explained why it appears in the Clifford coat of arms, and I suggest that Gwillim, and Whitaker who followed him, have gone wrong, and that the arms are really the three stones which form part of the heraldic achievement of the family of Fitz Piers, and not those of the Flint family at all. There is not the least evidence of any intermarriage with the Flints, but in Henry III's time, Robert de Veteripont married Isabella Fitz Piers, and hence it would be quite natural for her arms to appear in the family achievement. They are usually given as Quarterly, *or* and *gules* a bordure *vair*, but those are the arms usually attributed to the family of Fitz Peter or Fitz Geoffrey, and Isabella's father was called Fitz Piers, Fitz Peter and Fitz Geoffrey, in different places. The fourth quarter is the annulets of the Veteriponts, *gules* six annulets *or*.

The mother's shield is also quarterly :—

1. *Sable*, a bend fleur de lisé, *or* (for Bromflete).
2. *or*, a cross *sable* (for Vescey).
3. Barry of six *or* and *azure* on a canton *gules*, a cross patonce *or* (for Atton or Aton) and
4. *Argent* on a chief indented, *gules*, an annulet between two mullets *or* (for St. John).



LEAD WORK OF 1686 AT SKIPTON CASTLE.



ENTRANCE TO SKIPTON CASTLE.

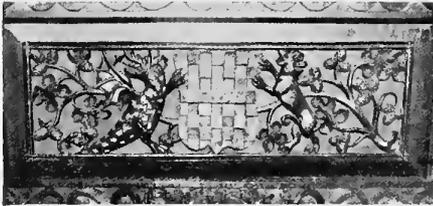


ANCIENT KITCHEN AT SKIPTON CASTLE.



OLD LEAD TANK AT SKIPTON CASTLE.

(see pages 415—422).



TWO CARVED PANELS AT SKIPTON CASTLE
(see page 417).



ENTRANCE TO THE CONDUIT COURT
AT SKIPTON CASTLE
(see page 416).



CARVED STONES IN THE GREAT COURTYARD AT SKIPTON CASTLE
(see page 416).

interest in this historic dwelling, we owe the fact that it is very well cared for, and that it forms such an attractive range of buildings. There are few better examples of Tudor work than the court-yard in the centre of the now disused portion of the building. It has, however, lost one of its special characteristics, for Skipton Castle always laboured under the disadvantage of having no well or direct supply of water, and there is little doubt that the Conduit Court derived its name from the fact that in the centre of it stood the great stone basin from which the inhabitants of the castle drew their water, brought into the quadrangle by pipes from a spring three-quarters of a mile away. From that great octagonal basin there now grows a fine yew-tree, the planting of which is attributed to Lady Anne herself. Fortunately, a certain amount of the stonework still remains, and there is even a pipe conveying a little water close at hand, but it seems to be a pity, that the basin which was the lower part of a notable conduit fountain should have been treated as a mere position in which to plant a tree. Each successive generation of the Cliffords appears to have enlarged Skipton Castle. Henry, the eleventh Lord, the first Earl, made many alterations round about this Conduit Court, and his date 1537 appears upon it. He it was who was responsible for building the great gallery and tower, extending from the mediaeval castle, and intended for the accommodation of the Royal wife whom his son had married. It is in this Tudor wing that the residential part of the castle is now situate, and a great deal of it bears the evidence of Lady Anne's work in restoration and repair. It is probable that serious injury was done to the entire building at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace, because we know that considerable enlargement of the building, and some repairs to it, took place immediately after that had been subdued. The earliest Tudor work *in situ* consists of two important panels of arms which have been inserted in the outer and inner entrance doors, one of them being the Royal arms with the supporters of Henry VII., the Dragon and the Greyhound,² and the other a piece of carving of the same date and period, representing the shield of the Cliffords,

² It is a striking example of the persistence of tradition in England that this greyhound of Henry VII. which he derived from his mother Margaret Beaufort, still holds high position on the hilt of the sword carried by the Royal Pages, although it has disappeared from other Royal state apparel.

with its supporters. It is probable that some of the panelling surrounding these two carved groups is also early Tudor work, and it seems likely that the two doors in question were made up from some of the original wainscotting from the gallery of the castle, now cut up into various rooms, but which was very much in its original condition about a hundred years ago when Whitaker examined it, when he refers to the splendid wainscotting adorning its principal wall. Even if this was the case, this wainscotting must have been brought from an earlier part of the building to the gallery, because the wing of the castle which now constitutes the residential part belongs to the period of Henry VIII. and was built, as just mentioned, by Henry the eleventh Lord, for the reception of the Royal bride of his son, who afterwards succeeded him as twelfth Lord, and who became second Earl of Cumberland.

To come to the alterations and repairs that were made to the building by Lady Anne. She was born, as we know, at Skipton, but left it when a few weeks old, and she did not return until 1607, when, having been up to Appleby to consult her mother concerning the progress of the lawsuit, she and her mother came from Appleby towards London, passing through Craven on the 12th of October. They would then have gone into the Castle of Skipton to have seen it, but, as she says "were not permitted so to do, the doors thereof being shut against us by my Unckle of Cumberland's Officers, in an uncivill and disdaygneful manner." Thus it was not until she came into her inheritance that she was able to pay another visit to Skipton. Then, on the 11th of July, 1649, she left London, journeyed to North Hall, where she had formerly lived, and so by easy journeys came on to Skipton, reaching it on the 18th of that month, and came, says she, "into my Castle there (It being the first time of my comeing into it after the pulling down of most of the old castle) which was done some six Monthes before by Order of parliament, because it had bene a Garrison ³ in the late Civill Warres, and I was never," she adds, "till now in anie part of that Castle, since I was nine or tenne weekes ould."

³ She calls it "a garrison," but, as already mentioned in a previous chapter, it had been even more than that, because it had sustained some kind of partial siege under Sir John Mallory, against the Parliamentary forces, which had lasted for about three years, and there was every reason for its having been injured in this blockade, and also for the desire when the siege was ended, to dismantle it in some fashion, so that it could not be a source of danger again.

The dismantling, however, cannot have been as complete as her words would lead us to imagine. It was doubtless sufficient to prevent the house being used as a fortress, and perhaps to such an extent that it was impossible to use it even as a dwelling, but the great walls of the Edwardian structure must have been left almost intact, as they show little signs of addition, and the fifteenth and sixteenth century work must also have been in sound condition, for Lady Anne was not given to restoring the work of a previous generation, but added on the work of her own period, and therefore, in almost every case, her additions or alterations can be clearly determined. It would not have been an easy task to have injured the original structure in serious fashion, because the walls are of enormous thickness. In one particular case, where the wing of Henry VIII's time has been added on to the ancient fortress, a wall of the thickness of over eleven feet has had to be cut. Still, no doubt, there was serious damage, and it is probable that the stone-work had simply been smashed down to a certain marked point, in order to render the building useless, and left as it was, nothing being cleared away, for in 1655, when Lady Anne moved from Appleby to Skipton, and was able to reside in a few rooms of the Castle, she says she began to make the rubbish to be carried out of the old Castle of Skipton " which had layne in it since it was throwne downe and demolished in December 1648 and the January following." Whitaker states that, in his opinion, Lady Anne never forgave the man who bought the timber from the roof of Skipton Castle when the place was dismantled, because he knew of a letter addressed to Thomas Earl of Thanet, April 6th, 1711, in which, speaking about a certain Mr. William Watson, the writer stated that Lady Pembroke was exceedingly angry with his father, because he had bought timber of a person named Curror, who had been Governor of Skipton Castle when the place was spoiled, and had carried it away from the castle to his own house in Silsden Moor. She had in consequence instructed Mr. Sedgwick to make certain harsh arrangements concerning this man's rental, which continued in force for some time. At the same time it is evident that serious damage was done to the church, since in that very summer, she speaks about the rebuilding which she is carrying out to the church adjacent to the castle, and the tomb which she is proposing to erect and set up in it to the memory of her father,

The work of restoration was put in hand in more serious fashion in 1657. She removed on the 14th of April from Appleby to Skipton, resting on the way at Kirkby Lonsdale, and on the 25th or 26th of the month, did "Gabriel Vincent, now Steward of my howse and Gentleman of my Horse (by my directions) set the Masons and Carpenters on Worke in the further repaying of Skipton Castle, which hee performed soe thatt the Michellmas followinge (or but a few dayes after) there were Thirteene Roomes finished: seven whereof were upper Roomes (in one of which I was borne and my Unckle of Cumberland dyed) and the rest Lower Roomes. Also a little Closett built on the North wall, the Coyneing house now repayred and slated, and the Conduit Court cleansed of all the Rubbish that was throwne in att the Demollishing of the Castle, which Roomes were all Covered over with slate about Michellmas also, with Gutters of Leade about the Roomes thatt are Covered with slate, ffor I was not permitted to cover it with Leade."⁴ Still, however, the place was not suitable for a residence, or at least for entertaining guests in the manner in which Lady Anne desired to receive her family, because in 1649 she tells us that in the summer, though she found the castle for the most part finished, and "better than she expected" it would have been, yet she could not live in it, "partly by reason of the smell and unwholesomeness of the new walles," and partly by reason of the fact that there was still a garrison of foot soldiers in the castle, which the jealousy of the governing powers thought fit to continue, although the wars were over, and there was profound peace. In 1663, however, the work appears to have been completed, because with her grandchild Mr. Tufton and her whole family, she removed on the 6th of May in that year from Barden Tower, and came the nearest way to Skipton "into the New repayred old buildings there, to lie now for a time in the Chamber wherein myself was borne, for though thatt and the chiefe parts of the castle were pulled down by command of Cromwell in 1648, yet did I cause it to be rebuilt as it now is in the yeres 1657, 58 and 59." It was evidently a joy to her to find the building now suitable for residence, and to make her abode in comfort in the rooms about which she had heard for so many years, for, after referring to

⁴ This, of course, was to prevent the mounting of cannon.

her earlier visit to the castle with her mother, when she was not allowed to enter, she says, "It is to be accounted a great and wonderful Providence of God that now, in the 63 years of my age, I should lie againe in that Chamber wherein I was borne into the world."

Probably the last occasion on which she resided at Skipton was in 1666. She had been at Pendragon, and on the 8th of August she came, "safe and well" says she "into my said Castle of Skipton in Craven, and so into my own Chamber in it wherein I was borne into the world." There she continued to reside for five months, and then she removed to Barden, and, as far as we know from her diary, does not appear to have ever returned to Skipton.

She was very proud of the restoration she had carried out and insisted that her granddaughter, Lady Alethea Compton, on her visit to the North, should rest for a while, in order to see Barden, and inspect the work of restoration at Skipton, and as we have already seen, she entertained from time to time many members of her family in Skipton, and rejoiced at being able to do so. As usual, she marked in definite fashion the work that she carried out in the Castle, and much of the beautiful lead work which she supplied, is still *in situ*. Heads of rain water pipes, dated 1659, and bearing her arms and initials upon them, and supports and fastenings for the pipes, adorned with the arms of the Veteriponts or the Cliffords, or with her own crest on them, abound, while another of the smaller but interesting pieces of lead-work is in the garden adjacent to the house, a delightful lead cistern, which bears upon it her own coronet between the arms of Clifford and of Veteripont.

She put up over the entrance door to the older part of the Castle the usual great stone, announcing the fact that she had restored the building in 1657 and 1658,

"AFTER THIS MAINE PART OF ITT HAD LAYNE RUINOUS EVER SINCE DECEMBER, 1648 AND THE JANUARY FOLLOWINGE WHEN ITT WAS THEN PULLED DOWNE AND DEMOLISHT, ALMOST TO THE FOUNDA'CON, BY THE COMMAND OF THE PARLIAMENT THEN SITTING AT WESTMINISTER, BECAUSE ITT HAD BIN A GARRISON IN THE THEN CIVILL WARRES IN ENGLAND," and she adds to this inscription the usual reference to the 58th Chapter of Isaiah and the 12th verse, and her expression of thankfulness in the words "God's name be praised."

In this particular instance, however, it does seem probable that, rather to magnify her own achievement in restoring the work, she, as Whitaker says, expressed herself too strongly with respect to the total demolition even of this part of the castle, for it is inconceivable that the work could have been pulled down to the foundation, although doubtless the destruction of some part of the building must have been serious.

Moreover, the most important part of Lady Anne's work consists in the central part of the entrance Gate House, which she restored, and on the parapet extending round it she put the following inscription:—

GEORGII . MERITVM . MARM . PERENNIVS .
 REGALIQVE . SITV . PYRAMIDVM . ALTIVS . QVOD . NON . IMBER . EDAX .
 NON . AQVILO . IMPOTENS . POSSIT . DIRVERE .
 AVT . INNVMERABILIS . ANNORVM . SERIES . ET . FUGA . TEMPORVM .

This is a very free adaptation of the words of Horace in the last ode of the third book and intended to read as praise of George, third Earl, her father

And now 'tis done : more durable than brass
 My monument shall be, and raise its head
 O'er royal pyramids : it shall not dread
 Corroding rain or angry Boreas,
 Nor the long lapse of immemorial time,
 I shall not wholly die : *Conington.*

The pierced battlement above bears the ancient motto of the family DESORMAIS (Henceforth or Hereafter—Enduring through futurity). There was something very dignified and noble in thus completing her work of restoration and commending its permanence as that which even time could not destroy.

CHAPTER XXVII.

HER FIVE GREAT CASTLES OF APPLEBY, BROUGH, BROUGHAM, PENDRAGON AND BARDEN TOWER.

APPLEBY CASTLE.

I HAVE already referred at some length to the history of Skipton Castle, for Lady Anne always regarded that as her chief place of residence, and had an especial fondness for it, as it was the place where she was born. With the other five castles to which she gave considerable attention, and in which in turn she resided, I need not deal so fully, but it will be well to notice each separately, to narrate what is known of its history, and to refer to the repairs she carried out on its buildings. At the outset, it should be said that I am indebted for much of the information contained in this chapter to the book entitled "Castles and Fortified Towers," written by Mr. John F. Curwen, the eminent north-country architect, and published by him in 1913, and that he has been good enough, both in writing and in conversation, to give me full facilities for quoting from his book, as well as to supplement the information therein contained.

I deal first of all, with Appleby, which is the only one of the five now in habitable condition, the other four, Brougham, Brough, Barden Tower and Pendragon being in ruins. It is considered that the history of Appleby commences in 1174, when it is stated that there was a keep which was besieged by William the Lion, of Scotland. In 1200, early in the reign of King John, the Sheriffs of Westmoreland in their accounts mention the repair of Appleby Castle, and also refer by name to the person who inspected and approved of such repairs being carried out. The Castle formed a very important, perhaps the most important part, of the grant by King John to Robert de Veteripont, "in consideration," says the deed, "of the singular

good service done by him to that King and kingdom." This grant of 1203 handed over the estate to the Veteriponts, and it is of interest to remember that it even now remains in the hands of those who are lineally descended from Robert de Veteripont, the founder of the family. The town of Appleby was burned by the Scots in 1314, and no doubt the castle was considerably injured at that time. We know that it was repaired in 1383, because Mr. Curwen found an Appointment of the sheriffs of Cumberland and Westmoreland to take stonecutters, masons and other labourers for the repairs of certain castles of which this was one, "close to the boundaries of Scotland," regarded as being useful "as a refuge for the King's subjects." Five years after that date, the Castle was again besieged by the Scots.

In the next century, the records preserved by Lady Anne mention that about 1422 or rather before, John, Lord Clifford built on to the castle "a strong and fine artificial gatehouse, all arched with stone, and decorated with the arms of the Veteriponts, Cliffords and Percys." In 1454, a great part of the castle must have been entirely rebuilt. This was the work of Thomas de Clifford, the eighth Lord, the one who married Joan, daughter of Thomas, Lord Dacre. He is declared, in Lady Anne's records, to have been the builder of the "chiefest part of the Castle towards the east," and she goes on to say that the whole of "the chapel and the great chamber were then fallen into great decay." The chapel windows were filled with family achievements, and these were still in existence in 1590, because, in an important MS. which I have seen in Herald's College, Dugdale has described with some care the arms in the panels of the window, nine in number, and says that they represented Clifford impaling Dacres, Clifford impaling Veteripont, the same impaling a coat unknown to him, Clifford alone, Clifford impaling Bromflete, the same impaling Dacre, Veteripont alone, and Clifford impaling Percy, while between these two sets of eight coats, he described a central one, having upon it the arms of St. George. Lady Anne's reference informs us that the window had an inscription upon it, saying "This chapel was built by Thomas, Lord Clifford, in Anno Domini one thousand four hundred and fifty-four." Mr. Curwen points out that portions of the fifteenth century building still remain in what is known as the modern part of the castle, but there is no

evidence to show where the chapel stood, nor any trace of such a building remaining, and what is still more strange, nobody has been able to discover any trace of the stained glass in the window, or of the coats of arms which Dugdale saw and described. It might have reasonably been expected that these coats of arms would have been transferred to some other window, when any alterations to that part of the building were made, but I have not been able to discover any fifteenth century glass in or anywhere about Appleby, which could be identified with the missing window. It is of course possible that, owing to some accident, the whole thing was shattered, but, as a rule, something is still preserved of an important window such as this must have been. Dugdale seems to have gone to Appleby for the express purpose of examining three things, the shields on Lady Anne's tomb, those which adorn the exterior of the houses constituting her almshouse, and those in this window in the great chapel.

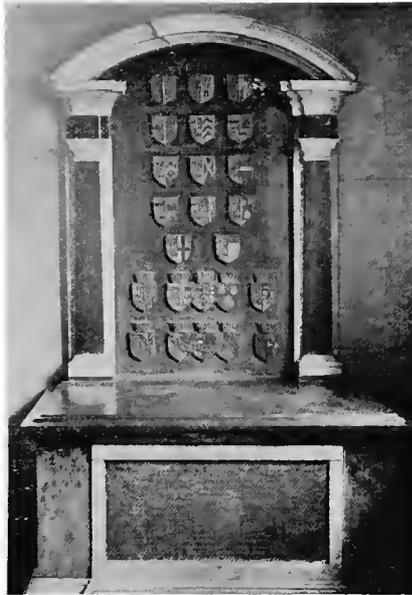
In 1539, Leleham says that Appleby was then but a poor village, having a ruined castle "wherein prisoners be kept." Thirty years after that, Lady Anne in her records mentions that the roofs of the castle were pulled down, during the rebellion of the Rising of the North, leaving "no one chamber habitable."

In 1641, Henry, Lord Clifford fortified the castle for the King, according to the records, "putting in as great a number of soldiers in it as it could contain, and gave the government of it to Sir Philip Musgrave who held it out till after the battle of Marston Moor." The Scottish Covenanters were in Appleby in May, 1645, under the command of General Alexander Leslie. In the same year the castle was occupied by the Royalists, but three years afterwards, on the 16th of October, 1648, it surrendered to the Parliamentary forces under General Ashton, and was then dismantled. About a month later the Calendar of State Papers (Domestic series) records the fact that the Committee of both Houses of Parliament wrote down to the Committee at Westmoreland, desiring them to take care that when the forces were disbanded, no harm was done to Appleby Castle or to the goods therein, but, at the same time, they were to see that the castle was not surprised nor taken possession of, by the enemy.

I now come to Lady Anne's time. In 1651 she started the repairs of the castle, making it as habitable, she says, as she could.

She laid the foundation stone of the middle wall of the great separate detached keep which she calls "Caesar's Tower," in order that the rooms it contained might be used, and in 1653, she records that the tower was covered with lead. "It had lain open" says she, "and uncovered, as a ruinous place, ever since the yeare of the Lord one thousand five hundred Sixtie and Nine (beinge the yeare before my grandfather of Cumberland dyed) till this Time." She refers to commencing the rebuilding, and some time later says that it is now finished. In addition to this, in the same year, she goes on, "My newe stables begunne to be built, without the Castle, and adjoyninge to the Barne built there about two yeares since, by my directions, where there never was any Building before." Her repairs must have been of an even more important character than she actually specifies, because she came into residence in 1662, and was very frequently residing at Appleby from that time down to the period of her death, and inasmuch as she entertained largely at this place, and speaks of the various rooms occupied by her own relatives and the members of their suites, especially referring to the Baron's Chamber (a room in the castle which still preserves its original name), she must have laid out a considerable sum of money upon it, and have made the place thoroughly comfortable.¹ She also built a beehouse which still bears her name. In 1655, she gave attention to the church, causing a great part of Appleby Church to be taken down, "it being very ruinous, and in great danger of fallinge of itselfe," and then it was that she caused the vault to be made in the north-east corner of the church "for myselfe to be buried in, if it pleaseth God," and adds that the repairing of the said church "cost me about some six or seven hundred poundes, being finished the yeare followinge." In this same year, she repaired the wall, "This summer by my appointment," says she, "was the wall of the little parcke at Appleby made new and higher rounde about save onely towards the waterside." These are the only allusions that she makes to the repairs of this place, and then, as I have said, in 1662, she came definitely into residence, with her family. After her decease, the house was almost entirely rebuilt with stones brought from Brougham by Thomas, Earl of Thanet, and

¹ At Appleby is an oak chair which she is said to have used. Some part of the carving upon it, however, is later than her time. Her fine bronze mortar is also preserved in the castle.



Gray—Photo.

LADY ANNE'S TOMB IN APPLEBY
CHURCH (see page 410).



Gray—Photo.

APPLEBY CASTLE
(see page 426).



Gray—Photo.

CÆSAR'S TOWER, APPLEBY CASTLE
(see page 426).



Williamson—Photo.

LADY ANNE'S MORTAR,
Appleby Castle.



Williamson—Photo.

LADY ANNE'S CHAIR,
Appleby Castle.



Gray—Photo.

LADY ANNE'S BEE HOUSE,
Appleby Castle (see page 426).

then in 1695, other similar work was carried on at the place by the same nobleman, but in this instance, he used Brough as the quarry whence he obtained the stonework.

Mr. Curwen quotes a long extract from Hutchinson's Excursion in 1776, which relates to the condition of the castle at that time, and refers to its position. This position is remarkable. It must be mentioned in passing that the position of the four castles, Brougham, Brough, Appleby and Pendragon, is very similar, they all of them stand on stout, strong bluffs or cliffs, which are as a rule precipitous on one side down to the river, which curves about them, and they appear each of them to have consisted of a rectangular keep, more or less apart from the other buildings, which formed the castle proper. In the case of Appleby, it is the river Eden which curves round on the north and east sides, forming a defence which, in earlier times, would have been almost impregnable. The castle also possessed at least three moats, and with its buildings, covered nearly two acres. The separate rectangular keep has walls which are six and a half feet thick, and it rises to a height of eighty feet. The oldest part of the castle now used as a habitation is the wing in which is situate the room known for over two hundred years, as the Baron's Chamber. In the large entrance hall hangs the great picture of Lady Anne, her father and mother, which is the subject of a separate chapter (see Chapter XIX). Near it stands the armour,² and on the walls of the hall and adjacent rooms, there are several portraits of Lady Anne, and of those who followed her in successive ownership.³ Many of the documents to which I have made reference are preserved in the muniment room in Caesar's Tower, and in the various rooms and passages in the Castle, notably upon the Grand Staircase.

BROUGH CASTLE.

Not very far from Appleby stands the ancient castle of Brough, more accurately known as Brough-under-Stainmoor. Its history is on similar lines to that of Appleby. It was besieged by William the Lion in 1174. It was repaired in 1200, and was granted in 1203 by King John to Robert de Veteripont. It was soon allowed to go into

² See appendix.

³ See Chapter on Portraits, XX.

a state of disrepair, because about 1245, during the minority of Robert the son of John de Veteripont, there is a statement to the effect that the tower of Brough was "much decayed, that the joists are rotten, and most part of the house is brought to nought." It was, however, repaired by 1300, for we hear of Edward I. being entertained in the place. A few years afterwards, the Scots attacked the town of Brough and burnt it, doing considerable injury to the castle. It was again rebuilt, and in about 1380 there is a special reference to an important hall erected by the third Lord, Roger de Clifford. In 1521 it was unfortunately burnt down, Lady Anne's records saying that the matter was from "a casual mischance," and going on to state that "all the timber and lead was utterly consumed," that nothing was left "but the bare walls," and it then went to waste, becoming more and more an "utter ruin." Her first appearance on the scene was in 1649, when she says "I went into my decayed castle of Brough." In 1649, she commenced the restoration. "This April," says she, "after I had first bin there my selfe to direct the Building of it, did I cause my old decayed Castle of Brough to be repaired, and also the old Tower, called the Roman Tower in the sayd Castle, and a Court house, for keeping of my Courtes in, with some twelve or fourteen rooms to be built in it, upon the old foundation." The work was going on in the following year, for she writes, "In Aprill and May this yeare did the Masons begin to build up againe and repaire again my Castle of Brough in Westmorland, a good part whereof had bin repaired the last Summer, and the Remainder thereof now this Summer, being taken in hand after it had layne Ruinous ever since the year 1521 that it was burnt down in Henrie Lord Clifford's time, about two yeares and a little more before his death This Brough Castle and the Roman tower in it, was soe well repaired by mee that the 16th of September in the next yeare I lay there for three nightes together, which none of my Auncestors had done in a hundred and forty yeares before till nowe." Not content with repairs to the castle itself, and with the erection of the courthouse, she carried out some work to the mill, which belonged to the castle, "In 1661, about the 21st day of May," she says, "was the old decayed Mill at Brough pull'd downe and is to be newbuilt up againe by my directions, which was done so well and in so good a manner that I was in it my

selfe and lycked it very well, on the 16th day of September following, when I went to lye in Brough Castle." When Lady Thanet and her attendants left her, on their way back from Appleby to London, she told them to go and look at Brough, to see what she had been doing, and she says that they went into "my castle at Brough to see the New buildings there, which was the first time," she adds "that any of my posteritie came into that Castle since it was lately repaired by mee." In 1662, she built a kitchen, a bakehouse and brewhouse on the north side, and a stable on the south side, in the court of the castle, and then at last she was able to take up her residence in the place, and so she writes that she removed from Appleby Castle into Brough, "where I now lay for three nights together, one night in the highest room in that half-round tower called Clifford's Tower, and for two other nights in the second room of the great Tower called Roman Tower," "both which towers and Castle then were newly repaired by mee to my exceeding great Cost and charges, after they had layne desolate ever since the Timber thereof was casually burnt in the year 1521." She adds that none of her ancestors had lain in Brough until she was able to be there herself, and that she had not been able to reside in the house since she had come into the property until then. She once kept Christmas in Brough and was very proud of doing so. It was in 1665, and none of her ancestors had kept Christmas there since 1521.

It was curious that the same enemy should a second time attack this castle. Fire had destroyed it in 1521, and fire injured it again in 1666. "The 2nd day of Januarie," Lady Anne records, "about 6 or 7 o'clock in the eveninge did there a great fire happen in the highest Chamber but one of the great Roman Tower here in this Brough Castle in Westmoreland, which burnt a Bedd and the Curtains and Valance, and all the furniture belonging to it, and a tapestry Hanging that hung behind the Bed. But before it gott any further hold, it was by God's mercifull Providence discovered and quench'd, so as the Tower it selfe received no harme." She was then lying in her own room, "the upper room next the Leades" in the castle in Clifford's Tower, and therefore the accident must have caused considerable alarm and consternation. After her decease, it was no longer used as a place of residence, but was allowed to fall into general

decay. Then, in 1695, it was used as a quarry from which material was extracted for the repairs of Appleby. In 1714, Thomas, sixth Earl of Thanet, sold all the fittings and most of the timbers of the Castle. About fifty years afterwards, a great part of the round tower was pulled down for the materials to be used to repair the mill, and some thirty years after that, it had fallen into such a state of ruin that one great angle of the keep fell down, of its own accord. It is now nothing more than a ruin, although the masonry affords sufficient evidence by which the general ground plan of the castle can be identified. The detached keep, standing in somewhat similar position to the one at Appleby, is the noblest part that remains. The building stands on the edge of a steep cliff, which rises about sixty feet above the Swindale river on the northern side. Altogether, with its out-buildings, it must have covered about an acre, the walls of the keep are no less than ten feet thick at the base, and the keep rises to a height of sixty feet. It must have been an exceedingly strong place, and had a detached gatehouse strongly fortified.

BROUGHAM CASTLE.

Lady Anne was always very much attached to Brougham Castle, because it was there that her father was born, and her mother died. She spent a great deal of her time during the last few years of her life in this her favourite place of residence. It formed part, as did the other two castles just mentioned, of the gift of King John to Robert de Veteripont, and the outworks of the castle are believed to have been the work of Robert himself. During the minority of his grandson it got into a bad state of repair. Between 1270 and 1315, a great deal of work was carried out upon it by Roger de Clifford, first Lord, who married Isabella de Veteripont, and by Roger second Lord, the latter of whom appears to have been responsible for the outer and inner gatehouses. In 1333 Edward Baliol King of the Scots was entertained here at a hunting party by Robert Clifford, and to their exploits in Whinfell I have already made allusion. In 1380, the third Lord, also a Roger, is believed to have been the builder of a great part of the building that can now be seen. There is a small stone, about fourteen inches square, inserted in about 1830 in its present position over the outer gate, which at one time be-



BROUGH CASTLE
(See page 427).

Dr. Abercrombie—Photo.



PENDRAGON CASTLE
(See page 433).

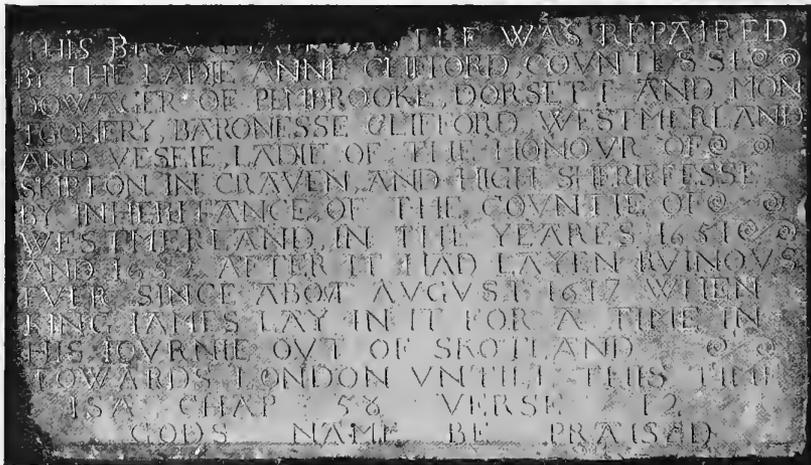
Mrs. Paul Mason—Photo.

To face page 431.



BROUGHAM CASTLE
(see page 430).

Gray—Photo.



STONE FROM BROUGHAM CASTLE,
now at Appleby Castle (see page 431).

Gray—Photo.

longed to another part of the castle, although it is uncertain in which wall it was originally placed. This bears the inscription :—

THYS

MADE

ROGER

It evidently belongs to the fourteenth century, from the shape of the lettering, and therefore in all probability was erected in its original position by the third Lord. The place was laid waste by the Scots in the early part of the fifteenth century, but was repaired at different times, and in the sixteenth century a great deal of money was spent upon it, so much so that Henry, the second Earl, was unable to do anything, it is said, in repairs at Brough, because he had spent so much at Brougham. It was in this castle that in 1617 James I. was entertained on the 6th, 7th and 8th of August, by Francis the fourth Earl of Cumberland, when returning from his last visit to Scotland, on which occasion the remarkable musical entertainment was given to which I have alluded in another chapter.⁴ Charles I. also stayed in this castle in 1629, so we learn from the Calendar of State Papers.

