THE RUSSELLS
IN
BLOOMSBURY
1669-1771

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RACHEL, LADY RUSSELL

CONTENTS

	PREFACE	9
I.	THE WEDDING AT TITCHFIELD	13
II.	BLOOMSBURY RETROSPECT: 1545-1660	19
III.	MY LORD SOUTHAMPTON'S LITTLE TOWN	37
IV.	RACHEL, LADY RUSSELL, AND HER 'DEAR LORD'	55
V.	THE EDUCATION OF AN HEIR	73
VI.	A YOUNG DUKE	94
VII.	MUSIC, BOOKS AND PICTURES	121
VIII.	RACHEL, LADY RUSSELL: THE END OF THE CHAPTER	142
IX.	SARAH, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH, AS GRANDMOTHER-IN-LAW	157
X.	BLOOMSBURY: 1683-1732	171
XI.	FAMILY BACKGROUND	189
XII.	AN AGENT-IN-CHIEF	208
XIII.	AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HOUSEHOLD	224
XIV.	SOME HOUSEHOLD BILLS	242
XV.	MORE BILLS	259
XVI.	ENTERTAINMENTS AND CEREMONIES	280
XVII.	SOME CROSS-LIGHTS ON FINANCE	298
XVIII.	GREENLAND SHIPS AND EAST INDIAMEN	312
XIX.	BEDFORD HOUSE: INSIDE AND OUT	339
XX.	BLOOMSBURY AGAIN: 1732-1771	354
XXI.	EPILOGUE	368
	INDEX	377

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

RACHAEL, LADY RUSSELL — *Frontispiece*
From the painting by Sir Peter Lely at Woburn Abbey.

PLAN OF BLOOMSBURY, 1657 — *To face page* 32

WRIOTHESLEY, SECOND DUKE OF BEDFORD — 94
From the painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller at Woburn Abbey.

DIANA, DUCHESS OF BEDFORD — 160
From the painting by Thomas Hudson at Woburn Abbey.

MAP OF THE PARISH OF ST. GILES: STRYPE 1720 — 178

GERTRUDE, DUCHESS OF BEDFORD — 190
From the painting by Thomas Hudson at Woburn Abbey.

SIGNORINA CATERINA GALLI — 206
Drawn by Lady Caroline Russell, *aetat.* eleven years.

JOHN, FOURTH DUKE OF BEDFORD — 240
From the painting by Thomas Gainsborough at Woburn Abbey.

A TRADE CARD: FRANCIS FLOWER — 274

A BIRTHDAY INVITATION — 286

LADY CAROLINE RUSSELL — 294
From the painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds at Woburn Abbey.

BEDFORD HOUSE, BLOOMSBURY — 340

FRANCIS, LORD TAVISTOCK — 370
From the painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds at Woburn Abbey.

PREFACE

THIS study of the life, mainly domestic, of three generations of the Russell family in Bloomsbury is based upon the letters and accounts — including the household bills — which were kept in the successive business rooms of the Earls and Dukes of Bedford. Later in the volume I have ventured to assign the reason why these papers have survived whereas, on the other hand, the greater number of the personal letters of the family — always excepting the well-known political correspondence of the fourth Duke of Bedford — have disappeared.

The references to the correspondence of Rachel, Lady Russell, are taken from her *Life and Letters* edited by Lord John Russell and from letters contained in the second volume of the *Manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland* edited for the Historical Manuscripts Commission. This last also contains some letters written by the tutor, John Thornton. Only a very few personal papers of Rachel, Lady Russell, other than those published, appear to be now in existence.

The material for the chapters dealing with the topographical history of Bloomsbury has also been derived from the business letters and papers of the Dukes of Bedford, together with rent books and maps which I have been allowed to examine.

My obligations to the paper by Miss Eliza Jeffries Davis on The University Site, which appeared in the *London Topographical Record*, volume XVII, 1936, with its invaluable references, are great; but even greater is my gratitude to Miss Jeffries Davis for the kindness and generosity with which she has allowed me to profit by her own research into the history of Bloomsbury. I am much indebted to her.

Among the many others whom I would like to thank,

did space allow, I must mention some in particular. My importunity must often have wearied my friends at the Victoria and Albert Museum, but their help has never failed me. Miss Phyllis Russell has most kindly given me the benefit of her knowledge of the history of music and musicians. Miss Flora Russell and Professor J. E. Neale have helped me much by reading the book in manuscript, as has Mr. Francis Needham by reading it in proof.

The greatest debt of all remains to be acknowledged. I have to thank the Duke of Bedford for his most generous permission to use the papers upon which this volume is founded and to reproduce pictures and maps. To thank him adequately for the unfailing kindness he has shown me while I have had the privilege of working at the papers in his possession is impossible.

GLADYS SCOTT THOMSON

THE RUSSELLS IN BLOOMSBURY

1669-1771

CHAPTER I

THE WEDDING AT TITCHFIELD

On 31st July, 1669, at Titchfield in Hampshire, a marriage was celebrated between William Russell, second son of William, fifth Earl of Bedford, and Rachel, Lady Vaughan, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Wriothesley, fourth Earl of Southampton.

The bridegroom was just approaching his thirtieth year. As ideas went in the seventeenth century, this was sufficiently late for marriage, more particularly when it was a case of a nobleman's son. But, although many of William Russell's contemporaries had wed while they were still in their teens, there were always a certain number whose marriages were delayed until later, sometimes considerably later. Both William Russell's brothers were nearer forty than thirty before they took to themselves wives.

But this was not a young marriage on either side. The bride was already a mature woman, some three years her groom's senior, for she had completed her thirty-third year. It was, however, her second marriage. Her first husband, to whom she had been wedded at the age of seventeen, had been Francis, Lord Vaughan, heir to the Earl of Carbery. This gentleman is one of those figures who have faded away with the lapse of time, so that it is difficult to remember that he ever existed. If Lord Clarendon's judgment is to be accepted, he was not in himself a particularly charming person. According to Clarendon, indeed, his appearance, his character and his manners were all equally objectionable. But Clarendon spoke with some natural prejudice. Lord

Vaughan had taken an active part in promoting the bill of impeachment.

What Rachel wore, or how she looked, on this, her second marriage, is not known. But her bridegroom at least must have appeared all glorious without. A bill which was endorsed as being for clothes bought in preparation for his wedding amounted to over a hundred and fifty pounds in all. It included twenty-eight yards of scarlet and silver brocade and fourteen yards of rich cherry-coloured silk. But these materials only accounted for a small part of the whole cost. The expense lay in the quantity of gold and silver lace and braid which was used, including a gold and silver sash, and flounced garters which required seven yards of silver lace at seven shillings and sixpence a yard. William had also spent two hundred and fifteen pounds on jewels, likewise in anticipation of the wedding, at the establishment of Mr. Staley, the goldsmith. But whether the goods were for himself or for his lady does not appear.

The marriage was a good match for both bridegroom and bride. William was, it is true, only a second son. But it was common knowledge that his elder brother Francis, unmarried, was in failing health, and that it was most improbable that he would live to succeed to title and estates. William had long been treated to all intents and purposes as the heir to his father, the Earl of Bedford, and the vast family possessions. His marriage settlement gave him and his bride an allowance of two thousand pounds a year, chargeable upon the principal rentals, notably those of Covent Garden and Woburn. It was the same allowance as his father had himself had thirty-three years earlier, as a young man, on marriage. William, however, had taken a wealthy bride, who, as co-heir to her father, brought him no inconsiderable inheritance.

Thomas, fourth Earl of Southampton, had died a little over two years previously, on 14th May, 1667, and had

died a man of great possessions. He was the great-grandson of that Thomas Wriothesley who in 1545 had been appointed Lord Chancellor by King Henry VIII. This Gentleman, son of the Garter King-at-Arms, had had a prosperous career and the year before his appointment as Chancellor had been created Baron Wriothesley. Along with office and titles, he had acquired, as was customary, a very considerable amount of land, mainly monastic, partly by gift and partly by purchase. Finally, in the first year of the next reign he had been created Earl of Southampton.

Throughout the chances and changes of life — and no men knew better than those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the possible implications of those chances and changes — the Wriothesley family, from the Chancellor onwards, had flourished. It is true that their fortunes — those of the first holder of the title not excepted — had been more than once imperilled. But each time the peril had been surmounted.

The estates as held by the fourth Earl were, save for some minor variations, those which had been in the possession of Henry VIII's Chancellor. In the south lay Titchfield, Beaulieu and Stratton Micheldever, with outlying lands both in Hampshire and Wiltshire. In the suburbs of London there was the manor of Bloomsbury, with some additions, and just outside the city boundary was a piece of property at Holborn Bars on which had formerly stood the town residence of the family.

But with the death of the fourth Earl the direct Wriothesley line had come to an end. There had been no male heir to succeed to title and estates. The Earl had married three times and many children had been born to him. Of them all, boys and girls, only three daughters had survived their father. On his death in 1667, therefore, the title had become extinct. The daughters had found themselves co-heirs to the estates.

At the time of their father's death the two elder daughters were both women in their thirties. The senior, Elizabeth, was the wife of Edward Noel, the son of Viscount Campden. The second was Rachel, Lady Vaughan, recently left a childless widow. The third daughter was the family beauty. She was stepsister to the other two and was yet another Elizabeth, for she had been named after her eldest sister. She, too, was already a wife. At the age of sixteen she had been married to Joceline, Lord Percy, shortly to become Earl of Northumberland.

Between these three a division of the great estates had had to be made.

The carrying out of the process of partition might easily have been both difficult and delicate. There were few trustees — during the twenty years before this time the use of that name for the guardians of an estate had been gradually introduced — who could not have told a tale of the kind of trouble which might and did arise when the interests of two or more co-heirs had to be taken into consideration; here the claims of a favourite daughter; there a husband interfering to get more than he seemed to be entitled to; and, in general, turmoil and quarrels, which only too often ended in lawsuits prolonged over many years.

The Southampton estates and their future owners were fortunate in escaping such troubles. Neither argument nor discussion had apparently been entered into. The Earl of Southampton, in his will, had merely desired his trustees to divide the properties into three parts, one for each of his three daughters; or, if any one of those daughters were dead, then her share was to go to her children. He had expressed no wish as to how the lands were to be divided, nor how, when divided, they should be apportioned. But someone, whether a trustee or a daughter, had had a scheme. The estates being divided, according to the rentals, as equally as might be into three parts, the decision as to which part

should go to which daughter had been left to the ancient biblical method of casting lots.

That this was the procedure adopted is revealed in a note left by the second sister, Rachel. She says nothing of the manner in which the lots were drawn – nor even whether the three sisters met for the purpose. But on the outer sheet of a statement which is really a particular of the property which was to be her share is written in her own hand:

> Valuation delivered to me by trustees 1668; the estate being at that time valued and divided into 3 parts.
>
> My sister Noel, my sister Northumberland and myself cast lots.
>
> Mine was:
>
> The manors of Stratton Micheldever, etc., in Hampshire:
>
> Southampton House and the manors of Bloomsbury and St. Giles in Middlesex.
>
> My father Thomas, Earl of Southampton, died 14 May, 1667.

So was decided the fate of a great estate, of which had been made a triple partition. By reason of there being no male heir, but daughters who were co-heirs, each part was by marriage to go in a different direction and to become absorbed into another property. In the case of two portions of the estate, the same thing was to happen again not long afterwards.

Of the three sisters who cast the lot that day, the eldest and the youngest, named alike Elizabeth, each left a son, who succeeded to the property. In neither instance did the direct male line survive beyond a second generation. It was a granddaughter of the elder Elizabeth who carried the property of Titchfield, which had fallen to her grandmother by lot, into the family of Bentinck.

The story of the property which fell to the second sister was otherwise. Two years after the fate of the estates had been decided, Rachel, Lady Vaughan, bestowed her hand upon William Russell, and the Wriothesley property of Bloomsbury, with other lands, became without let or hindrance part of the Russell inheritance. They were destined so to continue, for Rachel, in her second marriage, became the ancestress of an enduring line.

But when William married his Rachel — and if it was an advantageous match, it was also on both sides a passionate love match — much had happened since King Henry VIII had bestowed his favours upon his Chancellor.

Could the latter have returned to view his estates when that marriage took place at Titchfield, he would have had little or no difficulty in recognizing his country property. Life on the Hampshire and Wiltshire lands continued much as it had been for the last hundred and fifty years, even to the names of the tenants. But there would have been room for a good deal of astonishment on the Chancellor's part when it was seen what had happened to the other estates lying in and around London.

CHAPTER II

BLOOMSBURY RETROSPECT: 1545 — 1660

Two sheets of parchment fastened together in the middle of the lower edges by a plaited cord of green and white floss silk, from which hangs pendant a Great Seal, still intact, mark what may be fairly called the beginning of the history of modern Bloomsbury. The upper sheet has a fine illuminated border in gilt and colours, the gay hues of which are still untouched by time. The painted figure in the corner of this sheet, as in relief on the Great Seal, is that of King Henry VIII, enthroned in all his majesty, holding the orb and sceptre in either hand. But the King, at fifty-three years of age, was already a prematurely old and worn-out man, tortured by the pain of an ulcerous leg, when, in the summer of 1545, the Letters Patent were drawn up. That Patent, dated 9th June, 1545, gave Thomas, Lord Wriothesley, Lord Chancellor of England, the fields, crofts, gardens and house which were included in the manor of Bloomsbury, with some outlying pieces of land, all of which had formerly been part of the possessions of the Carthusian monastery commonly known as the London Charterhouse.

It was not the first connection of Lord Wriothesley with Bloomsbury, since he had already held the lands for a year or more from the King on lease. Nor was it, from his point of view, an outstanding grant. He had previously had from the King grants of other lands, also held on lease, far more valuable than this piece called Bloomsbury, which was of

comparatively little consequence. Of these other lands, the most important lay in Hampshire and in Wiltshire. Now Lord Wriothesley was to have all the property, including Bloomsbury, to hold in fee simple. But not exactly as a free gift. He was to pay a capital sum of £1,666 11*s.* 3*d.* and also to surrender to the Crown a number of rectories and impropriate churches.

In addition to his country property, the Chancellor had had, as was very necessary for a man in his position, a town house. This mansion was known as Southampton House. It stood on the south side of the thoroughfare called Holborn, close to Holborn Bars, the boundary of the liberties of the city, where the carts bringing goods into the city stopped to pay toll. From Holborn Bars the thoroughfare, one of the most important for the city trade, continued westward towards St. Giles. But now it was a country road, with fields stretching out on either side. Leaving his own house and going along that road, the Chancellor would pass, on the north side, his manor of Bloomsbury.

The spot where the property began was close by that on which the King's Gate was later erected. There the first field was a narrow strip known, because of the big pond that it contained, as the Pond Piece. This field came down on to, or almost on to, the Holborn highway. But it was the only part of the property which did so. After the Pond Piece the line that was the southern boundary of the manor turned away from the road.

This southern boundary almost certainly, at any rate for part of the way, followed an ancient ditch called Blemund's Ditch, afterwards used as a common sewer. As it ran westward it tended, although with perhaps some irregularities, to put more and more space between itself and the Holborn road, until at last it reached Tottenham Court Lane, also known as the highway leading from Westminster to Hamp-

stead, at a spot out of which Great Russell Street was afterwards to open.

Behind this irregular southern line lay the fields and pastures of the manor in irregular formation. The irregularity testified, as was so often the case, to the complications in the history of the parcels of land.

Only on the eastern side was the boundary at least fairly straightforward. Beginning where the Pond Piece approached the Holborn high road, it ran north along a line which, with some adjustments, was afterwards followed by King Street, Southampton Row and the extensions. It ended at another pond — there were several ponds on the property — a large one. Here, later, Woburn Buildings were to stand. But when the line turned away from the pond to form the northern boundary, it by no means ran right across to the Tottenham Court Lane, as did its fellow on the southern side. On the contrary, it stopped short abruptly half way. Then it descended, to form the western boundary, in a series of zigzags, south, west and so south and west again, until it did at last reach the Tottenham Court Lane at a spot which was later to be marked by Bedford Street.

Such were the boundaries of the manor proper. But in the course of time certain outlying portions of land had become attached to it and they also passed to Lord Wriothesley. In the west a little close called Culverhouse Close lay on the other side of the Tottenham Court Lane. In the north, considerably remote from the Bloomsbury lands, were meadow and pasture known as Figgs Mead, Figgs Close Pasture, Figgs Great Pingle Pasture and the Little Pingle. These all lay south of the way that was long known as Figgs Lane. Later, that lane became the thoroughfare called Crowndale Road.

On the lands, as granted to the Chancellor, stood a manor house. As far as can be gathered from Hoefnagel's

later plan of London, and from the somewhat vague allusions among the surviving papers, the house stood in the south-east corner of the property, not far from the Pond Piece, and looking towards the Holborn high road. Around were barns, stables and a dovecote, as well as garden and orchards. The Chancellor let this house to tenants, as the monks of the Charterhouse had done before him.

Behind the house stretched what was the biggest single parcel of land in all the property, running right up to the northern boundary. It was known and continued to be known for centuries to come, not without reason, as the Long Field, or sometimes, more especially after it had been divided into first two and then three parts, as the Long Fields.

This parcel of land was as a rule leased to the tenants of the manor house. In the past it had not been quite easy going for them, since, even when the Prior of the Charterhouse had been lord of the manor, the King had had, or had claimed, a right to pasture his own mules and horses in the Bloomsbury fields, with the consequence that on one occasion at least a bitter complaint came to the Prior from the tenants of the manor house asking how they were to get any profit out of the fields which they rented if all the King's mules and all the King's horses were grazing on them. But that difficulty did not arise when Lord Southampton held the lands, and he continued to let them, with the manor house, at a quite pleasing profit for himself.

