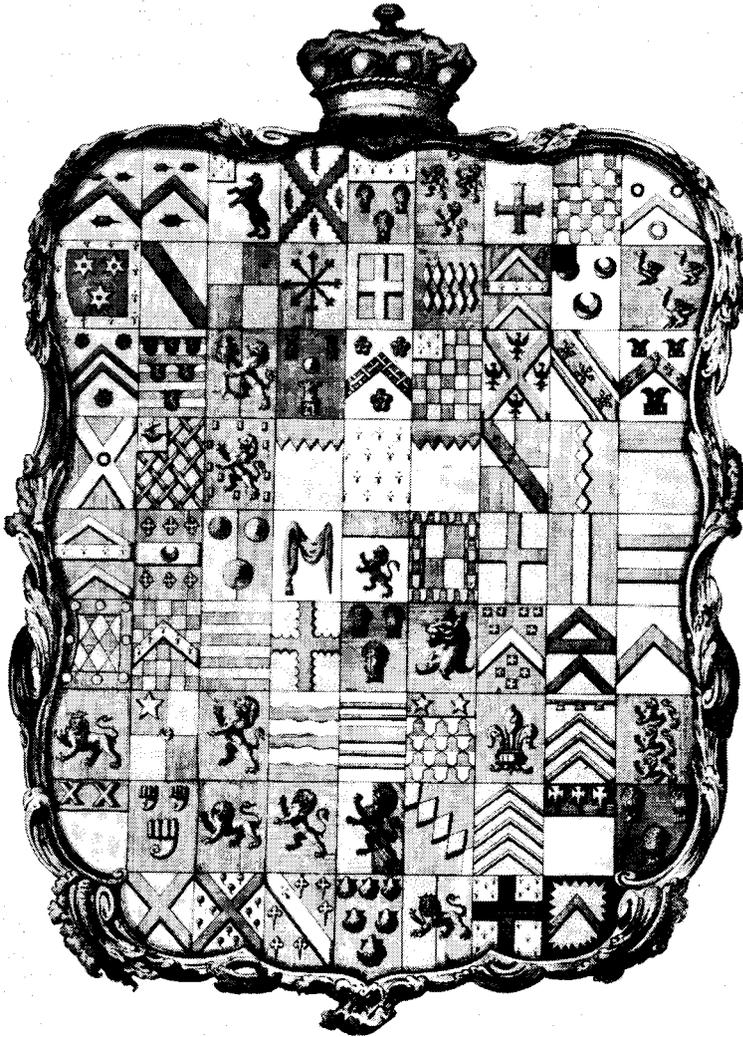


# CAKE & COCKHORSE



BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY SUMMER 1976

# BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Details about the Society's activities and  
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**Our Cover** is an 18th century engraving of the quarterings of the Right Honourable Thomas Twistleton, Baron Saye and Sele, which we reproduce by kind permission of our President.

# CAKE & COCKHORSE

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The main part of this issue of *Cake and Cockhorse* is given to the first of two essays by Nelson Bard on William Fiennes Lord Saye and Sele (1582-1662), the owner of Broughton Castle at the time of England's civil war. In this article, deeply and professionally researched and referenced, he analyses the extent and sources of William Fiennes' wealth. Nelson Bard's article is followed by a short enquiry into the inspiration which caused William's grandfather Richard Fiennes (ca 1519-1573), in the short reign of Edward VI while he was still a young man, to reconstruct his ancestral medieval manor house into an ultra-modern Tudor mansion which, virtually unaltered externally to this day, remains one of the glories of the English countryside.

This is an appropriate moment to look closely at Broughton Castle and its owners, and at their place in local and national history. Next year 600 years will have passed since the castle was last sold. When William Fiennes died in 1662 in his eightieth year his ancestors - Fiennes and Wykeham - had lived at Broughton for nearly as long as his descendants have lived there since. Bard's article can, in particular, be taken as an opportunity for a reassessment of the character and importance of William Fiennes - a man who has often had a bad "press."

Nelson Bard is an American, one of two American professional historians who have realised the importance of William Fiennes, whose biography has never been written, as a chief architect of the puritan movement to which the United States look for their origins and to which England owes three centuries of constitutional government. Clarendon, who knew William and disliked him intensely, wrote accurately, though not in words William would have relished, when he described him as "in truth the pilot that steered all those vessels which were freighted with sedition to destroy the government."

What kind of man was he? His enemies have accused him of three major sins - the sin of poverty, the sin of venality, and the sin of veering with the wind in that he opposed the government of Charles I but accepted minor office under Charles II at the restoration. Nelson Bard here absolves him from the sin of poverty. For venality he had ample opportunities, but there is no evidence that he took them. On

the third accusation two contemporaries at least disagreed – "a person of great parts, wisdom and integrity" [Bulstrode Whitelocke] (when he occupied Oxford he did not confiscate the college silver; it was left to the King to do that) – and "I that have had the happiness to live near unto him for many years have alwayes observed him in all the various changes he hath met withall, never to vary from his principles..." [anon Oct. 1643].

Once one realises what those principles were, one sees the consistency and courage with which he followed them. He seldom committed himself to paper (the King once had his pockets searched for incriminating evidence but found nothing), was no publicist and was an exceedingly careful and efficient strategist. But such of his parliamentary speeches as survive, and his actions, confirm absolutely the expression of principles which he wrote in a surviving letter to Lord Wharton in 1657.

"For the government of this Kingdom," he wrote, "according to the right constitution thereof and execution agreeable thereunto, I think it to be the best in the world, being a mixture of the three lawful governments in that manner that it hath the quintessence of them all, whereby they are kept from falling into the extremes which either apart are apt to slip into, monarchy into tyranny, and aristocracy into oligarchy, democracy into anarchy. Now the chiefest remedy and prop to uphold this frame and building and keep it standing and steady is, and experience hath shewed it to be, the peers of England and their power and privileges in the House of Lords; they have been as the beam keeping both scales, King and people, in an even posture, without encroachments one upon another to the hurt and damage of both. Long experience hath made it manifest that they have preserved the just rights and liberties of the people against the tyrannical usurpation of Kings, and have also as steps and stairs uphold the crown from falling and being cast down upon the floor by the insolency of the multitude from the throne of government."

For that principle of a balanced constitution he endured eight months in the Fleet Prison, refused to pay ship money, was imprisoned for refusing the illegal military oath which would have bound him to follow the King to invade Scotland, raised and paid for a regiment of bluecoats (their uniforms dyed at the estate woadmill?) and four troops of horse in Banburyshire to fight at Edgehill, spent weeks in the Isle of Wight in the year in which his wife died to try to persuade the King to come to terms with Parliament resulting in the unfulfilled Treaty of Newport, broke in turn with Cromwell when the King was executed and the army breached the constitution.

Though two of his sons and one son-in-law supported Cromwell, he himself would have nothing to do with the Protectorate. He saw the Restoration of 1660 as the fulfillment, not wholly satisfactory but there had been too much agony to argue, of what he and Pym had striven to achieve in the Parliaments of 1640 and he had taken up arms for in 1642 – a balanced constitution of King, Lords and Commons.

D. F.

The index of Vols. 5 and 6 of Cake and Cockhorse has been published and members can request free copies from the Membership Secretary.

## THE ESTATES OF THE BARONY SAYE AND SELE IN PRE-REVOLUTIONARY ENGLAND

The extent of a man's wealth often relates directly to his status or reputation and, therefore, to the extent of his influence. Contemporaries, at least those who had little reason to admire William Fiennes, eighth Lord Saye and Sele, considered him quite poor for a baron and thus prone to corruption. Some have suggested, then and later, that his opposition to the Court was calculated merely to gain him a position; if he were obnoxious enough, the Court might try to placate him with preferment in the government.<sup>1</sup> Occasionally the Court itself was willing to believe this to be the case. George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and Prince Charles sought to secure Saye's allegiance in 1624 through a viscounty. Charles tried again to win him over in 1641 by making him a privy councillor and Master of the Court of Wards. In both these cases, the Court's efforts followed Saye's intense opposition to their policies. Modern historians, without exception, have accepted this poverty as a fact<sup>2</sup> and have tended to assume that it explains his conduct.

If he was in fact too poor to support his viscounty or even his barony, the implications are profound. A back-country puritan, without office or hope of it, scrambling to support himself by squeezing his paltry estates and becoming increasingly bitter and active against the Court, Saye and Sele bears all the hallmarks of Hugh Trevor-Roper's mere gentleman. If he could not live as opulently as an aristocrat should, or at least as well as his gentlemen neighbours, he would have to make economies that would amount to public humiliation — a thing not easily endured in that status-conscious age — or he must go into debt. In either case, he could be a sullen and dangerous man.<sup>3</sup> His influence would have been considerable with men in similar economic straits, such as those who gathered about the Earl of Essex in the 1590's. However, without sufficient wealth, Saye could hardly have hoped to use the traditional channels of influence either locally or nationally. In the House of Lords, his speeches would have been as bankrupt as his estates, and his neighbours, unless they too were "mere" gentry, would have held him in contempt.<sup>4</sup> If, on the other hand, he were financially secure, his influence could have been extensive and he could have reached far more people if he employed his talents shrewdly. This would also mean that the motives behind his opposition were more probably based on principles rather than on mere financial welfare. To understand his role in the coming Revolution, we must investigate the value of William Fiennes' estates.