The building received considerable injury during the Civil Wars, and was more or less dismantled. Lady Anne caused the repairs to be taken in hand immediately she came to the North, for it was a place that she intended to use as one of her chief residences, although it was "verie ruinous and much out of repair." By 1651-2 it was in a condition for her to reside in it, "the repairing of this Brougham Castle" she says, "which had layne as itt were ruinous and desolated ever since King James his lying in it in 1617, till I made it lately habitable." At the same time, she built and finished "a new water-cornemill," which she had commenced the year before, "not far," she says, "from the place where the windmill formerly stood, that was built there by my Auncestors." The other repairs she appears to have executed for Brougham, consisted of a new bakehouse and brewhouse, built up in the court inside the walls, when she caused the old brewhouse and bakehouse to be taken down, and the ground to be levelled. "This," she says, "made the Court larger and handsomer than it was before," and exposed more clearly the tower which she speaks of as the "Tower of League." Apparently for a short time

⁴ See Chapter VII.

in August of 1659, there was a garrison of soldiers lodged at Brougham, but they are only alluded to in a casual way. Lady Anne also caused the chapel at Brougham to "bee pulled downe and new built upp againe larger and stronger than it was before," and in addition to this, she carried out considerable repairs in the church of Ninekirks, which was the parish church for the district. Finally, she rebuilt a wall about the park, pulling down an old low wall, and making a new one which she says "joynes on the one side to the garden wall, and the other side to the Castle." Sir David Fleming, in his description of Westmoreland, quoted by Mr. Curwen, speaks of Brougham Castle in his time as an ancient, strong and stately building, with a large park near adjoining. He adds that the castle received much damage in the time of the Great Rebellion, but has been well repaired by Lady Anne Clifford. In 1691, Thomas, Lord Thanet, who appears to have been wholly indifferent to the historical importance of these various castles, demolished the greater part of Brougham, and then a little while afterwards, sold the stone and the timber to two attorneys in Penrith, and is said to have only received a hundred pounds for the whole lot. The attorneys afterwards put up the various parts of their bargain by sale in public auction, and it is stated that a great deal of the timber is still to be found in Penrith Church. The wainscotting was sold to the neighbouring villages, and in many farmhouses round about Brougham, there still remain important wood carvings which originally belonged to the castle. The keep was occupied by a steward in 1767, but since that date no one has resided in it. It constitutes a magnificent ruin, grand and stately, and occupies an important position on an elevation overlooking the rivers Eamont and Lowther, with a certain amount of marshy ground near by, which would in early times have rendered it very difficult of approach. The walls are of great thickness, ten and eleven feet thick. There is a large double gate-house, defended by four pairs of gates, and a square keep, of forty-four feet each way, which does not stand apart from the rest of the buildings as in the case of Brough and Appleby, but is attached to the main edifice.

One of the rooms in the upper story was evidently intended and used as a chapel. It is a groined building, in the south-east angle, and is of some architectural importance. The dungeon, which has

walls four or five yards thick, is a vaulted room, the extremities of the ribs of the vaulting terminating near the crown in the deformed heads of animals.

PENDRAGON CASTLE.

Less remains of Pendragon⁵ Castle than of either of the other of Lady Anne's residences. There is only one important piece of wall now standing. The building could never have been one of such great interest as the others, although it is said that with its outbuildings it covered an acre and a half. Its history begins in the latter end of the twelfth century, when a fortress is said to have been erected on this site, to protect the Mallerstang⁶ Valley, and in the fourteenth century this was "enlarged and strengthened" by Robert de Clifford, who was then Lord Warden of the Western March, and was killed at Bannockburn in 1314. During the minority of Roger his son, the custody of the castle was committed by Edward II. to Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. In 1333, Idonea, the younger of the two Veteripont heiresses, here entertained Baliol, King of Scots. Lady Anne's records say that it was "Idonea's chief and beloved habitation," that the King of Scots, who had come to Westmoreland, paid her there "a friendly visit," and that she died the following year in the castle, at the age of seventy-three. A very few years afterwards, it was destroyed by the Scots, and a great part of it burned down. Then, in 1360, the castle was rebuilt, and a couple of hundred years afterwards, burned down again by the Scots, when, for a long time, nearly a hundred and twenty years, it remained nothing more than a desolate ruin.

It would seem that as a girl, Lady Anne had an idea of repairing Pendragon Castle, and if ever she succeeded to the estates she intended it then to be fitted up as a library, and a place of study for a certain "Mr. Christopher Wolridge." It was in 1660 she was able to carry out part of her design, and then she tells us that in the June of that year "by my directions was my old decayed castle of Pendragon in Mallerstang . . . begun to be repaired, which had layne waste . . . ever since the 15th of King Edward III., when the Scotts

⁵ For the story of Uther Pendragon, the semi-mythical builder see Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Chronicle*.

⁶ Mallerstang (Mallard Stagnum) morass of the Wild Ducks, compare Dun Mallard and Garstang.

did burne down the Timber of it, and demolish'd with thar often Inroads and Incursions into England, there being in his time sharp and bitter warrs betweene the two nations, and it was soe well repaired by mee that on the 14th of October in the year following, I lay there for three nights together, which none of my Auncestors had done since Idonea ye younger Sister of Isabella de Veteripont lay in it, who dyed the 8th year of Edward III. without issue." In the following year, she records the fact that she was staying there, " the first time I lay in the said Pendragon Castle, since it was lately repaired, and made habitable by mee to my great costs and charges." She adds that it had then been desolate for three hundred and twenty years, since the Scots had burnt it down, and relates again that it was the chief and beloved habitation of Idonea, who died in that house without issue, " when " she says, " all her inheritance in Westmoreland came to her oldest sister Isabella's Grandchild, Robert Lord Clifford and his posteritie to whom I am heire by a lineall descent." In the following year, she put up the wall round about the place. " This Summer did I cause a Wall of Lime and Stone to be built round about that peece of Ground which I had taken in about Pendragon Castle." She says that the land was ninety roods in compass, and that in the walls she was putting two gates to let in horses and coaches, and that she also built up a stable, coachhouse, brewhouse, bakehouse, washhouse, and a little residence or chamber over the arched gateway. She also built the bridge over the Eden close to the castle and put her initials upon it and the date 1663. Very frequently she stopped in Pendragon, as it was a convenient place for her to rest on her way to Skipton, and in 1663 was extremely pleased at being able to keep Christmas in the place. " Soe I now kept Christmas here in this Pendragon Castle this yeare and this was the first time that I ever kept Christmas in it, of any ancestors before me, for three hundred years before or more, and I now lay in it till the 27th day of January." We then hear of her leaving Pendragon in her coach drawn by six horses, and accompanied by all her officers and her family, journeying to Appleby. In July, 1667, she was back in Pendragon, and on that occasion " ridd in my horse-litter," and her chief women were with her in her coach, and then, in 1671, she appears to have paid her last recorded visit to this castle. " I came safe and

well," says she, "into my Castle of Pendragon, haveing bin accompanied in the way by severall of the Gentry of this Country and of my Neighbours and Tennants, both of Appleby, Kirkby Stephen, and Mallerstang. And my two gentlewomen and my women servants" she adds, "rid in my Coach drawn by six horses, my Men servants on Horseback. But wee had a great storme of Raine and wind during the latter end of this journey. And after the said companie had taken their leaves of mee here at Pendragon Castle, I came up staires and went through the great chamber into my owne chamber, on the West side of it, where I formerly used to lye, and where I had not bin since the 3rd day of August in 1670 (being a yeare 3 months and some fourteen days over) until now."

The castle was surrounded by what was called Mallerstang Forest, not what is known as a forest in the present day, but a considerable extent of waste land, given up to game, in fact, what we now call a chase. There is an interesting reference to it in the Appleby indictment for Michaelmas 1665, in which certain persons were tried at a petty sessions before four magistrates, Sir Philip Musgrave, Sir John Lowther the elder, John Lowther the younger, and John Dalston, for killing a deer within the Forest of Mallerstang belonging to Lady Anne, and each of the persons confessed, and were each fined twenty pounds, according to the statute. It is also stated that the last deer keeper for Mallerstang lived in a place called Riddinghouse, from which he could see a large portion of the forest, and that down to 1725 and perhaps later, there were deer to be found on this piece of waste ground.

Near to the castle are some trenches to which it is stated the original builder endeavoured to draw the waters of the river Eden. The attempt, however, proved ineffectual, and there is a curious couplet, still frequently quoted by the Mallerstang inhabitants, to the following effect :—

Let Uther Pendragon do what he can,
Eden will run where Eden ran.

This saying, according to Mr. Nicholls,⁷ is frequently applied to express determination and firmness. It is possible that the original builder of the castle desired to strengthen his stronghold by drawing

⁷ See Mallerstang Forest by Rev. W. Nicholls.

around it the waters of the Eden, but the stream, which is sometimes a swollen rapid, was too much for him, the dam which he made across the river was washed down, and the memory of his attempt to turn the river out of its usual course, only remains in the old proverb.

After Lady Anne's decease, the same thing happened to Pendragon as had happened to Brough and to Brougham. Thomas, Lord Thanet dismantled it, in 1685, and from that time, it has been entirely neglected and allowed to fall into complete ruin. The greater part of it fell down in 1773. Like the other castles, it stands upon a cliff overlooking a river, in this case, the Eden. The keep, which was probably detached, appears to have been about sixty-four feet square, the walls are in places ten and twelve feet thick, but the ruin is so complete that, beyond the fact that one is able to decide roughly upon the plan of the keep itself, little more is known of the building which constituted the castle.

BARDEN TOWER.

The last to be mentioned of Lady Anne's five castles is also a ruin. It stands on part of the Bolton Abbey estate, and belongs to what was always known as "Barden Forest." It is briefly referred to, in the fourteenth century as being one of the lodges built for the accommodation of the keepers and the protection of the deer, but in the middle of the fifteenth century in the time of Thomas, Lord Clifford, there were two other houses erected not far from it, which appear to have been larger dwelling-houses for the accommodation of superior keepers, who would look after the fishing on the Wharfe and on Malham Tarn and prevent poaching. It seems likely that the present Barden Tower was the enlargement of one of these special lodges, and that the building now in existence was erected by Henry, Lord Clifford the Shepherd Lord, who, preferring the retreat of Barden to the bustle of his larger houses, considerably increased in size one of the lodges of the forest near to the Wharfe, and transformed it into a dwelling-place for himself, where he passed the greater portion of his time, deep in the astrological and mathematical studies which interested him. His son, Henry, the first Earl, also resided for a little while at Barden, and it is said that the second Earl, who like his grandfather, was much interested in alchemy and astrology, occasionally found his way to Barden, but the usual story is to the effect that, after the



BARDEN TOWER
(See page 436).



THE GREAT (OR CONDUIT) COURTYARD,
SKIPTON CASTLE (See page 417).



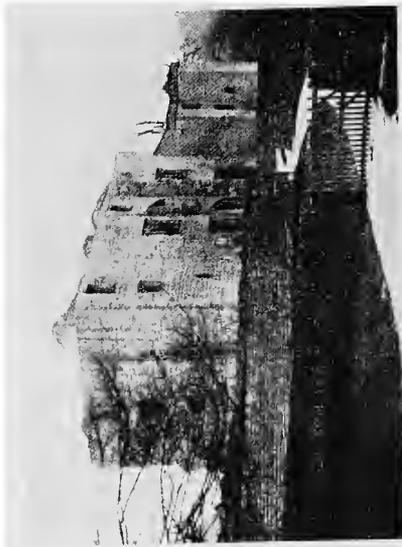
CHURCH RESTORED BY LADY ANNE AND ATTACHED TO THE TOWER.



W. Tufion—Photo.
BROUGHAM BRIDGE
(see page 388).



DINING ROOM IN THE RETAINERS HOUSE.
Oak roof restored by Lady Anne. Battle-axe on table carried on Flodden Field with Henry, Lord Clifford, 1513, by the ancestor of the present tenant Mr. Lister.



BARDEN TOWER
(see page 438).

time of the second Earl, the house was never used as a regular place of residence. An inventory dated 1572 was at one time in existence, from which Whitaker quotes, and this is to the effect that, after the death of the second Earl of Cumberland, although the hall and the kitchens at Barden Tower were furnished, the bedrooms were empty, and therefore he surmises that in all probability, the tower was used merely as a place for the pleasures of the chase, in which meals were taken, and the huntsmen returned to Skipton Castle in the evening. The two last Earls of Cumberland neglected the place altogether, and when Lady Anne succeeded to her inheritance, Barden Tower was a ruin. She went to see it from Skipton, when she first came down to take possession of her estates, and speedily had repairs put in hand, so much so, that in 1659, she was able to reside there. She says she removed from Skipton with her family to Barden Tower to lie in it for a time. "It was the first time that I did ever lye in this Barden Tower haveing latellie repaired it to my great Costs and charges, when it was then a most ruinated decayed place, ffor my Mother had never layne in it since she was with childe by me, nor my ffather in a good while before, Neither did my Unckle of Cumberland or my Cozen his Sonne ever lye in it, after they came to this Estate in Craven." She stayed in it on that occasion for some considerable time, and a couple of years after, carried out other repairs to the place. "I caused my Mill, about a mile from Barden Tower, in Yorkshire, called Hough Mill, to be pulled downe and new built up again with stone and wood, at my own charge, for before it was so ruinous as it was like to fall down, having not bin repaired in many yeares before till now." Whitaker quotes from the original contract for the work at Barden Tower. He says it was dated the 2nd of June, 1657, and was between Lady Anne and two builders known as Thomas Day the elder and Thomas Day the younger. The contract was for pulling down as much of the wall as had been condemned, the rebuilding of the walls of the house and the chapel adjoining, the repairs of all windows, arches and doors, and other work, and the cost to Lady Anne was to be a hundred pounds. The work was to be begun in March, and ended in Michaelmas of the same year.

She was unusually proud of the work at Barden Tower, and always insisted that her relatives, when staying at Skipton, should go over

and see it, even sending instructions for Alethea, her granddaughter, who was then only a child, when she came with her servants from Castle Ashby to pay her grandmother a visit, that she was to remain at Skipton for a night, in order that she might go on to Barden the next day and see it, before she came to Pendragon.

In addition to repairing the tower, Lady Anne carried out some important work in the retainers' house adjoining, specially with regard to a beautiful oak roof, which she carefully restored, and which is still *in situ*. There is a church adjoining the house, which is really a small chapel for the accommodation of the tenants. She erected in it a fine black oak roof, and repaired a gallery at the west end, which was always known as the Lord's Gallery. By means of a passage, those who lived in the tower could come through the old oak room of the retainers' house into the gallery, and there take part in the service, seated above the rest of the congregation. In the middle of the nineteenth century, however, some repairs, which passed under the name of renovation, but really amounted to destruction, were carried out in the church. The fine black oak roof was covered up with deal boards, stained and varnished, the walls were painted, and the old oak "Lord's" gallery at the west end, removed entirely. The building is now comparatively uninteresting, but it is curious to notice that the church is so intimately attached to the retainers' house that the bedrooms of the house are in the church tower, and the bell-rope of the church goes through the diningroom of the house. It is also of interest to understand that the person who resides in the house, and who is the keeper of Barden Tower, is a member of the Lister family, and the direct lineal descendant of a Lister who fought with the Shepherd Lord at Flodden Field, while in the house is preserved, and can be seen by visitors, the actual halbert or battle axe which this Lister carried at Flodden when he attended on Henry, Lord Clifford.

I have already referred to the fact that Lady Anne had no right to Barden Tower, but that she took possession of it, and kept it during the whole of her life.

Certain of the acquired lands the fifth Earl was able to leave away to his daughter. Amongst these estates should have been included that of Barden Tower, and it is not clear how it was that Lady Anne

was actually able to keep possession of that property until her death, and not only to do so, but to spend a great deal of money upon it, and to reside frequently in the house. The whole of the manor of Barden had been separated from the other Skipton lands in the ninth year of King James (1611-12), when the fourth Earl had made legal arrangements by which that part of the estate entail was barred, and the Barden property was then declared to be in the hands of Henry, Lord Clifford, and his wife, for their lives, and with remainder to their right heirs. For a while, however, Lord Cork was under sequestration, and unable to prosecute any claim to obtain it. In 1661 and '2, Lady Cork made entry upon Barden Tower, and so strengthened her claim, that she then surrendered her reversionary right to the honour of Skipton to the Crown, and had this part of the estate re-granted to her. Notwithstanding all this, Lady Anne managed to take and keep possession of Barden, and it was not until her decease in 1676, that the Earl of Burlington brought an action of ejectment against her successors.

On one occasion, when Lady Cork was staying with Lady Anne at Barden Tower, the question of its ownership came up in conversation. Lady Cork desired to place her views before her imperious hostess, but Lady Anne records, "I would have none of it," and again "I required her to be silent." A meek person like Lady Cork had no chance, even of speech, when Lady Anne's ideas were in conflict with hers!

Lady Anne later on came to some sort of arrangement with Lady Cork about the property, for she repaired the wall of the park, in order to prevent the deer from Bolton Park making their way into her part of the land, and she entered into a contract with Lady Cork in 1654 that when the wall was made sound, half the number of deer which had found their way into the park at Barden, were to be returned by her to that Lady.

At her death in 1676, she actually bequeathed the estate to her daughter, but the Earl of Burlington brought his action of ejectment against Lord Thanet, and in due course prevailed, the decision closing the great family contest. He did not, however, succeed at first, for although the action was started in 1676, Whitaker quotes a letter

dated 1686, in which Lord Burlington writes to his agent thus :—
“ Since my Lord Thanet goes this silent way, I must desire that you will without noise put into Barden Tower a trusty person that may secure that place.”

The building was entire down to 1774, but soon after that date the fifth Duke of Devonshire sold the land and timbers of the roof, and the place was then allowed to fall into ruin, no other part being kept in order than the chapel, which was used for public worship for the tenants, and served from Bolton Abbey.

Over each of the castles which Lady Anne restored, she erected a large tablet of stone, bearing upon it, finely engraved in beautiful lettering, an inscription commemorating the restoration of the place. The stone that was originally at Brougham is now preserved in Caesar's Tower at Appleby. It had been injured at Brougham, and was liable to destruction. It was therefore brought away and placed in a position of security. The stone at Skipton is still *in situ*, so also is the one at Barden Tower. Those at Appleby and Brough seem to have disappeared. In every case, Lady Anne declares that she repaired the castle in question after it had lain ruinous for a certain length of time. She refers to herself as Countess Dowager of Dorset Pembroke and Montgomery, as Baroness Clifford, Westmoreland and Vescy, as Lady of the Honor of Skipton in Craven, and as High Sherifess of Westmoreland. She announces the reason of the restoration of the place, and in some instances mentions some fact of importance respecting the castle. She then concludes the inscription with the phrase from the fifty-eighth chapter of the book of Isaiah, “ Thou shalt build up the foundations of many generations, and thou shalt be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in.” The final words on each of the inscribed stones are, “ God's name be praised.”

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE DE CLIFFORD BARONY.

ON the various inscribed stones which Lady Anne set up at the castles she restored, Appleby, Brougham, Brough, Barden Tower and Skipton, she styled herself, not only Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery, but also Baroness Clifford, Westmoreland and Vescy. The descent of the ancient Barony by Writ of Clifford or De Clifford is an interesting chapter in the story of peerage claims, and deserves some attention, more especially as it is complicated by the fact that there are two other Baronies of Clifford, one of which is still in abeyance, and was certainly created under a misapprehension. The first person who appears to have styled himself Lord de Clifford was Robert, who was summoned to Parliament in 1299, and married Maud, daughter of Thomas de Clare. He was the son of the Roger de Clifford, who had married Isabel, daughter and co-heir of Robert de Veteripont. From him ensued a long line of Lords de Clifford, until we come down to Henry, the eleventh Lord, who was created the first Earl of Cumberland, but who still retained as well the ancient barony. On the death of his grandson, Georg, the third Earl, the father of Lady Anne, the question arose as to who was entitled to the barony of De Clifford, and as we have already seen, Lady Anne assumed it, and used it. Meantime, however, her uncle, the fourth Earl of Cumberland, had succeeded to the estates, and he held that the barony of Clifford had followed the Earldom of Cumberland, and was vested in him. In consequence his son, afterwards the fifth Earl, Henry, styled himself during his father's lifetime Lord Clifford or Lord de Clifford, and under the erroneous supposition that the ancient barony of Clifford had been vested in his father, had a writ addressed to him on the 17th of February, 1628, styling him Lord Clifford, and practically,

by this means, a new title of Clifford was created, because the ancient one, which was heritable by females, had already passed down to his cousin Lady Anne. This newly created barony of Clifford, of 1628, devolved upon the fifth Earl's daughter, Elizabeth, Countess of Cork and Burlington, and her husband was created a peer of England by letters patent, on the 4th of November, 1644, as Baron Clifford of Lanesborough, Co. York, and advanced to the earldom of Burlington in 1664, having previously been Lord High Treasurer of Ireland. It is a moot point in peerage controversies as to whether this creation of Baron Clifford of Lanesborough was intended to absorb the Clifford barony of 1628 which, by the erroneous supposition, had descended to Lord Burlington's wife, but in any case, there were then two separate Clifford baronies in this branch of the family, the one of 1628 held by the Countess of Burlington, in virtue of her father, and the other one held by her husband by the patent of 1644. Lord Burlington was succeeded by his son Charles, his grandson Charles, and his great-grandson Richard, as second, third and fourth Earls of Cork and Burlington. The last-named Earl made a distinct claim in 1737 for the barony of Clifford as great-grandson of Elizabeth, the daughter and heir of Henry, the last Earl of Cumberland, and the House of Peers acknowledged and confirmed his right thereto. He died in 1753, leaving an only surviving daughter Charlotte, who had married William, fourth Duke of Devonshire, and she inherited in her own right the Barony of Clifford of 1628, that which had descended to Lady Burlington from her father. The Irish honours at this time devolved upon the fourth Lord Cork's kinsman, but his Barony of Clifford of Lanesborough of 1644 became extinct with his death.

Charlotte, in her own right Baroness Clifford, had a son who succeeded his father as fifth Duke of Devonshire, and his mother as Lord Clifford. He was succeeded as sixth Duke by his son William, who died unmarried, and then the Barony of Clifford fell into abeyance between his sisters and co-heiresses, the Countesses of Carlisle and Granville, while the Dukedom with other honours, devolved upon his cousin. Between the successors, therefore, of Lady Carlisle and Lady Granville, the Barony of Clifford of 1628 still remains in abeyance.

Meantime, we come back to the far older Barony of Clifford or De Clifford. In 1628, Lady Anne made a formal claim for the pos-

session of this Barony,¹ and in the appendix are given full details of her petition, and the extracts from the Journals of the House of Lords. It would appear from these extracts, that Henry Clifford, son and heir apparent of Francis, Earl of Cumberland, had received his writ of summons to the Parliament as Lord Clifford, although he was not actually present on that occasion. The House was moved that, although he was absent, and yet was ranked in the place apprehended to be due to the ancient Barons of Clifford, this might in no wise be prejudicial to the claim and right of Lady Anne to the position. The next extract from the Journals relates to Henry, Lord Clifford's taking his seat in the House. He came in his Parliament robes, delivered his writ, which was dated the 17th of February (3 Car.), to the Lord Keeper, and took his place.

The King made an order that Lady Anne's petition was to come before the Committee of Privileges, and on the 26th of May, the hearing of the petition was appointed for the beginning of the next session but, say the Journals of the House, "no determination was then made therein, and the troubles and rebellion in this kingdom soon after ensuing, there was no further hearing on it." The matter therefore rested in this way. Lady Anne assumed the title, and regularly made use of it, although she was unable to obtain the writ from the House of Lords, confirming her possession of it.

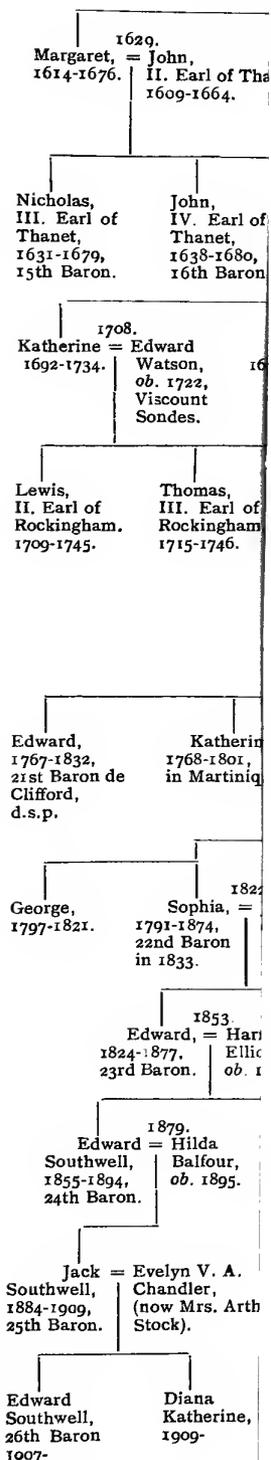
In 1690, however, her grandson, Thomas, sixth Earl of Thanet, renewed the claim, and on the 12th of December, 1691, the House of Lords allowed it, and Thomas Tufton, sixth Earl of Thanet, the fourth of Lady Anne's grandsons who had been Earls of Thanet in succession, became eighteenth Baron de Clifford. The House of Lords accepted by this decision, the right that Lady Anne had claimed, to be fourteenth holder of the title, and gave out that the elder grandsons, Nicholas third Earl of Thanet, John fourth Earl of Thanet, and Richard fifth Earl of Thanet, were respectively the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth holders of the title. In consequence, Thomas was the eighteenth. This Earl of Thanet, however, did not leave any sons, the earldom devolving upon his nephew, when the ancient Barony of Clifford fell into abeyance between his daughters Katherine, Anne, Margaret,

¹S.P. Dom. Ser. cxxvi, 7, 1628.

Mary and Isabel. On the 13th of August, 1734, the Crown terminated the abeyance, calling out the title in favour of Margaret, who had married Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester, and she became the nineteenth holder of the title, Baroness de Clifford in her own right. She died in 1775 when for the second time, the title fell into abeyance between her sisters, as she left no issue. Three of Lady Leicester's sisters meantime had died, Anne, who had married Lord Salisbury, Isabel the wife of Sir F. Blake Delaval, and the eldest sister Katherine, who was Viscountess Sondes, leaving only one sister remaining, Mary, at that time the wife of John, Earl Gower, whom she had married as his third wife. It was at one time anticipated that the Barony would be called out in her favour, she having petitioned for it, but this was not so. The natural succession was through the eldest daughter. She had three children, Lewis and Thomas, who became in succession second and third Earls of Rockingham, and Katherine (1711-1765) who had married Edward Southwell of King's Weston (1705-1755) but all three of them had died before Lady Leicester. Katherine had, however, left a son, Edward (1738-1777) who married Sophia Campbell, and in his favour the Crown interposed, calling out the Barony from abeyance, so that he became twentieth Lord de Clifford. His mother had always expected that she would some day have the Barony, and she made a curious claim to the effect that the Hereditary Sheriffwick of Westmoreland had not passed to Lady Leicester with the Barony, but belonged to her mother, as Lord Thanet's eldest daughter, and in consequence to her. In a letter to her son in 1758, which is given in full in the appendix, she says "Lady Leicester you know got the Baronies, but all the Lawyers give their opinion that the Sheriffwick belonged to my Mother alone, and so now to me. It is a thing of no profit, but a hazard of loss, if the deputy misbehaves, and the Power is of no use without the Estate, so therefore my mother and brother (Lord Rockingham) let Lord Thanet act, and as he never asked a formal leave, the right is not given up, and can be claimed at any time." So emphatic was this good lady respecting that part of the family honours, that she signed this letter with the signature "Sheriff of Westmoreland." At the same time, in another letter she wrote to her son respecting the justice of her own claims, she says, "If Lady Leicester should outlive her sister, I can have no hopes of

Descent

1590-1675.
Baroness d



doing so too. Aunts are my ruin, they have trampled on me all my life long." She was very anxious to contest the question of the hereditary Sherifdom, and also that of a considerable part of the estate, and appears to have got the consent of Lord and Lady Leicester, for trying it by law, "as I must do them both the justice to tell you that they both declared to me when I was last at Holkham that they were both ready to join in the Expense of trying it, though at their ages they could hardly expect to see the end of such a suit, and have no body to inherit from them."

One sister, however, declined to enter into this arrangement. "Lady Isabel Delaval refused," said this good lady, "to pay her share, saying she should have the benefit equal with them, if they made anything of it, and therefore she would not, nor did not, pay a farthing." Mrs. Southwell had a strong impression that Lord Thanet had no power to institute the arrangements he had made with regard to the devolution of the estate with the Earldom of Thanet to his grandson and away from the Clifford title, and she compared it with the action taken with respect to Lady Anne, saying that the two were, in her opinion, parallel cases. She writes in 1758, just after she left Holkham, "I must confess I am of opinion that my grandfather Thanet had as much right to disinherit his daughters as old Cumberland did by her," and then she goes on to say, "I am indisputably High Sheriff of Westmoreland, so that if you should hear I attend the judges, don't be surprised, one of my grandmothers did, and sat on the Bench. Imagine me riding on Pullen at the head of a Northern mob, up to the gallows, and there performing the true office of sheriff, and concluding the day by getting drunk with the jury." As we have seen, she did not outlive her aunt, Lady Leicester, but it was to her son, to whom these letters are addressed, that the dignity eventually came. He died in 1777, and was succeeded by his son Edward, who became twenty-first Baron Clifford but assumed the old prefix of De for distinction between his Barony and the Devonshire one of Clifford. On his death in 1832, again the Barony, and for a third time, fell into abeyance, between the issue of Lord Clifford's four sisters, Katherine, Sophia, Elizabeth and Henrietta. In 1833, again the Crown interposed, and terminated the abeyance in favour of the only surviving

child of his eldest sister Katherine. She was Sophia ² Coussmaker, her mother having married Colonel Kein Hayward George Coussmaker. She married in 1822 John Russell, son of Lord William Russell, who was brother of John, sixth Duke of Bedford, and she became the twenty-second holder of this ancient Barony, Baroness de Clifford in her own right. From her the descent to the present day has been in the ordinary fashion. Her son Edward became twenty-third Baron de Clifford, his son Edward, twenty-fourth, the late Lord de Clifford, her great-grandson, was twenty-fifth Lord de Clifford, and the boy who is the present holder of the dignity is the twenty-sixth Baron. He was born in 1907, and has one sister, Diana Katherine who is the heir presumptive to the Barony. Failing either of these two lives, it will again fall into abeyance between his two aunts, Miss Maud Russell and Mrs. Corbet.

The devolution of this Barony by writ is an extraordinary example of the manner in which a title heritable by females is almost certain to fall many times into abeyance between the daughters, a peculiarity which, while it makes the honour almost indestructible, tends to prevent its continuance in the same line. It is also a curious example of the way in which a title of this kind may pass through very many families, as this Barony has been held in the Tufton and in the Coke families, and in those of Southwell, Coussmaker and Russell.