The remaining fields — they included arable land as well as pasture and meadow — had been leased out under the Charterhouse in parcels to farmer tenants. They continued to be so leased under the new owner.

Time passed on, and for many years to come wrought but little change on the Bloomsbury lands. One Earl of Southampton succeeded another and still their tenants in Bloomsbury cultivated the fields and put their sheep out to

graze, and some of them paid their rents in hay, as they were allowed to do.

As for the Earls of Southampton themselves, they continued to hold state in their great mansion at Holborn Bars, although the family was not without its vicissitudes. The second Earl, Henry, was involved in the scheme for marrying Mary, Queen of Scots, to the Duke of Norfolk, and in consequence was arrested and confined in the Tower of London for conspiracy. He was fortunate to get off lightly, with his head on his shoulders and his property intact.

The third Earl, another Henry, patron of Shakespeare, had in his turn almost as narrow an escape. In his rash youth he had supported the rebellion of the Earl of Essex. He paid for his temerity, for on this occasion the estates were actually confiscated. For two years, between 1601 and 1603, the Earl's tenants, including those on his Bloomsbury property, paid their rents not into his coffers, but into those of the Crown.

But fortune had not permanently turned her back upon the Wriothesley family. On the contrary. After James I came to the throne, he saw fit to extend his forgiveness to more than one of the young noblemen who had been implicated in the Essex rebellion. Some had their fines remitted. To others, including the Earl of Southampton, there was a restoration of lands.

After this, the Earl of Southampton made no more political errors. On the contrary, he basked in the favour of the King and prospered exceedingly. One result of that prosperity was that he was able to make an addition — no doubt satisfactory to himself, but how significant for the future he could hardly have foreseen — to the Bloomsbury estate. He secured a small, but sufficiently important, frontage on the Holborn high road.

This frontage had been the possession of the hospital of St. Giles in the Fields. The story of this property, including

its vicissitudes after the dissolution, until in 1616 the third Earl of Southampton came upon the scene, was involved in even more complications than those which lay behind the history of the Bloomsbury lands. Nor are the transactions of 1616 easy to follow. The deeds and charters which should have remained with the Earl of Southampton's heirs are missing. Those which survived to be preserved in the Public Record Office serve as a reminder that whereas the story of any single piece of land was doubtless clear enough at each stage to the immediate actors therein, possessing knowledge which was taken for granted, the same cannot, unfortunately be said in every case, even in many cases, when the deeds come to be examined by later inquirers.

What is evident with regard to St. Giles is that the Earl of Southampton certainly obtained by purchase some of the lands and the manorial rights. He did not acquire all the lands which had belonged to the hospital, nor yet the St. Giles manor house, for the property had been divided. But among his new acquisitions was a certain piece of land the possession of which added greatly to the value of his Bloomsbury property. This parcel of land lay between that property and the Holborn high road, adjacent to the Pond Piece, and gave the Earl a frontage on the high road which stretched from that field to approximately the spot where later Bury Street was to run.

But the character of that Holborn high road was already changing. Houses had begun to appear at the edge of the fields on either side of the highway. By 1624, the year in which the Earl died, anyone coming from Southampton House at Holborn Bars towards Bloomsbury passed between an almost continuous line of buildings.

Even more striking was the change to be seen at Holborn Bars itself. There London was pushing beyond its boundary and many buildings had been erected, so that they pressed up to Southampton House and invaded its gardens.

Nevertheless, the third Earl's son, Thomas, succeeding his father as the fourth and, as it proved, the last Earl of Southampton, continued to live in the house at Holborn Bars for a time. Thither he brought his wife, a French woman, daughter of the great Huguenot noble Daniel de Massue, Seigneur de Ruvigny. To them were born two sons who died in infancy, and two girls, Elizabeth and Rachel, who survived.

But the Holborn mansion was by no means the desirable place of residence that it had been in the past. The new buildings were clustering round it far too closely. There was, however, considerable matter for consolation. With the decline in the amenities of the surroundings went a rise in value for building purposes. The fourth Earl of Southampton presently decided it would be not only agreeable, but very profitable, to abandon Southampton House, to erect small houses on the site, and to fix his town residence elsewhere.

The difficulty standing in the way of this procedure was the attitude of the authorities. In view of the legislation aimed at restricting the growth of London, it was necessary, before new buildings of any kind could be erected, to obtain a licence from the Privy Council, and the Council were now steadfastly determined, wherever possible, to refuse to grant such a licence.

The Earl of Southampton at first fared no better in his application than did many others, even though he had some support from the King himself. The parson Garrard, who was a general purveyor of gossip to Strafford, informed that nobleman in 1636 that the King himself had brought the Earl of Southampton's petition with him when he came to the Council and said that he thought it should be granted. 'But', reported Garrard, 'upon debate it was dashed.' It was not until two years after the project was first mooted that, in 1638, the Earl at last obtained the Letters Patent which

allowed him to pull down the mansion house at Holborn Bars and to erect new buildings on the site.

The memory of the four Earls of Southampton, beginning with Henry's Chancellor, who had lived in the Holborn Bars house, was perpetuated in the name Southampton Buildings, which became attached to the new erections. But the long association of the Wriothesley family with Holborn as a place of residence in London was broken for ever. The Earl of Southampton had decided to move into Bloomsbury.

That estate was still country property. Yet there, too, developments which anticipated the future might be perceived. A brief description drawn up early in 1642 reflects the changes which had been taking place, and reinforces the evidence of Faithorne's map of London, based on a survey taken shortly before this time, although not published until later.

The old Bloomsbury manor house, now leased to one William Payne, a citizen and salter of London, still stood, surrounded by its orchards and gardens. But the windows no longer looked over a green space directly on to the highway. The ribbon line of houses now reached from the city boundary at Holborn Bars along the main road right up to the Tottenham Court Lane. Among these houses were those which had been erected on the new frontage of the Earl of Southampton's estate. Some of these were comparatively small buildings. But four at least, described as facing on to the King's highway and having gardens behind them, were of sufficient importance, as is shown by the names of the occupants, to be suitable for letting to gentry. One or two other houses had also appeared on the estate, built somewhat back from the road, in the proximity of the manor house. Here was a smith's forge, with appurtenances in the shape of stables and sheds. Next to it, perhaps nearer the Holborn highway, was a tenement known

as the Horseshoe. It is not quite clear whether this latter was an inn or no. But in any case that most necessary appendage to a group of buildings was not lacking, for a short distance away lay an inn, the Crane, described as such.

From the point of view of a pessimist, the buildings, big and little, would be but too symptomatic of a future when the open space of the green fields would disappear under bricks and mortar. Yet at this date, nearly a hundred years after the property had been granted to the first Lord Southampton, and shortly before England was to be plunged into Civil War, the Bloomsbury estate had acquired a certain beauty of which the open fields and meadows had not in the earlier years been able to boast.

Market gardens had long been seen in the London suburbs. At this time their numbers were on the increase. Apart from the sale of their produce, there was now a continuous demand for new plants and new trees from the gardeners of the great houses, the gardens of which were being planned and replanned on all sides. Before 1640 the Earl of Southampton's suburban property in Bloomsbury had acquired a fringe, even a very extensive fringe, of orchards and gardens which, laid out for commercial purposes, yet shed their beauty upon the surroundings.

The great feature of the gardens in Bloomsbury was the Cherry Garden, or Cherry Orchard. It may have been an extension of the original orchards of the manor house, for it spread out on either side of that house and occupied a considerable space at the back, between the buildings and the Long Field. But such plans as exist show it to be bigger than any normal orchard. It was, indeed, almost always referred to as 'great' and was for long a landmark in the district. In 1640 a certain Captain Awdley — not in himself a desirable character, at any rate in the eyes of the authorities, who declared him to be 'a spreader of libels' and, what was

probably worse in their eyes, a distributor also of 'Scottish pamphlets' — had the most attractive of addresses, being said to live 'in Bloomsbury near the great cherry garden'.

Other parcels of land on the Bloomsbury property were leased to one William Short, gardener, almost certainly the Short whose name was long commemorated by Short's Gardens in St. Giles, on the south side of the Holborn high road. There one piece of property owned by Short was the Rose Field attached to the inn or house known as the Rose. It may have been he or his successor who, perhaps at this time or, more probably, a few years later, laid out on the Bloomsbury property a garden additional to the Rose Field between what was later, on the east, to be Bury Street, and on the west Duke Street, afterwards Coptic Street.

This garden was not, however, to be entirely devoted to the growing of flowers. A very considerable part of it was called the Licours Garden. The Liquorice Garden was a common plantation of the day and to a very great extent corresponded to what in France was known as *le jardin médicinal*, a garden devoted to the growing of all manner of plants and herbs from which medicinal draughts and wines were distilled. That this was the true purpose of the Licours Garden is the more likely because there stood nearby, in the hands of the same owner, a stillhouse.

Westward again beyond the Licours Garden was a strip of ground which was subsequently turned into a bowling green. This bowling green was attached to an inn called the Crown, not to be confused with the Crane, which, an earlier building, was much nearer the eastern boundary of the property.

Gardens of all kinds — fruit, flower and herbs — were pleasant enough. Nevertheless, they represented, as did the new houses, even if few in number, the commercialization of the south-east corner of the property, all round the old manor house. This was reason enough for the Earl not to

take over that house, as it might have been supposed he would do, in order to reconstruct it as a mansion fit for the residence of such a great man as himself. Nor is there any clear indication that he ever contemplated doing any such thing. The old house, standing up bravely for the nonce against the encroachments which threatened it, remained on lease to a tenant. For himself and his family the Earl proposed a new erection in more open surroundings. He would build in the Long Field, which lay behind the manor house and the cherry orchard.

The Earl accordingly applied for Letters Patent which should license him to build. The Letters Patent, mentioning the spot on which the new house was to be erected, were duly received. But the Earl's plans went for the time being astray. Before his scheme could be put into effect, two catastrophes, one personal to himself and the other affecting all England, occurred.

On 16th February, 1640, the Countess of Southampton, still a young woman, died in childbirth, and the Earl was left a widower, with the two little girls, Elizabeth and Rachel.

Within the next few months came the final rupture between the Crown and Parliament. Once the King had set up his royal standard in Nottingham as a signal that civil war had begun, the Earl, a strong royalist, left to uphold his monarch in the field. The matter of the new mansion house was perforce left in abeyance.

A structure of a very different kind did, however, appear on the Bloomsbury property.

Early in 1643, when a royal army was marching towards London, a line of trenches, with forts at intervals, was constructed to guard the city. The line was taken across the Earl of Southampton's Long Field, and on that field were erected two batteries and a breastwork. It was the outward sign of the grip of the Parliament upon London and the surroundings.

The waning of the King's cause might indeed have meant the waning of the fortunes of the Wriothesley family. Bloomsbury, with the other estates, might easily have ceased to be theirs. But the policy of the Parliament was directed towards the securing of ready money rather than towards the confiscation of estates. In 1646, the Earl compounded for his delinquency by the payment of £6,466, a sum reckoned to be a tenth of the value of all his landed property.

After this, the Earl declared, with a certain amount of plausibility, that he had barely enough to keep himself and his family; and it is true that enforced payments of the kind in ready money imposed a heavy drain upon the resources of such a man as the Earl, whose capital was reckoned in land values, and whose income depended almost entirely upon his rentals. On the other hand, he had done well for himself, if not immediately, at least in the matter of expectations, by a second marriage. In 1642, in the midst of the early fighting of the Civil War, he had found time to marry again, this time an English lady, Elizabeth Leigh, the daughter of Sir Francis Leigh, Lord Dunsmore, who shortly after the marriage was created Earl of Chichester. Not only was the lady co-heir to her father, but, by a special remainder in the latter's Patent, the title, should he die without direct heirs, was to go to his son-in-law, the Earl of Southampton himself. Nevertheless, what with the direct effect of the fine and the collapse of the King's cause, it is not surprising that, after the execution of Charles I in January, 1649, the Earl of Southampton should have retired to his country estate at Titchfield, to live as quietly as might be.

There at Titchfield in 1653 his second daughter, Rachel, aged seventeen, was married to the Lord Vaughan. There, too, the nurseries were filled again, for his Countess bore him four little girls, an Audrey, two Penelopes and an Elizabeth. But death was ever on the heels of life, and of

those four children only the youngest, called after her step-sister, Elizabeth, survived to attain to mature years. Before the year 1654 was out, their mother, too, was in her grave.

The Earl did not remain long a widower. At some date subsequent to 1655 he made a third marriage, the lady being Frances, Lady Molyneux, the widow of Lord Molyneux and the daughter of the second Duke of Somerset.

But presently the Earl of Southampton bethought himself once more of the new mansion which, in those years gone by, he had planned to build on the Bloomsbury property. The third marriage may have been responsible for turning his mind in this direction. Nor is it impossible that in those late fifties he should have speculated upon an eventual restoration of the monarchy. In any case, at this juncture he might well, like many of his fellows, have seen no reason why he should be exiled for ever on a country property. There was still a part to be played in affairs. Moreover, his finances must be presumed to have righted themselves, in spite of the after-effects of the payment of the fine. That had been a blow, but a blow that it was possible to get over. The sum exacted was, after all, only a tenth of the Earl's whole resources, and the amount of that tenth shows that those resources were reckoned as considerable. True, on Clarendon's authority, the Earl is said to have sent the late monarch's son in exile all that he could spare. But all that he could spare is a relative term. The salient fact is that at the Restoration the Earl of Southampton appeared as a very well-to-do man, and this cannot have come about suddenly. It must in some sort represent prosperity at least during the later fifties. He was well able to carry out the plan which had been long since conceived. By the year 1657 his decision had been taken. He would at last proceed with the building of the mansion in Bloomsbury. A map of the estate drawn up in that year includes a plan for the house. Part of it may even then have been already under con-

struction, although some variations from the plan, notably in the approach to the mansion, were subsequently introduced.

For permission to erect the house the Earl had the original licence obtained in 1640, a licence which had not only specified the site for the building, but had also laid down with some emphasis stipulations which the Earl must observe.

There was no reason why any attempt should be made to get permission to change the site — the Long Field — indicated for the house in the original Patent. Many more buildings, for the most part small houses — these were later to be the subject of serious consideration by the Earl himself as well as by others — had appeared on the property since the survey of 1642 was taken. But, although they had clustered close round the manor house, and, finally, had encroached upon it, overwhelming it in their advance, and had even extended feelers into the cherry orchard, they had for the time being got no farther. The greater part of the orchard still stood, and beyond was the Long Field, open and free, with, to the north, the perspective of the Highgate Hills.

As specified in the Patent, five acres of the field were to be enclosed by a brick wall. In the enclosure was to stand a mansion house, with outbuildings and gardens attached. The five acres which had been so chosen and marked out for the site were in the southern half of the Long Field, but somewhat back in it, leaving open a grassy space between the wall of the house and the cherry garden.

The original Letters Patent had been quite definite in stating where the house was to be built; they had also clearly indicated the kind of erection it was to be. If the Privy Council had, reluctantly, by licence, to permit building, they were at least determined to do their best to ensure that such building should be carried out on approved lines.

An exact Platt and Deserption of the Manner of Bloomesburye w^th the Lands belonging to the same & ly^ng and being within the parishes of S^t Giles in y^e Fields and Parr as in y^e County of Midd^x Parcell of y^e Possession of y^e Right Honorable Thomas Earle of Southampton

The Street or Passage into Mary bourne Parish

354
The Culver close Meade
Len. Somers by Lease
12 0 05

Tottenham Courte Feild

Mr Lowes heirs
Crubbs Feild

The Road way leading from Westminster to Hampstead

Tottenham Courte or Hall Feild

The Road way leading from Westminster to Hampstead

Bunhill Feilds

355
Figgs Meade
Lye Somers
8 - 2 - 35

356
8 - 3 - 30

Figgs Close Pasture
acc^t of Thos Blyth
7 - 1 - 20

Figge Greate Pingle Pasture
acc^t of Thos Blyth
16 - 2 - 20

The Brewers Feilds belonging unto Ashor Free Schoole

The Little Pingle
acc^t of Parkinson
3 - 1 - 16

Pancras Church

Acton Pond Way

Tottenham Court Lane

The Gillie Feild

The Earle of Clares Court Len. or Lamb close

Tottenham Court Six Acres Close

Mr Blunts Sixteen acres

Night Feild Meade
Anthony Burrow by leases
325
7 - 0 - 10

The Streets belong by the name of

The

Gooseys Feild
Gooseys Feild Meade
Len. Somers by leases
(1 - 2 - 28)
(5 - 0 - 28)

Mr Burrows Lane

Babers west Field Meade
Thos Blyth by lease
5 0 103

Babers North Field Meade
Thomas Blyth by lease
(18 - 2 20)

Long Feild, west Meade
on y^e acc^t of Thos Blyth
16 - 3 - 00

Tottenham Court Church Feild

Tottenham Court Burrells

Moise Blyge

Moise Blyge Lane

Babers East Field Meade
Thos Blyth by leases
8 - 3 - 30
0 - 0 - 04
11 - 3 - 34

Long Feild Meade or Past
acc^t of Thos Blyth
34 0 3
Apporc by Babers only 0 0 15
34 0 18
Rec Income & Court Rents 3 3 00
The Pleasure by y^e Manor 0 1 00
4 1 00

Long Feild east Meade
on y^e acc^t of Thos Blyth
18 2 25

A Scale of Feet 165 to an inch

Pancras Parish

Square Bennetts two Feilds

In St Giles Parish
In St Andrews Parish

Chimney Cundite Feild

The Bowling Ground

It was very necessary, in their view, to guard against the all too familiar danger of conflagration. This implied, wherever it could be enforced, the disuse of wood. But for many years past the Council had been going further than this. Nearly every building licence contained a clause which stipulated that any house which was to be put up was to be suitable in design and appearance for the purpose for which it was required. If anyone of the rank of the Earl of Southampton wanted to build a residence, then care must be taken that he should put up one that was in accordance with his position.