### Sir Richard Fiennes and his estates

A close look at the extent of the Fiennes estates under Viscount Saye's father, Sir Richard Fiennes, is necessary. For one thing, we can determine with some precision what Sir Richard was worth and we cannot for his son. We can also determine whether Sir Richard's fortunes were rising or declining and for what reasons. Surely that bears heavily on the subsequent history of the estates under William.

**Sources:** The sources available for Sir Richard's estates are for the most part quite ordinary and not extensive. There are some legal transactions, court cases, wills, and deeds. At Broughton Castle, there are miscellaneous documents of assorted value, the court rolls of two manors, and the eloquent testimony of Broughton Castle itself to Sir Richard's remodelling projects. On the other hand,

there are many valuable letters from Sir Richard to Lord Burghley and to Robert Cecil among the State Papers and the Salisbury and Hatfield House manuscripts. They are most revealing since Sir Richard had a lively imagination and was not prone to guard his words. Most of his early letters concern his efforts to reclaim the family barony. Not only had he to prove his hereditary right to Burghley and the Queen but also his ability to maintain the dignity of a barony. Therefore he had much to say about his financial affairs and left one fairly complete record of his revenues and debts. Once he had the barony, his letters became pleas for financial help. They have, then, the dubious virtue of exaggerating his finances, first from a rosy point of view and then from a depressed one. Either way, they tell much about the difficulties of estate management and the burden of a barony.

**Sir Richard's inheritance:** The later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had been disastrous for the Fiennes family. By the end of the 1470's the estates, once quite sizeable, had been dissipated enough that the barony fell into abeyance. Despite the venality of the first Lord Saye and Sele, his violent death at the hands of Jack Cade left his estates vulnerable to Court intrigue. Worse, of the following hundred years, a minor possessed the estates for seventy-five years.<sup>5</sup> Few things are as damaging to an estate as a minority, but a string of them is a catastrophe not easily survived. By 1582, when Richard Fiennes assumed his estates after an eight-year wardship, his revenues scarcely matched his father's debts. It is illustrative that the wardship for the lands had been sold in 1491 for £370,<sup>6</sup> and in 1574, after over eighty years of steady inflation, the Queen's agents sold the wardship of Richard for £233.<sup>7</sup>

Richard's father, also named Richard, was the first of the Fienneses in the sixteenth century to live long enough to try revitalizing the estates. He made a gallant effort, at the expense of considerable friction with his neighbours,<sup>8</sup> and not without success. He managed to consolidate his Oxfordshire lands somewhat, having bought the adjoining manors of Bloxham Beauchamp in 1545 and of Shutford in 1570.<sup>9</sup> He also began an ambitious remodelling of Broughton Castle. Still, he too died too soon. Broughton Castle was quite unfinished; his son was an adolescent and a ward of the Queen; and he left substantial debts. Richard was still paying them in 1592 at a rate of £140 a year. The subsequent wardship, in the hand of Sir William Kingsmill of Hampshire and others, gained Sir Richard a Kingsmill for a wife but weakened his estates in Hampshire. Nonetheless, his estates probably did not suffer as badly as they might have. In 1591 Richard signed a general release of Kingsmill's actions during the wardship.<sup>10</sup>

Richard's inheritance in 1574 amounted to a mere handful of the family manors once held. Six manors mentioned in the will of Richard's paternal grandfather — Harcourt Standlake in Oxfordshire<sup>11</sup> and others in Somerset and Hampshire — seem to have been lost. The only manor outside Oxfordshire mentioned by Richard's father was Quidhampton in Hampshire, though Richard possessed several other manors in Hampshire and undoubtedly inherited them.<sup>12</sup> The Oxfordshire manors bequeathed by Richard's father were Broughton, Bloxham Beauchamp, and Bloxham Fiennes, although Richard inherited North Newington and Shutford East as well. The will also mentioned the leases of Banbury Castle and the hundred of Bloxham. In an ambiguous passage, the will seemed to say that either the total yearly value of the land, or more probably the yearly value of Broughton, perhaps including the two manors of Bloxham and North Newington, was £140.<sup>13</sup> Obviously, Richard's father

had lost a good deal of land, probably through the evil of wardship, and could not have had much capital although he bequeathed £1,000 to his only other child, Elizabeth, if she married according to the desires of the executors of the will.

His son did not keep his Hampshire lands long. Between 1584 and 1590 he sold Quidhampton, Earlstone Manor, Church Oakley, Hall Manor, and Deane and Ashe Manors, as well as a messuage of Pastalls Manor. Sir Richard used the money to pay his debts and to continue his father's remodelling of Broughton Castle.<sup>14</sup> He had also the substantial charges of his mother and sister.

**Sir Richard's recovery:** Considering this inheritance, Richard's subsequent recovery was spectacular. In an accounting made to Burghley in 1592, ten years after coming of age, he listed his debts as £3,900, £1,500 of which he had just incurred by buying a valuable lease.<sup>15</sup> He estimated that he could pay £3,000 within the near future, raising £1,400 by sale of cattle alone. His annual income he listed as follows:

Broughton	£ 350
Bloxham	200
Shutford	180
North Newington	120
Banbury	50
Norton	300. 13s. 4d.
Total	£1,200. 13s. 4d.

Though these figures were meant to impress Burghley with Richard's resources, they still must have been significantly undervalued. If Shutford was worth £180 (in fact it had been rented in 1590 for twelve years at £200 a year<sup>16</sup>), then it is inconceivable that adjacent North Newington, being much larger and possessing better land, should be worth only two-thirds as much. Also, though Bloxham had very little land in demesne, 2,640 acres were leased out. Surely it was worth more than Shutford. At any rate, Richard's annual charges came to £493. 16s. 8d, including £252 for his mother and sister and £140 for his father's debts. By his reckoning, this left £706. 3s. 4d. Further, his wife's portion was worth £400 to him, £400 to her. She had agreed to let him convert his share into capital to pay his debts.<sup>17</sup>

These figures, though they are too low, show a remarkable increase in value. If we assume that the £140 mentioned in the will of Richard's father did not include North Newington, and if we accept Richard's evaluation of Bloxham, the rate of increase in value still amounted to just under four hundred per cent over eighteen years. For eight of those years, the estates were not in Richard's hands and probably did not improve significantly. It is also important that between 1529 and the 1540's, when two accountings were made, the value of all the estates increased less than £1 annually over a ten-to-fifteen-year period.<sup>18</sup>

The same year Richard came of age, he acquired the manor of Norton in Gloucestershire. He bought it from one George Gifford in 1582 for £4,000 to be paid by 1586. That was an enormous sum for Richard, and he took rather longer than expected to pay it.<sup>19</sup> He had to take Gifford to court regularly from 1589 to 1602 to secure his right to the whole manor which was in dispute either because of delinquent payments or because it had previously been divided into three parts. Eventually Richard successfully laid claim to the whole manor.<sup>20</sup>

After his accounting in 1592, Richard's success continued despite some large expenditures. He claimed that he paid £1,200 for the wardship of his step-daughter, probably in 1588 or 1589,<sup>21</sup> and he spent £900 during an embassy to Germany in

1596.<sup>22</sup> He also undertook to complete extensive and costly renovations to Broughton Castle.<sup>23</sup> Yet in a letter to Burghley in 1597, he could claim to have his estates "in such order that I can free it from debt nor lose a foot of land."<sup>24</sup> By the time Richard became the seventh Baron Saye and Sele in 1603, we can assume that he was solvent, certainly worth the £1,000 a year that Sir Thomas Smith accounted the bare necessity for a barony, and in a way to increase his value substantially.

**Estate management:** How had Sir Richard retrieved the family fortunes so successfully? From 1594 to 1599 England suffered five straight years of bad harvests. Areas depending heavily on the wool trade, such as North Oxfordshire, suffered severe fluctuations in employment and wealth.<sup>25</sup> In this period an estate like Richard Fiennes', which had been declining in value for a hundred years, was very likely to go under. Certainly other men in similar circumstances lost nearly everything.

According to R.H. Tawney and other "rising gentry" theorists, the gentry rose by staying home and tending to their estates. Except for the German expedition, this was precisely what Sir Richard did. The court rolls for the manors of Bloxham Fiennes and Bloxham Beauchamp, complete for the years 1589 to 1602, show that Richard presided over his courts leet and baron roughly half the time, indicating a good deal of personal direction of his estates.<sup>26</sup> Richard's economic recovery rested on three major practices: consolidation, inclosure, and breeding of sheep.

Consolidation was crucial to limited estates. Although landlords did better from their rents than some have supposed, it was still in the landlord's interest to work his lands himself. This could be done most efficiently and cheaply if the lands were in a block. The Spencers, in neighbouring Northamptonshire, had built a fortune on not very wide-ranging estates.<sup>27</sup> Richard's main estates were also in a block, though on a smaller scale. Broughton, the Bloxhams, North Newington, and Shutford were all contiguous. Norton was far removed from these but could be considered its own block with 1,036 acres of demesne. If he could regain control of the scattered demesne and regroup it, Richard would be in an excellent position to produce effectively for the market.