In the possession of the present Lord de Clifford are the miniature portraits already referred to and Lady Anne's pearl necklace and earrings, but it does not appear that any other treasures connected with Lady Anne have descended to this family. Miss Maud Russell has, however, placed at my disposal, an interesting book prepared with reference to the claim for the title. It was copied out of an original one, which does not appear now to exist, and which, it tells us, was compiled by Mr. St. Lo Kinaston,³ or, as the book itself gives it, "Sayntlo Kuiuston, a great antiquary in these times, in 1606, at the request of Margaret, then Countess Dowager of Cumberland, for and in the behalf of her then only child, the Lady Anne Clifford, whose father died on the 30th of October before." The MS., which is most

² She was the author of a short Journal of a "Tour in France, Belgium, &c." in 1817. Privately printed at Richmond, 12mo., pp. 136.

³ Perhaps a connection of Sir Francis Kinaston (1587-1642) the poet and scholar.

carefully compiled, constitutes the claim and title of Lady Anne to the three baronies of Clifford, Westmoreland and Vescy. It gives her genealogy, a demonstration of other notable families from whom she was lineally descended, allegations of the usual customs concerning the descent in the female line of such titles ; recent cases showing opinions of the law of the realm concerning such a case ; examples and precedents concerning Barons who have been summoned in the right of their wives, mothers, or female ancestors ; precedents concerning the proper style of the Cliffords, information relative to the creation of Henry Lord Clifford ; notes, abstracts, summons to Parliament, and copies of offices, inquisitions, charters, grants, and wills dealing with the whole matter. No pains were spared to render the claim as definite as possible, but, as we have already seen, the troubles and rebellions of the kingdom prevented its receiving satisfactory attention.

Finally, it may be well to refer very briefly to the title of Vescy. There is a document enclosed in the book that has just been alluded to, concerning this title. It says that John de Vescy was summoned to Parliament in the 49th of Henry III. the first Parliament to which there was a summons, and the next it records, to which there was also a summons, was that of the 21st of Edward I. It was admitted in all the claims of the Barony of Clifford that the first summons was to Robert de Clifford in 1295, and in consequence that Vescy appeared to be by far the more ancient Barony of the two. It cannot yet, however, be proved that even in the Parliament of Henry III. there was a person called Lord Clifford. It was contended that Vescy was not a less important Barony, included in, or consolidated with, the barony of Clifford, and it was finally pointed out that Sir Henry Bromflete, whose mother was the heiress of Lord Vescy, having been summoned to Parliament in 1449 as Lord Vescy, the husband of his daughter and heir Margaret would have had the same right to be summoned and to sit as Lord Vescy, but as that husband was John, ninth Lord Clifford, he preferred the title derived from his own ancestors in the male line to the title of Vescy, which he had only acquired by marriage. It was urged in consequence, on one side, that the barony of Clifford had absorbed the barony of Vescy, and on the other, it was stated that the Barony had actually expired in 1468 on the death of Lord

Vescy, because he had been summoned to Parliament by a special writ, which only gave the remainder to the heirs *male* of his body, and this is declared to have been the first and only writ with such a limitation. In any case, no one, after the decease of Lady Anne, made use of the ancient title of the barony of Vescy, and it seems to be most probable, from reviewing the circumstances, that she herself had no right to that title, and ought not to have made use of it, but she was not disposed to allow any privilege which had attached in past years to a member of the Clifford family to lapse for want of use, and whether entitled to the dignity or not, she made use of it.

CHAPTER XXIX.

SACKVILLE COLLEGE.

THERE are two allusions in Lady Anne's diary, and three in some letters written by her, to Sackville College, which need some explanation. In her diary for 1623, she says of her first husband that he "built from the ground the college or hospital of East Greenestead in Sussex, and endowed the same with lands for the maintenance thereof," though she adds, "His father, by his last will had appointed the building thereof, but he lived not to see any part of it performed, he dying presently after." As Lady Anne states, the founder of Sackville College was Robert, second Earl of Dorset, who stated in his will, dated February 8th, 1608, that he had long proposed to erect a hospital or college in East Grinstead, to expend upon the building a sum of one thousand pounds, and to endow it with a rent charge of £330 per annum for the relief of twenty-one men and ten women. He instructed his executors to purchase the site, to erect a convenient house with rooms for the said persons, to incorporate it by the name of Sackville College, and then proceeded, by a very lengthy clause, to lay down various regulations concerning this hospital, many of which are still in force at the present day. He did not live, however, even to see the building commenced. His eldest son Richard, the third Earl, built the College as directed, but, "involved in pecuniary difficulties by reckless expenditure," sold a part of the family estates. "The purchasers, however, either were not, or said that they were not, made acquainted," when they purchased the land, with the existence of the rent charge to which the lands were subject for the maintenance of the college. It was said that Lord Dorset acted fraudulently, that he desired "to enrich himself at the expense of the college," or that he was exceedingly careless, but neither statement appears to have had any foundation

in fact, and it is clear, from certain affidavits quoted in the history of Sackville College, that, finding out the mistake that had been made, he desired to charge four manors, those of Buckhurst, Munckloe,¹ Hendall,² and Fiscaredge,³ with "the deficiencies of the sums which he alienated from the college." Unfortunately, his death on Easter Day, 1624, occurred before he had been able to settle the deeds for these manors, and an immense amount of local difficulty ensued, so much so, that Sackville College was hampered by law suits which lasted for over sixty years, and at the final settlement the College preserved somewhat less than two-thirds of its original estate. But for these lawsuits, the income of the college would have now been more than two thousand a year, and it would have been enabled to keep up its buildings, which, "without the financial assistance of the various Wardens, would have fallen into complete decay long ago."

Edward, Lord Dorset, who had succeeded to a heavily charged estate, was not anxious still further to reduce his income by making arrangements for the benefit of the college. The purchasers of the original land contended that it was great injustice to make them "pay a rent charge for which no consideration had been allowed." The executors of Robert, Lord Dorset's will, and the new owner of the property, Edward, Lord Dorset, maintained that it was "equally unjust to saddle the land that remained in the family with a double rent charge," while the college "affirmed that, where there had been a wrong, there must be some means of making a right, and that, either from Lord Dorset or from the purchasers, the arrears and current income ought to be paid." Lady Anne, and her son-in-law Lord Thanet, were involved in the controversy, because a part of the manors which her husband had set aside, was included in Lady Anne's jointure, and it was desired to charge that somewhat heavily for the sustenance of the college, rather than to make the charge upon the land which the new Lord Dorset held. There had always been

¹ Or Munkencourt, another name for the Manor of Withyham which includes Withyham Church.

² Also called Hyndedale, Yndedale, or Hendale Court, once the property of Sir Philip Sidney, then part of the Barony of Buckhurst, and now a farm.

³ A farm originally part of the Barony of Buckhurst, and also known as Fiskridge, Fiskeridge Fiskeregg and Ffyskerrigg.



QUADRANGLE (North East).



DORSET LODGINGS (Warden's Apartments).
SACKVILLE COLLEGE.

settled. He was succeeded by his son Richard, the fifth Earl, and in 1653 actions were taken in the House of Lords with reference to the college. It was then distinctly stated that the lands charged with the sum of £330 had descended to Richard, Lord Dorset, who had sold some of them so charged, and had died "before new apportionments were made for the payment of the annuity." It was furthermore set forth that some part of the lands so charged had now come to John, Lord Thanet, and that the annuity ought to be paid by him. In his reply, he stated that, "by the transfer to executors, Richard, Lord Dorset had extinguished the charge in law, and had only charged" the four manors already mentioned. He said he held lands "by the right of his wife," but they were not liable to the charge and that neither he nor his wife was a party to the decree that had been made in Chancery. In 1658 the matter came up for a final hearing, and then Lady Anne was included as one of the parties to the suit, as also was her other son-in-law, Lord Northampton. A decree was eventually made in favour of the college.⁴ Lord Dorset and Lord Northampton gave way. Lord Thanet and Lady Anne, claiming that they had only a life interest, refused to do so. Injunctions were issued against them, and eventually, as the Court was unable to get at Lady Anne, it attacked the person of Lord Thanet, and in 1663, she writes thus in her diary, "And while I lay in Pendragon Castle, was my son-in-law, John Tufton, Earl of Thanet, committed prisoner to the Fleet at London the 21st of December, about the business of Sackville College in Sussex, in which imprisonment he continued to lie till the 21st of January next. After that he was released from thence, and came home again to his house in Aldersgate Street, to my daughter his wife and some of his children." He had been forced to submit, and, although the decision was hard upon him, was obliged to pay his share of the rent charge, and his mother-in-law (Lady Anne) had her share deducted from the rents she received from her jointure. It had taken at least thirty-five years to settle this part of the difficulty, but the lawsuits went on much longer with regard to arrears, and the various questions raised concerning the remainder of the rent charge:

¹ Pepys heard the judgement given and refers to it in his diary, February 8-10, 1659-60. He says "the action was very finely pleaded."

It had, however, been decided that the lands of these four manors were subject to certain rent charges in favour of Sackville College, and that whoever possessed them, whether by life interest or any actual ownership, was compelled to pay the rent charges in question.

It is unnecessary in this volume to refer at further length to the history of this interesting foundation, a full description of which may be found in a work on Sackville College, written by the present Warden, Mr. Frank Hill, and published at East Grinstead in 1913. The author has been good enough to give me permission to make quotations from this volume, and I owe the greater part of this chapter to the work in question. Its special interest consists in the fact that it was the only occasion upon which Lady Anne was forced to agree to a decision against which she had fought in her usual strenuous fashion, and evidently, from the papers which are still preserved concerning her decision in this Sackville College matter, she only consented to submit in order that her son-in-law might be released from prison, and no further trouble might ensue to him, or to his family.

CHAPTER XXX.

CLIFFORDS INN.

THE allusions which Lady Anne makes to her residence in Cliffords Inn are not, at first, quite easy to comprehend. It may be well to refer briefly to the history of this Inn, so far as it concerns the Clifford family. It was their original town house, and was granted by Edward II. in 1310 to Robert de Clifford, together with certain other property close to the church of St. Dunstons, in what was then called the suburbs of London. It was to be held under the King at a service of one penny which was to be paid into the Court of Exchequer every Michaelmas. It passed from Robert, who was the soldier killed at the Battle of Bannockburn, to his brother Robert who died in 1344, and he bequeathed Cliffords Inn amongst other property to his wife Isabel, who at once let it as a school or training college for students of the law at a rent, which although then declared as being £10, would now be regarded as about £130 per annum. Some few years afterwards, by some means which cannot be at present explained, the property appears to have returned into the hands of the Crown and then was re-granted to the Cliffords and continued to belong to that family until 1618, when the Society of the Inn which in that time had grown up and had become attached the Inner Temple is declared to have made it entirely its own by purchasing it from Francis, fourth Earl of Cumberland and Lord Clifford, his son and heir, for the sum of £600. The purchase, however, seems to have been subject to a definite rent charge to the Clifford family of £4 per annum, together with the use of one set of Chambers or to the nomination for this use, and it would appear that the reservation of a room or rooms in the Inn for the benefit of the Clifford family had been adopted in the Deeds from quite an early period. It is probable that Lady Anne's allusion to her property and especially

to her *house* in Clifford's Inn refers to this set of chambers that was reserved and that the rest of the property had been actually transferred to the Society of the Inn.

The Deed of 1618 expressly states that the house had, by the allowances of the Earl of Cumberland and his ancestors, been used for a great number of years as an Inn of Chancery, that it had been governed with discretion to the honour of the said Earl, and that it was the desire of Lord Cumberland that it should forever continue and be employed as an Inn of Chancery, and the Society agreed in this Deed of purchase that it should so continue and be so employed for the good of the Gentlemen of the Society, and the benefit of the common weal. The Cliffords wrote down as a regulation *sine quâ non* that the Inn was always to be called by its usual and ancient name of Cliffords Inn, and at the same time they sold to the Society the rights of egress and ingress and part of the separate property adjoining the church of St. Dunstons.

The Hall itself was untouched by the Fire of London, and in it Sir Mathew Hale sat to adjudicate on the numerous claims that arose after the great catastrophe. All that remains now of that building is the fourteenth century arch leading to offices and wine cellars, the present Hall having been erected on the old site in 1797. The reserve rent charge and the nomination for the set of chambers continued, it would appear, to vest in the descendants of the Earl of Cumberland down to 1880, when the Society purchased that last piece of its property together with a strip of land adjoining Sergeants Inn which the Cliffords had also retained in their own hands. The connection between this historic family and their old town house which they had held since the reign of Edward II., ceased in that year. The Inn has had its share of important persons because a Paston who is so often referred to in the Paston letters, was one of its members, and Harrison, the regicide, to whom Lady Anne alludes, when he was sojourning at Appleby was also attached to the Inn; but its two greatest members were Coke and Selden. Their name will suffice to proclaim the importance of Clifford's Inn.

APPENDIX.

I.—SUMMARY OF THE WILL OF GEORGE, EARL OF CUMBERLAND.

Dated 19th October, 1605.

In his will made when he was in his last illness (which continued for a month) he says that he has a great and good reason to alter his previous disposition of his property, seeing that his debts have become much greater, owing to his many occasions of charge and great expense of late and within the last few years. He therefore makes over all his lands and leases, together with the license which he has from the King for the exportation of undressed cloths, to Robert, Earl of Salisbury, Edward, Lord Wotton, Sir Francis Clifford, and John Taylor his servant, in trust, to pay his debts and to satisfy the portion of his only daughter the Lady Anne Clifford. This portion he makes 15,000*l*. He leaves to his wife the furniture which was used in his house in Clerkenwell when he kept house there. Some time before in 33 Eliz., he had by fine barred his father's entail, and settled his lands, and this arrangement he now confirms, both by the will and a deed of the same year, the 3rd of James. By these repeated assurances the lands were settled upon his brother, Sir Francis Clifford; after whose death, without issue male, they were to come to the Lady Anne Clifford, the testator's daughter. To each of his brother's two daughters, Margaret and Frances Clifford, he leaves 4,000*l*. He then says, "I desire my trustees to presente this my laste requeste to my most gracious Sovereigne that it will please his Ma^{tie} to grant unto my said brother those lands in Cumberland for which I have bene a longe suiter unto his Ma^{tie}, when I had noe doubt but to haue prevaled, accordinge to his Ma^{ties} princelie worde and promisse, if it had pleased God to have spared me life." To the Earl of Salisbury he leaves his pointed diamond ring which he used to wear, with a bason and ewer of silver. To the Lord Wotton his bald jennet now at Gunston. To his loving brother, the Lord Wharton, his gelding called Grey Smithfield, which he used for his own saddle. To his most approved and excellent friend, Sir William Ingleby, his gelding called Gray Lambert. To Richard Hutton, serjeant at the law, 100 angels. Finally, he desired that his body should be buried with

as little charge as possible, as he would have nothing done which could give any hindrance to the payment of his debts; and he gives most hearty thanks to God for giving him time for repentance and to settle his estates."

NOTE.—This will was proved at York on the 8th of January, 1606, and administration was granted to the testator's brother, Francis Earl of Cumberland, Robert Earl of Salisbury renouncing, and the power of granting administration to the rest of the executors being reserved.¹

The original will of the Earl of Cumberland is on nine sheets, each sheet signed by Lord Cumberland, the signature on the ninth sheet being witnessed by Richard Hutton, William Priest, and six other persons. There are only remains of the seal to be seen, it is in red wax, and was surmounted by an Earl's coronet. The statement concerning its production in Doctors' Commons in July, 1606, for probate purposes is endorsed on the back of the sheet containing the signature. The will is contained in a vellum cover, headed "George, Earl of Cumberland, his Will 19th October, 3 Jac." and in another place on the vellum cover is the signature "Anne Pembroke," but not in Lady Anne's handwriting.

It is still preserved at Appleby Castle, and is in consequence only to be found in an abridged form in the York Probate Registry Office.

II.—ABRIDGMENT OF THE WILL OF MARGARET, COUNTESS DOWAGER OF CUMBERLAND.

Dated April 27th, 1616.

I, Margaret Countesse Dowager of Cumberland, beinge sicke of body—consideringe my selfe that there is noe thinge more certaine then death, though nothings more uncertaine then the tyme thereof, and esteemeinge it a necessarie duty of a Christian to order the things of this lyfe in tyme convenient, thereby to prevente the impediments to heavenly meditacions at the passage from hence to mæete the heavenly bridegroomme, our blessed Saviour, w^{ch} often falleth out by neglecte of a provident disposition of the things of this lyfe when tyme served; therefore I doe hereby in the feare of God and due regard of my postiritye and freinds revocate and disanull all former wills, testaments and bequests whatsoever made by me, and I doe make and ordaine this my laste will and testament in manner and forme followinge. First, I commend my soule into the hands of God Allmightye who gave it me, and my body to the earth till the appoynted tyme of the generall resurreccion, when my soule beinge joyned with the same, my body shall through the onely mairits of Jesus Christe, my Saviour, behould him my Redemer with comferte unspeakable, face to face, with these my bodyely eies in his full majestye and glorye. And now to beginne

¹ See paper by Rev. T. Raine in *Archæologia Aeltana*, vol. 1., 1857, page 2).

with the paymente of my debts w^{ch} although they be growen without any falte in me, partely through the want of those meanes which my late lord should have paid me, and that by speciall order and commandment both from the Kinge and Queene, and partely in respecte of my necessarye charges in lawe, sustained for the preservacion of my daughter's inheritance and my own joynture, yet my will and meaneinge is that the same my debts shall be first paid out of my estate and meanes which I shall leave at my death, to the full contentment of my creditors. I desire that the almehouse which I have taken order for may be perfected, and for the maintenance thereof I give all my lands, &c. in Harwood and Stockton, co. Yorke, by me of late purch^d of Albany Butler, Gent., and Eliz. his wife; all my goods, chattells, and jewells, I give to my honourable and trustye freinds, my nephewes, the Earle of Bedford and my Lord Russell, to the onely use and behoofe of my noble and deare dau., the Countesse of Dorset, and my sweete grandchild, the Lady Margaret; and all my freehould and inheritance to my said dau. and her heires—rem. to my Lord Fitzwarren and his heires—rem. to my worthy nephewe, the lord Francis Russell, and his heires—rem. to my heires.

FINES ON MY JOYNTURE LANDS.—If I shall happen shortly to departe this lyfe my tenants will be driven to fine againe, and that happilye before they have recovered there charge sustained that way; if I dye within a yeaere, they to have a 3rd of their fines spaired them, and if within two yeaeres, having received their whole fines, a 3rd to be given back. I desire my faithfull friend Sir. Chr. Pickeringe, Kt., as he hath in high degree deserved well of the commonweale, to take authoritye over my househould servants, and for the safe keepinge of my goods and chattells. My friends, Sir Phillip Tirwhite, Kt., Mr. Doctor Layfeild, my cosen Oldsworth, and my cos. Hen. Vincent, and my trustye serv^t Raiphe Coniston, exrs. I desire that if I departe this lyfe in Westmerland my body may be buried in that parishe church where my deare bro^r Francis Lord Russell lyeth interred. My nephewes, the Earle of Bedford and the Lord Russell, overseers. And thus I take my leve of all the worlde with assurance to meet with God's electe in the great citye, in the presence of the Lambe, by whose victorye wee are delivered, and by whose meritts wee are redemed and addopted co-heires with him of lyfe everlastinge.

MARGARET CUMBERLAND.

SCHEDALL —To the Countesse of Shrewsburye a gilte bowle of twenty markes. To the Countesse of Shrewsburye a ringe with seaven diamonds. To my nephewe the Earle of Bedford, a cabinet with drawers. To my neece, the Countesse of Bedford, a satton canopye imbrodered, with the stoole belonginge to it. To my nephewe, my Lord Fitzwarren, my best horse or 20*l*. To my Lady Herbert my neece, Duplesses Booke of the Sacrament of the Masse,¹ and to her sonne, Mr. John, a gilt porringer

¹ Probably du Plessis de Mornays Fowre Bookes of the Institution and Doctrine of the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. Printed by Windet; translated by R. S.. Folio, 1600, see B.M. 4325, f5.

with a cover. To the Lady Hauward of Effingham a ringe with five diamondes. To my Lady Hastings one dozen of pearle buttons with true love knotts. To my Lady Barrowghes one dozen of the (same?). To my Lady Bowes one dozen of garnetts. To my nephewe, my Lord Francis Russell, a gould ringe with five diamounds, and to his lady, Amatis with three pearles, and to them both two pieces of cloth of gould embrodered with greate pearle and seed pearle. To my Lady Chandoues a case of glasses with silver toppes. To my Lady Dudley my coultt and two horses, and to her dau. Mrs. Margt. 10*l.* To Mr. Henry Vincent three of the lesser silver dishes. To Doctor Layfeild two greater dishes of silver. To Mr. Oldsworth my bason and ewer. To Sir Phillip Tirwhitt halfe a dozen of silver plates, and to his lady my gould mantle, and to Mrs. Matte, her dau., a ringe with fowre little diamonds. To Mrs. Oldsworth a silver boule of 3*l.* To my cozen, Eliz. Apsley, a petticote of clothe of silver embrodered with hopps. To Mr. Shute, a preacher, a bible. To my cozen Hall a boule of 6*l.*, and to his wife a velvet gowne. To Sir Edward Yorke 10*l.*, and to his lady a curtell of cloth of gould. To Mr. Cole and Mrs. Cole, the younger, two cabinettes of glasses. To Doctor Hawkins a boule of 4*l.* To my worthie trustye friend, Sir Chr. Pickeringe, kt., of whose integritye and fidelitye I have had special triall, my best gilded cupp. I desire my honorable dau. to respecte, favor, and countenance Mr. Bradly, parson of Brogham,² that he sustaine noe wronge, as she should doe for myselfe, seinge he hath many enimies for my sake, and will find opposites for speakeinge the truth.

LEGACIES TO MY SERVANTS.—To Mrs. Wetherington a silke gromgowne and 10*l.* To Mrs. Washburne 10*l.* Mrs. Fletcher 20*l.* Mrs. Crackenthorpe two Jacobus peeces in gould. Mrs. Bellosses one of my best mares and her fole. Mr. Dawson two peices of hanginge of Deborah. To the poore of the parishe in Northumberland where it shall please God my body shall be interred 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Poore of Brogham and Applebye 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To threescore poore men and women threescore gownes.

CODICIL NUNC.—As she had declared that her body should be buried, if she dyed in Westmorland, in the parishe church where her deare brother, Francis Lord Russell, was buried, which was att Anwick, in Northumberland, she now left it to be interred where the Right Hon^{ble} Anne Countesse of Dorsett, her deare and noble sole dau. and heire, should think fitt.

[*Pr.* 1 July, 1616; *pr. at Cant., and adm. to John Layfield, S.T.P.* 7 Jan., 1616-17; *pr. here, and adm. to Ralph Conniston.*]

N.B.—The will preserved at Appleby Castle is dated 18 May, 1613. It has no codicil or schedule. It declares that her burial is to take place near to

² This Cuthbert Bradley was for 43 years parson at Brougham. He was buried at Ninekirks Church, and on his tombstone (now unfortunately broken into three pieces and used as paving stones in two different positions in Ninekirks) he is described as the "good, parentall, painful devout and Godly pastor" of his flock.

where she dies, wherever that may be, and refers at some length and in bitter fashion to her jointure remaining unpaid. It was superseded by the above Will.

III.—SUMMARY OF THE WILL OF RICHARD SACKVILLE,
EARL OF DORSET.

Dated 26th March, 1624.

“ And first my desire & will is that whensoever I dye that my bodye may be intombed att Withyham in Sussex amongste myne Auncestors and that a tomb may be made for my selfe and my most deerlye beloved wife the Ladye Anne Clifford sole Daughter and heire of the right honorable George Earle of Cumberland the said tomb to be made in such sorte and manner as my most honorable good lord and uncle the lord William Howard and my very good frend Sr George Rivers of Chafford in the Countye of Kente Knighte (hereafter in this my will appointed to be the Executors of this my laste will and testament, shall thinke fitt and conveyent And they to bestowe upon the same the some of one thousand poundes or thereabouts.”

The executors, within one year after the¹ decease of testator, are to pay £30 to the churchwardens of the parishes of Hartfield and Withyham in Sussex for the benefit of the poor people, and to the churchwardens of S. Sepulchers, where the testator was born, £40 for the poor.

“ Item I doe give & bequeath to my deerlye beloved wife ” all her wearing apparel and such rings & jewels as were hers on her marriage and the “ rocke rubye ring which I have given her ” also three score pieces of silver vessell containing in the whole one thousand one hundred & three score ounces & are contained & mentioned in an inventory dated —, 1623 ; also six silver candlesticks in the custody of his servant Edward Lindsey weighing 128 ounces, three silver Basons and Ewers ordinarily used at Knoll,¹ in the custody of the Pantler ; also one half of all the linen and ‘ My Carroch made by Mefflyn, lined with greene cloth and laced with greene and blacke silke lace and my six bay Coach geldings.’ And for her better maintenance after the death of testator £500. The residue of the silver vessels, household stuff, linen &c. (except all such silver, linen, &c. at Knoll) testator bequeaths to his ‘ deere & loveinge brother Sir Edward Sackvill, Knighte.’

To cousin and god-daughter Mary Nevill, one of the daughters of ‘ my very loveinge uncle,’ Sir Henry Nevill, Knt., Lord Bergeveny, £500 at the age of 18 years.

Bequests to servants.—Evan Edwardes £100 ; Robert Care £100 ; Roger Cooke £40 and Josias Cuper £100.

¹ Lady Anne’s letter acknowledging receipt of the silver is still at Appleby Castle, but all the silver seems to have been lost.

To uncle Lord William Howard, one of the executors, £200 either for a ring or plate which he may prefer as a token of goodwill & love and in no way as a recompence for the pains he hath already taken for which no satisfaction can be made. To faithful and loving friend Sir George Rivers of Chafford the other executor 200 marks to be bestowed in plate or as he may prefer.

All household servants one years wages.

Regarding all baronies, lordships, manors, lands, &c.—The said executors shall sell the Manor of Hove in Sussex or any other for the payment of debts, testator being desirous above all things that debts should be paid, and for that purpose by Indenture dated 7 July 13 James I made between the testator of the one part and the Right Hon. Lord William Howard, Sir George Rivers, knight, Richard Amherste of Lewes, Sussex, Esq., Steward of the said Earl's lands and Edward Lindsey, Esq. general receiver of rents of the other part have sold and granted unto them all the manors, parks, farms and lands of Knoll, Panhurst, Bayhall, Groombridge, Asheirste, Holland & certain lands purchased of his brother Sir Edward Sackvill, knt. in the county of Kent, and all the manors, lands &c., of Lindfeild, Northstoke, Mayes, Byrchden, Southease, Heyton, Telscombe, Combe, Coldstaple, Waterman's tenement, Barrecks, Little Foxholes, the George in East Grinstead, Ridghill, Kennetts, Huglet's Pitts, Windbeach, Castletrowe, Blackfenne, Stuckles, Preist's Marsh, Northey, the Chauntrie, and fraternity lands in East Grinstead, the Rectories of Lindfield, Fletching and Rottingdean three tenements in Winchelsea in the county of Sussex, three tenements in the parish of S. Mary Somerset, London and divers tenements in Dorset Alley, Fleet Street, Hanging Sword Court, Hanging Sword Alley, Bishop's Court & the woodwharves and the Rectory of S. Dunstan's in the West, London, the moiety of the manor of Reigate, Surrey & certain other lands mentioned in the said Indenture of sale, that they the executors in trust should sell the same or such part as should be necessary for the payment of the said debts, on all which manors a fine was levied by the testator and his wife to the said trustees to the use of them and their heirs for the better enabling of them to sell the same. By reason of the increase of debts and for the better means of payment of the same further Indentures were made between the same parties dated respectively—1 June, 1617, 8 July 18 James I., 1st July last past, 12 July and 12 March last past wherein all the manors and lands to be disposed of are set out.

ITEM.—Whereas the testator's father Robert, late Earl of Dorset ordained by his will that a College or Hospital should be founded in East Grinstead for the maintenance of one hundred and thirty poor persons, including one Warden and the rest Fellows, and to be named Sackvill College, and gave a rent charge of £330 yearly out of the manor of Naward in Cumberland which College was built accordingly, but was in debt, therefore the testator desires that the said College should be clear of debt and retain the yearly income which is to be made up out of the manor of Buckhurst,

The following annuities are given to servants :—

Richard Amherst, Esq., Steward, £30; Edward Lindsey, Receiver General, £40; Robert Care, £30; Tho. Billingsley, £30; Adam Bradford, £20; Abraham Nicholls 20 marks yearly; John Avery 20 marks yearly; John Belgrave £20 & John Gay £20.

In witness whereof Ri: Dorset set his signature and seal of arms 28 March, 1624, in the presence of Ro: Heathe, Jo:Sackvill, Mathias Caldecot, Evan Edwards and Edward Lane.

Further that whatsoever can be spared from the sale of the said lands shall remain for the benefit of his brother, & that his two daughters have to the value of £6000 and £4000, also that the £200 which he had in old gold should be delivered to his two daughters. Apparel to be divided amongst servants by Mr. Caldicot, except the rich apparel which is to be given to his brother & except one embroidered suit to be delivered to Captain Sackvill. Mr. Dr. White to have avoidance of Withiam for himself, only so as he publish his lectures; and that Mr. Dupper his chaplain should be presented with the first two of the following livings which shall fall void—Sevenoaks, Hartfield, Hailsham and Westham.

Proved 1 April, 1624, by Sir George Ryvers, one of the executors. (P.C.C. Bryde 27).

IV.—SUMMARY OF THE WILL OF PHILIP, EARL OF PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY.

Dated 1st May, 1649.

Being sick in body but of perfect memory, he desires to be buried “ in a seemly manner without any sumptuous Funerall as speedily after my decease as conveniently may be at and in the Cathedrall Church of Sarum in the County of Wiltes where my Father Henry, late Earle of Pembroke and my brother William, late Earle of Pembroke were both interred And that there shall be erected over the place of my buriall a seemly meet and convenient Tombe fit for my honor degree and qualitie. And my will is that in case I shall happen to dye at London or Westminster my body in carrying the same out of Towne should be only attended privately with my owne Family and servants and no other.”

To the Right Hon^{ble} Anne, Countess of Pembroke my loving wife all the chains and jewels whereof she was possessed before, or on her marriage with the said Earl and household linen and plate to the value of £500. Testator having already assured some manors in the county of Kent to the use of son James Herbert and his heirs hereby confirms the same. By indenture of assignment dated 21st Feb., the 14th year of the late King's reign, Sir Benjamin

Rudward and Michael Oldisworth stand in possession of some part of the premises in Kent in trust for a certain term, but testator desires that his said son James and his heirs should have an annuity of £1200 issuing out of the castles, manors and lands in the county of Monmouth, during the life of his said wife Anne, Countess of Pembroke, and further according to the power belonging to testator he also bequeaths to said son James, during the life of Robert May one other yearly rent of £100 issuing out of the said castles, manors, lands, &c. payable at the feasts of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary and S. Michael the Archangel, and for default of payment it shall be lawful for said son James to distrain upon the premises in the county of Monmouth for the arrears.