The Patent, therefore, in the first place, had laid down that the Earl of Southampton's proposed mansion should be constructed of brick and stone. As far as was possible, wooden houses, especially in the case of houses of a considerable size, were to be things of the past. Further, the mansion was to be built so as to be suitable for the residence of an Earl and his family, and was to have the necessary appurtenances of stables, coachhouses and other outhouses. It was to be, in short, an erection of some dignity.

The name of the architect employed by the Earl is unknown. Later the design was confidently attributed to none other than Inigo Jones himself. Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, had no doubts on the point. In 1734 she stated explicitly in a letter that Southampton House had been 'built' by that great architect. But, although she professed herself an excellent judge of architecture, and always had a good deal to say about architects, she may well have been merely repeating the common gossip which had no foundation in fact. If Inigo Jones had anything to do with the house at all, then the plans must have been drawn up before 1652, the year of his death. But it is by no means impossible that the Earl should have consulted him at the time when the building of the mansion was first mooted. Drawings may even have been prepared, and used when, years later,

the project was at last put into effect. But no drawings of any kind have survived to point the way to the truth.

The building accounts, like the drawings, have gone. But the putting up of such a mansion was something of an event and, when completed, there were plenty of people to make their way to Bloomsbury to gaze upon an Earl's new residence. Some of them recorded their impressions.

The mansion they saw consisted of one long central block, with two short wings. It was a brick house, for brick rather than stone, the alternative material mentioned in the licence, was chosen for the construction.

In the year of the Restoration, when the house stood finished and had already acquired a name of its own — for it was now spoken of as Southampton House in the Fields — it was viewed by Sir Roger Pratt, the architect who later acted as Commissioner for Charles II in the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire. Sir Roger's interest lay largely in comparative architecture, and in some notes which he dated 20th November, 1660, he illustrated his subject by a comparison between the Banqueting House at Whitehall and the mansion so lately built by the Earl of Southampton, which he referred to by its full name. Southampton House in the Fields was, said Sir Roger, built with brick. The walls of the Banqueting House, on the contrary, were of brick inside and of stone on the outside. The combination of stone and brick made it possible to extend a wall both in height and breadth. Consequently, whereas Southampton House was only some forty feet in height and the walls about the foundations but three feet in breadth, the height of the Banqueting House was eighty feet and the breadth of the walls about the foundations no less than ten feet.

John Evelyn and others agreed that Southampton House conveyed the impression to onlookers of being a decidedly low house. Far too low, said John Evelyn outright, to make anything of an appearance. Actually, the main block was

of three stories. But the wings on either side were of two stories only.

The entrance to the house was on the first floor of the central block. Here a single tall flight of steps, wide at the foot, narrowing towards the middle and then widening once again, led up from the courtyard to the front door, which opened into the great hall.

On either side of this hall, as indicated in various inventories, were the principal rooms. They included two drawing-rooms, usually, like the hall, called great, and a dining-room, which in general had the same adjective attached to it. These apartments won the warmest approbation of Evelyn. 'Noble rooms', he called them, even while he was condemning the exterior appearance of the house. On the same floor — there were eighteen rooms here in all — were two or three smaller drawing-rooms or sitting-rooms and another eating room, called small, together with an array of bedrooms, dressing-rooms and the like. Among the last were the private bedchambers, with dressing-rooms attached, of the lord and lady of the house. Finally, here too was a little chapel. It was panelled in cedar wood.

Above this principal story in the central block was what was called the attic story. There were twenty-four of these attics in all, some of them evidently sizable rooms, and certain of them at different times occupied by members of the family, while others gave lodging to some of the chief servants.

There remained the ground floor and the rooms in the two wings. On one side of the entrance steps was a door which gave access to a secondary entrance hall, where the porter had his chair and where the footmen of those who came to the house waited. Close by was the servants' hall, the gathering place of the Earl's own servants. All about and around, filling the rest of the space on the ground floor as well as the two wings, came a series of offices and rooms, thirty-two of

them, in which the work of running the household was done — kitchens, sculleries, wash-houses, lumber rooms, and business rooms devoted to the various officials.

The front rooms looked on to the courtyard. This was enclosed by the brick wall, in which, opposite the entrance steps, were gates of wrought iron. At first, when the house was newly erected, these gates opened on to the empty grassy space, the southern bit of the Long Field, beyond which could be seen the great Cherry Garden.

At the back of the house was a variety of stabling, with, over the stables and round about, rooms for coachmen and stable helpers. Beyond these buildings and the yard, space was reserved for a garden.

The boundary of the garden was to be the bank or mound of the Parliamentary fort, which stood on a line roughly approximate to what was to be later the south side of Russell Square. This mound was utilized to form a raised terrace walk.

But the making of a garden was slow work. During the early years it would seem that no attempts, or only very feeble ones, were made to grapple with the necessary planting. Some five years at least after the completion of the mansion, in 1664-5, John Evelyn could stigmatize the scene at the back as completely naked. The only alleviation he could see was that the air was extremely good.

The Earl of Southampton had shown wisdom in his generation. He had ready a residence in which he was prepared, in the spring of 1660, marked by that month of May in which King Charles II rode in triumph through the streets of London, to celebrate the restoration of the monarchy, which for the Earl meant a renewal of life as he had understood it in his younger years. There with him he had his third Countess and his two unmarried girls, the eldest, Elizabeth, and the young stepsister who had the same name.

CHAPTER III

MY LORD SOUTHAMPTON'S LITTLE TOWN

AMID all the gaieties following the return of the King came two domestic celebrations in the Earl of Southampton's own family.

In 1661 his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was married to Edward Noel. Her younger sister, Rachel, had been married at seventeen. But she, the elder, was now already twenty-seven years of age. Two portraits of her, one, showing her in amber-coloured satin, painted about this time, hang to-day at Welbeck.

The next year the stepsister, aged sixteen, in all the glamour of her young good looks, which were to give her a place among the Court beauties, was matched with Joceline, Lord Percy.

But, while taking his share in the life and stir of the early years of the Restoration — he was at once made Lord High Treasurer of England — the Earl had affairs of his own on the Bloomsbury estate which required his attention.

In the first place, he had to consider the developments which had taken place on the property during the Protectorate. These were of an extremely unsatisfactory character.

In 1642, according to the short survey drawn up in that year, the old manor house, with its outbuildings and gardens, had still stood. Certain other houses could have been seen in the neighbourhood. But there had not been very many of them, and for the most part they had been houses of a fairly good type.

Fifteen years later, when, in 1657, a plan of the estate was made, probably on account of the proposed building of a mansion house, many changes, and not for the better, were to be noted. The manor house had disappeared. On the site and round about were now to be seen groups of houses, closely built in blocks, separated from one another by narrow streets and lanes. These buildings covered the space between the Cherry Garden and the Holborn high road, and had even penetrated somewhat into the Cherry Garden itself. Eastward they extended as far as the Pond Piece. Westward they pressed up to the Licours Garden, with its still house, and the Bowling Green beyond. These open spaces remained so far to a great extent intact. But a fringe of small houses and building plots was in each case an ominous sign.

All this building had been, as the Council were shortly at pains to point out to the Earl, of a peculiarly unfortunate character. In the first place, the houses were of wood. This would have been strictly forbidden had a proper building licence been obtained. Worse than this, they were also extremely badly built houses. They lacked both stability and appearance, and there was every reason for the authorities to take objection to them. There was equal reason why the Earl of Southampton, with his new mansion on the estate, and, what he undoubtedly had, a keen eye to business, should seek to bring about improvement. There was certainly room for it.

In 1661, accordingly, the Earl petitioned for yet another building licence. He was well aware that it would be necessary, on every account, to reconstruct these unsatisfactory blocks of houses. But he also had in mind a scheme which would put many new buildings on the property. These, unlike those already there, were to be erected under authority.

In November, 1661, the requisite Letters Patent were received. The Patent — it has in the left-hand corner a fine

portrait of King Charles II in armour, with folded lace kerchief, and the chain of the Garter pendant — enjoined the Earl to do various things and permitted him to do others.

In the first instance, the Patent stated, no doubt very truly, that the buildings known as the Bloomsbury Buildings, which had been of late put up in that district, had been mere wooden erections, and were now in a parlous state of disrepair, not to say decay. Some attempt had evidently been made to fix responsibility for what had been done. Caution had equally clearly prompted both the Earl and his tenants against making any admissions whatsoever. And the wording of the Patent declared defeat. It was not possible, stated a clause, to say who had put up these pitiable erections. Now, however, the Earl was not so much allowed as required either to see that these were put into proper repair, or, in cases — probably the majority — where no repair was possible, to have them taken down and replaced by new houses, which must be either of brick or of stone.

But, further, the Patent went on to give the Earl permission to undertake some entirely new building. He might erect new houses on the Pond Piece to the east, and on the Licours Garden with the other green plots to the west. The Cherry Garden likewise was marked down for destruction. Finally, that piece of the Long Field which had been left open in front of the wall of the mansion house, lying between that wall and the Cherry Garden, was to have its quota of houses.

No maps, plans or surveys in connection with the work have been found. Perhaps none were ever made. But a certain number at least, although by no means all, of the early leases have survived and are of some aid in outlining a picture of what went on. Moreover, the same interested curiosity which had turned the footsteps of observers in the direction of Bloomsbury when Southampton House was in process of construction now equally drew onlookers to gaze

upon all this new building that was going on in a London suburb.

For one particular piece of the land on which he was to be allowed to build the Earl had a definite scheme. The piece in question was the strip of open field in front of his own house, on to which the gates of his courtyard opened. On this houses were to be erected. But not in a solid block. On the contrary, they were to stand around three sides, leaving a space in the middle, with the wall of Southampton House forming the fourth, or north, side. The erection of houses on the south side meant cutting right into the Cherry Orchard. But this had already been selected for sacrifice.

This form of layout in front of a mansion marked a change in the trend of taste. During the sixteenth century the great houses on the river side of the Strand, such as Russell House by Ivy Bridge, the first London Mansion of the Earls of Bedford, had each at their back a garden, pleasant enough, which sloped down to the water. But they fronted, with or without a courtyard, on to the thoroughfare. So also did the houses on the opposite side of the street. On that side, while the Earl of Southampton was building in Bloomsbury, still flourished Bedford House in the Strand, the second town house of the Russells, built in the days of Edward VI and rebuilt under James I. The gates of its front courtyard opened and the windows of many of its principal rooms looked directly on to the crowded street.

Here, however, around the open space at the back, beyond the garden wall, houses had been erected by the fourth Earl of Bedford, in the sixteen-thirties, to form what was known as the Piazza.

The travelled class in England, as well as those who might not be travelled, but who frequented the theatre, knew all about the piazza, or open space surrounded by buildings, of an Italian town. Usually, although not necessarily, it accommodated the town market. Often, for climatic reasons,

the sides were arcaded, a circumstance which sometimes led to the arcades themselves being referred to, but quite erroneously, as the piazza, or at least being regarded as essential to it.

The Piazza in Covent Garden, at the back of Bedford House, had itself been arcaded on the north and east sides, in imitation of so many of its Italian prototypes. Also, in spite of the fact that the stately mansions which composed it were the residences of well-to-do folk, many of them notabilities, within the open space was a market. But the market had been there long before the time of the Piazza. Since the first decade of the seventeenth century and possibly even earlier, sellers of fruit and flowers had been allowed to squat, with their baskets and wares, underneath the garden wall of the owner of the property. And far from being got rid of when the Piazza became a good residential quarter, they had been allowed to remain and to increase in numbers.

But Bedford House in the Strand, with the crowded thoroughfare in front and the market at the back, already in the year of the Restoration belonged somewhat to the past. The Earl of Southampton and his fellows, who at this time, or a little later, were building for themselves new residences in London or the neighbourhood, desired to have each his own particular mansion standing in convenient proximity indeed to the public life of the town, but somewhat withdrawn from it. The tide of commercial life was not to surge up to the doorstep, nor yet as far as the courtyard wall. Some of them, including the Earl of Southampton, viewed with approval a scheme which combined the pleasure of having an open space in front of their house with the profit to be derived by the letting of building plots for houses to stand round that space. They did not, however, normally contemplate a market being held there.

No sooner, therefore, had the Earl got his Patent in 1661 than he granted a number of building leases for what were

described in those leases as plots standing in, or more truly around, 'the void space in front of my lord's mansion'.

In the matter of letting the Earl had entered the market at an extremely good moment. London was still spreading rapidly, and there was a considerable demand for sites in a new and agreeable locality, as the Earl of Southampton's Bloomsbury estate was reckoned to be. The Earl's own great mansion served as an attraction to the owner's friends. The comparative proximity to the city of London tempted the wealthy merchants who now wished to live outside the city.

Lesser folk, however, also took building sites in the square: some of them comparatively small sites. This applies likewise to the parcels of ground leased by the persons of greater importance. The Earl of Southampton, or his agent for him, took his profit where he could find it, and the surviving leases show clearly enough how varied were the sizes of the plots on which the houses were to be erected.

Thus, on the east side of the space, in 1662 Mrs. Anne Tresham — one of the earliest of the lessees — had a plot on which she was to erect a house. This plot had a frontage of twenty-four feet and ran back a hundred and ten feet. Four other sites on the same side were similar to this one. But in 1664, next to one of them, Lord Bellasis leased a plot which had a frontage of sixty-one feet and ran back a hundred and forty feet.

On the opposite, or west, side of the square there were more variations. There in 1662 one Edward Newcombe had a plot which had a fifty-foot frontage and ran back a hundred and forty feet. Mr. Newcombe, however, was to be allowed to erect on his fifty-foot frontage not one, but two houses. A stipulation was inserted that these were to be uniform.

This is one of the very few instances, the only one in the square at least, according to the surviving leases, in which any one person took a plot on which he was going to erect two houses. Presumably one, if not both, of these was for

reletting. This is the more probable because a clause was inserted in his lease, again the only instance of the kind in the square, which said that Mr. Newcombe might not on any account introduce more than one family into either of his houses.

The next year, however, in 1663, Thomas Cox of London, a doctor of physic, leased a plot which had a frontage of no less than a hundred and forty-five feet and ran back a hundred and ten feet. This was immediately adjacent to the plot of Mr. Newcombe.

Following this in 1664, still on the west side, Sir Edward Mosley had a site with a forty-eight foot frontage, running back a hundred and forty feet; and one Allenby had alongside one of the smaller plots of twenty-four feet frontage.

Altogether, according to the surviving leases, six plots were let on the east side of the square between 1662 and 1665, and four on the west side. But it is not certain that these are the total numbers of leases which were given.

During the same years, on the south side of the square, where the Cherry Orchard was being sadly cut into, seven plots were let. The frontages of these were of very varying figures, between twenty feet and forty-four feet. They did not, as a rule, run back more than forty or fifty feet.

The conditions on which these plots were leased were by no means uniform. The stipulation which prevented Mr. Newcombe making his two houses into lodging houses, by forbidding the introduction of more than one family into each, was unique and probably a special instance. But other restrictions were introduced in other cases. It was quite clear that the gentlemen who took the larger plots, such as Lord Bellasis, Sir Edward Mosley and Doctor Cox, intended to erect houses of importance and dignity. In every instance the lease provided for the making of a garden and the building of a coach house, or houses. But provision was also made that the use of the house should be in accordance with its

importance. To this end the owners of the plots were strictly forbidden to enter the vintner or victualler trade themselves as long as they were living in the houses, and were equally forbidden to let to anyone who followed those pursuits.

But no such injunctions were entered in the leases of the smaller plots. There was, in fact, nothing to prevent either Mrs. Anne Tresham, or Mr. Newcombe, or their fellows, setting up as vintners or victuallers. On the other hand, no clause, only their own sense of propriety, forbade the Lord Bellasis, or Sir Edward Mosley, or Doctor Cox to turn their houses into lodgings for two or more families.

The rents paid were of varying amounts. But the variation was to some degree only dependent upon the size of the pieces of land occupied. The determining factor was clearly the kind of building upon which the lessee proposed to embark. Thus, the top figure of twenty-six pounds a year was to be paid by Doctor Cox; Sir Edward Mosley was to pay fourteen and Lord Bellasis twelve pounds a year. Six pounds a year was an average, but not uniform, rent for the sites with the twenty-four foot frontage. On the whole, the rents were higher on the east and the west sides than on the south.

A typical lease on the south side was one granted to Richard Cole, a citizen and plumber of London, who had nineteen feet of frontage with forty-one feet running back, and was to pay a rent of three pounds a year.

But amongst all the differences, there was one line of uniformity in the granting of the leases. The regulation term was forty-two years.

From 1662 onwards the building of the houses round the square went on merrily and apace, offering free entertainment to all Londoners, Pepys and Evelyn among them, who liked to walk out to the suburbs and see what was going on. On Sunday, 2nd October, 1664, Pepys, on his way after

church to pay a visit to Lady Sandwich, took the opportunity of having a look at 'Lord Southampton's new buildings in the fields' and approved them as a very great and noble work. John Evelyn agreed with him. When he dined with the Earl of Southampton the following February and went over the mansion, he also took occasion to have a look at the new houses being built in the space in front. 'A noble square or piazza,' said he, 'quite a little town.'

The name piazza was not, however, adopted for the Bloomsbury plan. The word 'square' was coming into fashion, and two years before Evelyn made the note in his diary, in 1663, clerks drawing the leases for the Earl of Southampton had already — it was for the first time — dignified the space in front of the house by giving it the name of 'the square'. And that same square was now beginning to present quite a creditable appearance, even though smaller houses were wedged in between bigger ones.