Such regrouping could only be done by inclosure, a dangerous procedure if it involved depopulation or if people thought it did. In 1596, hatred of inclosure, fanned by dearth beyond the stage of mere rioting, led to conspiracy and rebellion. The rebels intended to murder inclosing landlords, and this dangerous mood was particularly intense around Banbury.<sup>28</sup>

The family estates were largely uninclosed before Richard's time, though a few closes were mentioned in the 1550's.<sup>29</sup> The lands did not remain that way for long. A survey of Richard's lands taken in 1592 lists the demesne and its uses in all of his manors as follows:<sup>30</sup>

Broughton		1,295 acres demesne
		<u>146</u> " tenants
		1,441
Bloxham:	Beauchamp	938 " tenants
	Fiennes	1,702 " tenants
	Grove	<u>210</u> " demesne
		2,850
North Newington		45 " grove (demesne)
		<u>175</u> " meadow (demesne)
		217 " total demesne
		22 " tenants' crofts

	38	"	tenants' meadows
	<u>449</u>	"	tenants' arable
	726		
Shutford	425	"	demesne
Norton	1,036	"	demesne
(Apparently the entire extent of Norton was nearly 2,000 acres. <sup>31</sup> )			
<b>Total demesne</b>	<u>3,183</u>		acres

Broughton was the most heavily affected by Richard's inclosures. Shutford and Norton had been inclosed before they came to the Fienneses. North Newington, a larger village than the others and even somewhat industrial at the end of the seventeenth century, proved too stubborn for inclosure.<sup>32</sup> Bloxham, large, fairly prosperous, and the seat of the hundred, was never endangered by Richard's inclosing tendencies.

The vast bulk of the demesne was pasture and meadow. Richard certainly inclosed to keep sheep and cattle. If he could raise £1,400 in 1592 by sale of cattle, we can be sure that his flocks and herds were worth considerably more. Banbury, some four miles away from Broughton, was becoming a notable wool center, and among the closest business associates of Sir Richard were the Halheads, the leading woolendrapers of the town.<sup>33</sup>

The inclosures must have been nearly completed by the 1590's. In 1607 Richard listed some of the inclosures he had made in Broughton since 1589 and they were not extensive. Although they affected a number of dwellings, they did not involve depopulation but rather inclosed lands for the tenants. Richard claimed the rectory increased in value from £20 per annum to £40 per annum and another tenement increased from £10 per annum to £30 per annum.<sup>34</sup> In a letter to Burghley, Richard told much about his inclosures, probably defending himself from accusations of depopulation.

For my enclosures, the tenants where I live being encumbered with a freeholder to them and me most froward, desired me to buy him out, which, with double the value of his lands, I did; and at their request, I accepting only of my domain of Broughton and Newton, not having one foot more (other than his freehold), made them estates of all their livings, yielding them for their commons and known grounds as much a foot as before they had, and took not one groat fine for 21 years or two lives; only this benefit I had, that all mine was swarded, leaving arable to them; but they since converting much of it to sward, have bred blame to us both. I am contented at my charge to give them the ploughing of it, and will myself plough up more than before was tilled, and yet never did any tenant find himself grieved, their living being much better and now estated.<sup>35</sup>

If he was as careful of the commons as he claimed in his correspondence, the result should have been a tenantry content in their lands and devoted to their landlord. We have no evidence of discontent among Richard's tenants of Broughton, and we have sufficient evidence of their devotion to his son.<sup>36</sup> William, in fact, became a champion of anti-inclosure sentiment in the area.

**Court connections:** We can rule out any connection at Court as the means of Richard's success. Although he corresponded voluminously with Lord Burghley and later with Robert Cecil, it did him precious little good. He held numerous posts within his county, but he held no permanent position with the central government.

In only two ways was he connected with it and from neither did he profit. First, he held the lease to Banbury Castle and was therefore responsible for its upkeep. Beginning in 1589 and periodically until at least 1597, he was saddled with the responsibility of housing recusants, usually men of substance with servants and wives, in Banbury Castle and in his own home of Broughton Castle. This meant that his wife and children had to be sent to the rectory of Broughton to avoid fraternization.<sup>37</sup> Broughton, Banbury, and Ely seem to have been the major centres of confinement for recusants in the Midlands. Richard scarcely profited from this invasion of his home since the government paid him nothing and merely authorized him to charge a little more than the general rates established in the Fleet, "which their Lordships hope they will not refuse."<sup>38</sup> In 1597 Richard told Burghley that he would gladly send ten horses to the Queen's service rather than the five demanded of him and serve in person if only he could be freed of the recusants.<sup>39</sup>

His other venture into national politics was to take part in an embassy to Germany in 1596. Although he apparently became something of an expert on German affairs and appears to have been one of Robert Cecil's main sources of information on the Cadiz expedition,<sup>40</sup> the service resulted in a net loss of £900. It stung him enough that he avoided any further service.<sup>41</sup> But, after receiving his barony, he lent luster to another German embassy led by the Earl of Hertford in 1605. This cost him £2,000.<sup>42</sup> The Court obviously was not Richard's road to fortune.

Rather, Richard took a desperately insecure inheritance, trimmed its edges, and made it over into a profitable estate; then Richard and his son settled down as beneficent landlords. Richard's association with the Court gained him a knighthood, and his importunity and valid claim eventually won him a barony. Otherwise the connection cost him money and a good deal of bother.

**Richard, Lord Saye and Sele:** Richard, after a seventeen year battle, managed to regain the family barony under King James I in 1603. Thenceforth, the tenor of his letters to Cecil changed. His early letters betrayed a confidence in himself and his cause and were full of references to his own usefulness to the government. Once he had the barony, he continued writing and pleading to Cecil, but a whining desperation replaced the self-confidence and self-importance. He began pleading poverty stridently after all those years of pleading his sufficiency for his barony. In a letter complaining of the subsidy rate to be levied upon him, he added,

*and it is known to your lordship that out of right of descent and not an ability of estate, as to others, his Majesty recognized the honour in me.*

This did not accord at all with the original bargain. He did not hesitate to sign himself "the poorest baron in England," or add to his signature "whom yet Fortune never favoured." He underscored his poverty none too subtly in a letter by heading it,

*From my lodging at the sign of the old Bishop of Canterbury at Gray's Inn Lane corner, at one Mr. Davis his house, grocer.<sup>43</sup>*

nor did he scruple to describe the lordly Broughton Castle as "my poor house." These strained lapses from dignity were far removed from the buoyancy of his earlier letters. Besides, what he was saying was not true. In 1603, he was worth at least £1,000 annually and very likely twice that much or more, he was relatively free of debt, and he did not have a raft\*of children to provide for.

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\* raft: a large collection (Webster's).

**Richard's schemes:** But the substance of his letters is even more disturbing than the tone. Richard flooded the government with suits for money-making schemes, asking for various patents, reversions, and the like. When most of his suits failed, he resorted to asking for cash. This in itself is not disturbing, though it was new for Richard. Under a new monarch, others were doing the same, and an alarming number of suits were meeting with success. It is interesting, of course, that the new Lord Saye and Sele should fight so hard to gain the kind of monopoly that his son would fight so hard to abolish. It is also interesting, though hardly unique, that Richard resorted so easily to bribery. What is disturbing is the nature of his suits. Most of them were harebrained and several verged on lunatic. His first suit, or volley of suits, began in October 1604 and set the tone for the rest. He offered to pay the King a yearly rent of £100 and to give Cecil, now Viscount Cranborne, £1,000 if the King would specify certain days when inns and victualling houses could not serve flesh except by special licence. The licences would be procured from the Lord Saye and Sele, obviously at a fee.

Thereby the King's revenue would be increased, his navy and customs augmented, double the plenty of God's blessings from the sea brought in and all kinds of provisions and flesh far better cheap.

Worthily upon the unnecessary weed of tobacco is a noble in the pound imposed. All interludes and common playhouses are as unnecessary, and yield no penny to the King: although for every comer in, 3d., 6d., or 9d., before they come in to the best places; if the King may not have 1d. for every comer in, he thinks the players worse worthy of the rest. Offers to give Sir Philip Harbert, or whomever Cranborne chooses, 1000 marks, and the King 40 l. rent, if he may, for 21 years, have a penny a poll of all that come into playhouses throughout England. Offers to give my Lady Susan [Herbert] 1000 marks, and pay the King 10 l. rent, for forfeitures under the law against grubbing up of woods and putting cattle into woods.<sup>44</sup>

Richard brought suits against landowners in Kent for lands that had not been held by a Fiennes for decades, if at all. He bothered various tenants of New College in an effort to stretch his rights as founder's kin. The most frightening of his hopes was voiced just before he took part in the embassy to the Archduke in 1605. He expressed to Cranborne a desire to view the Continental armies and to partake of the martial disciplines so

That I shall yet "lite" under my royal Master to recover the L. Lintier's lands in France, which to my noble ancestor were given, paying only every mid-summer day an arming sword in Rouen.<sup>45</sup>

This was sheer lunacy. To expect James to go to war at all, let alone with France, the year after he had made peace with Spain, was unworthy of any Englishman, let alone one bound for Europe in an ambassador's train. To dream of reclaiming lands, reconquering lands, that could not have been held by any of his ancestors since the thirteenth century and were most probably never connected with his family at all surely indicates a mind out of control. Almost as irrational was his petulant remark concerning the lands of St. Mary's College in Winchester, founded with New College by William of Wykeham. Although he was only trying for the reversion of an estate, he pointed out, none too accurately, that the £7,000 annual revenues of the college ought to have "lineally descended to me as heir to their founder's sole sister and heir."<sup>46</sup>

**Richard's debts:** During the years that Richard sported the title baron, he stretched his resources a good deal. For one thing, he turned over possession of North Newington and parts of Bloxham and Norton to his son, by about 1604.<sup>47</sup> According to Richard, William enjoyed £500 per annum out of the estates.<sup>48</sup> (This fact alone ought to be adequate testimony that Richard was worth well over £1,000 per annum.) And undoubtedly there was a financial obligation to being a baron. King James, for instance, spent three days at Broughton in 1604 at a cost to Richard of £500,<sup>49</sup> less than a year before the German embassy.