Whereas the late King by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of England did grant unto Edward Hide, Esq. and John Glinn, Esq. persons nominated and intrusted in the testator's behalf the Office of keeping of writs and rolls of and in the Common Pleas commonly called Custos Brēv of the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster for the lives of son William Herbert, since deceased, and John Herbert and whereas there is an initiate marriage had between said son John Herbert and Lady Penelope, youngest daughter of Paule, Viscount Banning, she being under age, testator hereby disposes of the profits of the said Office in manner and form following, that is to say, the executors for the payment of testator's debts for so long time as he the said John Herbert or his assigns shall or lawfully may have or take the rents and profits of all or any of the manors, lands, &c. of the said Lady Penelope and from and after the determination of such power or estate of him the said John Herbert of or in the said manors &c. of the Lady Penelope, then testator's desire is that the said John Herbert and his assigns shall have the issues and profits of the said Office, and hereby appoints and gives to said son John Herbert £5,000.

To the poor of Wilton £100; Ramsbury, £50; Ward of Baynarde Castle, London, £50.

To every servant one years salary over and above that due to them at the time of the testator's decease.

Appointed as executors Right Hon. William, Earl of Salisbury, Sir Robert Pye, Knt., Sir Charles Herbert, Knt., Matthew Hale, Esq., Michael Oldesworth, Esq., Thomas Pury, senior, Esq. and Sidney Bere, Esq. who are to raise money for the payment of debts as they shall think fit on certain manors and lands in the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, London and Glamorgan and whatsoever remains in their hands after all is paid is to be disposed of for the benefit of Philip, Lord Herbert and his heirs males, and in default of such heirs to James Herbert and his heirs males, and in default of such heirs to the said John Herbert and his heirs males, and in default to the right heirs of the testator.

To eldest son Philip, Lord Herbert all the castles, messuages and lands in the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Glamorgan and Monmouth or elsewhere for the term of his life only and after his decease the same to remain to William

Herbert, son of said Philip and his heirs males, and in default of such heirs to the second son of the said Philip, and in default to the third, fourth, fifth or more, and in default of such heirs then to son James and his heirs males, and in default to son John and his heirs males, and in default to the right heirs of the testator for ever.

Testator gives power to son Philip to appoint to any wife he may have any parcel of the premises to him devised not exceeding the value of £1500 per annum for her life. It is the testator's intention that the residue of all jewels and household stuff bequeathed to the executors in trust, continue to the benefit of his heirs male.

To each executor for plate or a ring as follows :—William, Earl of Salisbury, £100 ; Sir Robert Pye £50 ; Sir Charles Herbert £50 and Matthew Hale £50 Michael Oldesworth, Thomas Pury and Sidney Bere £100 divided between them. Signed and sealed with a seal of arms the day abovesaid.

Witnesses—F. Parkhurst, Ran. Caldicott, Robert Lovett, W. Markham, Richard Findall and Robert Blachford.

CONCIL dated 1 May, 1649.

To grandchild William Herbert an annuity of £500 issuing out of the lands devised to son Philip until the age of 14 years with power to distrain for non-payment, and after the age of 14 years £1000 annuity for his life.

Proved 1 March, 1649, by the Earl of Salisbury, Sir Robert Pye, Michael Oldesworth and Sydney Bere executors.

(P.C.C. Pembroke 1.)

NOTE—The Earl's will gives the register its name. There is an illuminated frontispiece—in the centre a large shield of Herbert quarterly of sixteen within a garter, with supporters and coronet. At the top are two shields one, on a hatchment all black—Per. pale. az. and gu. 3 lions ramp. arg. Herbert, imp. per cross gu. and or, in the first quarter a mullet arg. de Vere, Earl of Oxford. The second shield on a hatchment the dexter black—Herbert as before, imp. chequy or, and az. a fess gu. Clifford. Below is the following inscription :—

“ The Right Honorable Philip Herbert Earle of Pembrock & Montgomery Lord Herbert of Cardiff Fitz Hugh Marmion St. Quinten and Shirland Lord Parre & Roose Lord Warden of the Staneries of Devon & Cornwall Somtymes Lord Chamberlaine of the late Kingés Maiesties Houshold & Knight of the Honorable Order of the Garter.”

The first page of the will has an ornamental margin & in the right hand corner the arms of Herbert with an Earl's coronet and above it a winged hour-glass indicating the flight of time,

V.—SUMMARY OF THE WILL OF LADY ANNE CLIFFORD.

Dated May 1st, 1674.

I, Anne Lady Clifford, Countesse Dowager of Pembroke, Dorsett, and Montgomery, sole daughter and heire to the late noble George Clifford, Earle of Cumberland, and by my birth from him Lady of the Honor of Skipton in Craven, Baronesse Clifford, Westmerland, and Vessey, and High Sheriffesse by inheritance of the county of Westmerland, being att this present in indifferent health of body, and very good memorie, thanks be given to God for the same—I give and bequeath my soule to the Holy and Blessed Trinity, Almighty God the Creator of the world, Jesus Christ the Redeemer of the world, and the Holy Ghost the Sanctifier of the world, being confident, through the mercies, passion, bloud and meritts of the same my deare Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, to have free pardon and remission of all my sins, and to be received in the number of the faithful into the New Jerusalem, the habitation of the blessed, and into that kingdome which shall have noe end, and my firme hope and resolution is, by God's grace, to dye a true childe of the Church of England and a professor of the true orthodox faith and religion established and maintained in that church in which myselfe was borne, bred and educated by my blessed mother. And, as for my body, I desire that itt may be buried decently, and with as little charge as may be, being sensible of the folly and vanity of superflousse pomps and solemnities. And I desire that my body may be unopened, wrapt onely in a sear cloth and lead, with an inscription on the breast whose bodie it is ; and soe to be interred in the vault in Appleby church, in Westmerland, which I caused to be made there with a tombe over itt for my selfe. In which church my deare and blessed mother, Margarett Russell, Countesse of Cumberland, lyes alsoe interred, by whose prudence, goodnesse, and industrie, the right of inheritance to the lands both in Westmerland and in Craven, was discovered to the Courts of Judicature in this nation to appertaine unto me, as right and next lawfull heire to my noble father, George Earle of Cumberland, and his noble progenitors, the Veteriponts, Cliffords, and Vessyes, which otherwise had bene possessed by others who had noe right thereunto : and, therefore, as I doe myselfe, soe I desire my succeeding posteritye to have her in memory, love and reverence, who was one of the most vertuousse and religiouss ladies that lived in her time.

To my deare daughter, and now onely surviving childe, the Lady Margaret, Countesse Dowager of Thanett, for her life, my castles of Appleby, Brougham *alias* Browham, Brough *alias* Burgh-under-Staynmore, and Pendragon, in the county of Westmerland—with the fower antient forrests to the sayd fower castles belonging, viz., the forrest of Hieland belonging to the castle of Appleby, the forrest of Ouglebird to the castle of Brougham, the forrest of Stainmore to the castle of Brough, and the forest of Mallerstang to the castle of Pendragon, &c.—together with the lordships and mannors of Appleby, Skittergate and

Burrells, Bondgate and Langton Knocke *alias* Shalcocke, Brampton, King's Meaborne, Temple Sowerby, Kirkby Thure, Woodside and Moore-houses, Brough, East Stanmore, South Staynmore, Sowerby juxta Brough, Warton, Kirkby Stephen, and Mallerstange, in the county of Westmerland, the parke and chase of Whinfell, mills, mines, homages, the hereditary sherifewicke of Westmerland, and those dues called nout gelt, serjeant oates, and foster hens, and all fellons' goods, waifes and straves, in the county of Westmerland and barony of Kendall—all which were granted by King John, King of England, unto Robert de Veteriponte, my ancestor (to whom I am lineall heire), in the fifth yeare of the said King's reigne, and were in the possession of my noble father, George Earle of Cumberland. After the decease of the said Countess Dowager of Thanet, all these to remain "to my now second grandsonne, Mr. John Tufton, second sonne to my said daughter and to his heirs"—after him to Mr. Richard Tufton, Mr. (Thomas) Tufton, and Mr. Sackvile Tufton, her 3rd, 4th and 5th sons, and their heirs successively—then after them to "Nicholas Lord Tufton, Earl of Thanett, her eldest sonne (whome I name in the last place, not for want of affection or good will in me towards him, but because he is now by the death of his father possesst of a greate inheritance in the southerne parts), and his heirs,"—then to the Lady Margaret Coventry, wife to George Lord Coventry, her eldest daughter and her heirs—to Mr. John Coventry her eldest sonne, and then to Mrs. Margaret Coventry, her eldest daughter. After them, to remain to Mrs. Ann Hatton, eldest daughter to my grandchild, Lady Cicil Hatton, deceased, and second dau. to the said Lady Margarett, Countess Dowager of Thanet—and after her, to Mrs. Marg^t and Mrs. Elizabeth Hatton, her 2nd and 3rd daughters in succession—then to Mr. John Walter, only surviving son of my grandchild, the Lady Mary Walter, deceased, 3rd dau. of my said daughter, and after her, to Mrs. Mary Walter, her only dau.—Then to my grandchild, Lady Amy (Anne ?) Grimston, wife to Mr. Samuel Grimstone, and 4th dau. to my dau.—Then to my grandchild, the Lady Alathea Compton, now only surviving child of my dau., the Lady Isabella, Countess of Northampton—and then to my right heirs; and none of them to sell or destroy any wood or timber. "Whereas it hath pleased God to take out of this world my younger dau., the Lady Isabella, Countesse of Northampton, on the 14th of October, 1661, and about a month before, her then eldest son, William Lord Compton, and since that, James Lord Compton and other of her children, to my great greife and sorrow, soe she hath now left noe surviving issue behinde her but the Lady Alathea compton, her now onely child—I settle upon her my lands of inheritance in Craven—all of which were granted by King Edward II. unto Robert Lord Clifford, my ancestor (to whome I am lineall heire), in the 5th yeare of his raigne," with a repetition of the previous entail—"and if her noble father, James Compton, Earle of Northampton, shall happen to dye during her infancy, I will that she be committed to the custodye of my noble cossen, William Russell, Earle of Bedford—and I doe this the rather, in regard that my deceased

blessed mother was daughter to Francis Russell, Earle of Bedford, that dyed in July, 1585, from whome this present Earle of Bedford is dissended : And I doe earnestly desire my true frind and godsonne, George Morley, now Bishopp of Winchester, to represent to his sacred Majestie, in all humilitee, this desier of mine, humbly beseeching him to approve thereof for the good of my sayd grandchilde. My daughter to have nothing to doe with the lands called Brougham Hall demesne, co. Westmerland, which I purchased of Captaine James Browne, nor with those lands called St. Nicholas, near Appleby, which I purchased of William Fielding, of Startforth, co. York ; all which are settled for the maintenance of a mother, reader, and 12 sisters, for ever, in the Almehouse att Appleby which I caused to be built there in the years 1651, 1652, and 1653—nor with the fineable rents of Brougham Hall mannor, which I have assigned to be distributed every second of Aprill, yearely, for ever, att the pillar neare unto Brougham Castle, to the poore of the parish of Brougham, which pillar was some yeares since sett up there by my direction, in memory of the last parting betweene my blessed mother and me—nor with a house and lands called Kittigarth att Temple Sowerbye, of the yearely rent of 7*l.*, to keepe in repaire the church, bridge, schoole, and court-house in Appleby. All my household stuffe (though but of small value) to remaine as heire-loomes, &c.

To my right honorable and noble son-in-law, James Compton, Earle of Northampton, one gold cupp with a cover to itt, all of massie gold, which cost me about 100*l.*, whereon his armes and the armes of his first wife (my daughter), and some of my armes, are engraven, desiring his lordshipp that the same may remaine, after his decease, to his daughter, my grandchild, the Lady Aletheia Compton (if it please God she survive him) as a memorial of her good mother, deceased. To my right honorable and noble grandsonne, Nicholas Earle of Thanett, one other gold cupp with a cover to itt, all of massie gold, which cost me alsoe about 100*l.*, whereon the armes of his father, my deceased son-in-law, and of his mother, my daughter, and some of my owne armes, are engraven, desiring his lordshipp that the same remaine after his decease (if he soe please) to his wife, my honorable cossen and goddaughter, if she survive him, as a remembrance of me. MEMORANDUM, I doe give to my noble sonne-in-law, the Earle of Northampton, six of the best peices of my father's armors¹ that he shall chuse, hoping he will leave them to his daughter the Lady Alathea Compton, my grandchild. To the said Earle and Countesse of Thanett, my silver bason and ewer, with the Scripture history, and some of the kings of England, curiously engraven upon them, and 12 silver plates of the same workemanshipp, which were my last lord's the Earle of Pembroke's. To my honorable grandchildren, Nicholas Earle of Thanett and Mr. John Tufton, his brother, the remainder of the two rich armors² which were my noble father's, to remaine to them and their posterity (if they soe please) as a remembrance of him. To my deare

¹ Now at Appleby Castle.

² Now at Appleby Castle.

daughter, the Countesse Dowager of Thanett, my bracelett of little pomander beads, sett in gold and enamelling, containing fifty-seaven beads in number, which usually I ware under my stomacher ; which bracelett is above an hundred yeares old, and was given by Philip the Second, King of Spaine, to Mary, Queene of England (and by her?) to my greate grandmother, Ann, Countesse of Bedford : and alsoe two little peices of my father and mother, sett in a tablett of gold, and enamelled with blew ; and all those seaven or eight old truncks and all that is within them, being for the most part old things that were my deare and blessed mother's, which truncks commonly stand in my owne chamber or the next unto it. To my grandchilde, the Lady Althaea Compton, my Terra-Lemnia jugg with cover to itt, sett in gold and enamelling, which was bought by me of my last lord the Earle Pembroke's executors, and the picture of her good mother, deceased, in limning worke, sett in blew stone. To my eldest granddaughter the Lady Margaret Coventry, a little Heliotropian cupp, sett in silver and guilt, which was my noble father's ; and to her now eldest sonn, Mr. John Coventry, one agatt jugg, trimmed with gold, and a gold cover to itt, bought alsoe by me of my last lord the Earle of Pembroke's executors. To Mrs. Margaret Coventry, eldest daughter to the said Lady Margaret Coventry, twenty silver plates, whereon the armes of my last lord, the Earle of Pembroke, and my owne armes are ingraven, and a little picture of her owne mother in lymning worke, sett in gold. To my greate grandchild and goddaughter Mrs. Ann Hatton, 100*l.*, and my fauncye picture case with a diamond on the one side, and a rubie on the other side of itt, which was my good aunt of Bathe's, and wherein my last lord's picture is sett. To my greate grandchild, Mr. John Walter, 100*l.*, and my best ring with a greate orientall amethyst, which was my worthy antt of Warwick's ; and to his sister, Mrs. Mary Walter, my owne picture when I was about twenty yeares of age, sett in a table case of gold with blacke enamelling. To my granddaughter, the Lady Ann Grimstone, 100*l.*, and the chrystall cann which was bought by me of my last lord the Earl of Pembroke's executors, and was by my directions delivered to her by my seyde daughter, the Countesse Dowager of Thanet, shortly after the marriage of the seyde Lady Ann Grimstone. To my third, fourth, and fifth grandsons, Mr. Richard, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Sackville Tufton, 100*l.* each, to buy themselves a peece of plate. To the right honorable Ann Countesse of Bedford my large silver standish³ that was given me as a legacy by her husband's grandfather, William Lord Russell, my worthy unckle. To my honorable grandchild, Charles Earle of Carnarvon, my chrystall cupp, cutt in flowers, and made in the fashon of a boate, and a peece of white stayned cloth of silver, with the Herberts' armes and divers flowers wroughte in itt. To my honorable grandsonne, Philip Herbert, Earle of Pembroke and Montgomerye, the picture of his grandfather, my last lord, Philip Earle of Pembroke, sett in a gold case and enamelled with blew, drawne by Helyard the famous

³ This is not now to be found at Woburn.

lymner ; and alsoe a silver medall,⁴ and case for itt, with the picture of his great great grandfather, William Herbert, first Earle of Pembroke of that familie, on the one syde of itt, and on the other side the Temple of Vertue, guarded by a dragon, with an inscription in Latine about itt.⁵ To my worthy cossen, Sir Philipp Musgrave, of Edenhall, Bart., my worthy cossen, Sir John Lowther, of Lowther, Bart., my antient frind, the Lady Margaret Boswell, of Bradburne, co. Kent, widow of Sir William Boswell, kt., to the Lady Katherine Shaftoe, wife to Sir Robert Shaftoe, Recorder of Newcastle, daughter to my very good frind Sir Thomas Widdrington, deceased, each 20*l.* to buy a peece of plate. To the Lady Howell, wife to Sir John Howell, now Recorder of London (whome I have knowne from her childhood), two of my best silver fruite dishes. To Mr. Thomas Gabetis, my deputie sheriffe for the countie of Westmerland, and to his wife two other of my best silver fruite dishes. To Mrs. Elizabeth Gilmore (whoe formerly served me for many yeares together) 20*l.* and my fugard sattin mantle lyned with a white furr mixt, with haire collar ; and to her daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Kelloway, 10*l.*, and my best riding coate of haire colloured sattin. To Mr. George Sedgwicke, one of my cheife officers and servants, 200*l.* To Mr. Thomas Strickland, another of my officers, and receiver of Westmerland rents, 30*l.* To Mr. Peter Collings, receiver of my rents in Craven (son to Mr. Robert Collings, deceased, my late receiver there) fower of my best oxen. To Mr. William Edge, receiver of my joynture rents in Sussex, and in the Isle of Sheppey, 40*l.*, to buy him a peece of plate. To the right reverend father in God, George, now Bishop of Winchester, my first godson, 40*l.*, to buy a peece of plate to keepe in memorie of me.⁶ To my household servants, all wages due to them, and such other sums as shall be affixed to each of their names in a checque roll hereunto annexed. My weareing apparell to my servants, and my linnen to my daughter. 100*l.* to be bestowed in mourning blacks att my death for some of my frinds and servants. To the poore of the parishes of Skipton, Appleby, and Brougham, each, 10*l.* ; and to the poore of that parish where it shall please God to take me out of this world, 10*l.* I doe further desire that at my decease my body may be attended the grave onely by my household servants, and family, in a private fashion, unlesse some of my frinds or kindred should happen to be neare to the place of my buriall, and so to be present there with little trouble, and my household and family to be kept together, as it was in my lifetime, for the space of one month after my death. My deare daughter, the Countesse Dowager of Thanett, and her posterity, to take care for the well ordering of my almshouses at Appleby, and also of my almshouse att Beamesley

⁴ With reference to the medal, Lady Anne puts a footnote. "These things I did give to William, Earl of Pembroke (he being now dead) I give to Philip Herbert, the new earl, whom I have had the honour to see in the North at my castle at Appleby, when he was Sir Philip Herbert."

⁵ This I discovered at Wilton House, but the miniature could not be identified.

⁶ This once belonged to Sir Ernest Cassel, was presented by him to the Red Cross, and was purchased at Christies by Mrs. Mango, and is now in her possession.

nere Skipton, in Craven, which was founded by my blessed mother, Margarett Countess of Cumberland, in the raigne of the late Queene Elizabeth, of happy memory. My said daughter to be my sole executrix : I give her all the rents, and arrears at rents, out of my joynture lands in Sussex, and in the Ile of Sheppey, and 1000*l.* now in her hands for which I have her bond, 200*l.* owing to me by Mr. John Tufton, 1400*l.* in the hands of Mrs. Covell, late citizen and goldsmith of London; 1000*l.* in the hands of Sir Robert Viner, Knt., Alderman of London; all to the use of my daughter, my first and now onely childe, the Lady Margarett Countesse Dowager of Thanett.

ANNE PEMBROOKE.

Att Pendragon Castle.

Witnesses—George Sedgwick, Thomas and Allan Strickland, Hen. Machell, Geo. Goodgion, Edm. Foster, Edward Hasell.

The cheque roll of schedule of my household servants to be rewarded by my executrix :—

Mrs. Frances Place, one of my gentlewomen, 50*l.* Mrs. Susan Machell, my other gentlewoman, 10*l.* Dorothy Demaine, one of my laundry maides, 40*l.* Margarett Dargue, another of my laundry mayds, 10*l.* Ann Chippindale and Jane Steddall, two other of my laundry maids, 5*l.* and 4*l.* Geo. Sedgwick one of my cheife officers and servants, 40*l.* Edward Hasell, my secretarie, and one of my cheife officers, 20*l.* Thomas Strickland, another of them, and receiver of my rents in Westmerland, 30*l.* Henry Machell, steward of my house and gentleman of my horse, 20*l.* Edmond Foster, my cheife butler, 10*l.* George Goodgeon, caterer and clarke of the kitchen, 30*l.* Allan Strickland, groome of the chambers 15*l.* Arthur Swindin, my under buttler and fyer maker, 6*l.* John Hall, cheife groome of my stables 6*l.* Abraham Tittin, another groome of my stables, 6*l.* Isaacke Walker, another groome of my stables, 4*l.* Wm. Dargue, cooke, 8*l.* Wm. Buckle, that helps in the kitchin, Ʒ3. Wm. Johnson, housekeeper of Brougham Castle, 3*l.* Robert Harrison, of Brough Castle, 3*l.* Richard Reingoldson, my baker and brewer, 5*l.*

ANNE PEMBROOKE.

The will is signed in the presence of George Sedgwick, Henry Machell, Alan Strickland, Thomas Strickland, George Goodgion, Edmund Foster, Edward Hasell, and is entirely in the handwriting of the last-named person.

In the schedule of servants' bequests at the end of the will, four items are struck out by Lady Anne.

- (1) Isabel Dargue, another of my laundry-maids, Ʒ10. To this appears appended a note, " She married the 30 of November, 1674, and is gone from me.
- (2) Edward Smith, my coachman, Ʒ4—with this note, " He died the 3 of this June, 1674."

- (3) George Padget, baker, £4—to which is attached this note: “ This baker was sent away from serving me, the 13th of June, 1674, and finally
- (4) John Harrison, brewer, £3—to whose name is the following note: “ He went away from me 14 September, 1674.”

The will is on fifteen sheets, is signed on each sheet, and on the first sheet in two places. It is endorsed “ My last will and testament, signed and sealed by me, in Pendragon Castle in Westmorland, the 1st of May, 1674. The seal to the signature on page 15 is in black wax, and is of Herbert impaling Clifford, under an Earl's coronet. The pendent seal is in red wax, and is the same, Herbert impaling Clifford, under an Earl's coronet. The will is endorsed “ Proved at Doctors' Commons 3 April, 1676, also entered into the book of survey, 1696.” There is furthermore the statement as to its proof (signed by Richard Lloyd, surrogate), and the statement respecting its being produced for probate, in Latin, under the date, 3 April, 1676, appears on the reverse of the schedule of the servants' bequests, that is to say on page 16, on the back there are two other endorsements, one concerning its production at Brougham on the 22nd of March, 1675, and the other concerning its acceptance for probate in 1676. Finally, there is a statement dated 1682, concerning its production for confirmation. It is still preserved at Appleby Castle and is in consequence not to be found at Somerset House.

CERTAIN SPECIAL EXTRACTS FROM THE WILL OF LADY ANNE CLIFFORD
CONCERNING THE MANORS AND ESPECIALLY AS TO BARDEN TOWER.

The lordships which she particularly details in Westmoreland are those of “ Appleby, Skattergate, Burrells, Bongate, Langton, Knocke (otherwise Shalcock), Brampton, King's Meabourne, Temple Sowerby, Kirkby Thore, Woodside, Moorhouse, Brough, East and South Stainmoore, Sowerby-next-to-Brough, or Suriten, Winton, Kirkby Stephen, Mallerstang, the Park of Whinfell, the great pasture of Southfield, the mills of Bongate, Brougham, King's Meabourne, Brough, Sowerby, Swinton, Stainmoore, and Kirkby Stephen, the dues or payments called Notgelt, sergeant oates and foster-hens and the advowsons of Longe Merton Kirkby Thore and Brougham.” The Skipton bequest runs as follows:—

“ And all those Messuages, houses and cottages in the town and borough of Skipton, as well those that are in the present possession of me, the said Countess Dowager of Pembroke, as those that are still depending in controversy between me and my cousin, the Countess of Burlington and Cork and her husband, whereof the Right undoubtedly belongs unto me [and all that the forest of Barden, and the house called Barden Tower, with the curtailage and appurtenances thereto belonging, and all the parks, chases, desmesnes, lands, mills, messuages, houses, cottages, lands, tenements, mines of coal and lead and other mines, free

rents and rents of assize and other hereditaments, lying and being, or represented to lie and be, within the said forest of Barden], and all that the Lordship and manor of Siglesden or Silsden in Craven aforesaid, and the lodge called Holden Lodge, the park called Holden Park or Chase, and the desmesne lands thereto belonging, together with the mill called Holden Mill, and all that close called by the name of Long Carre, and all that other close called by the name of Kirkby Close, which two last mentioned closes were lately enjoyed, together with the said Holden Park, and also all that ancient messuage and tenement lately divided into four several tenements, called by the name of High Holden, and all the messuages, cottages, farms, tenements, inns, moors, mosses, turbaryes, mines of coal and lead and other mines, and all royalties, liberties, properties, and appurtenances within the said Lordship and manor of Silsden and within the hamlets, precincts, fields and territories of Silsden Moor, Brunthwaite, Gillgrange, Swarthoe in Craven aforesaid, in the said county of York, and of those four several farms and tenements, with their appurtenances, situate, lying or being in Skibeden, within the parish of Skipton-in-Craven aforesaid, and two other messuages and tenements, with their appurtenances, called Close-Houses, lying and being within the parish of Skipton aforesaid, and one other messuage and tenement with territories situate, lying and being within Park George in the parish of Skipton, and all that lordship and manor of Stirton and Thorelby, the demesne lands called Elsey Croft, and Cragge Close, and the great pasture close called Skyrackes, Crookerise, and Haggens near unto Skipton, and all the messuages, cottages, farms, tenements, commons, and hereditaments to them, every one of them belonging and appertaining, all the demesne lands called Holme Demesne near unto Skipton, and all that manor of Eshton⁷ in Craven aforesaid, with the appurtenances and all the demesne lands, messuages, cottages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, fees, rents, felons' goods, waiffes and strays, and all wapentake fees, and all other casual profits, liberties and royalties, jurisdiction and hereditaments, belonging to the liberty called Clifford's Fee in Craven aforesaid, consisting of the three Bailiwicks of Kettlewelldale,⁸ Malhamdale⁹ and Ayredale, and all those the manors of Nesfield⁸ and Langber⁸ in Craven aforesaid, of their hereditaments, messuages, cottages, lands, tenements, commons, rents, fees, heriots, courts, royalties, and all that the manor of Grassington,⁸ otherwise Girsten in Craven, though they be now, and have been for many years last past, in the tenure and possession of the Earl and Countess of Burlington and Cork, yet undoubtedly and of right do belong and appertain unto me as part of the lands and possessions of my noble father, George, Earl of Cumberland, deceased, as all of the above were granted by King Edward II., King of England, unto Robert, Lord Clifford, my ancestor, to whom I am lineal heir, in the fifth year of the said King's reign."

⁷ The Manor of Eshton does not now belong to the estate.

⁸ These manors now belong to the Duke of Devonshire.

⁹ This manor now belongs to Mr. W. Morrison.

VI.—SUMMARY OF THE KING'S AWARD.

(Patent Roll 2102).

“ JAMES, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the faith, &c.

To all to Whom this Indenture tripartite of our Award shall come Greeting. Whereas divers greate suyts and controversies have byn had moved stirred and dependinge between ffrancis Earle of Cumberland on the one part And Richard Earle of Dorset and the ladye Anne Countesse of Dorsett his Wife in the right of the said Countesse sole daughter and heire of George late Earle of Cumberland deceased on the other part as well for and concerning divers honors Castles mannors Lordshippes landes tenements and hereditaments late the inheritance of the said George Earle of Cumberland as also for and concerning some porcion or somes of money devised given or bequeathed to the said Anne Countesse of Dorsett by the said George late Earle of Cumberland her father and whereas the said ffrancis Earl of Cumberland and Henrye Lord Clifford his son and heire apparent for themselves and the said Richard Earle of Dorsett for and on the behalfe of himselfe and the said Countesse his Wife have byn humble suytors unto us that we woulde be pleased to take into our princelye consideration the hearing ending and finall determinacion of all the said suyts controversies and demaundes and therupon and for that end and purpose they the said ffrancis, Earle of Cumberland and Henrye, Lord Clifford and the said Richard Earle of Dorsett have by Writeing under their handes respectivelie freelye generrally and absolutlie submytted themselves and their rightes and tytles and the said Earle of Dorsett the right and tytle of the said Countesse his Wife and all questions suytes and demaunds Whatsoever touching the said premysses or any of them to our Award fynall end and determynacion concernyng the same promising thereby upon their honors respectivelye to abide observe and performe our said Award in all thinges according to the true meaning thereof And the said Earle of Dorsett for his part on the behalfe of the said Countesse his Wife promysing and agreeing by a reasonable and valueable proportion of his owne land to assure the repayment of such somes of money as We should order and award to the said Earle of Dorsett according to the true meaning of our Award (if in case by occasion of suyte on the part of the said Countesse the cause shall so require). We therefore taking into our prynclye consideracon the apparent wasting and decaying of the estate of both the said Earledomes Which were like to ensue by multiplicite of long and tedious suyts concernyng Which some have already depended many years and Which controversies have byn endeavored to be ended both by tryall at the lawe by arbitrariye Award of our Justices of our Court of Comon Pleas and many other medyacions of divers honorable personages and yet hitherto have received noe peaceable end at all Wee conceived it to be an act of much pietye and Worthy our royall person to appease the same controversies and to put a fynall end therunto.”