But this plot in front of Southampton House was far from being the only spot on which building was proceeding. Even as the square was taking shape, something which could be more truly called a little town was growing up all around. Houses were being built and roadways cut through.

The problem of which arrived first, the road or the houses, seems at first sight closely to resemble the ancient problem of the hen and the egg. In fact the growth of Bloomsbury obeyed, as it might have been expected to do, the laws of convenience. In one instance a road would be cut because access was wanted to a highway. The road having been cut, houses would be built on one or on both sides. In another instance, several houses, being built in some suitable spot, would ultimately necessitate a roadway. So did the new little town spread.

For the household of the Earl of Southampton in Southampton House, as for his tenants in the square, it was highly

desirable to obtain easy and convenient access to the two great thoroughfares in the neighbourhood, the Holborn high road and the Tottenham Court Lane, other than by the old lanes and the narrow streets and alleys which intersected the blocks of wooden buildings, and some at least of which would certainly not have accommodated a coach. It was not long before a better way of reaching both the main thoroughfares was planned.

In 1662 the Earl let for building, on the usual forty-two years' lease, two parcels of the Long Field west of his house. Each plot was to have a twenty-four foot frontage, and was to run back a hundred and fifty feet. In each lease it was stated that the south frontage was to be on the line of 'an intended street' which had been planned to lead from Southampton House towards the highway which was known as the Tottenham Court Lane. Two years later the street had been cut through and was referred to as 'a great street leading from Southampton House towards the Tottenham Court Lane'.

There are no leases to show how many, if any, plots were at once let west of Southampton House beyond the original two, although afterwards building enough was to take place there. But on the other side of the mansion, going eastward, at least six such plots, of varying sizes, were let before 1666, and here six houses were presently erected and occupied by various tenants. They, too, faced a road, since the great new street had been continued eastward beyond the Earl's mansion and the square until it reached the Pond Piece and an ancient lane, which, running right across the Earl of Southampton's fields from the house called Tottenham Court, reached the Pond Piece at that point, and so ultimately debouched into the Holborn highway.

Once this street was cut through, the residents in Southampton House and the square had free access into the Tottenham Court Lane. At the same time, better and more

direct communication was established with the Holborn high road.

While the square was in process of formation a way was cut, some time between 1661 and 1663, from its southern side into the Holborn thoroughfare. This was possibly, although not certainly, the widening of an ancient lane. Referred to at first as 'the way leading from High Holborn to my Lord's mansion house', it was cut with an eye to the Earl of Southampton's own convenience, although equally it served his tenants in the square well. It penetrated first the Cherry Orchard, and then passed through the blocks of wooden buildings which occupied the space between orchard and high road. It is greatly to be feared that it was the cutting of this way which marked the final doom of the orchard. Flourishing in all its glory when the 1661 Patent was made out, henceforward it is never heard of again. It is less to be regretted that the same consequence befell not only the wooden buildings that blocked the way of the new road, but also many of those in the immediate vicinity. When, shortly after the way was cut, building plots, on forty-two year leases, were let on either side, it is evident that the old houses had disappeared, or were about to disappear, and that erection of entirely new houses was contemplated.

Some time after the street took shape it acquired the name of Southampton. The name may soon have become attached to it in popular speech, but no early leases use it. Colley Cibber wrote in his *Apology*:

> I was born in London on November 6, 1671, in Southampton Street, facing Southampton House.

But the *Apology* was published in 1740, and there is no guarantee that Cibber was not being merely retrospective in naming the street.

The procedure which was followed in the instance of

Southampton Street continued on all the southern part of the estate. The old wooden buildings, so rightly condemned, disappeared, to give way to new and better houses. Some of the narrow alleys which had separated them were built over in constructing the new blocks, and not even their names were retained. Only here and there a little passage way may have seemed to have spoken of the past. But for the most part the new town had its new streets as well as its new houses. It also acquired a market place. But this was not to be in the square.

It is quite likely in any case that something in the shape of a market had existed in Bloomsbury before the Earl of Southampton embarked, after the Restoration, on his building schemes. As early as 1661, only a few months after the general Patent for building had been received, the Earl was letting plots of land around what the leases referred to as 'the market place'. Part of this site, which lay to the east of the Licours plot, beyond a lane called Darby Lane, seems to have been left as an open space when the bad old wooden buildings were being put up. Now, in order to extend it, a substantial block of those buildings had to come down. But the existing open space was in any case an advantage and it may be that a rough and ready market, such as was originally held below the walls of Bedford House in Covent Garden, had previously been held there for the convenience of the inhabitants of the buildings. One little alley at least, now to be swept away, had been known as Fish Street.

The irregular market, if it had existed, was regularized very soon. In January, 1662, the Earl obtained a licence to hold a market on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday in each week throughout the year at Bloomsbury, in St. Giles in the Fields, and to receive such tolls and profits as might thence arise. As usual, the preamble of the Patent stated that an inquisition had been taken, with a result that it had been found, by oath of the good and lawful men of the county,

that it would not damage either the King or any neighbouring markets if the Earl's request were allowed.

It was not stated in the Patent what comestibles were to be sold in the market. But probably it was always fish and flesh that were sold there, in contradistinction to the fruit and vegetables of Covent Garden. At all events, when, four years later, in 1666, this Patent was surrendered in return for another, the latter specified, as the earlier one had not, that the market was to be for fish and for flesh. The days of the week on which the market was to be held were likewise altered to Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday.

The duplicate of the first Patent enrolled on the Patent Rolls, which would have been sent to the Earl of Southampton, has disappeared; the second has survived among the papers of his successors. The border — a design of fruit and flowers — is a singularly beautiful specimen of Caroline work. So also is the portrait, in the left-hand corner, of the King, head and shoulders, showing him in his ermine-edged robes of state, with lace falling collar, and the George.

But a trading centre, if it were to flourish, required, at the very least as much as a residential centre, adjacent ways along which passengers and carts could pass. Before 1661 such ways had existed, but as mere lanes and alleys. The most important of these lanes was one known as Darby Lane. This had once run from Holborn right across the property, to lose itself in the Bloomsbury fields. The upper end of this lane was now being built over. The lower end was allowed to remain and so ensured communication between the market and the important Holborn thoroughfare. Within a few years this truncated lane had become a street, with houses on either side. But for some time to come it was given no official name. Where it was necessary to describe it in a lease, it was mentioned, like others, with topographical details — 'the street leading from the market into Holborn'.

Later, acquiring at last a name of its own, it became Lion Street.

Two other streets also appeared in the neighbourhood of the market. Running westward from the south-west corner had apparently long been a lane known by the pleasing title of the Dirty Lane, which no doubt was an excellent description. But in 1662 there was talk of 'an intended street' which should enter the market at this corner, and by the following year it had been cut through. Much later it acquired the name of Hyde Street.

Probably, too, there had always been some sort of a passage way or lane on the north side of the market. But it was not until 1664 that the houses on this side, then some five or six at least in number, were spoken of as facing 'a certain street'. This was in embryo the street afterwards to be given the name of Hart Street.

The market and its adjacent streets were probably a considerable improvement on the former blocks of buildings and narrow alleys which had occupied that space. If the disastrous blocks of houses had been dealt with ruthlessly, which cannot be regretted, no less ruthlessness was shown with regard to the open spaces east and west on which the Earl had received permission to build. The Pond Piece on the east was foredoomed when, in 1662, building leases were granted to form a street which, as the wording ran, 'is intended to be made from the King's gate leading north'. In that same year and in the following year something like a dozen such plots had been disposed of. But in 1663 the leases so granted were still using the word 'intended' in connection with the street. It was not until 1665 that the word was dropped, and reference was made to 'a' street. In the following year the new way attained proudly, well in advance of many of its fellows, a name. It was called King Street, and in the same year in which the name was first mentioned, 1666, a tenement called the Three Kings

appeared therein. The street was useful to the dwellers in the houses east of Southampton House, since it ran from the King's Gate in Holborn right up to the road in front of their dwellings, thus giving them another way to get into the main thoroughfare.

On the west side of the property the fate of the Licours Garden and the Bowling Green was sealed when, in 1662, building leases signified the cutting through of the street which, nameless at first, was later called Duke Street, and later still given the name of Coptic.

The rapidity with which building leases were taken up in every part of the property thus being reconstructed, or newly built over, is testimony enough to the popularity of the Earl of Southampton's new little town. Fortune was kind to that noble owner in many ways. He had had an excellent piece of building property in his hands at the right moment. The situation was a desirable one, and amenities had been created. But over and above this, another piece of good fortune befell him as a landlord.

Whatever the Privy Council and other authorities might think of the expansion of London, doctors were quite clear that such expansion was beneficial. At a time when smallpox was rivalling the plague in the intensity of its ravages, and when to both were added many fevers of the typhus type, doctors had for some years been conducting a campaign against buildings and tenements being placed too closely together. They had also been preaching the advantages enjoyed in the matter of health by the countryman, rich or poor, as opposed to the town dweller. Rows of houses for the latter should, they thought, have a generous allowance of space — when the Great Fire came most doctors were aware it was a blessing, not a curse — and, in the case of a wealthy man's house, it ought, wherever possible, to be erected in an open situation. Actually the benefits there were not only confined to the rich man, since the mere fact of his house

being built made it worth while for smaller dwellings to be erected in the neighbourhood.

So much was generally accepted. But one celebrated medical man, Doctor Everard Maynwaringe, remarking truly 'there is a great difference in the parts of a city to live in', went further and recommended Bloomsbury in particular.

> And here I cannot but take notice of Bloomsbury (the Right Honourable Earl of Southampton's property and seat) for the best part about London, both for health and pleasure exceeding other places. It is the best air and finest prospect, being the highest ground, and overlooking other parts of the city. The fields bordering upon this place are very pleasant and dry grounds for walking and improving of health. A fit place for nobility and gentry to reside in that make their abode about London, there being the country air, pleasure and city conveniences joined together; now lately improved and built upon, and still increasing with fair and well contrived buildings, a good addition and ornament to this place.

He put that passage into his *Morbus Polyrhizos et Polymorphaeus: A Treatise of the Scurvy* . . ., which was printed and circulated in 1665, and he was referring particularly to that disease and to the nervous complaint, or complaints, so common in the seventeenth century, which went by the general name of melancholia or hysteria and were associated by Maynwaringe with the scurvy. For both he thought the air of Bloomsbury might be beneficial.

On general lines he was no doubt right in his diagnosis. But scurvy was by no means the monopoly of those who lived in poor dwellings and crowded streets. It afflicted alike the rich and the poor, those who lived in the country and those who lived in the town. At Woburn Abbey the Russells lived in as healthy and comfortable a fashion as any family

of their position might do. Yet their household accounts show that never a year passed without some member of the family being attacked by scurvy, or what passed under that name, sometimes severe, sometimes of a lighter nature, and that whether they were living at Woburn, or in their town house in the Strand, or, later, in Bloomsbury. The real root of the trouble lay in the quantity of salt meat eaten of necessity by both rich and poor, particularly during the winter months, as well as the insufficient quantities of vegetables and fruit. In spite of Doctor Maynwaringe and the stress he laid upon the importance of good air, in particular such air as could be enjoyed in Bloomsbury, it was already apprehended that the treatment of scurvy and the allied skin diseases must begin with a purifying diet, and scurvygrass, the herb which was supposed to be sovereign against the complaint, as well as other antiscorbutic drinks, figured in most household accounts.

Nevertheless, the recommendation of the excellent air of Bloomsbury was very beneficial to the rent roll of the Earl of Southampton.

The Earl himself was not, however, destined to enjoy that rent roll for long. In the spring of 1667 he was taken ill. The news of his illness spread, and on 16th May Samuel Pepys, according to his diary, came to make inquiries. He found, he wrote, the porter in tears, and learnt that the owner of the house had just passed away.

The words 'just passed away' may refer to two days earlier. Later the Earl of Southampton's daughter said her father's death had taken place on 14th May. But it is possible her memory betrayed her. However this may be, the last Earl of Southampton had gone, Pepys had suffered a sore bereavement in that he believed he would never get as good entertainment again in the house, and the male line of the Wriothesley family had come to an end.

There followed on the Earl's death all the intricate legal

business concerning the settlement of the estates and the provision made for the widow. Then came division of the property into three parts. At some date in the next year, 1668, the three daughters, co-heirs, met together to draw lots which should decide to whom each part should go.

One of those daughters was newly widowed. Rachel's husband, Lord Vaughan, had predeceased his father-in-law by a few weeks.

To her, Lady Vaughan, besides a Hampshire estate, now fell Bloomsbury, with the parcels of land attached to it. The Bloomsbury property included Southampton House. That, however, was not to be hers immediately. In his will the Earl of Southampton had given the use of it to his widow for her lifetime.

Two years later Rachel, Lady Vaughan, took as her second husband and, as she herself always called him, her 'dear lord', William Russell, son of the Earl of Bedford.

CHAPTER IV

RACHEL, LADY RUSSELL, AND HER 'DEAR LORD'

For two years after her lord's death the Dowager Lady Southampton retained, as she had a right to do, possession of Southampton House. Had she wished, she might have continued to live there and so have kept her stepdaughter and the latter's husband out of it, until her own death, which took place thirteen years later. But she did not do so. When the marriage between Rachel, Lady Vaughan, and William Russell was under discussion, the two ladies, stepmother and stepdaughter, entered into an agreement, dated 27th March, 1669, by which Frances, Dowager Countess of Southampton, surrendered her estate for life in Southampton House and all its appurtenances to Rachel, Lady Vaughan. What were the exact terms of the agreement is not quite certain. What is clear is that William and Rachel could at once come, and did come, to live in the house in Bloomsbury.

Not, however, that the couple did live in Bloomsbury for anything like all the year. For their country house they had the very attractive dwelling on the Stratton estate in Hampshire. Woburn Abbey, too, was always open to them, and thither they often went, accompanied by a retinue of servants, to stay for many weeks at a time as paying guests.

Nevertheless, although they were a peripatetic pair, moving constantly between Stratton, Bloomsbury and Woburn, with many visits paid elsewhere, it was emphatically the Bloomsbury house with which the two were most closely associated and which was the most important background of their activities.

How the rooms were furnished, what the interior looked like, when William and Rachel took over, is impossible to say. They may well have stepped into a mansion that was entirely empty, since the Dowager Lady Southampton had the right to clear it completely. The late Earl's will, besides giving her the use of the house for her lifetime, gave her likewise absolute possession of all the furniture and household stuff that the house contained, of the coaches and coach horses in the stables, and, finally, of all the plate and jewels which had formerly been the Earl's property.

The jewels the Dowager Lady would almost certainly have taken, and probably the plate also. But the vehicles in the stables, the horses, and, above all, the furniture of the house are other matters. When she departed they may well have gone with her. Or she may, as was not unusual, have come to some sort of an agreement with Rachel and William about the furniture, or part of it. Equally, she may or may not have sold them the coaches and horses. At all times a brisk trade of the kind went on between friends and relatives.

Certainly no inventory of the possessions of the descendants of William Russell, including the lists made in the early eighteenth century, mentions, with one exception, a single piece of plate or anything else which, by engraved arms or otherwise, can be identified as having been the personal property of the Earls of Southampton.

The exception is a series of portraits. To-day members of the Wriothesley family, including the fourth Earl of Southampton himself and two of his Countesses, look down from the walls of Woburn Abbey, a reminder of the one line which became merged in another. It is not, however, necessary to assume that these portraits ever hung in Southampton House. The men and women of the Wriothesley family, like others in their position, had their portraits painted often, and this particular set may have come from Stratton, not from Southampton House. It was, as a rule, the country

home of the family rather than the London residence which had a portrait gallery.

But the whole question of what any Dowager took out of the house, whether, as was so often the case, she was left all or many movables, or whether — as a family would sometimes later darkly hint — she took without having any absolute right to do so, is always a difficult one in family history. Where, as again was so frequently the case, there was re-marriage, possibly more than once, matters became even more complicated.

The Dowager Countess of Southampton, for one, did not remain a widow. At some date before the summer of 1676 she took, as her third husband — incidentally, she was the third of his four wives — the second Earl of Holdernesse. Plate and jewels which had formerly belonged to the house of Wriothesley may thus have passed through many hands and into families remote from that one in which they had had their origin.

But what, if anything, was left in Southampton House, or what, if any, new furniture had to be bought by William and Rachel when they finally set up their establishment there, remains unknown.

The house had now over a long period of years been known in general as Southampton House rather than by its original name of Southampton House in the Fields. The additional words were, indeed, no longer a quite truthful description. Fields and plenty of them were still at the back of the mansion. But the open space of field and orchard which had once lain between the house and the Holborn highway had vanished and from the front of the house the owners looked on to what was, as Evelyn had called it, a regular little town.

Although Rachel had not had immediate possession of Southampton House, the estates which had fallen to her by lot had been hers at once. The particular on the cover of which Rachel made her entry how that lot had fallen

contains a statement of the income from the Bloomsbury estate, with the names of the tenants, although not, unfortunately, any description of the streets.

In that year of 1668 the tenants, excluding those who rented the market, had numbered a hundred and forty-six in all. But among the hundred and forty-six were lessees of coach-house and stable premises only.

The ground rents paid varied greatly in amount. In some cases they rose to as much as thirty pounds a year. In others they dropped as low as two or three pounds a year. In all, the hundred and forty-six tenants accounted for a rent roll of just over twelve hundred pounds. As for the market, that was reckoned to be worth about three hundred and forty pounds a year. Thirty pounds annually were also due in the shape of royalties from the manor of St. Giles. Lastly, there were still payments for grazing.