Richard's will indicates that he and his wife spent their last years in London, apparently with considerable pomp. He mentioned his wife's house "wherein I and she did latelie dwell situat in St. Bartholomewes in London."<sup>50</sup> His letters to the government, also "situat" in London, ceased after November 1609, so presumably he moved at about that time. In 1610 he turned the management of all his estates over to his son.<sup>51</sup> Richard left to his wife his coach and four horses, a mark of considerable ostentation at the time. He also left to a servant a wardrobe of some splendour, "saving such as have in or about them golde or silver and suche as are of velvett."<sup>52</sup> If, as seems likely, he and his wife were playing courtier in these last three or four years, they played an expensive game.

Richard complained to Cecil of his debts as early as 1605. In February 1608 he had to "dispark my poor park" to pay his debts.<sup>53</sup> More importantly, he sold part of his Bloxham estates for £640 to Thomas Halhead and William Knight, two arch-puritans of Banbury and allies of William in later years.<sup>54</sup> He also sold part of Norton in 1607 for £960, though this land seems to have been regained.<sup>55</sup>

In any case, his estates were assured upon his son and could not be sold to pay his debts.<sup>56</sup> Even the debts that he bequeathed to William were a long way from crushing. He appended to his will a list of his debts and those owed to him, and there is no reason to challenge his tally as incomplete or inaccurate. The total sum of the debts he owed was £2,277, the only large one being £1,300 to William Knight.<sup>57</sup> Comparatively speaking, this was no great sum. The Temples of Stowe, William's in-laws, had far greater debts though their estates were worth roughly the same, £2,500 annually.<sup>58</sup> Sir Richard's near neighbour, Sir Anthony Cope of Hanwell, died in 1614 leaving debts of £20,000.<sup>59</sup> Richard assumed that his debts could be met by using merely the leases to the parsonages of Adderbury and Swalcliffe as security. And his accounts receivable totalled £535.

Further charges on the estate were small. Dame Elizabeth was already well provided for by her first husband. Richard's two daughters, both married, received almost nothing from the will. Servants were better treated. They were to receive their wages plus half a year's wage bonus, while two received sums of £40 each. The poor seemed to weigh very lightly on Sir Richard's soul, since all the poor of all his manors except Norton received £7 total. Nothing was left to the executors, and his funeral was to "be done with as smale charge as may be."<sup>60</sup>

Most importantly, Richard had no younger sons to provide for. This had been crucial to the survival of the Fiennes estates in the sixteenth century, for, however damaging the prolonged wardships might have been, there were rarely younger brothers about with whom to share the estates. Richard's father had a younger brother,<sup>61</sup> Richard had a sister; while William also was an only son. This represents a period of nearly ninety years. By the time William had assured the survival of the

family with at least nine stalwart children, the estates could provide for them sufficiently.

### William, Lord Saye and Sele His Inheritance

William came into his inheritance early in 1613, becoming the eighth, or second, Baron Saye and Sele. What in fact did he inherit and what was he worth? In 1592, the manors alone were worth £1,150, according to Richard's conservative estimate. Certainly by 1614 William's lands could not have been worth less than £1,300 yearly, conceivably twice that.

William inherited a good deal more than the manors, and some idea of the other properties' value can be determined. In Banbury, William leased the castle and twenty acres from the Crown. Consisting of several cottages and a mansion house "of 23 bays,"<sup>62</sup> that property had been valued in 1592 by Richard at £50. He complained bitterly about the cost of its upkeep after he had been made baron, but he accepted a new lease.<sup>63</sup> The Crown granted another lease to William in 1629.<sup>64</sup> During the Interregnum, one Samuel French paid William £150 annually for the lease to the castle and castle orchard.<sup>65</sup> Besides the castle, William inherited the lease to the rectory of Banbury, worth £125 in 1606.<sup>66</sup> By 1650 it was worth £342 annually, but William had relinquished the lease in the 1620's to the Vivers family of Banbury.<sup>67</sup>

Richard's leases to the rectories of Swalcliffe and Adderbury, both prosperous communities, have already been mentioned. Adderbury was the largest and most populous parish in northern Oxfordshire. The rectory, containing about sixty acres, belonged to New College which had rented it since the 1390's for £55.<sup>68</sup> By 1606, when Richard obtained the lease, it must have been worth far more. William renewed the lease in 1616, but within a year it passed to the poet, Shakerly Marmion of Adderbury.<sup>69</sup> William probably sold the lease to clear his father's debts. Swalcliffe came to Richard in 1605 for a rent of £40.<sup>70</sup> In 1614 the lease passed to William Loggin whose family kept it through the eighteenth century. Its value was estimated at £30 in 1611.<sup>71</sup> The Fienneses also possessed the rectory of Broughton, worth £100.<sup>72</sup> There were also a few bits and pieces. How much it all added up to cannot be known, but it must have been between £500 and £1,000 annually. Professor Lawrence Stone, in his tables of the gross rental value of the aristocracy for 1641, put William into the next to lowest category, worth between £1,100 and £2,199.<sup>73</sup> Stone evidently has badly underestimated. In 1614, William's income could not have been less than £2,000 and probably closer to £3,000.

According to Stone, the mean gross rental income of the peerage in 1602 was £2,410 and in 1641 was £4,170. There are a few other figures one can use for purposes of comparison. Lord Spencer, accounted by his associates the wealthiest peer in England (though in fact he simply had more ready money than most) was worth between £6,500 and £8,500.<sup>74</sup> All this indicates that William was not at all in a bad way when he inherited the barony. His estates were small, compact, and lucrative. If he managed them shrewdly, Saye could expect to expand his fortune and his lands a good deal. He could expect the House of Lords to listen to him, and he would have the capital to finance his schemes and ambitions. He could still have been an ineffective man or a desperate one, but not, I think, for financial reasons.

**Estate management - 1620's:** This situation reflects his father's achievement. It remains to be seen how the estates fared under William. The records are not so



**William Fiennes, First Viscount Saye and Sele (1628).** This portrait, which hangs in the gallery at Broughton Castle and is reproduced by kind permission of our President, has been attributed by Sir Oliver Miller, who is Deputy Keeper of the Queen's Pictures and an acknowledged expert on 17th century painting, to Adam de Colone, a successful Scottish artist of Flemish background. (The "VAN SOMER PINXT" is a Victorian fiction.)

full nor so interesting for him as for his father, but they are sufficient. William wasted little time writing to the government, or to anyone else for that matter, and we must rely on the court rolls at Broughton Castle, various legal transactions, and a few careful surmises.

Shortly after William became baron, the economic picture of England became quite bleak. The cloth industry had been in difficulty for some time, but the fiasco of the Cockayne project in 1618 shook it to its roots. The English had woven their wool into rough cloth and then sold it to the Dutch primarily who finished it at a handsome profit. Under the direction of Alderman Cockayne of London, a somewhat shady figure, the English government attempted prematurely to establish from scratch a finishing industry to undercut the Dutch. The scheme fell through very quickly, leaving the cloth industry overextended and causing much unemployment and ill-will with the Dutch. England lost her hold on overseas cloth markets by 1620 and she suffered a perplexing and serious depression during the 1620's. Anyone basing his income on wool would be in trouble. Under these circumstances, William could easily have squandered his inheritance by about 1626, when his opposition to the Court became most pronounced.

And yet he did not. He spent his time on his estates as an active and efficient administrator, nearly always presiding over his courts leet and baron.<sup>75</sup> He had been in charge of some of the estates since 1604 and all of them since 1610, so he was not inexperienced. His steward was William Sprigge of Banbury, father of Joshua and William Sprigge. Sprigge was not merely a devout puritan but a splendid administrator. He and Saye made a formidable team.

During the 1620's, Saye and Sele sold small holdings, the most important being the leases to the rectories of Adderbury and Banbury, while adding nothing to his estates. Still nothing important was lost, his father's debts were paid, and he evidently put aside considerable savings. In 1629 and throughout the 1630's, William invested on a grand scale. Before the development of the mortgage in the 1630's, the only possible way of gaining enough capital for serious investment was through savings, and William did not resort to a mortgage until 1638.<sup>76</sup>

During the 1620's, then, while Saye worried as much as others about the depression, he nevertheless weathered the crisis well. His political activities in the 1620's cannot be attributed to economic difficulties. He was worth as much as many peers, including a number of earls, and he owed less than most if he owed anything at all.

**William's enterprises and debts - 1630's:** In the next two decades, however, he carried financial burdens that would have undermined comparable wealth. First, he had nine children — five daughters and four sons. An excess of children had helped to impoverish the Temples of Stowe in the same period and there was only one younger son in that family.<sup>77</sup> Yet William provided for all his children. Bridget, the firstborn, married the fourth Earl of Lincoln, Theophilus Fiennes-Clinton. The other girls were provided with suitable husbands from the gentry. Since William's wife brought with her £2,200 in 1600 and his son James' wife brought £3,000 in 1629,<sup>78</sup> it seems probable that the five girls must have cost Saye over £10,000 in dowries over a twenty-five year period.