Therefore having called the said parties, & heard their Counsell, and advised thereof by the Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas make this final decree and award in manner and form following :--

First, In case the said Anne, Countess of Dorset together with Richard, Earl of Dorset shall be willing and do join, or she surviving her husband or her heirs shall join with the said Francis, Earl of Cumberland and Henry, Lord Clifford or the survivor of them for the settling of the inheritance of the said honors, castles, lands, &c. of the said George, late Earl of Cumberland that then the same shall be estated and settled in manner and form following :--That is to say—All that the Castle, honor, manor & Burgh of Skipton and all the Manors or lordships of Silsden, Barden, Stirton, Thorlby and Crookerishe, with all their appurtenances whatsoever within the county of York & all other messuages, lands situated in Skipton wherein the said George, late Earl of Cumberland at any time had, and they the said Francis, Earl of Cumberland & Henry, Lord Clifford or either of them have any estate of inheritance and all and singular their manors, messuages, advowsons, lands &c. situated in Skipton, Silsden, Gilgrange, Houlden, Barden, Stirton, Thorlby, Crookerishe, Holme, Elsoe and Skibeden in Yorkshire or in any of them granted by King Edward II. unto Robert de Clyfford in the third year of his reign &c. and also the Castles and manors of Browham alias Burgham, Appleby, Burgh-under-Staynesmore and Pendragon with all their appurtenances in the county of Westmoreland and the manors of Kirkby Stephen, Sowerby juxta Burgh, Wynton Kings Meabourne, Mallerstrange, Knock alias Shalcock, and the Forest of Whinfield, Stainesmore, & Mallerstange, also Woodsyde, Moorhouses, Sandford, Clyburne, Brampton, Horuby, Boulton, Burrells, Clifton, Flakebrigg, Southfield, Bondgate, Burton, Helton, Milburne fell, Kendall & Marton in the county of Westmoreland wherein the said George, Earl of Cumberland at any time had & they the said Francis, Earl of Cumberland and Henry Lord Clifford or either of them have any estate of inheritance in the county of Westmoreland which Margaret, late Countess Dowager of Cumberland lately held in jointure for the term of her life & also the "Sheriffwicke or Baylywick of the said county of Westmerland" & all the liberties &c. belonging thereunto shall be assured and estated as the same may continue, remain & come to the said Francis, Earl of Cumberland for the term of his natural life, and from and after his decease to the said Henry, Lord Clifford for his life, and from and after the decease of the said Henry, Lord Clifford then to his first son & to his heirs male, & for default of such heirs then to the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth sons of the said Henry, Lord Clifford & to all & every the other sons of the said Henry, Lord Clifford lawfully begotten successively one after another & to their several heirs male, & for default then to the second son of Francis, Earl of Cumberland & his heirs male in like manner, and for default then to the said Richard, Earl of Dorset and the said Anne, now Countess of Dorset for the term of their lives & the life of the longer liver of them, & from and after the decease of the survivor

of them, then to the first son of the said Countess of Dorset & the heirs male of the same first son, & for default (as is abovesaid) & for default then to all & every the daughters of the said Anne, Countess of Dorset & their heirs; for default then to the daughters of the said Henry, Lord Clifford & their heirs, & for default then to the daughters of Francis, Earl of Cumberland, & for default then to the right heirs of George, late Earl of Cumberland for ever. Likewise all and singular the manors, messuages &c. in Gargrave, Embsey, Eastby, Malham, Malham Moor, Halton, Flasby, Sutton, Carlton, Broughton, Scosthorpe, Hawkeswick, & Ulcott in Yorkshire & the advowson of the church of Kighley in Yorkshire and the Forest of Nicholl & the manors of Arthwrith, Liddell, Randlevington, Skelton, Lamonby & Carlton in Cumberland which were the inheritance of George Earl of Cumberland & are now in the possession of Francis, Earl of Cumberland, also a capital messuage called Clifford's Inn, Fleet Street, London and all appertaining shall be so assured and estated as the same shall continue & remain to the said Francis, Earl of Cumberland & his heirs, and for default to the right heirs of the said Francis for ever. Provided always that it may be lawful to and for the said Francis, Earl of Cumberland & Henry, Lord Clifford or either of them from time to time during the four years next ensuing the date hereof to make or grant any estate by lease or leases for one—two or three lives in possession or for the term of two lives in reversion there being one life in possession, or for the term of one life in reversion there being two lives in possession or for the term of fourteen & nineteen years &c. Except all parks now used as parks & demesnes of any manors at any time used as demesnes within 20 years, that is to say within the county of York the Castle of Skipton & Barden Tower, and within the county of Westmoreland the Castles of Appleby and Browham. Provided always that it may be lawful for the said parties & their heirs then being tenant in possession to grant, convey or assure to any woman or wife an annuity of 1000 marks issuing out of all the manors, lands & hereditaments whatsoever in the county of York and herein before limited to the said Ann, Countess of Dorset for her life, the same to be paid at the usual feasts of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin and S. Michael the Archangel by equal portions. Leases in Westmoreland as in Yorkshire.

Francis, Earl of Cumberland and Henry, Lord Clifford or their heirs shall pay £20,000 to Richard, Earl of Dorset in manner & form following, that is to say—£5,000 at the feast of S. Michael the Archangel next following the date hereof; £6,000 at the feast of the Nativity of S. John the Baptist in 1618; £6000 at the feast of the Nativity of S. John the Baptist 1619, and the remaining £3,000 on the feast of S. Michael the Archangel in the same year 1619, if before that time the said Anne, Countess of Dorset shall have joined in assurance & settled the estate of the said honors, castles &c. in manner as before is declared & appointed; or otherwise if before the said time so limited for payment of the said £3,000 this our award shall be settled & confirmed by Act of Parliament as aforesaid, but if the said Anne, Countess of Dorset before the said Feast of S. Michael the

Archangel 1619 shall not have joined in assurance & settled the estate of and in the said honors, castles &c. in manner as is before declared, or otherwise if before the said feast this our award shall not be confirmed by Act of Parliament as aforesaid. Then our intent & meaning is, and we doe order & award that the said £3,000 shall be paid unto the said Earl of Dorset or his executors upon the finishing of an Act of Parliament for confirmation of this our award within three months after the joining of the said Countess as aforesaid, which of them shall first happen. Payment to be made at the Royal Exchange, London.

Provided always that if the said Earl of Dorset shall happen to die before all the said payment be made and the said Countess survive him & that she or any other under her title shall commence any suit for or concerning the said premises or any part thereof or if the said Francis, Earl of Cumberland & Henry, Lord Clifford die without heirs male before the full payment of the £20,000 and that by reason thereof the lands & hereditaments &c. formerly meant to be estated upon the said Countess & her heirs shall and may come to her & them in possession that then in both cases all & every the said payments from thenceforth to grow due & payable shall cease and not be paid and in consideration hereof after security as aforesaid given for the sums hereby awarded it is now ordered that the said Richard Earl of Dorset shall upon reasonable request to him made by the said Francis, Earl of Cumberland & Henry Lord Clifford remise, release, acquit and discharge the said Francis and the executors of the said George, late Earl of Cumberland their lands, hereditaments, goods & chattells of & from the sum of £15,000 divided or intended to the same Ann, Countess of Dorset by the last will of the said George, Earl of Cumberland her father & of all legacies & money whatsoever due or that the said Countess may claim by the will of her said father and to the intent that the said Francis may not by his own accord be both charged with the great sums of money aforesaid out of his estate and yet be left subject & open to the suits & trouble of the said Countess or her heirs contrary to the true intent & meaning of her said father expressed in his will or of this award without some convenient provision in that behalf. Further that Richard, Earl of Dorset in consideration of the premises convey or assure unto Francis, Earl of Cumberland & Henery, Lord Clifford & their heirs the manors, lands &c. of the full worth & clear value to be sold of the sum of £25,000 over and above all charges & reprises to have and to hold to them and their heirs for ever with reasonable security for enjoying the same and that the said Francis and Henry shall immediately regrant the same to the said Richard, Earl of Dorset & his heirs upon condition that if after the death of the said Richard, Earl of Dorset the said Countess or her heirs shall commence any suit whatsoever concerning any of the honors, castles manors &c. or any part thereof comprised & contrary to this Award that then the heirs or executors of the said Earl of Dorset shall at the house of the said Richard, Earl of Dorset in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street called Dorset House, pay and satisfy unto the said Francis, Earl of Cumberland the aforesaid sum of £20,000 at the Exchange,

London. That is to say £5,000 within six months after the computation next after such suit commenced, £6,000 within nine months next after the end of the said six & £6,000 within one whole year next after the end of the said nine months & the £3,000 residue within three months next after the end of the said whole year & for default of payment it may be lawful for the said Francis, Earl of Cumberland and Henry, Lord Clifford wholly to re-enter and have again in their former estate.

In witness whereof—at Whitehall 14 March, 14 James I.

VII.—A CATALOGUE OF THE HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY OF THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE RICHARD EARL OF DORSET, IN
THE YEAR OF OUR LORD, 1613; AND SO CONTINUED
UNTIL THE YEAR 1624, AT KNOLE, IN KENT, &c.

[N.B.—Many of these persons are alluded to by name in the Chapter dealing with Lady Anne's first marriage and life at Knole, notably those in italics.]

AT MY LORD'S TABLE.

My Lord; My Lady; My Lady Margaret; My Lady Isabella; Mr. Sackville; Mr. Frost; John Musgrave; Thomas Garret.

AT THE PARLOUR TABLE.

Mrs. Field; Mrs. *Willoughby*; Mrs. Grimsditch; Mrs. Stewkly; Mrs. Fletcher; Mrs. Wood; Mr. *Dupper*, Chaplain (afterwards Rector of Withyham, Bishop of Chichester, and Bishop of Salisbury); *Mr. Mathew Caldicott, my lord's favourite*; *Mr. Edward Legge, Steward*; *Mr. Peter Basket, Gentleman of the Horse*; *Mr. Marsh, Attendant on my Lady*; Mr. Wooldridge; Mr. Cheyney; Mr. Duck, Page; *Mr. Josiah Cooper, a Frenchman, Page*; Mr. John Belgrave, Page; *Mr. Billingsley*; *Mr. Graverner, Gentleman Usher*; Mr. Marshall, Auditor; Mr. Edwards, Secretary; Mr. Drake, Attendant.

AT THE CLERKS' TABLE IN THE HALL.

Edward Fulks and John Edwards, clerks of the kitchen; Edward Care, master cook; William Smith, yeoman of the buttery; Henry Keble, yeoman of the pantry; John Michall, pastryman; Thomas Vinson, John Elnor, and Ralph Hussey, cooks; John Avery, usher of the hall; Robert Elnor, slaughterman; Benjamin Staples, groom of the great chamber; *Thomas Petley*, brewer; *William Turner*, baker; Francis Steeling and Richard Wicking, gardeners; Thomas Clements, under brewer; Samuel Vans, caterer; Edward Small, groom of the wardrobe; Samuel Souther, under baker; Lowry, a French boy.

THE NURSERY.

Nurse Carpenter ; Widow Ben ; Jane Sisley ; Dorothy Pickenden.

AT THE LONG TABLE IN THE HALL.

Robert Care, attendant on my lord ; Mr. Gray, attendant likewise ; Mr. Roger Cook, attendant on my Lady Margaret ; *Mr. Adam Bradford, barber* ; Mr. John Guy, groom of my lord's bed-chamber ; Walter Comestone, attendant on my lady ; Edward Lane, scrivener ; Mr. Thomas Poor, yeoman of the wardrobe ; Mr. Thomas Leonard, master huntsman ; Mr. Woodgate, yeoman of the great chamber ; John Hall, falconer ; James Flennel, yeoman of the granary ; Rawlinson, armourer ; Moses Shonk, coachman ; Anthony Ashby, groom of the great horse ; Griffin Edwards, groom of my lady's horse ; Francis Turner, groom of the great horse ; William Grymes, groom of the great horse ; *Acton Curvett, chief footman* ; James Loveall, footman ; Sampson Ashley, footman ; William Petley, footman ; Nicholas James, footman ; Paschal Beate, footman ; Elias Thomas, footman ; Henry Spencer, farrier ; Edward Goodsall ; John Sant, the steward's man ; Ralph Wise, groom of the stables ; Thomas Petley, under farrier ; John Stephens, the chaplain's man ; John Haite, groom for the stranger's horse ; Thomas Giles, groom of the stables ; Richard Thomas, groom of the hall ; Christopher Wood, groom of the pantry ; George Owen and George Vigeon, huntsmen ; Thomas Grittan, groom of the buttery ; Solomon, the bird-catcher ; Richard Thornton, the coachman's man ; Richard Pickenden, postilion ; William Roberts, groom ; the armourer's man ; Ralph Wise, his servant ; John Swift, the porter's man ; John Atkins and Clement Doory, men to carry wood.

THE LAUNDRY-MAID'S TABLE.

Mrs. Judith Simpton ; Mrs. Grace Simpton ; Penelope Tutty, the Lady Margaret's maid ; Anne Mills, dairy-maid ; *Prudence Bucher* ; Anne Howse ; Faith Husband ; Elinor Thompson ; Goodwife Burton ; Grace Robinson, a Blackamoor ; Goodwife Small ; William Lewes, porter.

KITCHEN AND SCULLERY.

Diggory Dyer ; Marfidy Snipt ; John Watson ; Thomas Harman ; Thomas Johnson ; John Morockoe, a Blackamoor.

SERVANTS AT DORSET HOUSE, LONDON.

John Justice, porter : Henry and George Grindall, wardrobe ; John Lane, grainery-man ; William Wellins, gardener ; Thomas Call, farrier ; Goodwife Mowberry ; Elizabeth Dorey, keeper of the sick.

BOLEBROOK HOUSE, SUSSEX.

William Gardener ; Thomas Gilbert, keeper.

VIII.—LIST OF BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS OF LADY
ANNE'S DESCENDANTS, RECORDED BY HER
IN HER DIARY.

BIRTHS.

1631. August 7. Nicholas, eldest son of Lady Tufton, afterwards succeeded his father as Earl of Thanet.
1643. August 30. Thomas, son to Lady Tufton, afterwards succeeded his brother as Earl of Thanet.
1651. August 2. Lady Mary Tufton, daughter of Lady Tufton.
1653. May 27. Lord William Compton, son to Lady Northampton, at Canonbury. (N.B.—He died 18 September, 1661 at Castle Ashby).
1654. June 22. Lady Anne Tufton, daughter to Lady Tufton, at Hothfield.
1654. Sept. 2. John, son of Lady Margaret Coventry, at Croom.
1655. July 14. Lady Anne Compton, daughter of Lady Northampton, at Canonbury. (N.B.—She died 14 Dec., 1660).
1656. July 28. Anne Coventry, daughter of Lady Margaret Coventry. (N.B.—She died the next day).
1656. Dec. 16. Lady Isabella Compton, daughter of Lady Northampton, at Castle Ashby. (N.B.—She died 3 March, 1657).
1657. Sept. 14. Margaret, daughter of Lady Margaret Coventry at Hothfield.
1659. April 14. James, third son to Lady Northampton, in Lincoln's Inn Fields. (N.B.—He died Aug. 1, 1662).
1659. August 27. Thomas Coventry, the son of Lady Margaret Coventry, at Croom. (N.B.—He died 17 June, 1660).
1661. March 14. Lady Alethea, only surviving daughter of Lady Northampton, in Lincoln's Inn Fields.
1661. July 6. William Coventry, son of Lady Margaret Coventry. (N.B.—He died July 14, 1662).
1668. Oct. 9. Anne, daughter to Lady Cecily Tufton, who married Christopher Hatton.
1670. May 20. Margaret, second daughter to Lady Cecily Tufton, who married Christopher Hatton, at Thanet House. Lady Thanet, Lady Hatton and Lord Fanshaw Godparents.
1671. Sept. 3. William Walter, son of Lady Mary Tufton, who married William Walter in Thanet House. (N.B.—He died on the 21st of September.)
1673. Feb. 23. Mary Walter, daughter to Lady Mary Tufton, who married William Walter, at Thanet House.
1674. Jan. 20. John Walter, son of Lady Mary Tufton who married William Walter, at Thanet House.

1674. July 27. Edward Grimston, son of Lady Anne Tufton, who married Samuel Grimston, at the Rolls House.
1675. Sept. 23. Mary Grimston, daughter of Lady Anne Tufton, who married Samuel Grimston, at Gorbambury.

MARRIAGES.

1629. April 21. Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne, to Lord Tufton.
1647. July 5. Isabella, daughter to Lady Anne, to James, Earl of Northampton.
1653. July 18. Lady Margaret Tufton to George Coventry, son of Lord Coventry, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, at her father's house in Aldersgate Street.
1664. April 11. Nicholas Lord Tufton to Lady Elizabeth Boyle, in Clifford's Inn.
1665. 23 Feb. Lady Frances Tufton to Mr. Drax at Thanet House. (N.B.—She died with her baby, 22 Nov., 1666.)
1668. Feb. 12. Lady Cecily Tufton to Christopher Hatton, in Sir Chas. Littleton's House in the Mews.
1670. Sept. 8. Lady Mary Tufton to William Walter, son of Lord Chief Baron Sir John Walter (temp. Chas. I. in St. Botolph's, Aldersgate Street. They lived at Sarsden in Oxfordshire.
1673. April 17. Lady Anne Tufton to Samuel Grimston, son of Sir Harbottle Grimston, Master of the Rolls (his first wife was daughter of Sir Heneage Finch). They lived in the Rolls House.
1676. Dec. 21. Lord Hatton to his second wife Mrs. Yelverton.

DEATHS.

1651. July 15. Edward Earl of Dorset.
1653. June 25. Frances, Countess Dowager of Thanet at Raynham, and buried at Raynham.
1654. March 18. Mary, Countess Dowager of Northampton, in Queen Street, buried at Compton.
1656. July 28. Anne, daughter of Lady Margaret Coventry.
1657. Jan. 30. Katherine, Countess Dowager of Bedford, at Chiswick.
1657. Mar. 3. Lady Isabella Compton, daughter of Lady Northampton, at Lady Rivers' House in Queen Street, London.
1660. June 17. Thomas son of Lady Margaret Coventry at Croom.
1660. Decr. 14. Lady Anne Compton, daughter of Lady Northampton.
1660. March 10. Margaret Wharton, then the widow Lady Wotton, at Canterbury.
1661. Sept. Lord William Compton, son to Lady Northampton at Castle Ashby.
1661. Oct. 14. Lady Northampton, in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

1661. Oct. 27. Thomas, Lord Coventry, in Lincoln's Inn Fields.
1662. July 14. William son of Lady Margaret Coventry at Croome.
1662. Aug. 1. Lord James Compton, son of Lady Northampton in Canonbury.
1664. May 7. Lord Thanet at Thanet House, Aldersgate Street.
1666. Nov. 22. Lady Frances Drax and her baby at Buckwell near Hothfield. They were buried at Rainham.
1670. Dec. 12. George, son of Lady Thanet, in Thanet House.
1671. Sept. 21. William Walter, son of Lady Mary Walter.
1672. Dec. 29. Lady Cecily Hatton, also old Lady Hatton, at Castle Cornet, Guernsay.
1674. Jan. 31. Lady Mary Walter, of smallpox, at Thanet House. She was buried at Churchill near Sarsden.
1674. Jan. 31. Elizabeth, Countess Dowager of Arundel (buried at Arundel) N.B.—“Part of her Jointure was the Castle & Barony of Greystock.”
1674. Oct. 19. Elizabeth, daughter of Lady Cecily Hatton (at Lord Hatton's House, Kirkby).
1674. Nov. 27. Margaret, daughter of Lady Cecily Hatton “at Kirkby.”
1674. Dec. 23. Edward son of Lady Anne Grimston (buried at St. Albans).
1675. March 24. Sir William Walter, at Sarsden.

IX.—MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR APPLEBY, 1640-1705.

The year in which they were elected.	Members of Parliament for the Burrough of Appleby in the County of Westmorland, taken out of the indentures in the Town Chest.	The High Sheriff who returned the Writ of Election.
16 Car. 1., 1640	Sr. Richard Boyle, Knt. & John Brooke, Knt.	Francis Cumberland. Pembroke & Montg:
21 Car. I, 1645	Richard Sallway Gen. & Henry Ireton Gen. Both those were recommended by the late Lord W—Ireton was the 5th Commissioner who tried & sentenced K. Chas: 1st. & the 3rd person who signed the dead Warrant & Sallway was ordered by a committee to pray with the King after sentenced was passed, but the King refused to be troubled with him—Vid: Burtons Wars of England—pages 206, 207 & 208. John Lowther Esq: & John Dalston Esq.	Anne Pembroke. Anne Pembroke.
13 Car. 2 1661 20 Car. 2, 1668	The Hon: Thomas Tufton Esq: in the place vacant by the death of John Lowther Esq:	Anne Pem: John Tufton.
This indenture lost. 31 Car. 2, 1679	The Hon: Thomas Tufton Esq: & John Dalston Esq: The Hon: Richard Tufton Esq.: & Anthony Lowther Esq:	Richard Earl of Thanet. Richard Earl of Thanet. Thomas Earl of Thanet.
32 Car. 2, 1680	The Hon: Sackville Tufton Esq: in the place of the Hon: Richard Tufton Esq: then Earl of Thanet	The same.
33 Car. 2, 1681	The Hon. Sackville Tufton Esq: & Sir John Bland, Bart.	The same.
1 Jac. 2, 1686	The Hon. Sackville Tufton Esq: & Philip Musgrave, Esq:	The same.
1 Will: & Ma: 1689	William Cheyne, Esq: in the place vacant by the death of Philip Musgrave, Esq:	The same.
6, W. & M., 1694	Sr. John Walter Bart. in the place of Charles Boyle, Esq: called to the House of Lords.	The same.
7 W. & M., 1695	Sr. William Twisden Bart. & Sr. Chris: Musgrave, Knt., Bart.	The same.
9 W. & M., 1697	Sr. John Walter Bart. in the place vacant by the death of Sr. William Twisden, Bart.	The same.
10 W. 3, 1698	The Hon: Jervas Pierrpoint, Esq: & Sr. John Walter, Bart.	The same.
10 W. 3, 1700	The Hon: Jervas Pierrpoint, Esq: & Wharton Dunch, Esq:—Sr. Richard Sandford May &	Thomas Earl of Thanet. The same.
13 W. 3, 1701	The Hon. Jervas Pierrpoint Esq: & James Graham, Esq:	The same.
1 Annae, 1702	The Hon: Jervas Pierrpoint, Esq: & James Grahme, Esq:	The same.
4 Annae, 1705	James Grahme, Esq: & William Harvey, Esq:	The same.

X.—EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS
RELATIVE TO LADY ANNE'S APPLICATION FOR THE
BARONY OF CLIFFORD OR DE CLIFFORD.

To the Kings most excellent ma^{tie}.

The humble Peticon of Anne Countesse Dowager of Dorset, late wife of Richard, Earl of Dorset deceased, and daughter and sole heire of George Earle of Comberland Lord Clifford, Westmerland and Vescy.

Sheweth

That Henry Lord Clifford, Westmerland and Vescy rightfull heire of Robert de Clifford sumoned to Parlemt by that name in the eight and twenty yeare of Edward the first as a Baron, had also and enjoyed the names Stiles and Dignityes of Lord Westmerland and Vescy, all which he had in a fee Simple dissended from his Annsestors: The same Henry by the late king Henry the Eighth was created Erle of Cumberland To have to him and the heyres males of his body issuing, after the death of the sayd Henry and Henry his sonne and heire, and of George his sonne and heire, father of the peticoner without heyre male yssueing of his body the sayd Erledome dissended unto ffrancis Erle of Cumberland brother of the sayd George, and the names, stiles, and dignityes as well of Clifford as Westmerland and Vescy are dissended to the Peticoner and she of right ought to enjoy those names stiles & dignityes and by them be called.

Yett soe it is (may it please yo^r most Excellent Ma^{tie}) that the sayd ffrancis Erle of Cumberland hath published that those names, stiles and dignityes pertaine unto him, and that he ought to be called by those names as well as by the name of Lord Clifford, which is to the wronge and disherison of the petitioner. She therefore prayeth that your Ma^{tie} will admitt of her claime of the sayd names, titles and dignityes of Clifford, Westmerland and Vescy, that she and her heires may have and bear those names, titles and dignityes and to give order and direction that the sayd now Earl of Cumberland and the sayd Henry, his sonne and heir, may from henceforth forbear to style themselves by any of those names, and she shall dayly pray.

Charles R.

It is our pleasure that the Lords Spirituall and Temporall assembled in this Parliament, calling both the Petitioner, and the within Named Henry, eldest Sonne of the Erle of Cumberland, and also the said Earle, and examine the Contents of this Petition, and certefie us what they thinke in Justice doth pertaine. And thereupon full right shall be done to these parties.

26 May, 1628, the Hearing of her Petition was app^{ted} in the beginning of the next Sessions ; but no Determination was then made thereon, and the Troubles

and Rebellion in this Kingdom soon after ensuing, there was no further hearing on it.

Examind with the Original Journals, the 19th and 20th
of May, 1740 by Arth^r Collins.

Die Sabbathi (viz) Vicessimo Secundo die Marcj 1627.

(Journ. Dom. Process 3 & 4 Car. p. 15, 16.

The House being this day call'd by the Clerkes Booke, and Henry Sonne and Heire apparante of Francis now Erle of Cumberland (who received his Writt of Somons this Parliament) being called though absent, and ranked in the Place pretended to bee due to the auntient Barons of Clifford. The House was moved that this might bee no wayes prejudiciall unto the Clayme and Right of Anne Countesse Dowager of Dorsett the Daughter and Sole Heire of George late Erle of Cumberland deceased, and also that the asme may not bee prejudicall unto the Right and Clayme of the Lord Abergavenny, nor of any other. Which the House ordered accordingly.

Die Mercurii (viz) Vicessimo Sexto die Marcj 1627.

This day Henry Lord Clifford was brought into the House in his Parliament Robes in the Manner accustomed, and delivered his Writt kneeling to the Lord Keeper, which being read by the Clerk. He was place next above the Place of the Baron of Abergavenny. His Writt bears date 17 Feb. 3 Car. R. It appears from the Journals, that he was placed above the Lord Abergavenny, during the whole Reign of King Charles the First.

Die Veneris (viz) decimo Sexto die Maÿ 1628.

The Petition of the Countesse Dowager of Dorsett (late wife of Richard Earle of Dorsett deceased) was read in haec verba.

To the Kings most excellent Ma^{tie}

XI.—MRS. SOUTHWELL'S CASE CONCERNING THE BARONY OF CLIFFORD OR DE CLIFFORD.

Lewis Earl of Rockingham died of the Gout in His Stomach & Head on 4 Decr., 1745. Aged 31.

By His Will He bequeaths all His Personal Estate, His House in Grosvenor Square & furniture, All his Jewels, Plate, Equipage, Horses, Arrears of Rent, Church Leases for Years &c. to the Amount of £40,000 to His Widow. She was Daughter of Sr. Robt. Furnese Bart. from whom She Inherited in Fee £5000 p ann in Kent, wch returned to her again, there being no Issue from Her Marriage.

Lewis Earl of Rockingham being Seized of His own Familiy Estate in Fee, does by Will Bequeath it to His only Brother Thomas who succeeded him in

the Earldom. The Estate in Land was £7500 p ann, but Earl Lewis charges it wth Mortgages & Bonds Debts to the amount of near £40000.

Earl Thomas's own Estate while a Younger Bro^r was £1500 p ann in Land & £20,000 in Mony.

Earl Thomas in February 1745-6 goes to Rockingham Castle in Northamptonshire & Sickens about 19 Feb. On 20 Feby He writes a very kind Answer to Mrs. Southwell for 2 letters she had wrote him & Concludes in these Words, I beg my best Love to my Sister & Sincerely am Dear Sr. Yr. Affect Bro^r & Obed humble Servant Rockingham.

On 21 Feby The Small Poc appears, the Physitian owns it to him. My Lord asks his Steward for the form of a Will, the Steward names a neighbouring Lawyer, but that Lawyer sends an Excuse that He never had had the Small Pox.

On 22 Feby Earl Thomas sends for another Lawyer who draws His Will & perfects it. He after recollects that the Christned name of one of the Legatees is mispelt, He reads the Will over again, makes it be new drawn, & signs & perfects the New one.

By this Will He gives to Mr. Lewis Monson all his real & personal Estate & his Heirs, a Lad of 18 & on his failure to his Bro^r George Monson & his Heirs & appoints Lewis Monson Sole Executor But He charges the Estate wth £500 p ann in Land in Fee & £10,000 in Mony to his Bro^{rs} Widow £5000 to two Gentlemen & £700 p ann Annuities & £5000 to His Neice & God Daughter Katherine Southwell & Yet never once names His own Sister Mrs. Southwell, tho' at all times & in all Companies, He had ever express'd a particular Regard & Value for Her. Mem^{dum} This Lewis & George Monson are 2d & 3d Sons of John Lord Monson, by Ly Margaret Watson, Sister of Lord Sondes the father of Lewis & Thos Earls of Rockingham.

Lord Monson is a man of strict honour ; Entirely Ignorant of the whole Transaction.

On the first news of Earl Thomas Illness who sent for an Apothecary from London, Lord Monson went down with him *at Mr. & Mrs. Southwell's own request*. Ld. Monson did not arrive at Rockingham till Sunday 23 Feby, 24 hours after the Will was Made. Mrs. Southwell & Lady Monson arrived there on Monday 24 Feby. The Earl recd them all with equal Courtesy, askd his sister many General Questions, never mention'd his having made a Will to any one of them.

Earl Thomas continued sensible till 25 feby in the Evening & on 26 feby He died.

On 27 Feb. The Will was opend & to the surprise of all the World, His Sister was never once named, & the other Children are disinherited from £4500 p. ann her Grandfathers Estate & from £4500 p ann her Grandmothers Estate & all in favour of a younger Son of Earl Thomas's Aunt Monson.

Mrs. Southwell has also lost the first Barony of England. The Earl of Thanet had 5 daughters & the *Female Barony of Clifford* in Fee, wch was thereby in abeyance.

Lady Sondes never applied to the Crown for it, having 3 Sons & an Earldom in their family.

Lady Salisbury never applied, for the same reasons. Earl Thanet's Third Daughter applied & obtaind it, She was wife of Sr. Thomas Coke Lord Lovel, & since created Earl of Leicester.

Amidst all these Disappointments Mr. & Mrs. Southwell are happy in each other & think it but little merit to be satisfied & Content ; Their Son has £5000 p ann Entailed upon him & £1000 p ann more in his fathers Power, & their Daughter must now have £20,000. Had the Rockingham Estate been left to their Son with £80,000 Debt, as it is to Mr. Lewis Monson, Mr. Southwell must have been the Steward & Trustee, without power of Selling to Clear the Debts, & He woud have lost the Command & Influence wch every Parent woud wish over His only Son, for the Boy woud have grown up with a notion of Independence, & been so the moment he came of Age.

XII.—A LETTER FROM MRS. SOUTHWELL RELATIVE TO THE CLAIM
FOR THE BARONY OF CLIFFORD OR DE CLIFFORD.

*Chez Monsieur Paul Gaussin
A Geneve
En Suisse.*

Kingweston 25 Oct., 1758.
Geneva, 8 Nov., 1758.