The five acres which had been taken out of the Long Field were only a small proportion of the whole. The greater part of the field was still open, as were the other fields and meadows, including those lying separately to the north, which made up the whole estate. All of these were let out for farming purposes, as they had been from time immemorial, and brought in the quite substantial rent of just under four hundred pounds a year.

Such was the rental when the estate passed to Rachel. During the two years of her widowhood some more building sites were let, one or two in the square itself and others along the streets and ways which had seen their beginning under her father. When the marriage took place the income from the Bloomsbury estate could hardly have been much less than something between nineteen hundred and two thousand pounds a year.

Besides this, nearly a thousand pounds a year came from the Hampshire lands which had also been included in Rachel's portion.

These rentals do not allow for the outgoings on the properties. But, even so, Rachel's inheritance, together with the two thousand pounds allowed William by his father, made a very pleasant income on which the couple might commence married life. It was an income which was likely to increase rather than decrease, for the letting of building sites on the Bloomsbury estate was by no means finished with.

Immediately before the garden wall, and on to which William and Rachel might look from the windows of their sitting-rooms and bedrooms on the first story, were the houses, some large, some small, which stood around the space called the square. A few plots perhaps remained to be built over, and on some of these the new owners might have seen houses erected in their lifetime. But as far as leases and all papers are concerned, the history of the square stops short abruptly after 1667, not to be renewed until the early years of the eighteenth century.

But, whatever was happening in the square, it was when William and Rachel drove forth that they would have noted the great activity in building. The new street which the Earl of Southampton had had cut through from his own house to Tottenham Court Lane was one along which the family coaches now often passed — always when, as so often, the road was taken for Woburn. When the Earl of Southampton died, the only authentic evidence is that there were five, or possibly six, houses which had been put up to the east of his own and but two towards Tottenham Court Lane to the west. Whether these were all or no, in any case the appearance of the road was quickly altered once William and Rachel Russell had come to reign in Southampton House.

In the ten years from 1671 to 1681 no fewer than forty building leases were granted for sites in the street, on the south side as well as on the north. The new way began, indeed, to present the appearance of a street proper.

It was a street of houses of very different sizes. The building plots granted showed the greatest possible variety in extent. Thus, within a short time of one another and on the same side of the street, one plot would be granted with an eighteen-foot frontage and running back eighty-three feet, while another would have the same frontage and run back as much as a hundred and five feet. Other plots had a twenty-foot frontage and ran back in some cases a hundred feet or in others seventy-nine feet. One had a thirty-six foot frontage and went back to fifty feet. Yet another, of twenty-eight feet frontage only, went back as much as a hundred feet.

Nearly all the leases for the bigger plots assumed the making of a garden and the erection of a coach-house or houses.

The rents varied as greatly as did the size of the plots, although, as had been the case ten years before in the square, far from always in exact proportion. They were, however, on the whole lower than the square rents. Beginning with as little as eighteen shillings a year, they did not in any instance rise much above ten pounds a year and the latter figure was the exception, not the rule. The average perhaps would have been five pounds a year.

With the new houses came something else. All leases before 1670 identify the street by its topographical description as the way which ran from Southampton House into the Tottenham Court Lane. But a lease dated January, 1670/1, altered that. It was still a new street indeed, but it was 'the new street called Russell Street'. That family name had been adopted on the property.

Within three years of its first naming, Russell Street received promotion, even though its lack of maturity was still insisted upon. A lease of 1674 calls it 'the new street in Bloomsbury called or known by the name of Great Russell Street'.

Doubtless the addition of the adjective was due to the fact that another street, a truly new street, had been cut through and this, too, had been given the name of the new dynasty. It was presently to be known as Little Russell Street.

This smaller street which was subsequently to annex the name of Russell had already in 1670 been described as a back street which lay behind the north side of Bloomsbury market. Apparently it had been just cut through for the convenience of a little group of building sites which had been let there the previous year. When or how it took the name of Russell is not quite clear. Perhaps it was only called so at first in popular parlance.

It was this last street and another parallel to it, ultimately called Gilbert Street, that were both newly cut through under Rachel and William.

In the other ways or streets which had already been begun by Rachel's father a few more building sites were let in some cases. It was, however, in the street that was peculiarly associated by name with the Russells that the greater part of the building was going on.

With the hallmark of Russell thus set on the property in the names of two streets, and that property expanding every year, a happy and prosperous life seemed to stretch out before the owners. Lord Russell and his wife might be away from Southampton House a good deal. But they also spent a considerable amount of time there. And in Southampton House their children were born.

The first child, eagerly awaited, but proving somewhat disappointingly to be a little girl, came in December, 1671, and was given the name of Anne, after her grandmother, the fifth Countess of Bedford. For the baptism, recorded in the register of St. Giles, Bloomsbury, the grandfather at Woburn sent up handsome presents wherewith to deck both mother and child.

1671. To Mr. John Eaton, laceman, for fine lace for several childbed suites and sundry fine points of diverse makes, and other wares mentioned in his bill, all which were given by his Lordship at the baptizing Mr. William Russell's daughter £147 0s. 0d.

To Mr. William Gostlin, laceman, for 15½ yards of rich broad gold, silver wire, pearl lace at £4 2s. 0d. the yard — £63 11s. 0d.; and for 75 ounces of rich gold, silver pearled foot at 6s. 6d. per ounce — £24 7s. 6d. In all, abating £2 18s. 6d., being given likewise upon the same occasion as Mr. Eaton's said ware was £85 0s. 0d.

It was only five months later, in April, 1672, that little Anne was buried among her ancestors in the vault at Chenies.

The two succeeding children born to William and Rachel were also girls, Rachel and Katherine, and both lived to grow up. But a boy was sadly wanted, since upon his birth depended the direct succession not only to the Bloomsbury estates, but also to the title and vast estates of the Earl of Bedford.

At last, on 1st November, 1680, the boy came, to be called Wriothesley, after his mother's family. A messenger went quickly to Woburn with the great news, to be duly rewarded.

November 1, 1680. Bringing news of my Lady Russell brought to bed of a son, the first of November £1 0s. 0d.

At the baptism the child's grandfather, the Earl of Bedford, gave a present of sixteen guineas, bought for him by his receiver-general at a premium of one shilling and sevenpence each, marking the fluctuation in the price of gold of the day.

1680. And to his Lordship at the Lord Russell's son's christening sixteen guineas at 19*d.* each £17 5*s.* 4*d.*

The gift marks the Earl's sense of the importance of the occasion, for his regulation present at christenings had hitherto been nine guineas.

In the following years the life lived in Southampton House is only illustrated by entries recording small domestic happenings, centring for the most part round the children. There, in the rooms — two of them, on the top or attic story — given up to the children and called the nurseries, presided three rulers of the nursery.

The first of the trio was a French woman. One person of that nationality was usually engaged, as here, by Lady Rachel. The lady appears in the accounts simply as Mademoiselle, no one who kept them apparently venturing on her real name, whatever it might have been. The other two were Welsh Betty and Elizabeth Fielder. But, whatever their respective positions, all three shared alike in the tip — always either fifteen or twenty-five shillings — offered them by the Earl of Bedford when he came to town to see his grandchildren, and, like the toys he bought for the children, always recorded in his privy purse accounts.

To the three nursery maids at Southampton House, Mademoiselle, Welsh Betty, and Betty Fielder £1 5*s.* 0*d.*

The children, too, had their share of presents from their grandfather — toys and fairings.

March, 1676/7.	Toys for Mistress Rachel Russell		9*s.*	0*d.*
1683.	Given to the Lady Russell's children for fairings		11*s.*	0*d.*
	For perfuming box for Mistress Katherine		18*s.*	0*d.*
	To their nursery maids at twice	£1	10*s.*	0*d.*
	To her Ladyship's cook	£1	0*s.*	0*d.*

In the meantime, an important development had taken place on the estate. Another handsome mansion had been erected and relatives of Rachel had come to live in close proximity to her and her husband.

Rachel's stepsister Elizabeth, whose husband Lord Percy had succeeded to the Earldom of Northumberland in 1668, had been widowed two years later. At twenty-four years of age she was at the very height of her beauty. Eighteen paintings of her at different times, including replicas, still survive to show how she looked. Other portraits, now lost, are known to have existed. The year after her husband's death there was talk of a possible marriage between her and James, Duke of York. That came to nothing. But in 1673 she was wedded at Titchfield to Ralph, Earl of Montagu.

Shortly after the marriage the husband and wife decided that they would build for themselves a town residence. To this end they approached Rachel and William Russell with proposals for the grant of a piece of land on the Bloomsbury estate, and an agreement dated 19th June, 1675, was drawn up between the two couples.

The plot selected for building by Lord and Lady Montagu was in the field called Baber's Field, which was to the west of the Long Field, in which stood Southampton House. Along the southern edge of Baber's, as of the Long Field, appeared the houses which formed the north side of Great Russell Street. Within Baber's Field, as bare as ever was the

Long Field, Lord and Lady Montagu acquired, in consequence of a payment of two thousand six hundred and ten pounds, with a fee farm rent of five pounds a year, a plot of just over seven acres. When the agreement was signed this plot had already been enclosed by a brick wall. The southern line of this wall abutted directly on to the street, so that the two great houses stood level with one another, each enclosed within its wall and each with a field stretching out at the back of it. They were divided from one another by some five or six houses with their gardens, of which the two nearest Southampton House were the original two put up by the Earl of Southampton.

Every care was taken in drawing up the agreement that the new house should be worthy of Southampton House, which was so close at hand. Just as it had been stipulated in the Earl of Southampton's building licence that the intended mansion was to be suitable for a nobleman of his rank, so the Earl's successors made the same kind of stipulation in the agreement with Lord Montagu. Any building erected by the latter was to be specifically a fair and large dwelling, fit for a noble family, designed in a uniform style, with offices suitable to such a mansion house. There was to be a convenient courtyard in front. The stables and other offices were to be at the back, and there also was to be space left for gardens and walks.

But it was not intended to run any risk that the surrounding property might be spoiled. The proper exit from the house would be, again like Southampton House, through gates in the wall, into Russell Street. In addition, Lord Montagu was permitted to make two doors in the brick wall at the back. But he was enjoined to remember that this was only for the convenience of the inhabitants of his house to walk out and take the air in the fields. Under no circumstances was he to make a road across the fields. Nor was he to erect any building whatsoever in the field beyond the northern brick wall.

All this was again exactly following what was the case with Southampton House. At the back of both great mansions everything was to be as open as possible.

The architect chosen by Ralph Montagu to draw up the plans for his new house was Robert Hooke. The latter kept a diary, printed over two hundred and fifty years later, in 1935, from the manuscript in the Guildhall, in which sentences here and there show himself and 'Mr. Montacute' meeting together to bend their heads over the 'plot' and designs.

In May, 1676, John Evelyn, always ready to note what was going on, especially where new building was concerned, set down in his diary in turn that Mr. Montagu's new house was to be decorated in the Italian style by Verrio. But the work perforce took a long time and it was three years later that Evelyn was roaming over what speedily became known as Montagu House, and talking about the building and the grounds with as much zest as he had done in the case of Southampton House fifteen years earlier.

Life must have been pleasant enough in the two great houses, typical of the mansions wherein the wealthy did dwell, with the coming and going of the lords and ladies, and the intimate family intercourse, the presents sent up by messengers and others sent down again between Southampton House and William Russell's boyhood home at Woburn. Now he was the recognized heir to that, as to all the other estates held by his father, for the sickly brother Francis, Lord Russell, had died in 1678, and William had succeeded to the honorary title, as well as to all the fair prospects.

But both Rachel and her husband William, like Elizabeth and her spouse, Ralph Montagu, in their youth, had lived through troublous times. They had known what it was to see the political sky lift and darken, darken and lift. Now, in 1679, when Evelyn was looking round and criticizing, the clouds were again gathering on the horizon.

The distrust and fear that was induced by the attitude, of which something was known and much was suspected, of Charles II towards the Church of Rome, and the fact that it was obvious that he would now have no direct heir and that the throne would, therefore, go to James, Duke of York, invaded every aspect of political life. The trial subsequent to the Popish Plot aroused the country to a frenzy. Among those sentenced to death by the Lord Chief Justice, Scroggs, for treasonable words was the banker-goldsmith, William Staley, who had supplied William Russell with the jewels for his wedding. He was condemned on 21st November, 1679, the month which saw the famous Pope-burning procession wind its way through the City; saw, too, the Duke of Monmouth, boldly returned from exile, enter London, while the bonfires blazed to greet him; and, in the Commons, Lord Russell rising in his seat to demand the removal of James, Duke of York, from the King's Council.

Russell, brought up strong in the anti-papal tradition by his friend and tutor, John Thornton, did not now depart from it. In this attitude he found the fullest support from his wife. The granddaughter of a Huguenot nobleman, Rachel, of all her family, was she who identified herself most closely with Protestantism. That aspect of religious thought was to her, as it was to her husband, founded upon a conviction that allowed of no compromise. The immediate consequence was that Southampton House in Bloomsbury, as also, to a lesser degree, Montagu House a few doors off, now became representative of the political party the members of which may be fairly called the early Whigs. William, Lord Russell, and his fellows were far from being in immediate opposition to the Crown. Their resolute objection, founded upon their religious views, was to James, Duke of York, as heir. Their hope was that support of the King might be justified if he could, by means of a divorce, secure a fruitful bride.

In June of the next year Lord Russell was among the great company who, following Shaftesbury, entered Westminster Hall to present James to the Grand Jury as a Popish recusant, with a corollary that Louise de Querouaille, Duchess of Portsmouth, was a common nuisance. Both statements might be said to be strictly truthful. But the truth was one highly inexpedient to utter, and Scroggs, the Lord Chief Justice, saw to it that the jury never had a chance of finding a true bill.

The fire of Russell and his friends was not easily to be quenched. Russell himself headed the group of the Commons, who—the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen following—carried, in the autumn of the same year, the second Exclusion Bill into the Upper Chamber.

Then events moved rapidly. The ardour of the Whig party, rising at points into frenzy, provoked the inevitable royalist reaction. As the strength of the Tory party and the popularity with them of James became more apparent, there sprang up a fear which led to unwisdom. Once the whisper had gone round that did constitutional means prove useless to prevent the Duke of York from ascending the throne, then violence must be used, plots were sure to follow. What was the exact position of William Russell in the conspiracy which was given the name of the Rye House Plot will probably never be known. It may well be that he was in actual fact not made aware that the end of the plot was assassination. That he should not have had any such awareness was to a large extent the result of his character. Strong in his own righteousness, he was satisfied that, where his own conscience approved his actions, the world must accept them also.

But the Government of the day did not take that view.

On 12th June, 1683, an informer appeared with the tale of what had been intended to happen at the spot called the Rye House as the King rode past on his way from New-

market to Westminster. From the moment when the tale was told, Russell and his associates must have known how precarious was their position.

Lord and Lady Russell were then in residence in Southampton House. Exactly a fortnight after the informer had told his tale, on 26th June, an ominous sight was to be seen. A man was parading up and down beneath the front wall of the courtyard and was clearly watching the house. Why he should not at once have demanded entrance will perhaps never be known. It was over an hour after he had been spied from the windows that he at last advanced to the door, demanded to see the master of the house and, being brought into Lord Russell's study, arrested him as he sat there writing. Within another half hour William Russell had left Southampton House in custody.

The trial, with Lady Russell sitting below her lord in court to take notes for his defence, was to imprint itself upon the public memory. On Saturday, 14th July, Russell, still steadfast in the position that he had taken up from the first — that a subject may under certain conditions resist the sovereign — was sentenced to death. On the following Friday he saw his wife and children for the last time.

Early in the morning of that day, 20th July, Rachel brought the three children, the two little girls, aged nine and seven, and the boy of three, to Newgate. Then, after the farewell to their father, she took them back to Southampton House. The day closed in pelting rain. In the evening Rachel drove through the wet streets once more to the prison. Bishop Burnet, who had attended William throughout the trial, was there. Together husband and wife listened as he preached them the last sermon, taking as his text the thirteenth verse of the fourteenth chapter of *Revelations*. Afterwards the manuscript was handed to Rachel. She placed it with the other manuscripts which that evening were given her by William — the speech he had made at his

trial and that which he intended to make on the scaffold the next day. The three lie now together, the writing as fresh and clear as when they were first penned.

Late that night Rachel passed once more out of the prison gates, leaving her husband and Bishop Burnet alone together. 'The bitterness of death', said William, turning to the Bishop, 'is past.'

In the meantime, in the great area of Lincoln's Inn Fields all had been prepared for the carrying out of the death penalty. No petition — and many had been sent up, including one from the King of France, had availed to shake the determination of the Crown.

Yet the authorities were perhaps none too easy in their minds. The story that James, Duke of York, pressed that the execution might be carried out in front of Southampton House, in the square, as an intensified warning to all noble traitors, and that the King vetoed this as being unnecessarily cruel, has never been fully authenticated. In any case, that plan, had it been carried through, might have created an extremely dangerous situation — a fact of which the authorities were well aware. There was more than a little apprehension among them as to the effect of William Russell's execution upon the people of London. It was thought — and there was probably foundation for the idea — that there might at the last moment be an attempt at rescue. The proposal to associate the execution with William's own home might very well have ended in disaster, and the choice of Lincoln's Inn Fields was influenced by the fact that in that great space it would be possible to have the scaffold erected in a prominent spot and yet at the same time to avoid the pressing-in of the public.

But the crowd who hastened to every execution had its fill on Saturday, 21st July, in the scene at Lincoln's Inn Fields. In the middle of the open space at the west end of the Fields a scaffold, draped in black, had been erected. By

it waited Ketch, the executioner. Bands of the King's Horse and Foot, newly-formed regiments, still a strange sight in England, kept back the waiting spectators.