He provided for his sons without diminishing the estates at all. James, the eldest son, received North Newington and parts of Norton and Bloxham at the time of

his marriage to the eldest daughter of Viscount Wimbledon. In 1629, Saye bought 388 acres of Drayton Manor Farm and Withycombe. In 1634 he sold these lands to James for £4,500, who in turn sold them back in 1639 for £5,000, both transactions being for cash in hand. In 1649 the same lands, now expanded to 630 acres and being leased for £200, were settled upon John, the third son, and his prospective wife, Susan Hobbs.<sup>79</sup> Nathaniel, Saye's second son, was provided the manor of Brumby in Lincolnshire.<sup>80</sup> Saye purchased the manor in 1634 and inclosed it so ruthlessly that he found himself before the Star Chamber for depopulation.<sup>81</sup> Nathaniel moved into the extensively remodelled manor house in 1637 with his bride, the eldest daughter of Sir John Eliot. Richard, William's youngest son, did less well. To judge from his will, he had been expected to live on his wife's portion. In 1658 he was provided £3,800.<sup>82</sup>

Besides the burden of his children, William lost heavily in support of the puritan emigration schemes of the 1630's. He was one of the main backers of the Providence Island Company and the Saybrook Colony, and he bought land in New Hampshire and the Somers Islands as well. His financial outlay could not have been less than £10,000 and might have been as much as £25,000; and though he could not have lost it all, he probably lost most of it.<sup>83</sup>

Considering that this was the same period that William bought the lands at Drayton and the manor of Brumby and was marrying off most of his children, he must have been sorely strained. In 1638, either because of his manifold obligations or because he was preparing to emigrate to America, or both, he mortgaged all of Norton, for £11,000, to John Hampden, William Knightly, and Sir William Temple, all close puritan associates, who had been renting it since 1633 for £500 annually. The mortgage was taken over April 2, 1639, by James Fiennes for £11,000 in cash.<sup>84</sup> It is most interesting that James had £11,000 to spend. If William was pressed by the end of the 1630's, James was not.

An assumption that William, though wealthy in the 1620's, was in trouble by 1640 could not be supported by the evidence. We know that he spent a great deal of money in relation to his income and eventually mortgaged, to his heir, an outlying manor. But there is no record of clamoring creditors.<sup>85</sup> That he accepted the rich office of Master of the Court of Wards in 1641 is irrelevant. Who would not have? That he prevented the Court of Wards from being abolished with the Star Chamber and High Commission may be testimony to his venality, but not to his poverty. We can safely conclude that Lord Saye and Sele came to Parliament in 1640 less well off than he had been ten years before, and with an eye to increasing his fortune. That he was in trouble financially and for that reason became a dangerous man is an unwarranted conclusion.<sup>86</sup> Besides, he had become an effective opponent of the Court long before.

**William's finances and revolution:** When the civil war came, it is of more than casual interest that Saye could immediately subscribe £1,000 to the Parliamentarian cause<sup>87</sup> and put a small army into the field in short order.<sup>88</sup> He and all his sons fought for Parliament, none of them with much success. Banbury was quickly overrun by the Earl of Northampton; and all of the Fiennes estates, including Broughton Castle which was indefensible once the outer walls were breached, remained in royalist hands throughout the war. In 1645 Parliament granted William a temporary allowance of £2,000 yearly because he received less than £400 during the preceding four years from his own estates. Parliament also granted him some of the valuable

estates of Francis Lord Cottington and of the Earl of Worcester.<sup>89</sup> Besides, he picked up £10,000 compensation in 1646 when the Parliamentary Court of Wards was finally abolished and £2,000 compensation in 1648 when Banbury Castle was torn down.<sup>90</sup> Saye was a Parliamentary Commissioner of the Treasury during the war and large sums of money passed through his hands. Only primitive accounts were kept, and he may have profited substantially.<sup>91</sup>

In 1649 Saye again mortgaged part of Norton, this time to two Gloucestershire men, to pay his debts. As before, a son, this time Nathaniel, assumed the mortgage and kept the property in the family. The debts amounted to £5,105, the largest one of £2,500 owed to Sir Charles Woolesley, the husband of his youngest daughter.<sup>92</sup> This list does not include the debts outstanding for the Providence Island Company, which amounted to £1,190 in 1649. £6,300 was a large sum, but it was far from ruinous to Saye. The mortgage must have been redeemed, and the estates passed to James intact and in good order. This was a noteworthy achievement for William, considering the disadvantages of having too many children, making unfortunate investments, and living through a civil war. James' debts in 1672, incurred largely by an expensive wife, were only £3,205. 13s. 3d.<sup>93</sup>

### Conclusion

Quite clearly, then, Lord Saye was not the desperate, thread-bare puritan that historians have previously depicted. His father had retrieved the family fortunes through rigorous estate management and William maintained his position the same way. Far from being hopelessly in debt in the 1620's, he was saving money on a large scale. The debts he accrued during the 1630's were not due to living beyond his means nor to a faltering estate but rather to substantial investments in ventures that were entirely in line with his principles. Nor were his debts overwhelming.

Therefore, it would be folly to assume that Saye's principles were merely a refuge from insolvency or an excuse for repairing his fortunes at the Crown's expense. He was far too complex a person for that, and historians will have to pursue his career with more than one theory in mind.

Nelson P. Bard, Jr.

1. For instance, Arthur Wilson, *The History of Great Britain, being a Life and Reign of James I* (London, 1653), 162; *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian (CSPV)*, XXVI, 259; *The History of the Great Rebellion*, ed. W. Dunn MacRay (Oxford, 1886), vol. I, pp. 241-2; also *ab ignoto* to the King, probably 1626, in *Cabala: Mysteries of State and Government* (London, 1654), I, 225-6.
2. For instance, see Arthur P. Newton, *The Colonizing Activities of the English Puritans* (New Haven, 1914), 66; "Saye's fortune was hardly equal to his rank." Also Perez Zagorin, *The Court and the Country* (New York, 1970), 95: "In fortune they [puritan peers] varied from the very rich, such as Warwick, Bedford, and Clare, to those whose estates were moderate or even straightened such as Saye and Mandeville," And Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford, 1965), 761.
3. Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Gentry, 1540-1640," *Economic History Review Supplements*, I (1951), 1-55.
4. Charles H. Firth, *The House of Lords during the Civil War: 1603-1660* (London, 1910), 6; Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, 42-3.
5. William Dugdale, *The Baronage of England; or an Historical Account of the Lives and most memorable Actions of our English Nobility; which had their rise, after the end of King Henry the 3rd's Reign, and before the 11th Year of King Richard II* (London, 1676), II, 246. A charge of treason may also have entered into the lapse of the barony. Though William Fiennes, second Lord Saye and Sele, died in battle in 1471 firmly on the side of Edward IV, rumour of treachery apparently existed and continued to plague Richard Fiennes' efforts to regain the barony. See the Bodleian Library, *Tanner MSS*, XII, f. 61-5.