My dear Ned,

I will endeavour to explain Lady Pembrokes history to you as well as I can ; She was only Child to George, Earl of Cumberland & consequently ought to have been his Heir, but he for the sake of the title, Left it to his B^r who became Earl of Cumberland at his Death ; but the Baronies of Clifford, Westmorland & Vesey, together with the Sheriffwick of Westmorland, came to her. at that time, which was the Begining of James the first, all Minors (which she was one, being about 15 year Old) fell to the Court of Wards, & was by the King generally given to be pillaged, by who ever coud make interest to get them : Her Mother obtain'd her, tho the Uncle had try'd to get her in his Power ; Lady Cumberland commenced a Lawsuit with him, for the Estate her Daughter was disinherited of, in the North, which was about £5000 a Year & seven Castles, of which Appleby is one, She married her to the Earl of Dorset before she was 21. He was extravagant & necessitous, & tho he had two Daughters by her, woud have compromised the Affair for a sum of Money from the Uncle, but She coud never be brought

to agree to it, neither by his ill usage, or the Kings threats, so the lawsuit still went on ; Lord Dorset died, & she had the care of her two Daughters, the Eldest of Which she married to the Earl of Thanet, & then her self to the Earl of Pembroke, by whom she had no Children, so thats of no further Consequence in my story than the Change of her name, no more than the Mariage of her second Daughter to the Earl of Northampton, their Children all Dying before Lady Pembroke ; my Great Grandmother Thanett was her Heir & Lady Pembroke continued at Law with her Uncle till she was 60 Year old, they were alternately taking Possesion of the Castles all that time, tho he enjoy'd the Estate. He the Earl of Cumberland, Had a Son & a Daughter the Son was married & had a Child, but both that & he died before his father ; the Daughter was married to the Earl of Corke, from whom the Burlington Family were descended, the Lawsuit between L^{dy} Pembroke & the Earl of Cumberland was never decided, but at his Death, tho he left a Daughter, Lady Pembroke came quietly into the Estate, which her Daughter Lady Thanet enjoy'd of Course. after her Death, & from her it came successively to my Grandfather Thanet, who was the 4th Son, & had a Younger B^r who was father to the late Lord Thanet, My Grandfather as you know left five Daughters, my Mother the Eldest. but he had such an Attachment to the Title, that tho he hated his Nephew; he disinherited his Daughters, from that Northern Estate, at a very great expence of Levying Fines & consulting Lawyers, to give it this Nephew, tho the Baronies & the Sheriffwick was unalienable from his Daughters : Lady Leicester you know got the Baronies, but all the Lawyers give their opinion, that the Sheriffwick belonged to my Mother alone & so now to me ; It is a thing of no profit, but a hazard of loss, if the deputy misbehaves, & the Power is of no use without the Estate, so therefore my Mother & Br. let Lord Thanet act, & as he never asked a formal leave, the right is not given up, & can be claim'd at any time ; I continue in the same situation, & I dare say this Lord Thanett knows little, if any thing of the Matter. Now I have stated the Case as clearly as I can, I will answer your Querys. You see that Lord Cumberland enjoy'd the Estate for his Life, but as the lawsuit was never decided, one cannot indeed say whither by right or oppresion ; but yet if Lady Pembrokes right had been very clear, the powerfull families she married into, could not have been so oppressed by the Uncle. You see that my Grandfather did, just what Geo: Earl of Cumberland did, so if one had a right, the other undoubtedly had. my Mother & Aunts had not the spirit to give it a second trial ; In my own mind I can give severall reasons why they did not, my Aunt Salisburys unaccountable Scruples of Consience might prevent her, & both She & my Mother, were entirely influenced by S^r Matthew Lamb & His Uncle, it was worth Lord Thanetts while to make S^r Mathew his friend ; the Uncle I believe was an honest man, but he & Lady Gower were Executors to my Grand father, & he to tye his Settlement the stronger, left in his will, that if his Daughters recovered the Estate, His nephew shou'd be reimburs'd out of his personal Estate, which was large enough to do it, £60,000 of which was left in Charity, & was paying

of every Day, & the Executors were liable to be repay it themselves, so then Lamb was interested as well as my Lady Gower ; I cannot help observing, that this caution of my Grandfather, shew'd he had some doubt of the Legality of what he had done. Lord & Lady Leicester were for trying it by Law, & I must do them both the justice to tell you, that they both declared to me, when I was last at Holkham, that they were both ready to join in the Expence of trying it, tho at their ages they could hardly expect to see the end of such a suit, & have no body to inherit from them. Lady Isabella Delaval was so far from this generous way of thinking, that at my Grandfathers Death, when they all agreed to take the opinion of Lawyers, she refused to pay her share, saying, that she should have the benefit equal with them, if they made any thing of it, &, therefore she would not, nor did not pay a farthing. my reason for what I said of Lord Thanets being the only person that could keep us out of it now, is that when the Uncle of Cumberland & his son died, Lady Pembroke came into possession in preference to his Daughter, Lord Thanet you know has only Sisters, so tis a parallel Case. I wish I may have stated it clearly enough for you to understand ; I believe I have made no mistakes, but as it is all by memory, it may not be so plain, as if I had had the Books to refer to : & I am also doubtful, whether you will be able to read it, with all the blunders & bad writing, but as it has taken me up severall hours, I fear if I attempted to Copy it, I should not be more correct, for I am really tired. I was much obliged to you for locking your self up to write to me, & giving me so long & so kind a Letter. We have not began the White Thorns yet, but both Gould & I are happy in a fine rain for the trees we planted last week. I have not yet heard the effect of Sr Will: Moretons pains. The Lowther Family to be sure had much rather Ly Leicester, or any body was Sheriff than Lord Thanett. I understand your Scheme perfectly well in case of a Treaty, & approve it, nay applaud it entirely, & if I can any way obtain it for you I will, at least I'll do all I can. Yr reasons for desiring it are unanswerable ; & I must say, this Spirit of yours gives me great Joy ; for it will succeed in some shape or other. Lord Harcourts purchase is off, the Duke of Beaufords Trustees do not sell the Welch Estate, for they find it will rise Considerably & they get the arrears in very fast. I am very glad you begin to like your residence at Geneva ; You are certainly the best Judge how long you ought to stay there ; & when is the best time for crossing the Alps. The Forsters left me yesterday, they are to stay a few Days in Bristol, before they go to the Devises. I have recd. all yours to the 7 Oct inclusive & have wrote Sep. 24, 27, Oct. 1, 4, 8, 11, 15, 18, 22.

I am,

My dear Ned,

Yrs entirely, Sheriff of Westmoreland.

XIII.—THE INSCRIPTIONS IN FULL UPON THE GREAT PICTURE AT
APPLEBY CASTLE, FROM A 17TH CENTURY MANUSCRIPT.

These Inscriptions are thus written in the Greate Picture at Appleby Castle, made for the Right Honourable George Clifford, third Earle of Cumberland, and the Lady Margarett, his wife, Countess of Cumberland, and their children, with his two sisters, and her two sisters, and the descent of the said Earl, both by the Cliffords, Vipounts, and their wives.

This is the Picture of GEORGE CLIFFORD, third Earle of Cumberland, in the male line of his Familie, the 14th Baron Clifford of Westmerland, and Sheriff of that County by inheritance, and in the same descent the 13th Lord of the Honor of Skipton in Craven, and also Lord Vipount, and Baron Vessey; he was born sonn and hire apparent to Henry, Earl of Cumberland, by his second wife, Ann, daughter to William, Lord Dacres of the North; he was borne in his Father's Castle of Bromeham, in August, in Anno Domini of our Lord and Saviour, Christ Jesus, 1558. At the age of Eleaven Yeares and Five Moneths, he lieng then in the howse called Battell Abbey, in Sussex, he cam to be Earle of Cumberland by the decease of his Father, who died in the said Castle of Bromeham, about the 8th or 10th of January, 1570; as the yeare begins on New Yeares Day, when he was almost ninetene yeares old, he was Married in the Church of St. Mary Overs, in South Werk, to his vertuos and onely Wife, the Lady Mearrgrette Russell, 3rd daughter and yongest child to Frances, 2nd Earle of Bedford, by his first Wife, Margarrett St. John, by whome he had twoe sonnes and one daughter, Frances and Robert, whoe being successively Lord Clifford, died yong in their Father's life tyme, and the Lady Ann Clifford, whoe was inst. 15 yeares and 9 months at her Fatheres death, being then his sole daughter and here. Hee performed nine vieages by sea in his owne prson, most of them to the West Indies, with great honor to him Self and services to his Queene and Country, having gayned the strong town of Fiall, in the Zorous Islands, in 1589, and in his last viage the stronge Forte of Portirecoe in the yeare 1598. Hee was made Kt. of the Garter by Queene Elizabeth, and Councillor of State by King James. He died in the Dutchy House in the Savoy, London, the 30th of October, 1605, being then of the age of 47 yeares and 3 months, wanting 9 days; his bowells and iner partes was buried in the sayd Chappell of the Savoy, and his bodey was honrably buried among his Ancesters, in the vault of Skipton Church, in Craven in Yorkshire, the 13th of March following. By his death the title of Earle of Cumberland cam to his onely Brother, Sir Francys Clifford, but the ancient right to his Baronyes Honor and Ancient lands, descended them to his onely daughter and heire, the Lady Ann Clifford, for whos right to them hir worthy mother had, after great Suits of Law with his brother Francys, Earle of Cumberland. This Earle George was a man of many naturall perfections, of a great witt and judgment, of a strong body, and full of agillity, of a noble mind, not subject to prid nor arogancy,

a man generally beloved in this kingdom. He died of the Bloody Flix, caused as was supposed by the many wounds and distempers he receyved formerly in his sea viages. He died penitently, willingly and chriстанly, the 30 of October, 1605.—Job the 7th, Vers. the 1st Eccle Cap. 8, Vers. 6. His onely daughter and heire the Lady Ann Clifford and the Countess hir mother weare present both with him at his death.

This is the Picture of the LADY MARGERT RUSSELL, Countess of Cumberland, daughter and yongest childe to Francys Russell, Earle of Bedford, by his first wife, Margrett, daughter to Sr. John St. John, of Bletnesho. Shee was borne in the Earle, hir father's hous, in the City of Exeter, in Devonshir, formerly a priory, about the 7th of July, in the yeere of our Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, 1560. Hir mother dieng two yeers after of the Small Pox, in Whoborn Hous, in Bedfordshier, wich was once an Abbey. Shee was maried about the age of 17 yeeres to Georg Clifford, Earle of Cumberland, and in St. Mary Overs Church, London, by whom she had 2 sonnes, Fraacys & Robert, successively Lords Cliffords, whoe dyed both young, before they were 6 years old, and one onely daughter, the Lady Anne Clifford, who was afterwards sole heire to both hir parents. This Countes and hir husband weare Cozen Jermanes, twice removed by the blood of the St. Johns. For his greate grandmother, Ann St. John, wife to Henry, Lord Clifford, was aunt to her mother, Margaret St. John, they being both of the house of Bletneshoe. In the yere of our Lord, 1593, all hir husband's lands in Westmerland was made to hir, in Joyneture, by Act of Parliament. She lived his wife 28 yeares and upwards, and his widow ten yeares and seaven months, in which tyme of hir widowhood, especially in the 3rd and 4th first yeares thereof, she had greate Suits in Law with her Brother-in-Law, Francys, then Earl of Cumberland, for the right of her only daughter's Inheritance. In which business shee was much opposed by the King and greate ones of this kingdome, yet by industry and search of records of this kingdome, she brought to light the then unknown Title which her daughter had to the Ancient Baronies, Honors, and Lands of the Vipounts, Cliffords, and Veseyes.—Ro: 1, Cap. 4, Vers. 22.—The last words thereof, Esay. 38 Cap., Vers. 16—Soe as what good shall accrew to hir daughter's posterity by the sayd Inheritance must, next under God, be attributed unto hir.—Prov. 31, Vers. 28, 29. She was of a greate naturall witt and judgment, of a sweete disposition, truly religious and virtuous, and indowed with a large share of those 4 morrall virtues—Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temporance. The death of hir two sonnns died soo much afflict hir as that ever after the booke of Jobe was her daly companion. Shee died in her Castle of Bromeham in Westmerland, in hir widdowhood, 24th of May, 1616, in ye Chamber where hir husband was borne into this world, when she was 56 years old, wanting six weeks, and that very day 25 yeers after the death of hir sonn Robertt, Lo:Clifford. Shee out-lived all his brothers and sisters. Hir bowels and inner parts was buried in the Church called Nine Kirks, hard by wheare she died, and hir body was

buried in Apleby Church, in Westmerland, the 11th of July following.—Rev. Chap. 14, Vers. 13. And when this worthy Countes Dowager of Cumberland died, hir only daughter Ann Clifford, Countes of Dorsett, did then lie in Knowle Howse in Kent. But when hir sayd Mother was buryed, was present at hir Beuriall in Apleby Church, in Westmerland. For then she ley in Bromeham Castle, in that County. But that La: of Cumberland's only Grandchild, ye La: Margerett Sackvile, then did lie in Horsley House, in Surrey, both when hir grandmoother, ye Co. of Cumberland died and when she was buried.

This is ye Pictuere of ye **LADY MARGARETT CLIFFORD**, Countess of Darby, eldest child to Henry Clifford, 2 Earle of Cumberland, and by his first wife, Elianor Brandon, yongest daughter to Chalres Brandon, Duk of Suffolke, by Mary the French Queene, which Lady Margrett was the only child of hir mother that lived any tyme, for hir twoe brothers by hir mother died infants. Shee was borne in hir father's Castle at Bromeham, in Westmurland, Ano. Dm: 1540; hir moother dieing there about seaven yeares after, in November, 1547, but was buryed at Skipton in Craven, which high-born Lady Elianor was grand child to K. H. 7th, and his wife, Elizabeth, and neece to K. H. 8, and Cozen-Jerman to K. E. 6, Q. Elizabeth, and to James the 5th, K. of Scotland. She being Cozen-Jerman, twice removed to ye E. of Cumberland, hir husband by the blood of ye St. Johns. This Lady Margarett Clifford was the Lady Elian. Grace hir onely childe, was maryed in the King's Chappell at Whithall, the K. and Q. being present, to Henry Stanley, Lo. Strang, afterwards E. of Darby, the 7th of February, 1555: and lived his wife 38 yeares, and his widow about 3 yeers, and had by him twoe sonnes, Fardinando and William successively Earles of Darby, which Wm. was father to James, now E. of Darby. This great Countess deceased in hir house at Clar Kenwell, London, when she was about 56 yeres old, the 29th of September, 1596: And was buryed presently after in the Abbey Church at Westminster, in St. Edmunds Chappell there. Shee was a virtuous and noble kind-harted lady, and full of goodines, a deere lover of hir brother by the halfe-blood George, Earle of Cumberland, and his worthy wife and their children.

This is the Picture of **LADY FRANCYS CLIFFORD**, wife to Phillip, Baron Wharton, of Wharton Hall in Westmerland, to whome she was maryed in St. Mary Overs Church in Southwark, at the sam place and day where hir brother Georg, Earle of Cumberland, was married to ye Lady Margarett Russell. Shee was borne Ano. Dm. 1556, in hir father's Henry Clifford, E. of Cumberland, his Castle of Skipton in Craven, she being his first child by his 2nd wife, Ann, daughter to Wm., Lord Dacres of the North; she had by this Lord Wharton 2 sonnes and 3 daughters, viz:—Georg, eldest sonn (a gallant man), who was borne in Bromeham Castele, slayne in a private cumbate at Islington nere London, 1609 Sir Thomas Wharton, 2nd sonne, a grand scholler, who died 2 yeers before his father, leaving issue, by his wife the Lady Phelodelpha Cary, daughter to ye E. of Monmouth, 2 sonns Phillip, now Lord Wharton, and his brother Sir

Thomas Wharton—both of great hope. But hir eldest and deerest childe, Margaret Wharton, borne in Skipton Castle, is now widdow to the Lo. Wootton, a woeman of great goodnes and worth. This Lady Wharton was a woeman of great witt, and much esteemed for virtue, she died in hir husband's house, at Wharton Hall, in Westmerland, being about 36 yeares old, the 16th day of Aprill, 1592, and was buried in Kirkbysteven Church, in that Countrey. And that day 30 yeares after in Aske, in Richmondshire, died hir then onely sonne, Sir Thomas Wharton, 2 yeares before his Father.

This is the Picture of the LADY ANN RUSSELL, Countes of Warwick, 2 child and eldest daughter to Francys Russell, 2 E. of Bedford, by his first wife, born in hir Father's house of Cheynis in Buckinghamshire, about the latter end of December, Anno Dm: 1548: married in the Q. Chappell, at Whitehall, (hir Matie being present) to Ambrose Dudley, E. of Warwick, the XIth of Nov., 1556, which E. died at Bedford House in the Strand, 22nd of Feb. 1590: And 14 yeares after shee died his widow in her owne house at Northall, in Hartfordshire, the 9th of February, 1604, having never had child. She was buried at Cheynis in Buckinghamshire, wher she Founded an Almehouse; she served Q. Eliz. most part of hir life, was deerly beloved and favoured by her, whom she out-lived not a full yeere. Shee was a most virtuous and religious lady, and yet an Excellent Courtier; shee was a moother in affection to her younger brothers and sisters, and to theire children, espetially to the Lady Ann Clifford. This Ann, Countess of Warwick, and hir twoe yonger sisters, Elizabeth, Countess of Bath, and Margaret, Countes of Cumberland, whose Pictures are all 3 heere, was the 3 sisters of the greatest for honor, and goodness, of any 3 sisters that lived in theire tyme in this kingdom.

This is the Picture of the LADY ELIZABETH RUSSELL, Countess of Bath, 6 child and 2 daughter to Franciz Russell, E. of Bedford, by his first Wife, She was borne in hir Father's house at Moer-Parke, in Hartfordshire, September, Ano. Dm. 1558; she was married to Willim Bouchier, E. of Bath, in St. Maryes Church, at Exeter, 7^o: Aug. 1583, by whom she had one daughter, hir first child, and 3 sonnes, wch. first child was the Lady Francys Bouchier, one of excellent witt, and goodndnes, She died a mayd at Sutton in Kent, and was buried at Cheneys, in Co: Buck, the two eldest sonns died infants, but the 3d. sonn Edw: lived to be E. of Bath, who was born, Ano. 1590; died the 2d of March, 1637, leaving behind him only 3 daughters his sole heires, viz: the ladys Eliz. Dorothy, and Anne, all 3 Honorably married. This Countess died ye 24 or 25 of March 1605, some 18 yeers 3 moneths before hir husband, who also died July the 12, 1623, and was buried by hir in the Church there, at Tavestock, and all their sonns also, she was a virtuos and good woman, and lived for the most pte. a country life, all hir children being borne in Tavestock Hous. She was 46 yeers and 7 months old when she died.

These are the Pictures of the twoe eldest children of George Clifford, E. of Cumberland which he had by his worthye wife, the Lady Margaret Russell,

Countes of Cumberland Theare first borne Childe was FRANCYS, lord Clifford, whom his Moother was delivered of in his Fathers Castle at Skipton in Craven, in Yorkshire, on Friday the 10th of April, Ano. Dm. 1584. His Father being then theare, which Francys, Lo. Clifford, after he had lived five yeares and 8 Months, died in the same Castle theare, the 10th or 11th day of December 1589, and was presently after buried in the vault of Skipton Church amongst many of his Father's Ancestors—the Cliffords and others. When this yong Lo:Francys Clifford, and his Brother Robert lay in Chanell Row, by Westminster, with their Father and Moother, the spring befor this yong Lo: death, 1589, he was admired by those that knew him, for his goodnes and devotion, even to wonder, considering his childesh yeares. His Brother Robert and the Countess, their Mother, was in Skipton Castle at his death, wheare the sayd Countess was great with childe, with her only daughter, whom shee was delivered of in that Skipton Castle, the 30th day of January following, Shee that was the lady Ann Clifford, and cam after to bee the onely Childe to hir Parents. When this Lo: Francys Clifford died, his sayd Father was then beyond the seas, in Munster, in Ireland, wheather he was driven on land by extremity of tempest, and great hazard of life, 10 days before the death of his sayd sonn, when that Earle was then in his returne from the Ile Azores in the West Indies

Their second Childe was Mr. ROBERT CLIFFORD, whom his mother was delivered of on a Wednesday, the 21st of September, Ano. Dm. 1585, in Northall Hous, in Hartfordshire, wheare shee and hir Husband Georg. E. of Cumberland, then laye, which Mr. Robt. Clifford, by the death of his elder brother, L. Francys, cam to be Lord Clifford the 10th or 11th of December, 1589. And as there was neere a yeare and six moneths betweene their births, soe was there neere a yeere and six moneths betweene their deaths: And they both dyed when they cam to the age of 5 yeares and 8 Months old, and in the same severell houses wherein they were bothe borne. For this Robert, Lo: Clifford, died in Northall House, in Hartfordshire, on a Whitson Monday, the 24th of May, 1591. After his death hee being opened, his bowells and inwards pts. was buried in the Church, at Northall, in Hartfordshire. But his dead body was buried in the Vault of Chenys Church, in Buckinghamshire, with his Moothers Ancestors—the Russells, Earles of Bedford, and others. Hee was a child endowed with many perfections of nature for so few yeares, and likely to have made a gallant man. His sorrowfull Moother and hir then little daughter and onely child, the Lady Ann, was in the house at Northall when he died, which Lady Ann Clifford was then but a yeare and 4 monethes old, whoe by the death of hir said brother, Lo: Robt. Clifford, came to be the sole heire to both hir Parents. And when this yong L. Robt. died, his Father, Georg, Earle of Cumberland, was in one of his viages one the seas towards Spaine and the West Indies.

These 8 Pictures conteyned in this Frame, are copies drawn out of the Originall Pictures, of these Hon:ble Personages, made by them, about the begening of June, 1589, and weare thus finished by the appointment of Ann

Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, in memoriall of them, in 1646. When these originals weare drawene did Georg Clifford, E. of Cumberland, with his worthy Wife, and their twoe sonnes lie in the Lo. Phillip Wharton's hous, in Chanell Row, in Westminster, wheare the sayd worthy Countess conceived with Child, the first of May, Ano. Dom. 1589, with hir onely daughter, the Lady Ann Clifford, whoe was borne the 30th of January following, in Skipton Castle, in Craven, in Yorkshir, shee afterwardees beeing the onely Childe of hir Parents, and is now Countess of Pemprooke.—Psa : 139.

This is the Picture of the LADY ANN CLIFFORD at 15 yeares of age, daughter and sole heire of Georg Clifford, Earle of Cumberland, by his worthy Wife, Margaret Russell, Countess of Cumberland, of whom hir Moother conceived with child in Channel Row House, in Westmt. the first day of May, Ano : Dm 1589 : And was delivered of hir the 30: day of January following, in Skipton Castle in Creaven, wheare she and hir sonn Robert, Lo: Clifford, then lay : And wheare hir first childe, Fran: L: Clifford died, 11th December before. The E: hir Father did lie at Bedf. House, London, when his sayd onely daughter was borne, and about the end of that March following he cam to Skipton to them, being the first tyme he saw his daughter Ann, who proved after to be his onely heire. About ye 2 of that Aprill, 1590 : they all went out of Skipton Castle towards London, whither they cam the 17th of that Month, And ye begening of that Aprill was the last tyme that Coun: and hir sonn Ro: I: Clifford weare ever in Skipton Castle, for he died in Northall Hous in Hartf., May 24, 1591. This Lady Ann Cliff: was about 9 weeks old when she was brought out of Skipton Castle towards London, wheare and in the sothern pts. she continued to live for the most pt. till shee was maried. When shee cam to be 5 yeares and 8 months old, which weare inst. the age hir 2 brothers died at, she had a most desperat sicknes, so as she was given over for dead, (as also 1604 :) and in hir childhood shee narrowly escaped death by water and fier and other great dangers, for God miraculously preserved her life. When shee was 15 yeares and 9 months old, hir Father died in Savoy Hous, London, the 30 of Oct : 1605 : And presently after hir Moother comensed great suits in Law for hir sayd onely daughters right to the Baro: of Clifford, Westmorland, and Vesey, and for the Sherifwick of that County, and for Skipton Castle, and ye antient lands belonging to it, whearin that Countess shewed much wisdome and resolucion. The 22nd of July 1607, this yong La: with the Count: hir Moother cam from London to Apleby Castle, in Westmoland, to ly theare for a while, it being the first tyme the La: Ann Clifford cam into Westmd, or so far Northward. And then they went into Brougha, and Brough, and Pendragon Castles in that County. The 8 of that Octob., 1670, they cam out of Apleby Castle after. The 22 day of that October 1607 they cam to the geats of Skipton Castle, but weare denied entrance into it, by reason of the suits in Law betweene them and Fran: then E: of Cumbe., it being the last tyme that the sayd Countes Dowagr of Cumberland was near that Castle, or in hir Almes House theare, which she founded. This Lady Ann

Clifford in hir childhood, at severall tymes, lived much in Lillford House in Northampt, with old Mr. Elmes and his wife, who was Aunt to hir Moother, by the blood of the St. Johns, wheare this La: A: C: was seasoned with goodnes, and the love of a private country life, which ever after continued in hir. In hir youth shee lived much in Clarkenwell House, London, and in Northall House, in Hartfordshire, with hir Father and Moother, and some littell tyme at Grafton House in Northamptonshire, with hir Father the sommer before his death. After his death she lay with hir Moother for the most pt. at Sutton House in Kent, and in Austin Friers in London, wheare shee was married 3 yeares and 4 months after the death of hir sayd Father. Shee was blessed by the education and tender care of a most affectionate deare and excellent Moother, who brought hir up in as much Religion, goodnes, and knowledg, as hir seakts and yeares weare capabell of. Shee was also happy by being beloved in hir childhood by Q: Elizab: and in hir youth by Q: Ann.—Pro: c. 19, v. 21; c. 20, v. 24.

The Lady Ann Clifford being 19 yeares and a mounth old was maryed in hir Moothers the Counte Dowager of Cumblands howse, at Austin Friers in London, in hir presence to Richard Sackvile, Lord Buckhurst, 25 of February 1609, as the yeares begins the First of January. He cam to be E: of Dorsett within 2 dayes after his mariadg, by the death of his Father Robt. E: of Dorsett, whce died the 27th day of that month, in Little Dorsett House in Salesbury Court, London. This Lady was maryed 15 yeares and a month to Richard, E: of Dorsett, whoe died of A bloody Flix, in Great Dorsett House, London, the 28th of March 1624; his ded body was not opened at all, but buried the 7th of Aprill next ensweing in the Vault of Witheham Church, in Sussex, with his sonn the little Lord Buckurst, and many of his Ancesters—the Sacvills and others, He being 35 yeares old at his death, and his Lady 34 yeares and 2 months over, whoe with hir 2 daughters weare then leying at Konwle House in Kent, by reason of he indisposition of hir body at that tyme. This Ann Countes of Dorsett had divers children by hir sayd Lord, but none of them lived any tyme but three (vizt :) Margrett hir first borne Childe, of whom she was delivered in Great Dorsett House, London, the second of July, 1614; Thomas, Lord Buckhurst, of whom shee was delivered in Knowle House in Kent the 2 of February, he died in the same house 26 of July following, and the Lady Isebella Sacvile, borne in the sam house of Knowle in Kent, the 6 of Octob. 1622. This Countess of Dorsett had onely one Childe in the life tyme of hir Moother, the Countes of Cumberland Dowager, whoe cam purposely out of Westmorland to London to be at the birth of this child, and lay then at hir hous in Austen Fryers in London for a while, yet by accident she was not present at hir daughter delivery, being then in the Tower of London about buisenes, but she was at the Christning ye 30th of July, and was Godmother to hir grandchild whoe bare hir name.

The 4th of August following ye sayd Countes of Cumberland took hir last leave in Great Dorsett House London, of hir onely grandchilde, the La: Margt: Sackvile, as she had done the day before of hir Father, Richard Sackvile, Earle

or Dorsett, in the same hous and never saw either of them after, and that same 4th day was the last tyme she saw hir only daur: the Countes of Dorsett, at London or in the Southerene pts., yet afterwards they saw on another in Westmerland. The 5th day did this Ann, Countess of Dorsett, with hir then onely child Lady Margt. Sackvile, being then about a month old, and hir Father Rich: E. of Dorsett remove from London to Knowle House in Kent. The 8 of that August, 1614, did that Margt. Russell, Co: Dowager of Cumberland, remove from hir hous at Austin Friers in London Northwards towards Westmorland, which was the last tyme she ever was in London, for the 22nd of that month shee cam to lye in hir Castle of Brougheham in Westmorland, where she died about a yeare and 9 months after. The 6 of March before hir death did hir onely daur: come to that Excellent Moother of hirs, to Bromeham Castle in Westmerland, to ly theare with hir for a while, it being the first tyme of hir coming into that Country or any pt of hir inheritance, after shee was first maryed. The second day of that Aprill 1626, about halfe a mile from that Castle in the open ayre she tooke hir last leave of hir sayd worthy Moother, and they never saw one another after for then she went from thence towards London, and so to Knowle in Kent, to hir Husband, and their only childe being then there. And the sayd Countess of Cumberland died in Bromham Castle in Westmland the 24th of May folowing:—Rev: chap: 14, vers: 13. This Countes of Dorsett, whilst she was wife to Ri: Erl: of Dor: lived for the most pte. at Knowle House in Kent, and some tymes at Bolebrooke House in Susiex, and at Little Dorset Howse and Great Dorsett House, London. In the yeare 1615 shee began to be in troubles about the lands of hir Inheritanc in the North, which continued with hir for divers yeares, soe as the 18th and 20th dayes of January 1617, shee was brought before K: James about that Award made by him concerning all the Lands of hir Inheritanc, wherein God gave hir grace to deny that King to yeld or consent to that award, which was the means that preserved the Lands of hir Inheritance to hir, and disposing by the mercifull providence of Almighty God.—Isa: c: 30, v: 21; c: 43, v: 2. Psa: 32, v: 8. Deut: c: 23, v: 5.

This Lady Ann, Countes Dowager of Dorsett, cam to be a widdow the 28 of March 1624, by the death of hir first Husband, Ri: Sackvile, E: of Dorsett; shee and hir twoe daughters at that tyme lyeing in Knowle Howse in Kent, where the 19th day of the mounth following hir first childe, the Lady Margret Sackvile, lay at the point of death with the infection of the small-pox, and soe did the Countes hir Moother of the same disease, theare the Mounth after being May, but by the mercifull providenc of God they were both delivered from death. The Mounth following, June 9th 1616, the sayd Countes with hir two daughters Margret and Isabella removed from that Knowle House in Kent, in which house the sayd Countes never did lye after. But then from thence they 3 went to lye at Chenys House in Buckinghamshire where and hir Joynture House of Bolebrooke in Sussex, and in Tutle Strcet House in Westminster, and twoe other howses in the Pallace theare, shee continewed to lye for the most part

of hir widdohood, saving that she once lay in Wooburne House in Bedfordshire with hir eldest daughter for a few nights. The 6 of May 1626, when shee then lay with hir two daughters in Bolebrooke Hous in Sussex, shee theare escaped a great danger by Theefes that then intended to rob hir and hir house. The 30th of March 1627, shee and hir eldest daughter went together into Knowle House in Kent for a while which was the last tyme this Countess was ever in that house. Hir first Childe, the Lady Margt. Sackvile was maryed in the Chapell of Great St. Bartholmes in hir presenc to John, Lo: Tufton, 21st of Aprill 1629, who cam to be E: of Thanett 2 yeeres and 2 months after by the dath of his Father. This Countes of Dorsett was not in any pt of hir inheritance all the tyme of hir being now a widdow, for hir Unkle of Cumbland kept posecion of those hir lands theare by power of K: James his Award, yet did she cause claymes to be made to it in a legall manner to preserve hir right thearein. She lived now a widdow six yeares 2 months and 6 dayes, at the end of wch tyme she was maried to Phillip Harbot, 11 E: of Pembroke and Montgomery, in Chenys Church in Buckinghamshire. This Countes had many Enymyes in the tyme of hir widow: hood, from whose evell and crafty devises it pleased God to deliver hir: As Job, chap: 5, vers: 11th, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. Cor: chap: 1. Psal: 221. Dewte: 23, vers: 5. Psal: 76, vers 9 and 10, Psal: 97, vers., Psal: 64, vers 2, 3, 4. Esay chap 50, vers 20. Prov chap 19, vers 20, chap 21, vers 24.