Then Lord Russell came. He had been driven from Newgate in his own coach, which had been sent from Southampton House to the prison for the purpose. Seated beside him was Bishop Burnet, and on either side of the coach marched armed men.

One sign of emotion Lord Russell had given on that drive. As the coach had passed Little Queen Street — which street opened into Holborn almost opposite King Street — Bishop Burnet had perceived that his companion had looked in the direction where Southampton House stood, and had looked, related the Bishop, 'with tears in his eyes'.

Within an hour after the arrival at Lincoln's Inn Fields all was over. Lord Russell had been prepared to read the speech, one copy of which he had given to Rachel the night before, on the scaffold, and had attempted to read it. From this he was prevented. But in any case it was said that so wide was the space upon which the authorities had insisted between scaffold and people, no one could possibly have heard the speech even if it had been read. The paper, however, was handed to the sheriff, and it was known what the writer had wished. Within a very few hours of his death it was being sold, to the fury of the Council, as a printed broadsheet in the London streets. One such broadsheet was procured by the family and is still preserved, hanging beside the walking stick used by William and given by him, just at the end, as a keepsake to his younger brother James.

For himself, he had, as he had told Burnet in Newgate, 'done with time and gone to eternity'. The lifeless body, with the severed head, was laid in a hearse. But it was not at once driven back to Southampton House. The hearse, with Lord Russell's own coach slowly following, turned instead in the direction of the Piazza, Covent Garden. But

neither were they bound for Bedford House. The little procession entered the Piazza, to halt before the mansion of the Marquess of Winchester, which stood on the north side of the Piazza, exactly opposite the back wall of Bedford House. Into that house the body was taken and something — an elaborate tying on of the head, as Lady Annesley reported to her brother, the Earl of Rutland — was done to make the corpse seem less piteous. Then hearse and coach set out again, and this time they turned northward until, in the courtyard of Southampton House, they halted once again to deliver the body, which was to lie there until it should go to the family burying place at Chenies.

CHAPTER V

THE EDUCATION OF AN HEIR

Southampton House had become a house of mourning. There, after the execution, Rachel took up her life once more. For her the brightness of the earthly day appeared to be overcast, with no hope of lightening. A mind already attuned by tradition, education and personal leaning to the strictest Evangelical doctrines found its solace naturally in the terms of the theology of which Doctor Watts was at the time the great exponent in verse. The eager looking forward to the 'land of pure delight where saints immortal reign' was combined with a vivid apprehension of the sorrows of this earthly existence, the certainty of death and of judgment to come. The Evangelical, like the Catholic, had his or her days of penance and contrition which were kept with unfailing regularity. Rachel, in one of her most moving letters to her children, detailed to them at length her plans for her devotional life. Friday was regularly set aside for meditation and self-examination. On that day no visitor might be received at Southampton House, or at any other house over which Rachel had sway. 'Lord James was yesterday to see me, but, being Friday, was not let in', she wrote to her daughter Katherine. But, apart from Fridays, there were three days in the year which must, Rachel told her children, be for her for ever days of mourning, as indeed she always kept them. These were 26th June, the day of her husband's arrest; 3rd July, the day when he had been brought to trial; and, most sacred of all, 21st July, the day of the execution.

The death of her 'dear lord', as she endorsed the papers which had been handed over to her in that last interview at Newgate the night before the execution, was indeed something which threw her life into perpetual shadow. It was one with whom Rachel corresponded regularly and who in some sort filled the position of her spiritual director, Doctor Fitzwilliam, who warned her solemnly of the dangers of dwelling constantly on the memory of her husband and of inordinate indulgence in grief. Perhaps the warning was not altogether unnecessary. Rachel was determined to be treated as a widow indeed.

But when Rachel had announced to Doctor Fitzwilliam her intention to go no more into the great world, she had added that it was her wish to converse in the future with 'none but lawyers and accountants'. The exception she thus made struck a characteristic note. In the midst of her grief, with her thoughts, based on a genuine Evangelical feeling, turned towards the hereafter, Rachel was not the woman ever to relax her grasp upon business affairs in so far as she could compass it. The estates she had inherited from her father were, according to the arrangements made in the marriage settlement, in the hands of the trustees, to be administered for the benefit of her son and heir, the little boy Wriothesley. But there was plenty for her to do, especially in connection with her children, and from behind her black hangings in Southampton House Rachel kept a keen eye upon everything that affected the welfare of her family. It was all made easier for her because her father-in-law was at all times disinclined to interfere with what went on in Southampton House, and as his age advanced his attention was, not unnaturally, more concentrated on the spot, Woburn, which was the centre of his existence.

For herself, Rachel had now, as widow of William Russell, the annual two thousand pounds which his father had agreed to allow him on marriage and which it had been arranged was

to continue as her allowance as a widow. The papers at Woburn show her drawing this sum from the Earl of Bedford's receiver-general.

> Received this first day of April in the year of our Lord 1688, of the right honourable William, Earl of Bedford, by the payment of John Fox, Gentleman, the full sum of one thousand pounds due unto me at the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Lady St. Mary the Virgin last past, for half a year of my annuity or yearly rent charge of two thousand pounds, issuing out of the manors of Woburn and Thorney, by virtue of certain indentures in that behalf. Witness my hand and seal the day and year first above written. I say received by me, R. RUSSELL. £1,000

Nominally she received this sum every half year, at Lady Day, as on the above occasion, and at Michaelmas. In practice, it was often paid to her at irregular intervals in smaller amounts. Doubtless this was necessitated, as ever, by the problem common to both giver and receiver, of getting together ready money. Also Rachel, as others, often desired that the money should be handed over to her in the form of those convenient coins, guineas.

But this annual income had been augmented by the Earl of Bedford before the death of William, Lord Russell, in consequence of the birth of the boy Wriothesley. Then the Earl had agreed to buy lands to the value of eight thousand pounds. The property was to be settled upon William, Rachel and the child. In default of the purchase of lands, the Earl was to pay interest on the eight thousand pounds at five per cent. During her widowhood Rachel continued to draw this annual four hundred pounds as part of her own

income. This, with her use of Southampton House, was individual to herself.

Probably this annual income was expected to include provision for the two little girls. There is no evidence that any separate sums were paid their mother for their maintenance. But for the boy, Wriothesley, separate allowances were made by the trustees of the Bloomsbury and Stratton estates.

For his board and lodging Lady Russell was allowed seven pounds ten shillings a week.

Paid Lady Russell for boarding his Lordship, etc., from 23rd May to 26th July (i.e. for 9 weeks at £7 10*s.* 0*d.* per week)	£67 10*s.* 0*d.*

There is no evidence whether, over and beyond this, Lady Russell was allowed anything in respect of the upkeep of the house.

But the stables at the back of Southampton House — they were a big establishment — were, it would seem, reckoned to be on account of the heir. At all events, for the purpose of keeping them up Lady Russell was allowed as much as a hundred and twenty-five pounds a year, together with a little over three pounds a week for the keep of the five, or sometimes six, saddle and coach horses.

The bills for the boy's clothes, as also later for his educational expenses, were likewise met by payments from the trustees.

The three young children, Rachel, Katherine and Wriothesley, were now the object of Rachel's unremitting care in their material welfare as in their education and upbringing. For the latter she had willing and eager help. That help came from her husband's former tutor, John Thornton, who, besides being chaplain at Woburn Abbey, had supervised the education of William and of his brothers and sisters.

After the boys and girls at Woburn Abbey had grown

into men and women, Thornton had remained on as the Earl of Bedford's chaplain, librarian and general adviser in medical as in spiritual matters. Although he kept up a regular correspondence with his former pupils, Thornton himself must nevertheless have felt something of his occupation gone when those pupils had emerged into the great world. The arrival of the grandchildren and the fact that Rachel trusted greatly to his advice in their education was to him heaven-sent. He leapt towards the work with assiduity. Bishop Burnet, too, who had stood by William Russell on the scaffold, kept an eye upon their religious instruction. Catechisms were the order of the day, and a list of books bought by Thornton for the children's edification differs but little from those which had been bought formerly for their aunts and uncles.

It was sometimes the cause of melancholy reflection for Rachel that her children did not, and indeed could not, share sufficiently in her grief, nor realize their loss. She took them to Stratton. For the children there was the delight of being in a new place; for her the onrush of many memories. Only of the elder little girl, named after herself, who had been nine years old at the time of the execution, could she write, 'Yet I thought I found Rachel not insensible'.

The life of the little Russells, aided by the natural resilience of childhood, was not, in spite of the gloom that hung round their mother, all dullness. They paid visits to Woburn and continued to receive many presents from their grandfather, as they had done in their babyhood. Their portraits were painted for him by Sir Godfrey Kneller, the two little girls together when they were twelve and nine years old respectively, and the boy Wriothesley, at five years old, dressed according to a favourite device of the day, in an antique Roman military costume of lilac and green over a blue cuirass. The portraits went down to Woburn, where they still are, and the two others by the same artist of their

grandfather were sent up to Southampton House as presents for the children.

But they were not allowed to remain children for long. In marked contrast to her husband, and his brothers and sisters, who had enjoyed comparatively long childhoods and great freedom as young men and women before they entered the bonds of matrimony, Rachel was determined to arrange early marriages for her girls and her boy. The elder little girl was barely fourteen when she was married, on 21st June, 1688, in the little cedar-lined chapel at Southampton House, to Lord William Cavendish, afterwards second Duke of Devonshire, then a boy of sixteen. The union between the two families, in Lady Russell's eyes, was enhanced and sanctified by the recollection that it was the young bridegroom's father who had offered to try to save her husband by taking his place in the Tower.

The younger sister, Katherine, was allowed to wait a little longer, until she was close on sixteen, before she, in her turn, was given in marriage. In June, 1692, one mother, Rachel, Lady Russell, received another, the Countess of Rutland, in Southampton House. Their talk concerned Katherine and Lord Roos, 'a pretty youth, virtuously bred', heir to his father, the Earl of Rutland.

A little later it was suggested that the young gentleman concerned might be allowed 'a full sight' of the young lady. It is to be hoped that the meeting thus permitted was agreeable to them both. In any event, a few months later, in November, Southampton House saw a solemn assembly of legal advisers gather there at four o'clock in the afternoon. The chief person present was none other than the 'Lord Chief Baron'. There an agreed settlement for the marriage of Katherine Russell with Lord Roos was arrived at.

But it was not until August of the next year, 1693, that Rachel took her younger daughter down to Woburn for the wedding ceremony, for it had been decided, partly at the

insistence of the grandfather, that the wedding should be there, and not in Southampton House.

Possibly Rachel was glad to have it so. At this time her health, which hitherto had been good, seemed to be failing, and the effect of the general physical disability was heightened by a dread, which was only too well founded, that her eyesight was going. She had, indeed, to face the prospect of becoming completely blind. It was not surprising that, under such conditions, the depression which had become habitual with her was now greatly deepened. Even the vivid description of the arrival of her daughter and son-in-law at Belvoir, amid music and song, could only arouse in her a pleasure which was strongly tinged by melancholy.

Rachel was far from neglecting the worldly welfare of her daughters. But when all was said and done, the most important object of her care was the boy Wriothesley.

In 1694 his grandfather, the Earl of Bedford, was created Duke of Bedford and Marquess of Tavistock. The preamble to the Patent set forth as a reason for the honour that he was:

> . . . father to the Lord Russell, the ornament of his age, whose great merit it was not enough to transmit by history to posterity.

Henceforward Wriothesley, now heir to a Dukedom, was known by the courtesy title of Marquess of Tavistock.

His marriage was not long delayed. Early in 1695, when the boy had not yet reached his fifteenth year, Lady Russell and the Duke of Bedford arranged a wedding contract with Mrs. Howland, the widow of John Howland of Streatham and Tooting Bec, whereby her only child and heir, Elizabeth, was to marry Wriothesley, Lord Tavistock.

The young lady — she was not twelve years old at the time of her wedding — was heir to a very considerable estate and had, besides, good expectations. From her father she had Streatham, with Tooting Bec and Rotherhithe. These

Surrey lands, with the old manor house at Streatham, had been acquired at the end of the sixteenth century by Giles Howland, a city draper. His descendants had prospered greatly. That prosperity had been enhanced by the marriage of John Howland, the father of Elizabeth, to one of the daughters and co-heirs of the great Sir Josiah Child. Mrs. Howland had a considerable fortune of her own, to which her child might look forward to succeeding.

The marriage of the girl and boy was celebrated in May of that year in the private chapel of the manor house at Streatham, the old Duke of Bedford driving down to Streatham in procession for the purpose, with the boy beside him. But once the marriage had been celebrated, both bride and bridegroom were left with their respective parents for the time being.

Lord Tavistock, indeed, now had to be dispatched to the University. Lady Russell had at first decided upon Cambridge, and intended to take what she called 'a little house in the town' and remain in it until she had seen him thoroughly settled down. She added that, once she was satisfied as to this, she would leave him and then return to Southampton House. But for some reason she changed her mind and decided upon the other University. In May, 1696, Lord Tavistock matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, of which college his mother's friend and adviser, Doctor Fitzwilliam, had been a tutor. But the family had other connections with the college, and his two younger uncles had both been students there. Not only his mother, but Mr. John Thornton accompanied him to Oxford and stayed there at least some weeks. But there is no sign, perhaps to Wriothesley's own relief and that of the college authorities, that Lady Rachel expressed any intention of taking a house, large or small, in the town. She was still in poor health, although she now no longer apprehended blindness, as had previously been the case. Two years previously she had been not unsuccessfully couched for cataract, which had given her back

a measure of eyesight, at any rate during day, even though she was unable to indulge herself in either reading or writing once the candles had been lit in the evening.

Wriothesley's tutor at Magdalen was Mr. Hicks. There is only the latter's word for it that his pupil's strong point was logic, which 'goes forward very well'. On the other hand, when Mr. Hicks informed the young man that a new treatise on logic had lately come from the Dean of Christ Church — it was Doctor Aldrich's *Artis Logicae Compendium*, which had appeared in 1692 — Wriothesley said firmly that he had had enough of logic and wanted to read no other treatise on it. 'He does not', said Mr. Hicks, 'love to go over what he has once done.'

The only other records that remain for the Oxford time are some wine bills, one for his first year, and another at the close of his University career. That for the first year, under forty pounds, seems moderate enough when contrasted with the enormous wine bills at Woburn and, ultimately, at Southampton House.

Wine bill at Oxford per Mr. Spencer.

		£	s.	d.
April 30, 1696.	Paid Mr. Turton a bill for wine	4	13	0
	Paid Colonel Tomlinson a bill for ditto	8	2	0
April 30 to *May* 10	Paid Mr. and Mrs. Walker's three bills for wine	22	12	6
May 4	Paid for 6 quarts of Canary		12	0
May 23	Paid Mrs. Richards a bill for wine spent at his Lordship treating the College	2	17	6
March 3, 1696/7.	Paid Mr. Walker for 6 bottles of Sack and 6 of Claret	1	2	0
		£39	19	0

In 1697, the year in which he quitted Magdalen, there is an account for ten pounds' worth of wine, also bought from Mr. Walker, wherewith the College celebrated the gift of plate that Lord Tavistock made to it on leaving.

June 28, 1697.	Paid Mr. Hicks what he paid Mr. Walker for wine when his honour's plate was given to Magdalen College	£10 7*s.* 9*d.*

While Lord Tavistock was at Oxford his expenses were met in part by his mother and in part by his trustees. But whenever Lady Russell paid any bill, she was always refunded the amount by the trustees. The board and lodging money allowed her for her son ceased when the latter was actually in residence at Oxford, but was given her again whenever he returned to her.

The heaviest personal bills were for the young gentleman's clothes. Between March, 1695, and March, 1698, Lady Russell received no less than seven hundred and eighty-four pounds for money laid out on clothes for her son, and there may have been other bills which were paid by the trustees.

Doubtless what was paid included the swords and so forth that were a necessary part of a gentleman's attire; and the high cost of the clothes themselves was probably accounted for by gold and silver trimmings. But the general impression left is of a young nobleman who might indeed come from a house of mourning, but whose clothes lacked nothing in richness of texture and colouring.

It must in fairness to Wriothesley be said that this account did stretch over the Oxford period into the following year, when he was sent abroad.

When he left Magdalen College Wriothesley had reached the age of seventeen. But he was still, it was felt, too young to commence his married life. His grandfather, at Woburn,

and his mother, at Southampton House, decided on a journey abroad. But as to whither he should be sent they had a difference of opinion. The Duke of Bedford was in favour of his grandson going to France and to Holland, but was strongly against an extension of his travels into Italy, which, on the contrary, his mother was urging. The Duke's dislike of the idea of the Italian journey may have been due to his consciousness of his own years. He was now eighty-four and he may well have thought that, did Wriothesley go so far afield, he himself would not live to see the young man return. In the end Lady Russell triumphed, and to Italy Wriothesley ultimately went, to enjoy an adventure there which at all events gave his grandfather the chance of pointing out to his mother that he had not been far wrong in objecting to that country.

Accompanied for part of the time at any rate by a tutor companion, Sir John Chardin, and joined later by Dr. Hicks as chaplain, Lord Tavistock set out on his travels. The spring of 1698 was spent in Germany, moving between Berlin, Nuremberg and Hamburg. Some time in July the pair crossed the Alps by the Brenner Pass and arrived in Venice on the fourteenth of the month.

The task of Sir John Chardin at the first moment of arriving in a town, as of every other travelling tutor, was to visit the appointed money-changer in order to procure, by means of a bill of exchange, ready money. This was always a tiresome and often a long-drawn-out business, involving calculations in many different currencies. Sir John Chardin certainly kept his accounts well and all the transactions entered into are recorded in beautifully written statements, which were sent to Southampton House.