- Also see **The Complete Peerage: or a history of the House of Lords and all its members from the earliest times, by G. E. C., revised and much enlarged**, ed. Geoffrey H. White (London, 1912-1939), IV, 483-5.
6. B. L., **Tanner MSS**, XII, f. 64.
  7. National Archives, **Kingsmill MSS Transcripts**, II, 1276-80.
  8. Oxfordshire Record Office, **Bloxham MSS**, II/5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13; and B. L., **Rawlinson MSS D**, 892, f. 65. He was brought before Chancery in 1556 for his activities in Bloxham and Banbury.
  9. **Victoria County History, Oxfordshire** (London, 1972), X, 233, and IX (1969), 60.
  10. National Archives, **Kingsmill MSS Transcripts**, II, 1282.
  11. William made a belated attempt to regain this manor in 1630. See the Public Record Office, **Chancery Proceedings**, Series II, Bundle 414, No. 59.
  12. F. W. Thoyts, **A History of Esse or Ashe, Hampshire**, (London, 1888), 7, 37. He sold it to Sir James Dean in 1589. The manor was not listed in 1529 or 1540, so presumably it was a later acquisition of the elder Richard or it was acquired during his son's minority, though that hardly seems likely. The younger Richard was still trying to make good his right to the advowson of Ashe as late as 1610, without success. National Archives, **Kingsmill MSS Transcripts**, II, 1312.
  13. P. R. O., Wills, **PCC**, 1573, 36 Peter.
  14. B. L., **Rawlinson MSS D**, f. 25; **V. C. H. Hants.**, IV, 200, 206, 207, 215.
  15. Unfortunately, I cannot find reference to this lease other than in this accounting.
  16. B. L., **Rawlinson MSS D**, 892, f. 169. Shutford was described in this document as the worst land in the possession of Richard.
  17. P. R. O., **State Papers**, 12/241/117.
  18. B. L., **Rawlinson MSS D**, 892, ff. 25 and 157-8.
  19. *Ibid.*, f. 60.
  20. *Ibid.*, and P. R. O., **Chancery Proceedings**, Series II, Bundle 224, Nos. 64, 93.
  21. Historical Manuscript Commission, **Salisbury MSS**, VII, 383.
  22. H. M. C., **Hatfield House MSS**, VII, 309.
  23. **V. C. H. Oxon.**, IX, 87.
  24. H. M. C., **Hatfield House MSS**, VII, 383.
  25. W. K. Jordan, **Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660: a study of the changing patterns of English social aspirations** (London, 1959), 69-70, 92-3.
  26. Broughton Castle, **Fiennes MSS**, Court Rolls, I, II.
  27. M. W. Finch, **The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, 1540-1640**, in **Northamptonshire Record Society Publications** (Oxford, 1958), 38-65.
  28. **V. C. H. Oxon.**, II, 195. For sixteenth and seventeenth century inclosures, see E. K. Gonner, "The Progress of Inclosures during the Seventeenth Century," **English Historical Review**, XCI (July, 1908), 477-501; and Gonner's **Common Land and Inclosure** (London, 1912).
  29. B. L., **Rawlinson MSS C**, 892, f. 65.
  30. *Ibid.*, f. 165-69.
  31. *Ibid.*, f. 50.
  32. *Ibid.*, f. 86.
  33. **V. C. H. Oxon.**, X, 62.
  34. B. L., **Rawlinson MSS D**, 892, f. 183.
  35. Richard Fiennes to Burghley, Oct. 16, 1597; **Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1595-7**, 518.
  36. There is an undated document, however, by the tenants of Bloxham claiming that Richard had overcharged them. He was Sir Richard in the document so this would be between 1592 and 1603. B. L., **Rawlinson MSS D**, 892, f. 164.
  37. **Acts of the Privy Council, 1590**, 11. If the lady was Richard's second wife, Elizabeth, there is a hint that she had strong inclinations toward Rome herself. **S. P.**, 12/241/117.
  38. **A. P. C.**, 1590-1, 18.
  39. H. M. C., **Hatfield House MSS**, VII, 347.
  40. *Ibid.*, 309-10; VI, 269-70, 295-6.
  41. *Ibid.*, VII, 309. See Stone, **Crisis of the Aristocracy**, for a discussion of the difficulties of serving under Elizabeth.
  42. H. M. C., **Hatfield House MSS**, XX, 92.
  43. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 266.
  44. *Ibid.*, XVI, 339-40.
  45. *Ibid.*, XVII, 142.
  46. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 442.
  47. B. L., **Rawlinson MSS D**, 892, f. 70.
  48. H. M. C., **Hatfield House MSS**, VI, 110.
  49. *Ibid.*, 339-40.
  50. P. R. O., Wills, **PCC**, 1612, 18 Capell.
  51. B. L., **Rawlinson MSS D**, 892, f. 60.
  52. P. R. O., Wills, **PCC**, 1612, 18 Capell.
  53. H. M. C., **Hatfield House MSS**, XVII, 633-4;
  54. O. R. O., **Bloxham MSS**, I/II/6.
  55. B. L., **Rawlinson MSS D**, 892, f. 50.
  56. H. M. C., **Hatfield House MSS**, XVII, 633-4; and B. L., **Rawlinson MSS D**, 892, ff. 60-80.
  57. P. R. O., Wills, **PCC**, 1612, 18 Capell.
  58. E. G. Gay, "The Temples of Stowe and their debts, 1603-53," **Huntington Library Quarterly**, II, No. 4 (July, 1939), 423.
  59. **Dictionary of National Biography**, IV, 1091.
  60. P. R. O., Wills, **PCC**, 1612, 18 Capell.
  61. P. R. O., Wills, **PCC**, 1528, 2 Jankyns. This was Roger Fiennes, but there is no evidence that he lived to his majority.
  62. Broughton Castle, **Fiennes MSS, Miscellaneous Documents 1503-1660**. (The documents are not numbered.) This is the original grant made in

- 1595 by Queen Elizabeth to William and his sisters, Ursula and Elizabeth.
63. H. M. C., **Hatfield House MSS**, XVII, 467.
  64. **CSPD 1628-9**, 502.
  65. V. C. H. **Oxon.**, IX, 94.
  66. **Ibid.**, 251.
  67. **Ibid.**, X, 48, 95.
  68. **Ibid.**, IX, 20.
  69. B. L., **MSS Charters Oxon.**, ff.1088-90; B. L., **MSS Oxford Arch. Oxon.**, b 40, f. 3.
  70. B. L., **MSS Charters Oxon.**, 2201.
  71. V. C. H. **Oxon.**, X, 251.
  72. **Ibid.**, IX, 96-7; B. L., **MSS Oxford Arch. Oxon.**, b 40, f. 76.
  73. Stone, **Crisis of the Aristocracy**, 761.
  74. Finch, **The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families**, 63.
  75. Broughton Castle, **Fiennes MSS**, Court Rolls, II, III.
  76. Finch, **The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families**, 166.
  77. Gay, "The Temples of Stowe and their debts," 423.
  78. B. L., **Rawlinson MSS D**, 892, ff.60-270. Between 1639 and 1649 these lands had depreciated to two-thirds of previous value, probably due to damage inflicted during the first civil war.
  79. B. L., **North MSS**, C 30/12, 28, 29, 53, 64, 71, 77, 78.
  80. See M. H. Kirkby, "The Story of Brumby Hall and its Owners," **Appleby-Frodingham News**, XV, No. 4 (Winter, 1962), 17-23. I owe this reference to Mr. David Fiennes.
  81. C. S. P. D., 1637, 248.
  82. P. R. O., **Wills, PCC**, 1674, f. 86. In 1658 Nathaniel received £5,000 from his father from which he was to pay Richard £3,800 over the next four years. Apparently this was done since Richard borrowed £1,300 from Nathaniel in 1663 without mention of any money due him. B. L., **Rawlinson MSS D**, 892, f. 199.
  83. The Providence Island Company alone must have run well over £5,000 and in 1649 a list of debts of the company shows that William still owed £1,190, surpassed only by Pym's debt of £1,740. Newton, **Colonizing Activities**, 307. In 1639, William owed £2,660. W. Noel Sainsbury, ed., **Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and the West Indies**, 1574-1660 (London, 1860), 290.
  84. B. L., **Rawlinson MSS D**, 892, f. 70.
  85. The only public mention I have found of Saye's debts was by Samuel Butler, **A Letter to Mercurius Rusticus** (London, 1643), in **Somer's Tracts**, IV, 582. "Could Say, or Pim, or their beggarly confederates have found money to levie an army against their liege lord, that had not money to pay their own debts, had not we furnished them?"
  86. If Norton rented for £500 in 1634, it had appreciated in value from £312 in 1614. The figure for 1614 is an undervaluation, of course, but so is a rental by its very nature. If we assume that the rest of his property appreciated at the same rate, his income before 1640 was between £3,500 and £5,000.
  87. **Lords' Journals**, V, 123. This was rather more than most lords subscribed.
  88. His Blue Coats may have served as a prototype for the New Model Army. See James E. Farnell, "The Aristocracy and Leadership of Parliament in the English Civil Wars," **The Journal of Modern History**, XLIV, No. 1, (March, 1972), 81.
  89. See H. M. C., **Portland MSS**, I, 603: "The Lord Cottington had a grant from the King of Lord Say's estate in Oxfordshire, which he protected from all damage and spoyle, so long as the King had any strength in those parts. The examinant [a Mrs. Whorwood] hath often heard at Oxford that his woods were not suffered to bee felled nor his grounds to pay contribution, but the same was still countermaunded by warrants from the late King upon Cottington's procurement. The Lord Say had likewise the Lord Cottington's house and estate at Hanworth from the Parliament, which was generally conceaved to bee protected by him upon the same termes by a mutual consent."
  90. D. N. B., VI, 1297-1300; Anthony a Wood, **Athenae Oxoniensis: an exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the University of Oxford**, ed. Philip Bliss (London, 1817), III, 548.
  91. British Museum, **Additional MSS**, 5501, ff.30-2. The records include two warrants to pay Saye sums totalling £2,700 and the following entry: "10001. In plate more or lesse of the Lord Peeter as it is Reported came into the Lord Say his hands." There was ample opportunity for corruption if Saye cared to indulge.
  92. B. L., **Rawlinson MSS D**, 892, ff.86-7.
  93. **Ibid.**, f. 270.

Copies of my Ph.D dissertation (1973) "William Fiennes, First Viscount Saye and Sele : a study in the Politics of Opposition", on which the article was based, are held by the University of Virginia in the U. S. A. and by Lord and Lady Saye and Sele and David Fiennes, to whom I am much indebted for help. N. B.

## TUDOR INSPIRATION IN BROUGHTON CASTLE

In the Autumn 1968 issue of *Cake and Cockhorse* there appeared an article by the late P. S. Spokes under the title "The Heraldry of the Chimneypiece in Queen Anne's Room, Broughton Castle". In the photographs which illustrated it are clearly shown on the left the head of a bearded man above a bird, identified as the martlet of the Danvers crest, and on the right the head of a woman above a coat of arms identified as the Saltire of the Nevills, in this case with an annulet in the centre for difference. The author comes to the conclusion that in 1554 or thereabouts Richard Fiennes, then carrying out the major Tudor reconstruction and extension of Broughton, had placed on the new fireplace in the principal bedroom the crest of his mother, born Margaret Danvers, and the arms of his stepfather Sir Thomas Nevill of Holt. The author says that "had the chimneypiece been made after Richard's marriage with Ursula Fermor in about 1556 he would almost certainly have put his own (Fiennes) arms and those of his wife on it."