This is the Picture of RIC: SACKVILE, Lo: Buckhurst and E: Dorsett, eldest sonne to Robt: Sackvile, Lo: Buckhurst and E: of Dorsett, that lived any years by his first Wife, the Lady Margt Howard. Which E: Richard was borne in Charter House, London, now called Suttons Hospitall, the 26 of March, 1589, his Moother dyeing two yeares and five months after at Bolebrooke House in Sussex, yet shee was Moother of two children after his birth. When he was 19 yeares old and a month over died his Grandfather Thomas Sackvile, Lord Buckhurst and E: of Dorsett, Lord High Treasurer of England: and Kt: of the Gartar, suddenly in the Councell Chamber at Whitehall the 19 April 1608. This Richard maried the Lady Ann Clifford daughter and sole heire to George E: of Cumbland 25th of February 1609, in hir Moother the Countes Dowager of Cumbland house Austin Fryers London in hir presenc. And within two dayes after the sayd marriage his Father died in Little Dorset House in the sayd Towne. This Richard E: of Dorsett was maried 15 yeares and a mounth to the sayd Lady Ann Clifford; and had by hir three sonns, which died in their infancy, and two daughters Margt: Countess of Thannet, borne the 2 of July in Great Dorset House 1614; and Isabell Countess of Northampton, borne at Knowle House in Kent 1622. He travelled beyond the seas in France and the lowe Countries most part of the yeare 1611; and about the begning of April 1612 he returned agayne into England to his wife and lived 12 yeares after. And in August and September 1616; he was for a while with his wife at Browham Castley in Westmerland and at Noworth Castle Cumberland. He died in Great Dorset House London of a Bloody Flix, 28th of March, 1624, Christianly

and Penitantly, and was buried at Whitheham Church in Sussex the 7th daye of the month following.—Job, 7, vers. 1. He was by nature of a just minde, sweet disposition, and vey valliant in his own pson, and attayned to be a great scholler for his ranke, when he lived at the University in Oxford. He was so bountifull to souldiers, schollers, and others, which were in distress that therby he much emparied his Estate. He was a zealous Patriot to this Kingdome, and the onely builder and one of the Cheefe Founders of the Hospitall at East Grinsted in Sussex, and truly religious in his latter tymes.

This is the Picture of PHILLIPP HERBERTT, E: of Pembroke and Montgomery, and Kt: of the most noble Order of the Gartar, 2 sonn to Henry Herbertt, E: of Pembroke, by his 2 Wife, Mary Sidney, onely daughter to Henry Sidney, Knight of the Gartar, and onely sister to the famous Sr: Phillipp Sidney, and Sr: Robert Sidney, E: of Leicester. This Phillipp Herbertt was borne in his Father's house in Wilton in Wiltshire, the 10th daye of Octob in 1584, in which house his sayde Father dyed the 10th of January in 1601: And his Mother dyed twenty yeares and 8 months after in hir widowhood of the small-pox, the 25th of Septemb. 1621, being about sixty-one yeares old, in the House called Montacute House, Aldersgat Street, London; hee was deerly beloved of King James from his first coming into England till his death, which King made him E: of Montgomery th 4th day of May, 1605, and Kt: of the Gartar the 20th of May, 1608: and also bestowed many guifts and Favours on him. Hee was married in the sayd Kings Chappell at Whitehall, in his prence, to his first Wife the Lady Susan Veer the 27th of December, 1604, whoe was yongest daughter to the deceased Edw: E: of Oxford, and shee died of the small-pox in the same house of Whithall, the 2 of February 1629: soe as she dyed a yeare and more befor hir sayd Husband came to be E: of Pembroke. His Brother Wm: Harbertt, E: of Pembroke, died suddenly in Bynards Castle London of an Apperplexye 10th of Aprill, 1630, by whos death the sayd Phillipp Harbertt his onely Brother came to be E: of Pembroke, and the 3 of June following did the sayd Phil: Harb: E: of Pembroke and Montgomery marry the Lady Ann Cliff: Countess Dowager of Dorsett and sole daur: and hire to George E: of Cumbland, in Chenys Church in Buckinghamshire, after she had bin a widdow 6 yeares 2 months and 6 dayes, and he a widdower one yeare and 4 months and 3 days.

In the Greate Picture made for the right honbl: George Clifford Earle of Cumberland, Margret, his wife, Countes of Cumbland, theire twoe sonnes (vizt :) Francys Lord Clifford eldest sonne, and Robert Lord Clifford 2 sonne, with the sayd Earls two sisters, and the sayd Countes her 2 sisters are those books hereafter ensuing depicted and Titled :

- 1.—The Holy Bible, the Old and New Testament.
- 2.—All Senekaes Works translated out of Latine into English.
- 3.—A written hand Booke of Alkumiste Extractios of Distillations and excellent Medecines,

- 4—The Psalmes of Daved depicted in the left hand of ye sayd Margarett Countess of Cumberland.

Bookes depicted on the right side leafe or dore Case of the sayd Picture, wherein the right honble: Anne Clifford, now Countess of Pembroke and Montgomery is lively depicted when shee was 15 yeares of age :

- 1—Epictetus his Mannall
- 2—Boetius his Philosophicall Comfort
- 3—All ye works in vers of Samuell Daniell tutor to this young lady
- 4—The holy Bible, the old and new Testament
- 5—St. Augustine of the Cittie of God
- 6—Eusebius his History of the Church
- 7—All the works of Dr. Jossowagh Hall
- 8—Sir Phillip Sydneys Arcadia
- 9—All Edmond Spencer's Work
- 10—Ovid's Metamorffices
- 11—John Downam, his Christian warfare
- 12—All Jeffrey Chawcers workes
- 13—The French Academy, 1 part
- 14—The French Academy, 2 part
- 15—French Academy, 3 part
- 16—The Courtier by Co: Castilio
- 17—Godfrey of Bolaigne
- 18—The Variety of Things by Loys de Roy
- 19—The Chronicle of England in proes by Samuell Daniell, Tutor to ye young Lady
- 20—Lo: Michael Montaigne his Essaies
- 21—The Epitome of Gerrards Erball
- 22—Camdens Britania
- 23—Abraham Ortelius his Mapps of ye World
- 24—Cor: Agrippa of the Vanity of Scyences
- 25—The Feighned History of Don Quixote

Over the head of the Picture made for the right honble: Anne Countess Dowager of Dorsett, now Countess of Pembroke and Montgomery, are those bookes depicted and Titled being on the left side leafe or dore Case.

IN THE UPPER SHELFE

- 1—Mr. Georges Sandes his translation of the Psalmes and other pts of ye Bible into vers.
- 2—Phillipe de Cominos in English
- 3—More his Mapp of Mortallity
- 4—All Benjamyne Jonson's his Works
- 5—Mr. John Dunn his Poems, whoe was after Deane of Pauls
- 6—The Age of Man's Life by Henry Cuff
- 7—Georg Herbertt his Devine Poems

- 8—Barklayes Argenies
- 9—Antonius his Meditations
- 10—Dr. King Bpp: of London his Sermons
- 11—Mr. William Astin his Booke of Meditations and Devotions
- 13—All Dr. Dun, Deane of Pauls, his Sermons

IN THE LOWER SHELF

- 14—Mr. George Stroude his Booke of Death
- 15—Plutarches Lives in French
- 16—Plutarches Morrals of French
- 17—An Appologie of the Providence and Power of God
- 17—Dr. George Hackwell
- 18—Sr. Foulke Grevil, Lord Brooke, his Works
- 19—Gurcherdines History in French
- 20—Sr: Henry Wootton his Booke of Architecture

BY THE HAND.

- 21—The Holy Bible the Old and New Testam.
- 22—Charons Booke of Wisdome translated out of French into English

In the right side Bordure of the Great Picture made for the Right Honble: Georg Clifford, Earle of Cumberland, and Margaret his Wife, Countes of Cumberland, and their Children are their inscriptions.

RICHARD FITZ PUNT, a Norman, came into England with Wm. the Conqueror and seated himself in this kingdom, being the original of the Family of all the Cliffords in England, for his sonne, soon tooke upon him first the name of Clifford, by reason he was seized on the Castle in Herefordshire, called Clifford Castle.

WILLM FITZ-PUNT, sonn of Richard, Father of Richard whoe first tooke upon him the surname of Clifford, but we cannot find by record the matches of this William or his Father, or their Coate Armor, they being obscured by the length of tyme.

WALTER DE CLIFFORD, Sonn of Wm: Fitz Punt, Sonne of Richard Fitz Punt, whoe came into England with William the Conqueror, was now called Walter de Clifford, Lord of Clifford Castle, in Herefordshire in Wales, which Castle and the Lands about it came to him by his Wife Margaret de Tony, by whom he had divers Children, as appears by the Booke of Records. Amongst them there was most remarkable Walter their eldest sonne, who succeeded him in his Lands and Honors. Richard their second sonne, whoe was called in the Records Lord of Frampton in Glostershire, from whom succeeded lineally all the heirs males of the Cliffords of Frampton ever since. And Mr. Anthony Clifford, now of Frampton, is the direct heire male of that lyne. Also the fayre Rosamund Clifford was daughter to this Walter, first Lo: Clifford and his wife as appears by many recordes; shee was unfortunate by being beloved of King Henry the 2, by whome she had 2 or 3 base children.

This Walter, Lord Clifford and his Wife were Grandfather and Grandmother to that Roger de Clifford, called Roger the Elder, who was Father to Roger de Clifford the younger whoe married Isabella Veteripount. This Walter de Clifford dyed——

WALTER LORD CLIFFORD, sonne of Walter Lord Clifford and Brother to Rosamund Clifford, married Agnes daughter to Roger de Conby, by whom he had Walter Lord Clifford, Roger Clifford, Symon, Gyles, and divers daughters. His eldest sonne Walter was the last heire male of the Cliffords that were Lords Marchers of Wales. And Roger de Clifford his second sonne was after called Roger de Clifford the Elder, Father of that Roger Clifford the Younger, whoe married Isabella de Vipount whose inheritance in Westmerland first brought the Cliffords into the North. He dyed the

WALTER DE CLIFFORD, third and last heire male of the Cliffords of Clifford Castle in Wales, whoe maryed Margaret de Brews Lady of Cantrescliff, by whome he had but one onely Child that lived to any age, whoe was Maud de Clifford, who was married to Wm. Longspee third Earle of Salisbury and last heire male of the Longspees that weare Earles of Salisbury, soe as she and hir husband weare neere akin, for she was cosin German once removed to his Father. And from that mariage did proceed Margaret Longspee whoe married Henry Lacy, Earle of Lincoln, by whom she had one onely daughter Alice, whoe married to Thomas Plantagnet, E: of Lancaster—they both dyed without issue. See the generation of this Mawd de Clifford ended by hir first husband in her Grandchild Alice Countes of Lancaster; but from the daughter shee had by hir second husband John Glifford did descend the Talbots, Earles of Shrewsbury, and many other noble Families. This Walter third Lord Clifford died the yeare of H. 3.

This Walter his yonger brother was called Roger de Clifford the Elder in regard his sonn was called Roger de Clifford the younger, which Roger de Clifford the younger married Isabella de Veteripont.

This ROGER DE CLIFFORD, though a yonger sonne to Walter de Clifford, second Lord Clifford and Agnes Cundy his wife, yet in Records is he called Roger de Clifford the elder because his sonne was called Roger de Clifford the yonger for distinction sake. This Roger de Clifford the elder was Nephew to Rosamond Clifford, and the sayd Roger's elder brother was Walter, third Lord Clifford of Clifford Castle, and the last heire male owner of that Castle in the Marches of Wales.

This written very neere to one of the Childrens Pictures.

To this Roger de Clifford did his Father and Moother, Walter second Lo: Clifford and Agnes Cundy his wife, to whom he was second sonne, give and grant the Mannor of Tenedbury lying pt: in Herefordshire and pt: in Worstershire to him the sayd Roger, and Sibell de Ewias his first wife, and the heires of his body, which sayd Mannor was also confirmed to him by his Neece, Maud de Clifford, daughter and sole heire to his elder brother Walter de Clifford, which

Mannor of Tenedbury continued in the posterity of the sayd Roger and his first wife till Quene Elizabeths tyme, when Henry Clifford second Earle of Cumberland and lineall heire male to this Roger sold it away.

This Roger called the Elder had two wives, his first wife was Sibell de Ewias daughter and heire of Robert Lord Ewias Harold Castle in Herefordshire, and widow to Lord Robert Tregoss. His second wife was a Countess of Lorayne, by whom he noe Children, but the eldest over-lived him some yeares. The sayd Roger Lord Clifford the Elder had by his first wife Roger de Clifford, called the yonger, whoe married Isabella dau and co-heire of Robert de Veteripont Lord of Westmerland, which mariage brought first the Cliffords to be Lords and Shereifes of Westmerland, as may appeare by the Scrole on the other side of this Picture.

THESE MARIAGES WITH THE CLIFFORDS FOLLOWETH ON THE SAME SIDE AND
BORDURE.

RICHARD PLANTAGINET surnamed of Conesborough E: of Cambridg after the decease of his first wife Ann Mortimer, did marry for his wife Mawd de Clifford daughter to Thomas Lord Clifford of Westmerland, and sister to John Lord Clifford of Westmerland, but she died without issue. And he was beheaded about the 3. H. 5.

WILLIAM FITZWILLIAM E: of Southampton married Mabell Clifford eldest daughter to Henry Lord Clifford of Westmerland by his first wife, and sister to Henry first Earle of Cumberland, by whome he had 2 sonnes that died in the life tyme of there Father and Moother, soe this Earle and Countess died about the latter end of H: 8 without issue.

HUGH LOWTHER of Lowther in Westmerland Esq., sonn and heire of Sr John Lowther, Kt., married Ann Clifford yongest daughter and onely Child by the second wife of Henry Lord Clifford of Westmerland, and sister to Henry Clifford first Earle of Cumberland from whom is descended the now Sr. John Lowther, of Lowther, Kt. Baronet, being the 5th in descent from them both, wch Hugh & Ann died about the latter end of H. 8.

SR RICHARD CHOLMLEY of Whitby in Yorkshire, Knighted at the Battaile of Leith in Scotland, the 34 H. 8., married the Lady Katherin Clifford eldest daughter to Henry Clifford first Earle of Cumberland, and widow to John Lord Scroope of Bolton, by whome this Richard had divers Children. Soe as the now Sr Hugh Cholmley and Sr Henry Cholmely his brother are the in descent from them whoe died about the midle of Quene Elizabeths Raigne.

HENERY CLIFFORD first E: of Cumberland did marry for his first wife Margrett, one of the daughters of Gilbert Talbott E: of Shrewsbury, but she died within a little while after hir mariage without issu. But hir sisters daughter after was second wife to his eldest sonn, Moother to George Earle of Cumberland. This first E: Henry married Margaret Percy for his second wife, and died the 34th yeare of H: 8.

HENRY CLIFFORD second E: of Cumberland, did in the life tyme of his Father marry Elianor Brandon daughter to Charles Duke of Suffolk and Mary the French Quene, by whome he had but one daughter that lived, the Lady Margaret Clifford, whoe after was maryed to Henry E: of Darby. This Henry Earle of Cumberland marryed for his second wife Ann Dacres, by whom he had Georg Earle of Cumbland and other Children.

SR FRANCIS CLIFFORD Kt. 4th E: of Cumberland, in the tyme of his brother George E: of Cumberland about the yeare 1589, did marry Mrs. Grizell Hewes daughter of Thomas Hewes of Uxbridg, and widow to Edward Nevill Lord Aburgavenny, by whom he had divers Children, whereof Henry Clifford, borne 1592 was 5 E: of Cumberland, and the last Earle of that family, this Countes died the 16 of June, 1613, and hir husband died 21st of January 1641.

HENRY CLIFFORD Earle of Cumberland in the life tyme of his Father did marry the 25th of July, 1610, the Lady Francys Cecile, daughter to Robert E: of Salisbury, by whom he had divers Children but none lived anye tyme, but their onely daughter and heire Elizabeth Clifford, wife to the E: of Cork. This Henry died the 11th of December 1643, in York Citty, and his wife died there the 14th of February after.

RICHARD BOYLE now Earle of Corck in the life tyme of his Father did marry the Lady Elizabeth Clifford, daughter and at length sole heire to Henry Clifford Earle of Cumberland, by which lady the sayd Earle of Corck hath now living 5 children, 2 sonnes and 3 daughters.

JOHN TUFTON now Earle of Thanett did in the life tyme of his Father 21 April, 1629, marry the Lady Margaret Sackvile, eldest daughter and coheire of Richard Sackvile Earle of Dorsett, by his wife the Lady Ann Clifford, which E: of Thanet hath 7 Children by the sayd Lady Margaret his wife now liveing 5 sonnes and 2 daughters.

JAMES COMPTON now E: of Northampton did the 5 of July, 1647, marry the Lady Isabella Sackvile, second daughter and coheire to Richard E: of Dorsett by his wife the Lady Ann Clifford.

On the left side Bordure of the Greate Picture are these inscriptions, begining at the bottome and soe upwards.

ROBERT DE VETERIPOUNT the first Lord and Baron of Westmerland, to whom King John the 4th of October in the 5th yeare of his raigne gave his lands in the sayd County with the Shreifwick to him, and his then espoused wife Idonia de Buly and their heires, in whose lynes it hath continued ever since. He died the 16th of Henry the third: and she died the 19th of Henry the third.

JOHN DE VETERIPONT second Lord and Baron of Wesmerland and Shreife of the same County by inheritance. He married Sibella daughter of William Earle Ferrers, whoe some antiquaries think was afterwards created Earle of Darby. He died 26 yeare of Henry the Third.

ROBERT DE VETERIPOUNT third Lord and Baron of Westmerland, and last heire male of the Veteriponts of Westmerland. He married Isabella Fitz Geoffrey

and had by her two daughters, whoe were his coheires, the elder of them carried away the inheritance of the Veteriponts to the Family of the Cliffords. This Robert de Veteripont died the 49th of Henry the Third

ROGER DE CLIFFORD the yonger, sonne to Roger de Clifford the elder, married Isabella de Vipont eldest daughter and coheire to Robt de Vipont Lord of Westmerland and Shreife of that County by inheritance, by whome he had Robert his eldest sonne 9 years of age at his death. The issue of Idonia hir sister fayling, all Viponts inheritance in Westmerland cam to Isabella and hir issu. This Roger was slayne in the King's wars in the North Parts of Wales the 11th of King Edward the First.

This written at the Bottome of the Gantlette neere to the sword's point.

As is said on the other side Roger de Clifford the younger by his mariage with Isabella de Veteriponte brought himself and consequently his posterity by the blessing of God to inhabit in Westmerland and in the Northern parts, for many generations. For from the 8 of Aprill in the yeare 1269, when he married her, till the 30th of October 1605, when Georg Clifford Earle of Cumberland dyed without issu male, which was 326 years, did this Roger and his issue male continue to be Lords, Barons, and High Sherife of the County of Westmerland, except when some were wards, and others attainted for treason some little tyme. But by the death of the sayd Georg Clifford E: of Cumberland the issue of his body fayling, the inheritance of all the said lands and honors came to his sole daughter and heire the Lady Anne Clifford, whoe was afterwards Countes of Dorsett and afterwards Countes of Pembroke and Montgomery, though the said lands and honors were wrongfully detayned from her many yeares, by her Unkle the Earle of Cumberland and his sonne; the last of which dyed the 11th of December 1643, and then her inheritance cam back to her agayne: This Roger was slayne upon St. Lawrance' Daye in the Ile of Anglesey the tenth yeare of Edward the First 1283 and was buryed there.

ROBERT LORD CLIFFORD of Westmerland married Maude de Clave Aunt and one of the heires of Thomas de Clave Steward of the Forrest of Essex, descended from the Earles of Gloucester, by whome he had two sonnes successively Lords Cliffords of Westmerland. To this Robert did King Edward the Second grant Skipton Castle and the lands about it. Hee was slayne the 8 Ed: 2 at the Battaile of Stirling in Scotland, and she died the first of King Edward the Third, the same yeare hir eldest sonne Roger died.

ROGER LORD CLIFFORD of Westmerland, called Lo: Shevaler of Apleby, was attainted of Treason the 15th of Ed: 2. But he was restored to his honors and lands the first of Edward the Third. In which yeare this Roger died without lawfull Children, hee being never married, by which meanes his Brother Robert cam to succede him in his lands and honors.

ROBERT LORD CLIFFORD of Westmerland married Isabella daughter of John de Vallibus, by whome he had two sonnes that was successively Lords Cliffords of Westmerland and other children. He dyed the 20th of May the 19th of

Edward the Third, leaving his sonne and heire Robert 13 yeares of age. And she died the 36 of Edward the Third, a little before his eldest sonne Robert.

ROBERT LORD CLIFFORD of Westmerland married Eufamia daughter to Ralph Nevill Lord of Middleham Castle in Yorkshire, but they both dyed without issue, soe as he left his brother Roger to succeed him in his lands and honors.

This Robert Lord Clifford died 36 Ed: 3.

ROGER LORD CLIFFORD of Westmerland married Maud daughter of Thomas Beauchamp, Earle of Warwick, by whom he had Thomas his eldest sonne 26 yeares old at his Feathers death, and other children. He lived 27 or 28 yeares Lord Clifford, and died the 13th July the 13th of King Richard the Second. And she died the last day of February in the 4th yeare of King Henry the 4th.

THOMAS LORD CLIFFORD of Westmerland married Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Lord Ross of Hamtake by whome he had John Lord Clifford and Maud Clifford Countes of Cambredg and other children. He lived Lord Clifford not passing 3 or 4 yeares. Hee was slayne beyond the seas the 4 of October the 15th of Richard the Second, in the warrs in the North parts of Germany leaving his eldest sonne but 2 or 3 yeares old at his death, his Wife Elizabeth died about the 3 yeare of King Henry the 6th.

JOHN, LORD CLIFFORD of Westmerland, Kt of the Garter, married Elizabeth daughter of Henry Percy, sirnamed Hotspurr, who was sonn to the first E: of Northumberland, by which Elizabeth he had Thomas Lord Clifford his eldest sonne and other children. This John was slayne beyond the seas in the King's warrs in France the 9th of Henry the 5th, leaving his sonne and heire Thomas about 7 yeares and 3 weekes old. And this Elizabeth was after married to Ralph second E: of Westmerland, she died the 15th of H. 6.

THOMAS, LORD CLIFFORD of Westmerland, married Jeane daughter of Thomas Lord Dacres of the North, by whom he had John Lord Clifford and other children. This Thomas was slayne in the first Battaile at St. Albanes May 22nd, 34 H. 6, and was buried in the Abbey Church theare with his Unkle the E: of Northumberland, leaving his sonne John 20 yeares and 7 weekes old.

JOHN, LORD CLIFFORD of Westmerland, married Margarett daughter and sole heire to Henrye Bromflere Lord Vesey, who brought the Title of Vesey to the hous of Cliffords. For by hir this John had Henry Lord Clifford and other children. This John was slayne on Palme Sunday at the Battaile of Tawton in Yorkshire the first of Edward the 4th.

HENRY, LORD CLIFFORD of Westmerland and Vesey, in the first yeare of Henry the 7th, was restored by Act of Parliament from Attainder of his Father John Lord Clifford, which Henry married to his first wife Ann St. John Cozen Jerman by the halfe-blood to King Henry the 7th, by whom he had issue Henry Clifford first E: of Cumberland and other children. This Henry died the 15th yeare of H: 8, Aprill 22nd.

HENRY CLIFFORD first E: of Cumberland, his first wife being dead without issue, married for his 2 wife Margarett Percy daughter to Henry E: of Northum-

berland, by whom he had his sonn Henry Clifford, afterwards E: of Cumberland, and divers other children. He died in the 33 yeare of H. 8 Aprill 23. Shee died some two yeares after him.

HENRY, E: of Cumberland, married to his second wife Ann Dacres daughter to William Lord Dacres of the North, by whom he had his sonne Georg, who was after E: of Cumberland, and divers other children. And by his first wife he had Margaret Countess of Darby. This Earle Henry dyed in his Castle at Bromeham in Westmerland in January 1570. And his wife died in Skipton Castle 1581 in July.

GEORG CLIFFORD, E: of Cumberland, married the Lady Margaret Russell, da: to Francis E: of Bedford, the 24th June 1577, in St. Mary Overs Church, by whom he had twoe sonnes that died young, and one daughter the Lady Ann Clifford his sole heire. This E: George died in the Duchy House in the Strand, Savoy, London, the 30th of October 1605. And his wife died in Bromeham Castle in Westmerland the 24th of May 1616.

RICHARD SACKVILE Lord Buckhurst did marry Lady Ann Clifford daughter and sole heire to George late E: of Cumberland 25 of February 1609, as the yeare begins at New Yeares Tyde in her Moothers the Countess Dowager of Cumberland's House in Austin Friers London, and within twoe dayes after his mariage, he came to be Earle of Dorsett, by the death of his Father. He had divers children by the sayd Lady, but none of them lived but the Lady Margaret and the Lady Isabella. Hee died in Great Dorsett Hous London 28 March 1624.

PHILLIPP HARBERT, E: of Pembroke and Montgomery, being then a widdow did marry the Lady Ann Clifford Countes Dowager of Dorsett the 3 day of June 1630 in Cheyneys Church in Buckinghamshire, which Lady Ann Clifford was sole daughter and heire to hir deceased Father and Moother, George Clifford Earle of Cumberland.

In the Picture of Ann Clifford Countes of Pembroke Dr.

THIS WRITTEN.

This is the Picture of the Lady Ann Clifford now Countess of Pembroke Dr. Whoe when she was Countes Dowager of Dorsett, and had lived six yeares and twoe months a widow, was maryed in Cheynes Church in Buckinghamshire the 3 daye of June 1630, to her second husband Phillipp Harbert, Earle of Pembroke and Montgomery, Lord Chamberlayne of his Maties : household, and Kt of the most noble Order of the Garter, hee being then of the age of 45 yeares and 8 months wanting 7 dayes. And shee being then of the age of 40 yeares and fower months.

She lived most part of the tyme whilst she was his wife, first in the Court at Whitehall, and after at Baynards Castle in London, Ramsbury, and Wilton, in Wiltshire, but especially in Ramsbury House and Baynards Castle.

And whilst the sayd Countes then laye in the sayd Castle in London died Henry Clifford Earle of Cumberland in one of the Prebends houses in Yorke,

the 11th of December 1643. And his wife the Lady Francis Cecilt Countes Dowager of Cumberland dyed in the same house the 14th of February following, by reason of which Earles death without issue male, did the lands in Westmerland and Craven, which of right belonged to this Countes of Pembroke and was detayned from her by the said Earle, and his Father many yeares, revert and come peaceably to the sayd Countes, though the misery of the then Civell warrs kept her from having profits of those lands for a good while after.

The 5th of July 1627 was this Countes of Penbrooke's youngest daughter by her first husband the Lady Isabella Sackvile married in Clarkenwell Church London to James Compton E: of Northampton.

XIV.—THE ODD PAGES OF LADY ANNE'S ACCOUNT BOOK.

August in 1673.

(Page 1)

	£	s.	d.
Payed the 14th day to Mr. Thomas Strickland for drawing ye Plat- form & draught of Pendragon Castle Twenty Shillings of this money Six Shillings and Tenpence ye remainder being entered upon a labell off: 96: 13s: 00d: Westmorland Rents	0	6	10
Payed the 15: day to Allan Strickland for this weeks expences of my Housekeeping here at Appleby Castle from ye 8: day of Augst till this day Thirteene Pounds ffourteene Shillings & Three Pence besides ye provission of my owne in store (as by ye Booke will appeare) which with ye ready money comes to in all ..	22	03	03
Given then to Mr. Edmond Sandford ye deafe gentleman Twenty Shillings	1	0	0
Payed then to John Grigson of Ormside Junior ffor 50: bushells of Oates at 2s: 6d: per Bushell for my Stables att this Appleby Castle—comes to in all Six Pounds ffive Shillings	6	5	0
Deliver'd then to Mr. Thomas Strickland to buy his Eldest Daughter Anne som sheep Two Pounds	2	0	0
Given then to Lancelot Machell Mr. Stricklands man ffive shillings	0	5	0
	<hr/>		
	23	11	0

(Page 2)

Payed the 16: day to John Swewell Richard Browne and others both of Brough and Warcopp for Eight Score and two loads of coales from my owne Pitts on Stainemoor at 12d. per load for firing for my House at this Appleby Ca: comes to in all Eight Pounds and Two Shillings	8	2	0
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Payed then to Robert Jackson of Brough and 2: others for 3: carts for carrying six bedds from hence to Brough Castle which were lately brought from hence hither against ye Assizes here ffour Shillings and Sixpence	0 4 6
Payed then to Mr. William fairer of Ormside chiefe Constable of ye East Wards for ye second quarterly paymt of ye 18: months Assesment for my Lands about Appleby granted by ye Parliamt for ye supply of his majesty's Extraordinary Occations One Pounde One Shilling and Three Pence	1 1 3
Given then to Mr. William fairer of Ormside Tenne Shillings ..	0 10 0
Payd the 18: day to Mr. George Sedgwicke for 2: yards and 3: quarters of fine Scarlett Cloth at 29s. per yard which he bought for me at Kendall to give away comes to in all Three Pounds Ninteen Shillings and Nine Pence	3 19 9
Payd then to Mr. Thomas Carlton now Major of Appleby for a Rundlett of Clarett wine containing 13: gall: at 4s per gall. £2: 12s: 0d: and for the Rundlet 2: 6: for my house use at this Appleby Castle comes to in all Two Pounds ffourteen Shillings and Six Pence	2 14 6
	<hr/>
	16 17 00

(Page 3)

Payed the 18: day to Mr. Thomas Carlton for 10 bushells of malt at 5s. per Bushell for a Brewing of Beere for my house use att this Appleby Castle comes to in all Two Pounds and Tenn Shillings	2 10 0
Given then to Mr. Charles Crow Parson of Warcopp & his wife Twenty Shillings	1 0 0
Given then to Mr. Edward Guy and his wife for looking to my garde here at this Appleby Castle Tenne Shillings	0 10 0
Payd then to Mr. Edward Guy of Appleby for a pound of then best Verginian Tobbacco for my owne taking ffour Shillings ..	0 4 0
Given the 19: day to Mr. Georg Sedgwick one of my chiefe officers at his now going away from mee towards his owne house near Kendall Two Pounds	2 0 0
Given then to Thomas Whaley Mr. Georg Sedgwicks man five Shillings	0 5 0
Payed then to George Dent of Appleby for two great large Stock- locks he made for mee to give away Two Pounds ..	2 0 0
Given then to Mr. John Thwaits of Appleby Tenne Shillings ..	0 10 0
Given then to Samuell Mitchell, when he now brought mee a letter from Mr. Thomas Percivall Six Shillings	0 6 0

Payed the 20: day to Wm. Marshall the Taylor of Bongate for making a Black Cloth Gowne for mee : 10s: and for things for ye making of it up, as per Bill £1: 9s: 6: in all comes to One Pound Nine- teene Shillings & Six Pence	1 19 6
	<hr/> 11 04 06

(Page 4)

Payed the 20th day to Mrs. Bridget Pinder wife to Mr. Richard Pinder of Kirby Stephen 4: dozen of gloves vizt one dozen of buff gloves for men at : 5s: 6d: per pair : £3 6s: 0d: &: 3: dozen of gloves for women at 1s: 4d: per paire ; £2: 8: 0d: to give away comes too in all ffive Pounds & ffourteen Shillings of this money Seaven Shillings and ffive pence the Remainder being entered upon a labell off: £270: Craven Rents	0 7 5
	<hr/> 00 07 05

	£ s. d.
Recd	52 00 00
Disbd	52 00 00

Exd T. Gabetis

So all this Fiftety-tow poundes is disbursed for me by my order.