Utrecht.	Received 9th January, 1697/8, from Mr. John Spencer in Dutch money	*Guilders*	*st.*	*d.*
		869	12	0

Hamburg.	Received February 18-28, 1697/8, of Mr. John Martin Ployard, four thousand nine hundred marks current, the value of four hundred pistoles at 12 marks schilling per pistole, which makes in current rix-dollars	*Rx-Drs.* 1,633	*m.sch.* 1	0
Berlin.	Received March 11th, 1697/8, of Mr. Maillatta du Buy, by virtue of a letter of credit from Mr. John Martin Ployard of Hamburg, four hundred sixty six rix-dollars sixteengroschen, money of Luneburg, the value of one hundred pistoles	*Rx-Drs.* 466	*Ggre.* 16	0
Dresden.	Received March 22nd, 1697/8, of Mr. Northleigh, by virtue of a letter of credit from Mr. Stratford of Hamburg, three hundred rix-dollars, money of Saxony	300	0	0
Nuremberg.	Received April 12, 1698, of Mr. Buiratta et fils, by virtue of a letter of credit from Mr. Francis Stratford of Hamburg, four hundred and eight rix-dollars thirty kreutzers current money	*Rx-Drs.* 408	*Gd.* 0	*Kr.* 30

Nuremberg.	Received April 12th, 1698, of Mr. Jean Casper, payer by virtue of a letter of credit from Mr. Jean Martin Ployard of Hamburg, three hundred ninety two rix-dollars and forty kreutzers current money, the value of eighty pistoles	*Rx-Drs.* 392	*Gd.* 0	*Kr.* 40
Venice.	May 21st; received of Mr. Claude Jamineau by virtue of a letter of credit from Sir John Chardin, six thousand lire, the value of two hundred pistoles at thirty lire per pistole	*Lire.* 6,000	*soldi.* 0	0

Another set of bills shows that, with these, Sir John had received during the four months he and Wriothesley had been away, one thousand and thirty-one pounds for general expenses, and that Lord Tavistock had received another seven hundred pounds for his private use.

In Venice — still, as it had been in the days of his uncles and, long since, in the time of his remote ancestor the second Earl of Bedford, the Mecca of Englishmen — Tavistock remained for some time, and then went on to Rome. He was now following pretty much the same route as his uncles, Edward and Robert Russell, had done before him.

But Edward and Robert Russell, although they had liked Venice, had found Rome a somewhat wearisome place. Their nephew was far from agreeing with them. Coming from the grey background and pale sunshine of Bloomsbury, not to speak of Southampton House in mourning, to the gaiety,

colour and warmth of the south, everything about Rome enchanted him.

The Rome to which Wriothesley came was a city that lacked much of what later generations were to find its chief attraction. The Coliseum, overgrown with climbing plants, was, like Trajan's Column, a conspicuous landmark. But the Forum Romanum was a field on which cows grazed and the greater part of Rome of antiquity lay buried under many feet of earth, except indeed where digging had revealed its usefulness as a quarry. Yet however lamentable their use of the stones of the ancient city, the Popes of the counter-reformation had, in the Rome of the Renaissance, re-created the grandeur that was Rome. Their reconstruction of the city had been followed by the movement which expressed itself in the baroque, alike in architecture, in painting and in sculpture. Wriothesley's uncles had seen Renaissance Rome, with its newly laid out streets. The city that Wriothesley saw and admired was the city of Bernini and Borromini, a city of pomp and circumstance, of sumptuousness even to the point of extravagance. The new St. Peter in the Vatican, where Bernini's canopy had been placed above the high altar, looked down upon that architect's great Piazza. The mother church of St. John Lateran still lacked its principal façade, but otherwise it stood as it stands to-day, with the interior as Borromini had left it.

But it was not only the churches in Rome that had been reconstructed as part of the idea which the grandiose baroque style represented. The Corso, as much the centre of the daily life of the city as it continued to be in later days, showed its line of baroque buildings; the Villa Doria Pamphili, with its gardens and its sculptures, already counted half a century; and Bernini's fountain stood in the Piazza di Spagna, although that favourite centre for the residence of foreigners still lacked, and was to lack for another twenty years, its great stairway.

An imposing, a painted, a gilded Rome; such was the city about which Wriothesley drove, as he told his mother, in a barouche — an early use of the word — drawn by two horses and attended by a couple of running footmen. The month in which he had arrived in Rome was June, and the spell of an Italian summer took hold of him — other members of his family before him had united in declaring that they never found Rome too hot in the summer. But it was especially the charm of the Italian summer night, 'mighty pleasant after the heat of the day', that intoxicated the young Englishman. To his mother he drew a picture, very different from any that could be made of Bloomsbury, of himself driving about the town on a night of moonshine in an open *calèche*, listening to music and going to talk with acquaintances, for, as he said, there were always fine serenades to be heard on these occasions, with all the best company in town taking the air until long after midnight. But if he especially enjoyed himself on these night excursions, most things in Rome delighted Wriothesley, and Sir John Chardin reported on his many purchases of musical scores as well as of prints and books.

Italian society, in its turn, warmly approved of Wriothesley, declaring:

> This graceful scion, that so freshly towers
> From the great Russell stock, whose worth is known
> To the wide nations, has delightful flowers,
> Sweet fruits, and boughs luxuriant of its own.

The verse was included in a composition recited at a musical festivity in honour of Wriothesley and was spoken by no less a person than Father Thames himself, in the guise of a river god, the background being filled in by figures of the Muses and Fame, and last, but not least, a portrait of th noble visitor.

So far, so good, and in spite of the money that was being

freely spent — six months in Rome accounted for something like two thousand pounds — the authorities at home might have been satisfied. So, for the time being, they were. Even John Thornton, at Woburn Abbey, keeping in touch with Wriothesley while he was abroad as he had kept in touch with his uncles before him, had so far melted towards the pomps and vanities of Rome, in his old age, as to approve of the news that Lord Tavistock was receiving great honours from the Cardinals, who sought to outvie one another 'in caressing him'. But he tempered his enthusiasm by adding that, while it was known there were temptations in Rome, he thought that Lord Tavistock, so greatly enjoying himself there, seemed to be in no danger of succumbing to them.

There was probably no danger at all of Wriothesley yielding to the particular temptation of which Thornton was doubtless thinking, one that was always present to the Puritan mind when a young man made a sojourn in a country which acknowledged the Catholic faith. Wriothesley was, however, finding himself confronted by temptations of quite a different nature and, what is more, was yielding to them. His mother at least should have been forewarned, for already when he was but a boy of sixteen, long before he went abroad, she had noticed with some alarm that Wriothesley had a taste for gambling, either at cards or at dice, or more probably at both. Unfortunately, the young man found in Rome time and opportunity enough to cultivate this dangerous taste.

In any event his already considerable expenditure was now rising in an alarming way. Sir John Chardin had constantly to visit the money-changers in the city. The favourite coin as a basis of exchange was, as in Venice, again the Spanish pistole, freely used throughout Italy. But there had also to be reckoned with the ducat and the Roman crown as well as the lira and the Savoy lira, the latter in Turin.

Rome.		
June 17, 1698.	Received of Signor Ulissa Masetti, by virtue of a letter of credit from Messrs. Thomas and Samuel Williams, three hundred and twenty crowns at ten giulios per crown, the value of four hundred ducats di Banco of Venice	*sc.Rom.* 320
Rome.		
October 31, 1698.	Received of Signor Ceasara Sacchi, by virtue of a letter of credit from Mr. Claude Jemineau of Venice, nine hundred and sixty crowns at ten giulios per crown, the value of three hundred pistoles Spanish	960

All this made account-keeping a difficult business and there was always the well-worn suspicion that when unfamiliar coins were handed over they represented something less than the full value of what had been given for them. Many a little sum is scribbled on the back of the accounts, with figures crossed out, re-inserted, then corrected again, after the manner so familiar to all travellers in foreign countries in all ages.

Wriothesley himself wrote home, in what he evidently felt was an optimistic spirit, that he much hoped not more than three thousand pounds would cover a year in Rome. This was a good deal, especially when compared with what it had cost his grandfather to keep his uncles abroad. The cost of six years' travel for them, with their tutor, had amounted to just over five thousand pounds. Their nephew reckoned a good deal more than half this sum for a single year for himself and his companion. It is true that Edward

and Robert Russell had been travelling more or less as schoolboy students, under careful supervision, whereas Wriothesley had gone abroad after the University, and in Rome was living the — to him — entirely delightful and novel life of a young man of fashion in a foreign city.

When he spoke of the sum he wanted, he may or may not have been thinking of the gaming tables. But, in common with all other players, the idea that he might have extensive losses probably never occurred to him. The losses were, however, only too soon a fact which had to be faced. It was necessary to meet the debts and the young man had recourse to easy borrowing. The whole transaction is recorded in a packet of papers which were later sent to England.

In the palace of that most excellent lady the Princess of Caipineo, said the papers, on 22nd April, 1699, the most excellent 'Lord Vesterley Russel, son of William of famous memory, and grandson and heir of the most excellent Lord Duke and Prince of Bedford in the kingdom of England', borrowed from the 'Lord Prior Anthony Vaine, Roman Patricius', two thousand eight hundred scutors of Roman money, ten julians to every scutor.

The scutor was, to all intents and purposes, the same coin as the Roman crown, while the julian, or giulio, called after the Pope who had first had it struck in the previous century, was at this time, it would seem, reckoned at rather more than sixpence, so that Wriothesley had begun by borrowing something over seven hundred pounds.

The said English nobleman, 'Vesterley Russel', confirmed the debt by his oath taken upon the Book of the Holy Evangelists. It was agreed that the principal should be repaid within six months and that the interest should be at the rate of three scutors per annum for every hundred. At the same time, to make up the amount needed, the said 'Lord Vesterley Russel' borrowed also four thousand two hundred scutors from the illustrious Mr. John Cincius, in the same

form as the other debt, and after this at least another three thousand scutors.

In the room at the palace, Dr. John Hicks, of Magdalen College, Oxford, had stood beside Wriothesley — Sir John Chardin at this point had disappeared — and on behalf of the lenders there were also 'Mr. John Maccarato, once Joseph, and Mr. Cesar Almon, once Mathew, both Romans'.

The little bundle of documents, thin paper covered with the small Italian writing, ornamented with elaborate curls and twists, present a picture which might well be a scene taken out of an Italian comedy. But, however light-heartedly the young English lord entered into an obligation which was serious enough, since he had borrowed altogether a sum which, according to the papers, amounted on the exchange to between two thousand five hundred and three thousand pounds in English money, and had promised to repay it within six months, with no solid prospect of being able to do so, it was no comedy to his friends and relatives in England. In Southampton House all was dismay, apprehension, and a not unreasonable annoyance. Lady Rachel must have been made aware of the debt within a very short time, either through the agency of Mr. Hicks, or in a letter from her son. Hastily she communicated the news to Woburn and suggested that some sort of arrangement might be entered into by which the money — she mentions three thousand pounds — could be found and the debt paid off. Probably her view of the matter was the wisest and the most just. But her father-in-law and the trustees of her estate took another point of view. The rents were not to be capitalized in order to find the money. The debt must remain for the time being. And remain it did. A bundle of receipts do show, to Wriothesley's credit, that he did at least pay the interest, amounting to about ninety pounds a year, regularly, so tiresome a process that it is

surprising that no attempt was made to hand over the capital.

Only on his death, but twelve short years later, was an attempt — a not very creditable attempt — made, by his young widow, to repudiate the transaction, on the grounds that the money had never been borrowed at all, but represented sums lost at gambling within the Caipineo palace. Thereupon a number of papers were sent to England, with a careful copy of the original instrument and an account of its drawing up by one Stephen Mancenellius, citizen of Rome, Notary Public of the Court of Causes of the Holy Apostolic See; dated at Rome, in the Capitolian Palace, 17th July, 1711; and, according to the translation, signed 'with my usual mark, cornucopia and a sword, which perhaps may signify that for hope or fear I would do nothing but right'.

The documents were handed over to an English lawyer for translation and annotation, a task which, seeing that he was unequal to it, considerably exasperated him. 'The contractions', wrote he with asperity, 'are not such as we are accustomed to use.'

But, however great the dislike the worthy gentleman had taken to the deeds at sight, there was no doubt as to their validity, and the payments of the interest were renewed on behalf of Wriothesley's estate and continued steadily until his own son and heir became of age, when apparently the principal was at last paid off.

Tearing himself away from Rome, Wriothesley moved towards England, by way of Florence and Milan, in both of which cities he was nobly fêted, especially in Milan by the Prince de Vaudemont, who had happy recollections of the courtesy shown him by his visitor's grandfather in England.

By October Wriothesley was in Paris, and there he fell ill of a fever, which was at first thought to be ague and then smallpox, of which a bad epidemic was sweeping the French

capital at the time. In the end, the illness turned out to be a sort of low fever, bad enough, but not sufficiently alarming to fetch anyone from England. Before Christmas he had arrived at Southampton House.

In September of the next year the old Duke, who, contrary to his own expectation, had seen his grandson once again, was at Bedford House in the Strand, and there, happily and gently, he slipped out of life. His grandson and successor, Wriothesley, came of age in the November following.

CHAPTER VI

A YOUNG DUKE

THE end of the year of mourning for the old Duke saw the celebration of the twenty-first birthday of the young one. In the meantime, the girl-wife, Elizabeth, had been released from the tutelage of her mother, Mrs. Howland, and had been allowed to join her husband on his return from abroad. The pair were ready to set up residence together.

They did not lack a variety of mansions in which they might live. In the country, Woburn Abbey in Bedfordshire had now passed to Wriothesley. There was also Stratton in Hampshire, which had been part of his mother's inheritance and was only subject to her right of residence there.

Nearer London was the manor house at Streatham which had been part of his wife's dowry. Streatham, scattered along the Croydon road, was already becoming popular as a place of residence. The manor house, which had been rebuilt at the end of the sixteenth century, stood, surrounded by a garden bounded by a high brick wall, on the Croydon road, to the south of the church of St. Leonard. It was not yet the absolute property of the young couple, since the mother of the Duchess, Mrs. Elizabeth Howland, daughter of Sir Josiah Child, and as shrewd a woman of business as even her exacting father could have wished, had the use of it for her lifetime. But it was always open to them to share it with her.

Finally, there were Bedford House in the Strand and Southampton House in Bloomsbury.

Bedford House, second town house of the Russells in the

WRIOTHESLEY, SECOND DUKE OF BEDFORD

Strand which they had used since the middle of the sixteenth century, now passed, along with Woburn Abbey, to Wriothesley absolutely. Southampton House in Bloomsbury, the more modern of the two dwellings, was still the home of his mother.

To keep the two houses running, that in the Strand and that in Bloomsbury, seemed to be redundant. Yet it might have been that Wriothesley and Elizabeth would have chosen to keep Bedford House as a residence exclusively for themselves, more especially since the house in Streatham, too, had its dowager queen.

Practical considerations, however, made it clear that it was both wise and profitable to get rid of Bedford House.

In making that decision the young Duke knew that he was going contrary to his grandfather's expressed desires. The first Duke of Bedford had never shown any particular interest in the Bloomsbury property brought into the family by his daughter-in-law and had been, not unnaturally, much attached to Bedford House in the Strand, familiar to him from his childhood and dating back to the days of his great-great-grandfather, the first Earl of Bedford. What he did not fully realize was that the trend of both business and fashion was entirely altering the character of the Strand thoroughfare, as it was altering also that of Holborn. The districts behind those two great highways, in the neighbourhood of the older Piazza in Covent Garden and the newer square, which Evelyn had also named a piazza, in Bloomsbury, were for some time to come to be favourite residential quarters for the gentry. But not so with the houses actually bordering on to the highways, particularly the Strand. Such sites were ceasing to be well regarded for residential purposes, while they were becoming of great value in the interests of commerce. Wriothesley was well justified in deciding he ought to take existing facts into consideration

rather than the wishes of his grandfather, which had been based upon past conditions.

The first step was to deal with the contents of the old house. Presumably the new Duke and Duchess had sufficient furniture in their various abodes not to require anything further. The entire contents of the house in the Strand were, therefore, sold immediately after the death of the former owner. A good deal of tapestry was included, and the whole fetched something over seven hundred and sixteen pounds. The furniture and the hangings which were thus disposed of would only have dated from some sixty years earlier, that is from 1643, since all the magnificent furniture which had been formerly in the house had in that year been carried away by the Parliamentary Commissioners as part payment for the fine which the Earl of Bedford had incurred when he had gone over to the royalist party.

The house itself stood then empty and forlorn for another four years. Projects to pull it down were all the time under consideration. In January, 1701/2, the diarist, Narcissus Luttrell, reported that speculators had paid the young Duke thirty-six thousand pounds for a building lease in Covent Garden for sixty years, and fifteen hundred pounds a year ground rent. But figures of the kind given by Luttrell are nearly always exaggerated and these are probably no exception to the rule. Unfortunately, there are no papers from which the exactitude of Luttrell's statement can be either proved or disproved.

In the event, it was not until 1705 that the actual destruction of the house was commenced. Spreading over eighteen months, a series of bills contain the entries recording the pulling down of the old building, the taking away of the glass windows, which were obviously preserved, and the removal of the lead, which was sold.

By the end of 1706 Bedford House in the Strand was a thing of the past. 'Poor Bedford House', sighed the aunts

of the young Duke, viewing the changes from old to new with sorrow and something like suspicion.

But the young couple had their own life to live. They were now established in Southampton House as a town residence.