It was then clear to the author, and has since been made even more clear by Harry Gordon Slade (whose researches into the architectural history of Broughton Castle should soon be published) that the work at Broughton was on a truly ducal scale and had close connections with the work which Sir William Sharington (d 1553) with his mason John Chapman carried out for himself at Lacock, at Dudley Castle for John Dudley Earl of Warwick and (from 1551) Duke of Northumberland (beheaded 1553), at Longleat for Sir John Thynne and at Sudeley for Thomas Lord Seymour (beheaded 1549). What, Spokes asked, were the personal relationships which linked Richard Fiennes with the "top brass" of the Court of Edward VI?

It is the object of this short article to progress further towards an answer to that question, in the hope that some reader may be stimulated to help.

Richard was then in his twenties, with a fair estate but no apparent wealth on the scale needed to match court favourites such as Northumberland and Thomas Lord Seymour, nor guile to match such a racketeer as William Sharington.

Since 1968 new light has shone on some of the facts then stated and on the conclusions reached. The corrections to the facts will first be listed (including one which has no bearing on this argument) for the record, especially because some errors have been perpetuated in VCH Vol. IX which will be assumed to be biblical unless soon put right.

(a) Edward Fiennes, father of Richard, usually shown as having died in 1528 and being buried at Broughton, was not buried at Broughton. His tomb was ready and still is, but empty. It is very similar to the Danvers tomb at Dauntsey. Harleian MS 1835 states that he died at Stony Stratford and was buried there in the now demolished church of St. Mary Magdalen. One wonders why a man aged only about 29 had had an elaborate tomb made ready and why his family did not bring his corpse the short distance from Stony Stratford to put it in it.

(b) Richard Fiennes is usually shown (Complete Peerage) as born "about 1520"; he had livery of his father's lands on 23 June 1541. His father's will shows that he had a younger brother, Denys Fenys, born 9 October 1520. Richard was probably born in 1519.

(c) Richard's marriage to Ursula Fermor has usually been dated at "about 1556", presumably based on the assumed date of birth of his son and heir "about 1557".

In fact his father-in-law's will dated 1 July 1551 mentions "my daughter Fynes"; the will of William Lucy, husband of Ursula's sister Anne, dated 23 June 1551, refers to "brother-in-law Richard Fynes Esq."

(d) A saltire is common enough in coats of arms; with no tinctures on the stone it is not possible to be certain that the arms are those of Nevill. But it is quite certain that, if they are the Nevill arms, they are not the arms of Sir Thomas Nevill of Holt, usually named (Complete Peerage but without reference to any source) as the second husband of Margaret Fiennes née Danvers. The arms of Nevill of Holt were gules a saltire ermine. If the Broughton arms are those of a Nevill, he was a member of the family of Nevills Lords Latimer, gules on saltire argent, an annulet for difference. The first Nevill Lord Latimer of that line was the fifth son of Ralph Nevill, 1st Earl of Westmorland, the third by his second wife Joan Beaufort, one of the daughters of John of Gaunt by his love-mate Catharine Swynford. It is interesting, but not relevant to this article, that James Fiennes the 2nd Viscount Saye and Sele married Frances Cecil, grand-daughter of Thomas Cecil first Earl of Exeter who married one of the four daughters of the last Nevill Lord Latimer. (The other three married Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Sir William Cornwallis and Sir John Danvers; the date of the Broughton fireplace seems to preclude any connection with this later Danvers-Nevill marriage).

The key to the question is the exact form of the arms on the chimneypiece. If the mason made a mistake, the argument falls apart. The saltire or St. Andrew's cross is quite clear. So is the ring at the centre, hollowed right through the stone, not an easy piece of carving. The ring or annulet is quite clearly deliberate; it was no mistake. Our ancestors were very particular about the correctness of their coats of arms; one may be certain that the carving would never have been accepted from the mason unless it was exactly as specified and commissioned.

The senior line of a family, in this case the line of the Nevill Earls of Westmorland, used the family arms "undifferenced", gules a saltire argent. Branches of the main line used the same arms, altered in some way to make clear their separate identity - by changing the colour or tincture, adding a border and so on. In this case the Nevills of Holt, remote cousins, used the saltire on a gules or red background, but speckled the white saltire to resemble the fur of the ermine. Sons used the arms of their fathers with marks of cadency - a label or comb for the eldest son (dropped when he succeeded his father), a crescent for the second, a mullet or five-pointed star for the third, and so on. An annulet or ring was the cadency mark for a fifth son. George Lord Latimer was the fifth son (out of a total family of ten sons and twelve daughters) of his father and, founding a baronial line in his own right, passed on his own arms including the cadency mark to his heirs as their family coat.

There are two conclusions. First, if Spokes was right in his general argument, the Queen Anne room chimneypiece must be dated before 1551. That dating fits quite acceptably with the likely Sharrington connection. For some reason the date 1554 on a Broughton chimney-stack has been taken (see the guide-book) as the date of the start of the reconstruction. Though certain tropical peoples build the roofs of their houses first, in order that they may then build the walls in its shade, that was not English practice. 1554 is of course the date of the completion of the alterations to the fabric (though not necessarily of the interior work), not of the start.

Second, either the attribution of the crest and arms to the Danvers/Nevill marriage is wholly wrong, or Margaret married a Nevill of the Latimer family, not Sir Thomas Nevill of Holt. This last possibility had to be probed.

The available evidence that Sir Thomas Nevill of Holt was Margaret's second husband seemed certainly flimsy. Richard Fiennes' will (1571) establishes that his stepfather was named Sir Thomas Nevill. The will of Margaret's mother (1539) refers to "my son Nevell ..." and to "his young son William Nevell". Later in the will there is reference to "Thomas Nevell Esq and Will. Danvers my son" both of whom are among the five executors. She leaves to "my son Nevell one of my standing cups with the cover, also £20 that he borrowed of me". She desires "my said son to be good and assisting my Executors in the performance of this my will".

In Macnamara's "Memorials of the Danvers Family", which quotes the will, there is also facsimile of a deed dated 1542 to which "Thomas Nevell of Holt upon the Hill, Leicestershire, Esq." is a party in a transaction with two Danvers sons.

Thomas Nevill of Holt in Leicestershire (d 1569) succeeded his father in 1516 and was High Sheriff of the County in 1539. His second wife had died in childbirth. The 1619 Visitation of Leicestershire does not show a third wife. He left no legitimate son. Not till Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire (1821) can I find it stated straightly that Margaret Danvers married Thomas Nevill of Holt, while Nickoll's Leicestershire (1798) gives him a third marriage to "... of Oxfordshire". It seemed possible, even likely, that "my son Nevell" to whom was left the £20 which he had borrowed and who was enjoined to be good and assist the executors was not the same person as the Thomas Nevill Esq who was one of those executors. It is more likely that the executor Thomas Nevill was the man who, in carrying out his duties, signed a deed three years later as Thomas Nevell of Holt, the much-married High Sheriff of Leicestershire whom even a mother-in-law would hardly enjoin to "be good".

So the way was open to look for another Thomas Nevill, one who was at some time knighted, but after 1539.

Sir Thomas Nevill, speaker of the House of Commons, of the Bergovenny family was soon eliminated. He died in 1542.

Then - eureka. Mirabile dictu, in 1547 three Thomas Nevills were knighted at the coronation of Edward VI. One was a son of the Earl of Westmorland. One was Thomas Nevill of Holt, quarterly 1 and 4 gules a saltire ermine ... . One was Thomas Nevill, quarterly 1 and 4 gules a saltire argent with an annulet for difference, that is to say a member of the family of Nevills Lords Latimer with arms identical to those on the Broughton chimneypiece.

Collectanea Top. et Gen. Vol.2 (printing MS Ashmole 837 fol 177b) lists the birthdays of the children of Richard Nevill Lord Latimer (1468-1530). Thomas Nevill, third son and eighth child was born on Christmas Eve 1502. His eldest brother John, who was born in 1493 and succeeded as Lord Latimer in 1530, in 1533 married Catherine Parr as his third wife, he being her second husband. He died on 2 March 1542/43, and on 12 July 1543 she married King Henry VIII as her third husband, she being his sixth wife. After Henry died in 1546 Catherine Parr married in 1547 as her fourth husband Thomas Lord Seymour of Sudeley, who was beheaded on 20 March 1548/49. She died 5 September 1548, aged 36.

The shoe fits perfectly. Thomas Nevill, married to Margaret Danvers, is living at Broughton in 1547 with her bachelor son Richard Fiennes. Thomas is

knighted on the coronation of Edward VI in February, as also is William Sharington; at the same time John Dudley is promoted to the Earldom of Warwick. They are all in London together for the jollification.

The same year Thomas Nevill's newly widowed sister-in-law Catherine Parr marries Thomas Seymour; Thomas Nevill has them to stay at Broughton, perhaps bringing Sharington too who is working with Seymour on his house at Sudeley.

As additional circumstantial evidence of the family connections, John Nevill's son and heir, John Nevill Lord Latimer, married about 1545 a daughter of Henry Somerset, Earl of Worcester; on his death his widow lived at Dauntsey in Wiltshire, the principal home of the Danvers family from where Margaret had come. Their fourth daughter married Sir John Danvers.