OCTOBER IN 1673.

(Page 5)

Payed the 3d: day to Edward Smith my Coachman his halfe year's wage's due to him at Michaelmas last Three Pounds & Tenn Shillings of this money Eleaven Shillings & Six pence ye remainder being entered upon a labell off: £270: 00s: 00d: Craven Rents	0 11 6
Payed then to John Hall the chiefe Groome of my Stables his wages due to him then Two Poundes	2 0 0
Payed then to Abraham fittin my Postillian his wages due then Two Poundes	2 0 0
ayed then to Isaac Walker another of then Groomes of my Stables his wages due then Two Poundes	2 0 0
Payed then to Georg Paget my Porter and Baker his wages due then Two Poundes & ffive Shillings	2 5 0
Payed then to John Harrison my Brewer his wages due then Two Poundes and ffive Shillings	2 5 0

Payed then to Arthur Swindin my Under-Butler his wages due to him Two Poundes	2	0	0
Payed then to Thomas Cornell Mr. Ed: Hasells man his wages due then Two Poundes	2	0	0
Payed then to William Johnson my Housekeeper of this Appleby Castle his wages due then Two Poundes	2	0	0
	<hr/>		
	17	01	06

(Page 6)

Payd the 3: day to Mr. Branthwait who lives in Pendraggon Castle his allowance for coales for fireing for my House there for halfe a yeare ending at Michaelmas last past Three Poundes ..	3	0	0
Payd then to Allan Strickland for this weeks Expences of my House-keeping here at Appleby Castle from ye 26: of Sept last untill this day five Poundes Tenne Shillings and ffive Pence, besides the provision of my owne in store as by the Booke will appeare comes to in (all) £08: 12s: 05d	5	10	5
Given then to Amy Waller the lame woman of my Almeshouse here at Appleby Two Shillings and Six Pence	0	2	6
Payd then to Mr. Hugh Raw of Kirby Stephen for 55: Books of Devotion of Mr. John Rawlet's writeing who is now minister of Kirby Stephen which I buy to give away comes to Three Poundes ffive Shillings & ffour Pence	3	5	4
Sent then to Mr. William Guy of Watercrook for some Quinces and Apples he now sent mee Two Poundes	2	0	0
Given then to Robert Hartley Mr. Wm Guys man Eight Shillings ..	0	8	0
Payd the 4: day to George goodgion for clipping off all the Haires of my Heade in my chamber at this Appleby Castle which I had not done since the 6: of Augst last till now Six Shillings ..	0	6	0
Payd then to Henry Bonson my Herd at Southfield his halfe yeares wages due to him at Michaelmas last Two Poundes	2	0	0
Payd then to Mr. Thomas Gabetis my Shiriffe as he is my Auditor his halfe yeares wages due to him at Michaelmas last past Tenne Poundes	10	0	0
	<hr/>		
	26	12	03

(Page 7)

Payd the 4: day to Dorrathy Wiber the deafe woman of my Alms-house here at Appleby for 18: yards of Bonelace to give away Twelve Shillings	0	12	0
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Payed the 6: day to Richard Lowis my Housekeeper at Brougham Castle his halfe yeares wages due at Michaelmas last, Two Pounds	2	0	0
Pay'd then to Richard Lowes my Housekeeper att Brougham Castle for his Board wages for 10: weekes, vizt from the 30: of July last to the 8th instant at 2:6: per weeke 30s: and for keeping his Catt that time at 3d: per week 2:6: comes to in all One Pound Twelve Shillings and Six Pence	1	12	6
Given then to Mr. James Bird the Attorney Tenne Shillings ..	0	10	0
Given then to Henry Low who served Mr. Gillmore and who is now going away five Shillings	0	5	0
Payed the 7th day to Michael Steadman Rich: Browne Thomas Towneson and others both of Brough and Warcopp for Six Score and Two Loades of Coales from my owne Pitts on Stainmoore at 12d: per Load for ffireing for my House at this Appleby Castle comes to in all Six Pounds and Two Shillings	6	2	0
Payed then to Mr. Thomas Carleton of Appleby Castle for a Rundlet of Sacke containing 13: gallons at 10s: per gallon £06:10s: 00d: and for the Rundlet 2s: 6d: for my House at this Appleby Castle comes to in all Six Pounds Twelve Shillings and Six Pence ..	6	12	6
Payed then to francis mason my Warriner his Quarters wages due at Michaelmas last One Pound & ten Shillings	1	10	0
Payed then to francis mason for the keeping of 3: ffrirts the same time vizt a quarter of a yeare Sixteen Shillings and Three Pence	0	16	3
	<hr/>		
	20	00	03

(Page 8)

Payed the 8: day to Mr. James Buchanan our Parson of Appleby when he now preached a good Sermon to me and my family in my Chamber att this Appleby Castle Twenty Shillings ..	1	0	0
Pay'd then to Mr. James Buchanan when he now administered the Blessed Sacramt of Bread and wine to me and them Twenty Shillings	1	0	0
Payed then to James Thwaites ye Clark of Appleby for his paines five Shillings	0	5	0
Given then to George Goodgion Edmond ffoster and Allan Strickland for their paines 5s: apiece in all ffifteene Shillings ..	0	15	0
Pay'd then to John Demaine for 30: yards of Linnen Cloth to give away as also for my owne use at 2:8: per yard comes to in all four Pounds	4	0	0
Payed the 9: day to Robert Harrison my Houskeeper of Brough Castle his halfe yeares wages due at Michaelmas last ffoure Pounds	4	0	0

Pay'd the 9th day to Mr. Thomas Carlton of Appleby for a Rundlet of white wine containing 14 : gallons at 4s: per gallon and for the Rundlet 2s: 6d: for my House at Appleby Castle comes to in all Two Pounds Eighteene Shillings and Sixpence	2 18 6
Given then to Thomas Barton youngest sonne of Mr. Robert Barton of the Breeks Two Shillings and six pence	0 2 6
Payed then to George Goodgion for too Sugar loaves he Bought for mee for the preserving of Plums 7s: 2d: and for 6 gally Potts to put them into 1s: 6d: comes to in all Eight Shillings and Eight Pence	0 8 8
	<hr/>
	14 09 08

(Page 9)

Given the 9: day to John Demaine whose mother is my Housekeeper at Barden-Tower ffive Shillings	0 5 0
Payd the 10th day to Allan Strickland for this weeks Expences of my House keeping here at Appleby Castle from ye 3: instant to this day ffive Pounds Six Shillings and ffive pence besides the provision of my owne in Store as by the Booke will appeare, which with ready money besides wine and ffiring comes to in all £08: 05s: 05d.	5 6 5
Given then to Arthur Swindin for assisting Mrs. Pate in Preserving of Plummes Two Shillings & Six pence	0 2 6
Payd the 11: day to Robert Wharton of Scattergate for severall dayes worke in mending my Park wall at this Appleby Castle Nine Shillings & Eight pence	0 9 8
Payd the 13th: day to John Taylor ye Milner att Bongate for 10 bushells of malt at 5s: per bushell for one Brewing of Beere for my House use at this Appleby Castle comes to in all Two Pounds and tenn Shillings	2 10 0
Payd then to George Goodgion for 10 yards of ffustian for mee att 1s: 3d: per yard 12s: 6d: & for a pare of Bodyes he allso bought for mee for my own use 3s: 8d: comes to in all Sixteene Shillings and Two Pence	16 2
Given the 14: day to my Cozen Mr. Thomas Burbeck of Hornby to carry to his two Children Two Pounds	2 0 0
	<hr/>
	11 09 09
	<hr/>

(Page 10)

Payed the 14: day to Mr. Thomas Gabetis my Shiriffe as he is my Audtr when he now read over to me and Examined (in) my Chamber the Deceased Mr. Robert Collings accompts for Craven for this last yeare ending at Whitsontide last in 1673: which I gave my Allowance to by Signing them with my Hand Two Pounds	2 0 0
Payed the 15: day to Mr. Thomas Strickland receiver of my Rents in Westmerland his half yeares wages due to him att Michaelmas last Tenne Pounds	10 0 0
Payd then to Lancelot Machell Mr Stricklands man his wages due then Two Pounds	2 0 0
Payed the 16: day to Mrs. Grasty the parsons wife of Brougham by her servant Christopher Milburn for 16: Cheeses weight 2c6 lbs & a halfe att 4d: per Pound for my House use comes to in all Three Pounds Eight Shillings & tenn pence	3 8 10
Given then to Christopher Milbourn Mrs. Grasty's man of Brougham for bringing these Chieses Two Shillings and Six Pence ..	0 2 6
Payed the 17th day to Allan Strickland for this weekes Expences of my House keeping here at Appleby Castle from the roth instant to this day Nine Pounds and Nineteen Shillings besides the provision of my owne in Store (as by the Booke) comes to £12: 18s: ood:	9 19 0
Pay'd then to Renold Bayly & Clement Morisby for 32: days worke for felling of woode in flake Bridge and cutting of it for my House at this Appleby Castle comes to in all One Pound and Twelve Shillings	1 12 0
	<hr/>
	29 02 04
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(Page 11)

Payed the 17: day to young John Gregson of Ormside for 30: bushells of oats at 2s: 8d: per Bushell for my stables at this Appleby Castle since the 16: of September last comes to in all ffour Pounds	4 0 0
Pay'd then to Peeter Robinson of Morland for felling of wood in Whinfield and Sowinge of it into Boards for Brougham Milnes vizt for making two new doores mending the Miln End and putting two new Threshholds and setting up Stoths with other worke as per agreement comes to in all ffour Pounds Seaven Shillings and Sixpence	4 7 6

2L

Payd then to John Winter of Morland for felling of wood in Whinfield and sowing of it for Brougham Mills, vizt for making new floodgates, new staples, new planting the wheele cazes, new Needles and putting in of a new Sill at the out mill with other work as per agreett comes to in all Three Pounds and twelve Shillings	3 12 0
Payed then to John Winter wch he is to Repay to several persons for the Leading of a hundred and 20 Cart Loades of wood out of Whinfield to Brougham Milns One Pound & tenne Shillings ..	1 10 0
Payd then to John Webster for looking after my sd work at Brougham Mills 6: days at 1s: 4d: per day Eight Shillings	0 8 0
Payed then to John Webster for 10: Bushells of mault at 5s per bushell for one Brewing of Beere for my house use at this Appleby Castle comes to in all Two Poundes and tenne Shillings ..	2 10 0
	<hr/>
	16 07 06
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(Page 12)

Given the 18: day to Bernard Bowron Mrs. Brasses man when he now came hither with his mistresse and brought mee a present of Sweetmeats Six Shillings	0 6 0
Given then to Mrs. Elizabeth Cleburn and Brass when she brought me a present of Sweetmeats Two Pounds	2 0 0
Given then to here Sonne Mr. Thomas Clebron Twenty Shillings ..	1 0 0
Payed the 21: day to the widdow Anne Becke of Appleby for makeing 6: double fustian cloaths and a pair of Garters for mee Two Shillings	0 2 0
Payed the 23: day to Georg Goodgion for some White Thred he bought for mee in Yorkshire for making mee 4: paire of Stockings ffive Shillings and Eight pence	0 5 8
Given then to John Kinge francis Demaine & Thomas Kitchen when they now came with Mr. Strickland with my Rents out of Craven 5s apece in all ffifteene Shillings	0 15 0
Payed the 24: day to Mr. Thomas Strickland and George Goodgion for the charges of themselves & Mr. Stricklands man from hence to Skipton for my Craven Rents due at Michaelmas last and for there charges there and back againe with my said Rents lying out about this and my other Buisness 6: dayes with their horses as allso for the charges of John King Francis Demain and Thom: Kitchen back hither with them In all Three pounds and four shillings	3 4 0

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Given then to ye sd Mr. Thom: Strickland for his paines and care about bringing my Craven Rents to me Twenty Shillings ..	1 0 0

	08 12 08

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Given the 24: day to George Goodgion for his paines and assistance in ye sd Journey Tenne Shillings	0 10 0
Given then to Lancelot Machell Mr. Thomas Stricklands man who went with them for my said Craven rents, five Shillings ..	0 5 0
Payed then to Allan Strickland for this weekes expences of my Housekeeping here at this Appleby Castle from the 17: instant to this day five Pounds Eight Shillings and Two pence besides ye provision of my owne in store (as by the Booke will at large appeare) which with ye ready money comes to in all 08: 07: 02	5 8 2
Payed then to George Harrison John Donkin Richard Browne and other's of Brough and Warcap for Seaven Score & Ten loads of Coales for my owne pitts on Stainmore at: 12d per load for ffiring for my house at this Appleby Castle comes too in all Seaven Pounds & Tenn Shillings of this money Eleaven Pence ye remainder being entered upon a labell off: £334: Craven Rents	0 0 11
£ s. d.	
150 00 00	

So all this Hundred and fifftey poundes is
disbursed for me by my order

Exd per Tho: Gabetis

(Page 14)

Received the 14: day of March 167 $\frac{8}{3}$ of Thomas Meeson of Brougham One Pound Sixteen Shillings & ffour pence being ye old Rents of Assize belonging to Brougham Hall Demesne for one whole year & due to me at Martinmas last past	1 16 4
Which: £01: 16s: 04d: was distributed by my order as usuall upon ye 2d day of Aprill in 1673: at ye Pillar near Brougham Castle to the poore of yt Parish which Pillar I caused to be erected at yt place in memory of my blessed Mothers' & my last parting ye 2d day of Aprill ye remainder being paid out of my Private Purse on a labell off: £336: 01s: 05d Westmorland Rents to make it up ffour Pounds	1 16 4
Exd Tho: Gabetis Auditor.	Anne Pembroke

XV.—THE DEDICATION IN FULL BY ANTHONY STAFFORD
OF HIS NIOBE, PART II., 1611, AS ADDRESSED
TO LADY ANNE.

To The Admired Lady, Anne, Countesse of Dorset, daughter to the right Honorable George, late Earle of Cumberland.

* * *

Lady (for no word cā express your worth) I cannot but wōder at mine owne admiration ; that I who am hardlie drawen into the admiration of any man should so easily be driuen into amazement by a woman. I am astonisht Madame I am astonisht ; and could finde in my heart, to pray you, and such as you are (if there be anie such) to desist from doing well : for, I am afraide, that (ere long) you will disable my sex, falsifie the Scriptures and make Woman the stronger vessel. But it is not I alone, whō you haue troubled and amazed : you grow cruell, and disquiet the first of your owne Sex, Eve whose grieved Ghost, methinks I see rising out of her lowe-built bedde, looking uppon you with an enuius blush, for doing her a neuer departing disgrace. For whercas she was created in perfection, and made her selfe imperfect ; you beeing created in imperfection, haue almost made your selfe perfect : and whereas shee came first to know euill, by dooing euill ; you know it, by doing good. Nay: which is more, Madam, you seeme (but, do but seeme) to wrong God himselfe, and to disallow of his prouidence. For, whereas hee hath thought it fit to place you in one of the highest degrees of Honour : you creepe down-wardes to the lowest degree of Humilitie ; as if you meant to steale frō your Title, and giue it the slippe, Lady, neither can I, neither dare I ; praise you like a Poet ; but, like a Diuine: for, I knowe, that the reason why we honour God no better, is, not onlie because we *seek honour, one of another* ; but, because wee transferre his honour, one to another. No, no, Madame : I will not tell you, that you are without sinne ; though, indeede, it seemes to the world that you are : for, Sinne, who is valiant in others, is a coward in you, and dare not come out, nor shew himself. I am not therefore to be blamed, in giuing you such short piunion'd praises (which cannot soare so high as your long-winged worth) by reason that Diuinitie curbes me, and forbids me to ascribe as much honour, and praise, to the Architecture as to the Architect. Which some, of late, haue done, and, to make ostentation of the strength of their wits, haue made withal a declaration of the weakenes of their judgements. I could tell you, Madame, that Vertue wanted a beautifull lodging ; & therefore commanded Nature to build you : and that Nature was content to fulfill her command, with this condition ; that Vertue shold make you her principall Palace. But, I will spare those praises, as needesse ; for, your soule sits in the *superficies* of your face : and inward-you are seene in outward-you. And indeede, to saie the truth, I haue greater need to excuse the rash dedication of my booke, than to extol you. But, I hope, Ladie, I shall deserue an excuse, by reason

To face page 517.



THE GAUNTLET OF HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.



THE ARMOUR OF GEORGE, 3rd EARL OF CUMBERLAND (FATHER OF LADY ANNE),
now preserved at Appleby Castle (see page 517).

Photos by Gray.

you haue amazed, & distracted me, by attracting the best parts of my minde from me, to honour the true Honour which is in you. I beseech your Ladiship then, to let my extasie excuse me, & gentlie to pronounce pardon to a Gentleman, that Heer proclaims to the world hee honours your virtues, not your fortunes ; & commandes Posteritie to poste this smal packet of your manie virtues, from one generation to another. Accept then (Madame) this Booke ; as frō him, who can no longer smother the vnexpressable honour hee owes you. This fauour, Madame, if you deign to do me, I vow, that if I liue after you, you shall liue after me ; & I wil trie if I can limne your soul, as curiously with the penne as the Limner doth your body with the pencill. If Madamc, you liue after me ; do me so much right, as to say ; *He is dead, who, amongst the few hee honour'd, honour'd mee most.*

While you liue, he that died for you, liue & dwell in you ; & grant, that you maie glory as much that you shal be one of that other world, as wee glorie that you are one of this ; and that as we are happie in you here, so you may be most happie there.

Your Ladiships most
observant Seruant,
Antonie Stafford.

XVI.—A NOTE ON THE ARMOUR AT APPLEBY CASTLE.

Reference has already been made to the fact that, in the large composition picture at Appleby, and in the replica of part at Hothfield, Lord Cumberland is represented clothed in complete armour, with a surtout of velvet over it, and that the helmet and gauntlets of the suit are standing on the pedestal close at hand. In the well-known miniature painted by Hilliard representing the same nobleman, which now belongs to the Duke of Buccleuch, Lord Cumberland is also represented in armour, and there is a close affinity between that which is shewn in the Montagu House miniature, and in the Appleby picture, in fact, so closely do the two suits resemble one another that it is possible that the same armour is intended to be represented in each portrait. In the Hilliard miniature at Montagu House the Earl is represented wearing a cap in the front of which is fastened the glove which belonged to Queen Elizabeth and which that Sovereign presented to him. By his side on a rock, are his helmet and one gauntlet. It has been stated by an earlier writer, that the suit of armour now at Appleby Castle is the actual suit which Lord Cumberland is represented wearing in the two portraits, but careful examination will show that this is not the case. It is possible, and in fact probable, that the odd pieces of a suit of armour made for Lord Cumberland, and now preserved in the Tower ¹ are portions of the actual suit worn by the Earl in the picture and

¹ See Illustrated Guide, 1910, II., 106, Plate 12, Case 33. This Guide is now out of print.

in the miniature. In each case, stars form a very important part of the decoration. In the recently issued work by the late Sir Guy Laking, Bart., on English armour considerable attention has been paid by the author, to the history of this suit of armour, but it may be well here to make some reference to the much finer suit which stands at Appleby Castle close to the big picture, and which has been, as already stated, identified, although wrongly, with the suit worn by the Earl in the picture. The suit of armour at Appleby is evidently that referred to and illustrated in the *Jacobe MS.* now at South Kensington, and depicted in the book² called "*An Almain Armourer's Album.*" issued with an introduction and notes by Viscount Dillon in 1905. The MS. in question, according to Lord Dillon, was first heard of in 1723, when it was exhibited by Virtue at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries in London. In 1790 it passed into the possession of the Duchess of Portland, if it had not already belonged to Her Grace, for Pennant, in his "*London*" reproduces, "by her permission," a drawing from it, and Strutt in his great book on costume in 1797, also illustrated Lord Cumberland's armour, although he gave in error to Lord Cumberland the name of the Earl of Essex. The MS. was sold in 1799, and as the Duchess was a daughter of Harley, Earl of Oxford, Lord Dillon suggests that it originally belonged to the great Harleian library. In 1894 it was to be found in the Spitzer collection, and at that sale passed into the hands of Monsieur Stein of Paris, in whose collection Lord Dillon saw it. He brought it to England, and eventually was able to persuade the authorities at the Victoria and Albert Museum to purchase it, and a short description of its contents was given by him before the Archaeological Institute in 1895, and illustrated in the *Proceedings* of that Society.³ No one is able to say for certain who was the unknown armourer whose drawings appear in this MS., but it is known that for a time he was Master Workman at Greenwich, where he presided over the Almain, or German, armourers. It has been stated that Jacob Topf the armourer (born 1530) was the author of the MS., and it has also been stated that, with even greater probability, that William Pickering, the Master of the Armoury at Greenwich (in 1614) was responsible for the work. Into this vexed question it would not besem me to enter, and such information as is known concerning Topf and Pickering can be found in the introduction by Lord Dillon to the book already mentioned. The interesting feature of the question is that practically the whole set of armour, even with its extra pieces, which this unknown armourer made for the Earl of Cumberland, is still in existence, and in the house in which that Earl's daughter and heir resided, but the armour, although forming a complete set, has one piece in it which does not belong to the set. The two gauntlets are not exactly alike. They bear the closest possible resemblance to one another, and were evidently made from the same design, but the reversed and conjoined "E's" which appear on the placcate and grandguard of the

² See plates xxviii and xxix.

³ See Vol. II. p. 171.

armour are represented in the left gauntlet by the conjoined initials in monogram fashion, in two places, of "H.P.", which stands for Henry, Prince of Wales. The remainder of Henry, Prince of Wales' armour is at Windsor Castle, but the suit there is wanting in both gauntlets. One we find with the Appleby suit. The other, the right-hand one, is in the Wallace Gallery. This came from the collection of Llewellyn Merrick of Goodrich Court, and it was illustrated in the "Engraved Illustrations of Ancient Arms and Armour," by Joseph Skelton, F.S.A.⁴ On the dispersal of the Merrick collection the gauntlet in question was offered to the authorities at Windsor Castle, but was declined, and it was then purchased by Sir Richard Wallace, and now finds a place in Hertford House. No one knows what has become of the missing gauntlet from the Appleby suit, the place of which is taken by the Henry, Prince of Wales gauntlet, nor is there any explanation as to why Lord Cumberland should have had in his possession the right-hand gauntlet of Henry, Prince of Wales.⁵ The suit at Appleby Castle is of russet with gold decoration, all the pieces having in the centre a broad, vertical band of elegant gold floriated scrolls, protected by being slightly struck below the surface, the conventional interlaced strap-work of the Elizabethan era being raised and left in blue, contrasting with the gold diaper ground-work. The double cypher of Queen Elizabeth of the two "E's" *adossés*, connected by two entwined annulets, is also blue, and two of these monograms occur on all the principal portions of the suit. On each side of the band are Tudor emblems in gold, two open cinquefoil roses, with a *fleur-de-lis* between, connected together by true lovers' knots.

The armour consists of a helmet with beavor and visor attached, a gorget with lapping-plates, the right and left pauldrons, each with vambrace, rerebrace and garde-bras, the two gauntlets (already referred to) the breast-plate with taces and tassets, the back-plate and two jambarts, each with its cuisse, genouillière, greave, and solleret. In addition to these, there are the tilting-pieces, a helmet with beavor and visor attached, and face-guard; the placcate with mentonnière attached, the manteau d'armes for the left shoulder, and four vamplates or lance-guards. There are also the chanfrons, saddle-steels for the pommel and cantle, stirrups, and various odd pieces, forming the horse armour, in all, forty-eight pieces, and they correspond exactly, in all their details, with the two plates in the Almain Armourer's book (which correspond to No. 21 in the MS.), even to the existence of the spurs. Mr. Chaffers, who cleaned the armour and prepared a hand-book concerning it in 1885, had no doubt whatever in his own mind that the whole of the suit was actually made by Pickering, but, although there is evidence in the State Paper Office that Pickering received £200 (the balance of £340), for a rich suit of armour made for Henry, Prince of Wales, there is no absolute authority, so far as is at present

⁴ Vol. II., plate lxxviii.

⁵ While these pages are passing through the press, I am informed that a gauntlet, somewhat resembling the missing one, is in the Rigg collection at the Metropolitan Museum, New York. It *may be* the missing one.

known, for stating that this suit then paid for was the actual suit to which the gauntlet with "H.P." upon it belonged, nor can we be sure that this armour was made after the style or from the designs of Topf, although there is considerable evidence to enable us to accept, as a very likely set of circumstances, the statement that it was so.

Whoever made Prince Henry's armour, to which the gauntlet belongs, must have made the suit decorated in similar fashion for Lord Cumberland, the identity in design and craftsmanship of the two suits being evident, but who exactly that armourer was, no one at present knows. It is of interest to notice furthermore that Lady Anne specially bequeathed the armour to her daughter's children, leaving six of the best pieces that he "should chuse" to Lord Northampton, who married her younger daughter, and requested him to bequeath them to his daughter Alethea. Lady Alethea died without issue, and as her estate came back to her aunt's family, the six pieces of armour presumably came with the other things. There are no pieces missing from the suit, and there is no armour resembling it at Castle Ashby. The remainder of the armour "that were my noble father's to remain to them and their posterities (if they see please) as a remembrance of him," was already in the possession of Lord Thanet and his brothers, and still remains in the hands of their representative, Lord Hothfield. Lord Cumberland is represented actually wearing this very suit of armour in a miniature at Ecton belonging to the Trustees of the Sotheby Estate and painted by Isaac Oliver.

For further details concerning this superb suit of armour and for illustrations of it and of the various portraits of Lord Cumberland, including the Ecton miniature, I refer my readers to Sir Guy F. Laking's book, Vol. iv., page 53, *et seq.*

In my own *Memoir of Lord Cumberland* (Cambridge Press, 1920) the armour is alluded to, and illustrated, in Chapter XX.

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See also H. O. Coxe. *Catalogus Codicum*.

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Carrick, Wm. A copy of an original MS. concerning Lady Anne Clifford made in 1862 for William Carrick, Esq., of Carlisle by James Richards and now belonging to the Carrick family.

Atkinson. The original affidavits in *Lord Brougham v. Atkinson* before Lord Campbell and 3 Judges Q.B. 1860.

The Aske papers at the P.R.O.

Numerous papers and documents in Lord Hothfield's muniment rooms at Appleby Castle, Skipton Castle and in London and many original documents at the Record Office.

MEMORANDA.

Colonel John Parker, C.B., possesses at Browsholme Hall near Clitheroe the lock and key from Rydal Hall, marked A.P. and dated 1672. It came to Browsholme on the occasion of the marriage of a member of the Parker family with a Le Fleming co-heir.

The Rev. T. P. Brocklehurst informs me that in the registers of Giggleswick-in-Craven is an allusion to the fact that the body of Henry, Lord Cumberland rested one night in the church when it was being taken from Appleby Castle to Skipton for burial.

There is at Asby Rectory one of Lady Anne's locks marked A.P. and dated 1670. It measures $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 11 inches.

There is a portrait of Lady Anne at Hutton John, Penrith. It is believed to have been given to Sir John Harington of Kelneyton or to his wife Lady Dionysia, the daughter of James Ley, who was Lord Chief Justice and afterwards Lord Treasurer to James I., and created first a Baronet, then Lord Ley, and in 1626 Earl of Marlborough. Sir John and his wife were friendly with Lady Anne: and their grand-daughter Helena was an ancestress of Mr. F. Hudleston of Hutton John who now owns the picture.

An interesting book containing illuminated arms of her various ancestors made for Lady Anne has recently been discovered. In it, in Lady Anne's own hand, is a note stating that the drawings were made for her by

"Thomas Webster but a little before his death."

It contains many corrections by Lady Anne especially noting that the ribbon of the Garter was omitted by Webster on two coats.

At Bill Hill in the Library is one of the books that belonged to Lady Anne. It is St. Francis de Sales' Introduction to a Devout Life 1648, bound in red Morocco and contains the following inscription. "This Book was begun to be read to your Ladyship in Brougham Castle the 9 day of March, 1664-1665 by M^{ESSRS} Geo. Sedgwick, Thos. Strickland and John Taylor. And they made an end of reading it to you in the same Castle the 15th day of the same month."

At the same house there are preserved one of the sets of the three great volumes; two copies of Lady Anne's Claim; a quantity of papers regarding the Claim and also concerning the Clifford title; some fine Pedigree rolls; two oval portraits

of Lady Anne ; some shorthand books that belonged to Lord Thanet ; a miniature copy of part of one of the great books of pedigree specially prepared for Lady Harold, with some extra notes in it and many documents of high interest including the very precious book on her father's voyages specially prepared for Lady Anne.

At Crackenthorpe Hall amongst the Machell documents belonging to Lady Valda Machell there are many alluding to the intimate connection between the Cliffords and the Machells and having reference to Lady Anne. Members of the Machell family held honourable posts in connection with the Cliffords. They were executors to Clifford wills, stewards to the Cliffords, and later on to an Earl of Thanet ; and their daughters were in confidential posts as Ladies in Attendance or Maids of Honour to the Cliffords of their day.

There is a portrait of Lady Anne which in the family catalogue is attributed to Mytzens, in the possession of Mr. Poyntz Stewart of Chesfield Park, Stevenage. It bears her arms and those of both of her husbands.

The piece of plate alluded to on page 469 was a Porringer. It was illustrated in *Country Life*, March 16th, 1918, p. 267 ; and details respecting its history and the inscription upon it appear in that place. There is also an important reference to it in *The Field* of April 6th, 1918, p. 465.

An interesting letter written by Lady Anne, 2 July, 1667 from Barden Tower, and addressed to the Countess of Cork and Burlington has been discovered while these pages were being printed. It reads thus :—

“ Madam,

By your noble and worthy Daughter I received your Ladyship's very kind and courteous letter for which as I have good cause I return your Ladyship my heartie and humble thanks.

Her coming hither to me hath been very acceptable and I have found much satisfaction and content in her good conversation for so as I must be ever sensible of her kindness, and fayre respect towards me and account my Grandson very happy in so good so vertuous and so discreet a wife.

Madam,

Your Ladyships very affectionate cousin and humble servant,

ANNE PEMBROKE.

An important account book kept by Lady Anne and dealing especially with the years 1667 and 1668 has come into the possession of Lord Hothfield while this volume was in the press. It contains a vast number of interesting entries and as it cannot be reprinted in full, and long extracts from it would considerably increase the size of this volume (already larger than was intended), a paper will be prepared by me dealing with its salient features and will it is hoped appear in one of the volumes of proceedings of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Archaeological Society later on.