It was also interesting to be reminded by Christine Bloxham in her Book of Banbury that from 1547 or 1548 to 1551 John Dudley Earl of Warwick (not yet Duke of Northumberland) held the manor and Castle of Banbury, recently surrendered by the Bishopric of Lincoln; Sir John Thynne was also involved with Banbury, acquiring the prebend with another in 1548.

The conjunction is too perfect to be wrong. But wrong it is, unless someone can disprove the Latimer pedigree in Baker's History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton which shows that the Thomas Nevill with whom we are concerned lived in Essex and married Mary, third daughter and co-heir of Sir Thomas Teye of Marks Tey; she did not die till 1544, five years after our Thomas Nevill is proved by the will of Anne Danvers to have been married to her daughter Margaret. Morant's Essex states that Thomas Nevill died in 1540, his widow in 1544. If that is true, he cannot have been the Thomas Nevill of the Latimer family who was knighted in 1547. Who was? Is he the key? Perhaps uncle Thomas Nevill of Shenstone Park, Staffs., or even his son Thomas; but none of the sources mention a Danvers marriage for them.

David Fiennes

### BOOK REVIEW

**Parish Accounts for the 'Town' of Bodicote, 1700-1822.** Edited and Annotated by J. H. Fearon on the basis of a transcription by C. W. Hurst. Banbury Historical Society Records Volume 12. 160 pp. Three illus. 1976. Price £2.

After a gap of several years, the Banbury Historical Society has published its Records Volume 12, which is devoted to the Parish Accounts of Bodicote for 1700-1822. From 1700 to 1766 they are a straightforward record of the annual income, disbursements and remainders of the churchwardens, fieldsmen, constables, and surveyors of the highway. Bodicote was inclosed in 1768 and from that date on only the churchwardens' transactions are recorded, but these are in much greater detail.

Besides editing the transcription - made originally by Mr Cyril William Hurst, a bank manager who lived in Bodicote in the 1920s - Mr Fearon has written an introduction to the accounts. These greatly add to the interest of the accounts to the lay reader by pointing out some of the aspects of 18th century village life which they reveal. For the expert, Mr Fearon has also compiled various tables of statistical material and, in an appendix, lists of the various officials for the period covered. In

addition, there are indexes for places, persons and subjects. [This last begins with "Adultery, presenting for," and shows that as late as 1801 the churchwardens were still performing their ancient obligation of "presenting" for adultery.]

At the ceremony to mark the publication of this volume, our President characterized it as "very good bedside reading". And so it is. Vivid pictures of 18th century village life emerge as we read through the accounts, but would that we knew more of the stories behind the entries. What outburst of religious fervour led to the memorandum "That this year of our Lord God 1709 They learned to sing Psalms at Bodicoat."? Spelling, as always, is very amusing and we imagine the churchwardens poring over the parchment and having great difficulty with "procklymashin". The entry "Playing the Engine for Bear 2/6" conjures up performances of dancing bears at Bodicote, but apparently refers to beer for the firemen working the fire engine.

Comparisons with the records of another village are interesting, particularly in the payments for the destruction of vermin. The creatures so regarded seem to vary from parish to parish; sparrows (which may simply mean any small bird), snakes, hedgehogs, and foxes were common to all, but at Shenington for example, the churchwardens paid 4d for each Hickwall (green woodpecker) killed, but there is no record of any payment for weasels, which were worth 3d at Bodicote. One would like to know if Hickwalls were rare at Bodicote and weasels at Shenington, or if in fact they were not considered to be vermin in these parishes.

It is surprising to find, in the accounts of Briefs, that while considerable sums were collected for distant parishes, for instance Iniskilling, Southwark, Isle of Ely, no collection seems to have been made for nearby Shenington when a Brief was set up for the parishioners made homeless after a 'Great Fire' in 1721.

Records such as these are very valuable in themselves of course, but published as these are, well indexed and easy to read, they compel the reader to delve deeper into village history, to discover facts for himself, and to fit pieces into the jig-saw of our past. Mr Fearon is to be congratulated on the result of his work.

N. M. C.

**Correction.** The chapter Banbury Today in the Book of Banbury reviewed in our last issue (p. 103) was, of course, written by Mr. Ted Clark and not by Christine Bloxham, the author of the remainder of the book.

#### THE BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY : ANNUAL REPORT

The Committee have pleasure in submitting the 18th Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for the year 1975.

The current membership is 323.

During the past year we have lost through death several long standing members - Dr. Gardam, who did a great deal of very hard work for the society, over and above his duties as Treasurer. He will be sorely missed. We would like to record our heartfelt thanks for all he has done for the Society.

One of our Vice Presidents, Dr. C.F.C. Beeson, also died recently. He played an important role in the early history of the Society, becoming its second chairman in 1959.

Roger Fearon, son of Jack Fearon, died suddenly last year. He too

encouraged the society and gave us the benefit of his expertise in the museum and archaeological fields. We are very sorry to lose such good members.

John Roberts continued his excellent work as chairman. New Committee members elected were Peter Lock, who teaches history at Bloxham School, and Sarah Gosling, the new museum assistant at Banbury Museum, who has taken on the task of Membership Secretary. Weaver Owen has kindly been acting as Treasurer until the AGM.

Our lecturers this year were: Kirsty Rodwell (Small Town Archaeology in Oxfordshire), Geoffrey Stevenson (Open Village History – Hook Norton and Steeple Barton), Mrs. Hodgkins (Shutford Plush), Douglas Price (Wigginton in the Dark Ages), Frank Emery (The Oxfordshire Landscape), Dr. Robert Evans (Historians and Politics in Central Europe), and Dr. Brinkworth chaired another Reminiscences meeting. The lectures were well supported and we are most grateful to all our lecturers. Alan Donaldson organised an enjoyable and successful programme of summer visits.

Lord Saye and Sele generously allowed the society to use Broughton Castle for two functions. On the first, he and his wife took us on a fascinating tour of the castle after the AGM, including a foray into the attics which contain many treasures. The second occasion was Take My Advice, a report on which was included in our previous issue.

The annual dinner was held at Banbury School this year, using a caterer. The meal was delicious and the evening more informal than usual.

**Research:** Jeremy Gibson has continued to answer many queries relating to genealogy and a number of other enquiries have been answered.

**Archaeology:** A number of society members have taken on parishes in the Banbury area for the Oxfordshire Parish Survey. It is hoped that more fieldwork will be organised in the coming months.

**Publications:** After some years of pious but unfulfilled hopes it has been possible once again to issue a records volume to members.

The "Parish Accounts for the 'Town' of Bodicote, 1700-1822" were published early in 1976, but dated 1975 and included in the accounts for the year. Our thanks are due to its editor Jack Fearon whose work over a number of years made its publication possible.

At the time of writing, the second part of the long-awaited "Wills and Inventories" collection, covering 1621-1650, is about to go to press, and it is expected it will be issued with this report. The first part, which for technical reasons is less well-advanced, should be ready in the autumn, and this will contain a long and important introduction by Miss G.H. Dannatt.

**Accounts:** For the first time for years a substantial surplus has been achieved, but it must be emphasised that this is largely made up of the £176 raised by the Concert at Broughton Castle. This was intended to provide funds for publication and other projects, not to subsidise the running costs of the Society, and, moreover, such additions to our funds cannot be expected regularly. That the year otherwise ended some £50 in surplus is entirely due to the savings achieved by Julian Barbour in production of the magazine, whose costs have been virtually halved. Much of this saving is through Dr. Barbour's provision of typing facilities and personal supervision of the physical preparation of each issue.



# BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Society was founded in 1957 to encourage interest in the history of the town of Banbury and neighbouring parts of Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire and Warwickshire.

The Magazine **Cake & Cockhorse** is issued to members three times a year. This includes illustrated articles based on original local historical research, as well as recording the Society's activities. Publications include **Old Banbury - a short popular history** by E.R.C. Brinkworth (2nd edition), **New Light on Banbury's Crosses, Roman Banburyshire, Banbury's Poor in 1850, Banbury Castle - a summary of excavations in 1972, The Building and Furnishing of St Mary's Church, Banbury, and Sanderson Miller of Radway and his work at Wroxton**, and a pamphlet **History of Banbury Cross**.

The Society also publishes records volumes. These have included **Clockmaking in Oxfordshire, 1400-1850; South Newington Churchwardens' Accounts 1553-1684; Banbury Marriage Register, 1558-1837 (3 parts) and Baptism and Burial Register, 1558-1723 (2 parts); A Victorian M. P. and his Constituents: The Correspondence of H. W. Tancred, 1841-1850; a new edition of Shoemaker's Window; Wigginton Constables' Books, 1691-1836; and Bodicote Parish Accounts, 1700-1822. Banbury Wills and Inventories, 1591-1650, and Banbury Politics, 1830-1880, are well advanced.**

Meetings are held during the autumn and winter, normally at 7.30 p.m. in the large Lecture Theatre, Banbury Upper School. Talks on general and local archaeological, historical and architectural subjects are given by invited lecturers. In the summer, excursions to local country houses and churches are arranged. Archaeological excavations and special exhibitions are arranged from time to time.

Membership of the society is open to all, no proposer or seconder being needed. The annual subscription is £3.00 including any records volumes published, or £1.50 if these are excluded. Junior membership is 50p.

Application forms can be obtained from the Hon. Membership Secretary.

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