In the house certain apartments, living-rooms, bedrooms and dressing-rooms for themselves and some rooms for their servants, were allotted to them, by arrangement with Lady Rachel, for their particular use. Three of these were newly decorated for them. The firm employed was that of a certain Mr. Pink the painter. In past years the same firm had been entrusted with the adorning of the coaches and chariots belonging to Wriothesley's grandfather.

The rooms in question were on the first story. They included what was known as the Great Saloon, with one or possibly two lesser drawing-rooms adjoining, as well as two bed-chambers with their dressing-rooms or closets. The work was done on a grand scale, for the cost of painting the Great Saloon came to no less than a hundred pounds. The painting must have been of the doors, probably of the ceiling, and possibly of some wainscoting, for it is known that the walls were hung with tapestries. The best bed-chamber cost nearly seventy-five pounds to do up; and the closet rather over forty pounds. In all, over two hundred and eighteen pounds were spent. But there is never a word to show how the decoration was done, nor what colours were used.

The furniture put back into the rooms when they had been done up was probably for the most part that which had previously been there. But the Duke and Duchess had new furnishings for two beds which were ordered while the rooms were being repainted. One set, of Indian damask ornamented with green silk lace, was a comparatively modest affair. The other — the principal — bed, in sky blue and gold, was, on the contrary, as ornate and as expensive as a bed might well be.

For His Grace the Duke of Bedford.
Bought of Henry Robins.

		£	s.	d.
July 23, 1701.	For an Indian damask bed.			
	Item 20 dozen 10 yards green silk lace at 13*d.* yard	13	10	10
	Item 23 dozen 9½ yards narrow ditto at 6*d.*	7	2	9
	Item ½ ounce gold orris show lace at		3	3
March 25, 1702.	For a rich sky colour damask bed.			
	Item 342 ounces 5/8 Venice rich gold orris lace at 6*s.* 3*d.*	107	1	5
	Item 726 ounces 19 penny-weights 3 grains Troy gold orris lace at 9*s.* 4*d.*	340	15	3
	Item 16 yards sky colour velvet lace at 22*d.*	1	9	4
	For finishing the coun-pane.			
	Item 4 ounces 2 penny-weights 12 grains gold orris lace 9*s.* 4*d.*	1	18	9
		£472	1	7

Other than these bills, there is but little to say what the interior of Southampton House looked like when the young Duke and Duchess took up their residence. Nor can the composition of the establishment, or rather of the two establishments — for that of Lady Russell was distinct from that of her son and daughter-in-law — be clearly discerned. Too many household papers are here missing. But one figure

belonging to the past does for a few years stand out distinctly from a blurred background.

The figure was that of John Thornton, the former chaplain and tutor at Woburn Abbey. On the death of the old Duke of Bedford he had removed himself, at the invitation of Lady Russell, bag and baggage to Southampton House. There, an old man approaching his eighties, he settled down for the last years of his life. Around him was much that was familiar. In his rooms he had the books which he had collected over so many years. There, too, were the great globes from which he had once taught the children at Woburn Abbey. And lastly, he could show the paintings of those children.

Books, globes, and portraits spoke of the past, with its many memories — the family life at Woburn Abbey and in particular the schoolroom; the boys and girls growing up and marrying; the tragedy of the fate of the beloved William. But in his new home Thornton need not only think of the past. There in Southampton House was William's son. He and his wife were in their gay young twenties. William's daughters, too, were happily married, and to them Thornton, when there was no possibility of seeing them, could and did write long letters. In his later years he had youth still with him.

The old tutor died, in February, 1704/5, in Southampton House. As it chanced, it was the year in which the destruction of Bedford House in the Strand, the house he had known so well in the past, was begun. But Thornton, in his eager interest in the coming generation, had identified himself during the later years of his life with the new rather than with the old. It was not altogether unfitting that he should be buried not in St. Paul's, Covent Garden, a building as much consecrated to the servants and officials of the old Duke of Bedford as was Chenies to the family, but in St. Giles, Bloomsbury.

Mr. Dodd's bill, paid 3 March, 1704/5, for Mr. Thornton's burial. £5 10*s.* 0*d.*

A bill for the funeral of Mr. Thornton.

		£	*s.*	*d.*
February 9, 1704/5.	For an elm coffin covered with fine cloth, base finished with 3 rows of the best brass nails, 3 pair of chaste handles and a plate of inscription on the lid	2	0	0
	For a fine Norwich crape shroud, with sheets, gloves and pillow	1	5	0
	For sweets for the corpse		3	0
		3	8	0
	For 6 hatbands	1	1	0
	For 6 cloaks		9	0
	For the hearse		8	0
	For 2 mourning coaches		10	0
		2	8	0
		£5	16	0

In his will he left his precious globes to his friend, a Mr. Gregory, who was Master of the Horse at Woburn. He asked that the portraits of the boys and girls who had been his first pupils should go back to Woburn Abbey.

But though Mr. Thornton had thus bridged the gap between the past and the present, it was right and inevitable that there should be a fresh young life springing up around the new Duke and Duchess. That it is not a life that stands out very distinctly is due partly to the paucity of papers, but partly perhaps to the fact that something of the per-

sonality which in the previous century not only officials but servants also had managed to impress upon their bills and accounts had for the time being disappeared.

The old Duke's receiver-general, Mr. Fox, had died before his master and had been replaced first by a John Reynalds and then by a Mr. Middleton, who remained on with the new Duke. But Mr. Middleton, in the records he has left, is at the best an ineffective figure. Nor do there remain — perhaps there never existed — from his pen such carefully kept accounts as his predecessors left to posterity.

But even as his grandfather before him, sixty years since, had drawn up, on succeeding to the title, a statement of his resources, so too did now Wriothesley. A paper in his own handwriting, drawn up just after he had become of age, gives a summary of his income.

	£	s.	d.
Rental of the Bedford estate	14,643	8	0½
Woodsales	876	8	1½
The estate of Brogborough and Sir William Massingberd's in Bedfordshire, lately purchased, the first £300, the other £270, per annum	570	0	0
My mother's estate of Bloomsbury	2,096	17	
My mother's estate of Stratton, etc., in Hampshire	1,090	18	0
My wife's estate in land, besides an annuity of £300 and another of £200	2,994	6	3½
	£22,271	17	9½

Wriothesley, then, had inherited, in the first place, from his grandfather estates which brought in a very considerable income. The main change which had taken place, a change

which had already been observable in the time of Wriothesley's grandfather, was that whereas formerly the great Devon properties centring round Tavistock had been the principal source of income, these were now decreasing in value in themselves, partly because it had become the family practice to sell outlying portions of this western property whenever ready money was wanted, and also relatively, since the value of both Covent Garden and Thorney, in both of which a good deal of money had been sunk, had risen so greatly.

But when the young second Duke added up his resources, this handsome family income had been considerably augmented by two marriages, his own alliance and that of his father. Hence the young Duke could set down that he could count on an income of over twenty thousand pounds a year.

Whether or no his figures represented the money which would be, or at any rate ought to be, sent up by the various bailiffs after, as was their custom, they had deducted all expenses, including taxes, is not made at all clear. But it was the general custom of the time to give the figures after such deductions had been made.

In any case, however, the income had also to cover the series of annuities payable to various members of the family. These began with one to Rachel, Lady Russell, of two thousand pounds a year. This was in addition to the four hundred pounds a year which had also been arranged for her. There is no evidence whether any of this came back to her son as a contribution to the household expenses. Upon analogy with other establishments, it is probable that some such arrangement was made, and Lady Rachel would in any case almost certainly have paid the wages of her own servants.

The other annuities payable were lesser affairs, coming in all to something like another thousand pounds per annum.

Wriothesley's annual income for himself and his wife could, therefore, be reckoned at anything between eighteen and nineteen thousand pounds a year. This was considerably less than the thirty thousand pounds a year which Narcissus Luttrell confidently assigned to him. But the lesser figure represented an extremely good income. Moreover, the Bloomsbury leases would presently be falling in and would be renewed by means of fines.

There was money to spend, and the young Duke and Duchess were prepared to spend it splendidly. They were supported by approval, even encouragement, from what at first sight seems to be a totally unexpected quarter. Her son having come of age and having succeeded to the Dukedom, Rachel, Lady Russell, emerged from behind the veil which she had drawn between herself and the world. She did so with one purpose only. Hers was not the reflorescence of one who, having long sorrowed, was now ready once more to enter into mundane joys. She must for ever mourn for her dear lord who had come to such a cruel end. She asked nothing for herself. But for her son she demanded that he should be given a position which in the eyes of the world would wipe out the memory of, although it could not atone for, the manner of William, Lord Russell's death.

In point of fact, everything that could be done to expunge the records of the scene in Lincoln's Inn had already been done. The Act of Parliament which had reversed the attainder of Lord Russell and declared the condemnation null and void had also contained an injunction that all the proceedings relative to the trial and execution should be 'wholly cancelled and taken off the file, or otherwise defaced and obliterated'. A search shows that this was actually done. The Baga de Secretis, where should be the original account of the trial, the Calendars of Newgate Gaol Deliveries, and the Coroners' Inquests contain no word as to William, Lord Russell. Other records, including

those in which one might have expected to find the royal commutation of the sentence from hanging to execution, are here blank.

Whether something similar, either then or later, was deliberately done in the instance of the Woburn accounts, or whether perhaps, equally deliberately, nothing was ever entered in them concerning the fate of the son and heir, must remain moot points. It is certain that nothing relating to the trial, the execution or the burial can be found there. Whereas in all other instances the receiver-general or the steward of the household set down full particulars concerning the mourning purchased for the family, household and the house itself on the occasion of a death, as well as all the items for the funeral, no word of this or of anything else can be found for the year in which William, Lord Russell, died. By a twist here and a gloss there, a reminder that at the execution the crowd was kept so far back as probably not to recognize the figure, as they certainly could not hear the speech, an ingenious person might make out a case to show that Lord Russell was never executed at all.

The written line might be expunged. It was otherwise with memory. True it was that in the reaction of political ideas subsequent to the flight of James II, William Russell had become, in the public eye, a hero and a martyr. But neither the process which had wiped out the written word, nor the exaltation of William in the eyes of the Whig party, who now indeed had that most necessary thing for their political progress, a martyr, were quite sufficient for Rachel. Wriothesley, at twenty-one, must be heaped with the honours and dignities which his father should have had.

On 17th January, 1701, he took his seat among the peers, distributing the necessary fees, with the gratuities to the eight door-keepers, which was precisely the same amount as had been paid by his grandfather before him.

Bill for the fees of the Officers of the House of Lords for His Grace's first sitting there. Paid 19 *January*, 1701. £25 0*s.* 0*d.*

Fees due from His Grace the Duke of Bedford upon his first sitting in the House of Peers.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
To the Clerk of the Parliaments	10	0	0
To the Clerk Assistant	1	10	0
To the Gentleman Usher	10	0	0
To the Yeoman Usher	1	10	0
	23	0	0
Amongst the 8 door-keepers	2	0	0
	£25	0	0

For this occasion, unlike his grandfather and for that matter his great-grandfather, he had had new robes especially made. As a rule, these were economically passed on from father to son. But even the best of Parliament robes will wear out and there are plenty of entries to show the mending and alterations those worn by the new Duke's grandfather had already undergone. Wriothesley felt that he was justified in ordering an entirely new Parliament outfit.

		£	*s.*	*d.*
December 29, 1701.	For making a Parliament robe	2	10	0
	For 16 yards of double white manteau taffeta at 10*s.*	8	0	0
	For 5 yards of 12*d.* broad black ribbon		5	0
	For fine drawing		5	0
		11	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	11	0	0
For making a scarlet cloth bag lined with blue taffeta		6	0
For 1 yard of scarlet cloth to make the bag	1	6	0
For 2½ yards of blue manteau to line the bag at 9s.	1	2	6
For 4 yards of scarlet silk cord, and silk and gold tassels	1	4	0
	£14	18	6

Shortly afterwards, the young Duke was sworn in as a Gentleman of the Bed Chamber.

But this sort of appointment was by no means sufficient for Rachel. Her first thought was for the dignity of the Garter. According to the regulations of the Order, the executors of the old Duke, when he died in 1700, were of duty bound to return the insignia and robes to the Garter King at Arms. Rachel saw no reason why they should not pass at once to her boy, even though he was not yet of age. Accordingly, she wrote a letter to King William, which she endorsed, 'My letter to the King some days after Lord Bedford died'. In it she first of all asked what the King wished her to do with the George, although actually she knew perfectly well what ought to be done with it, and then, in a second paragraph, modestly suggested it might, after all, remain in the family.

The King, in a letter written in his own hand throughout, replied with caution.

À Loo, ce 23 de Septembre,
1700.

J'ai été très mari d'apprendre la mort du Duc de Bedford, ayant eu autant d'estime que j'aï eu pour un homme de son merite.

Et puis que vous souhaitez, Madame, de savoir que quis vous faites avec son Ordre, vous la pouvez garder jusques à mon retour en Angleterre. Et vous pouvez être assuré que j'aurai toujours beaucoup de consideration pour le Duc, votre fils, et que je serai tres aise de lui donner des marques de mon estime; et à toute la famille; et per tout à vous, dont les belles et bonnes qualités me sont tant cognu, ce qui me fait souhaiter d'avoir des occasions à vous donner des preuves de mon amitie. WILLIAM R.

In point of fact, William died eighteen months afterwards on 8th March, 1701/2 — 'the King's accident is not thought serious', Rachel had written to her daughter at Belvoir — without having bestowed the coveted honour upon the young Duke. But he had made provision therefor. It was only six days after his death, before even his funeral had taken place, that Anne, his successor, announced that Wriothesley, Duke of Bedford, was to be created a Knight of the Garter.

The installation took place only in March of the following year, 1702/3, no doubt owing to the Court mourning. It was one of the first great ceremonies of Anne's reign, and with Wriothesley were named two other Knights, the one John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, the other George, Prince of Hanover, the latter only appearing by proxy.

The ceremony, never a cheap one for the new Knights, was extraordinarily expensive for Wriothesley. The fees of all kinds, the total of which came to four hundred and forty pounds thirteen shillings and sevenpence, were fixed by regulation and custom. The extra incidental expenses,

which included the attendance of a Herald, who cost only five guineas, and a number of gratuities, were no more than twenty-one pounds ten shillings. But Wriothesley's personal expenditure on the occasion was very high. He and the Duchess stayed, with a troop of servants, at the Mermaid Inn at Windsor, where he entertained on a lavish scale.

He and John, Duke of Marlborough, however, did split the cost of the installation dinner between them.

Abstract of the charges for the Installation Dinner of the Prince of Hanover, and Duke of Bedford, and His Grace the Duke of Marlborough.

		£	s.	d.
March 13, 1702/3.	The tradesmen's and other bills paid by Mr. Lamb for said account, as abstract	314	18	4
	The bills for the wine glasses and other liquors for said account, as per abstract	70	11	0
	Bills for carriage of goods to and from Windsor, and the extraordinary charges of servants employed for that purpose, as per abstract	30	2	0
		415	11	4
	Deducted for the dessert that the Duchess had upon the confectioner's bill	1	10	0
		£414	1	4

Received half of £414 1*s.* 4*d.*, being £207 0*s.* 8*d.*

The separate bills for this dinner show that the tradesmen of Windsor did not make much of a profit, since only a small proportion of food was bought on the spot. Far more, and all of the wine, was sent down from London.

Far more claret was drunk at the banquet than of any other single wine — twenty dozen bottles in all. Another twenty-one dozen bottles represented a number of different wines, some Rhenish and some French. Only four dozen bottles of champagne were provided. There were casks containing six gallons of Canary, and, lastly, quantities of strong beer, small ale, cider and mead, presumably for the commoner herd.

Account of wines and other liquors bought and carried to Windsor and there spent at the Installation Dinner of the Prince of Hanover, Duke of Bedford and His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, as follows, viz:

		£	s.	d.
March 13, 1702/3.	Furnished by Mr. Percival, 8 dozen French claret at £1 16*s.* 0*d.* per dozen	14	8	0
	Champagne 2 dozen at £3 per dozen	6	0	0
	Strong beer 3 dozen at 6 shillings per dozen		18	0
	Small ale 3 dozen at 3 shillings per dozen		9	0
	Small beer 10 dozen at 2 shillings per dozen	1	0	0
		22	15	0
	Bought of Monsieur Sabotier, 9 dozen of Avignon wine at 18*s.* per dozen for the wine	8	2	0
		30	17	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	30	17	0
For 9 dozen bottles for same at 2s. 6d. per dozen	1	2	6
For hamper and cords		5	6
For one dozen Rhenish bought of Mr. Paulet	1	4	0
For 12 dozen common claret bought of Mr. Bartley at the Buffalo's Head at 18 shillings per dozen	10	16	0
For 6 gallons of Canary at 10 shillings per gallon bought of ditto	3	0	0
For 3 dozen Languedoc wine bought of Monsieur Sarter at £1 10s. 0d. per dozen	4	10	0
White wine 3 dozen bought of Mr. Beeby at 18s. per dozen	2	14	0
Sherry 2 dozen bought of Mr. Bass at 10 shillings per gallon	3	0	0
Palma wine 1 dozen bought of Mr. Beeby	1	16	0
Old hock 1 dozen bought of Mr. Bass	1	16	0
Cider 6 dozen bought of Mr. Hook at 9 shillings per dozen	2	14	0
Mead 3 dozen bought of Mr. Hudson, 9 shillings per dozen	1	7	0
	65	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	65	2	0
Mum 2 dozen at 9 shillings per dozen bought of Van Hope		18	0
Paid porters for carrying some of it home		1	6
Paid Mr. Apthorp for the use of drinking glasses and for those broke and lost	2	2	0
Paid for nineteen dozen of bottles broken and lost and left with persons that had their fees of wine	2	7	6
Is in all	£70	11	0

The purchase of the ordinary claret, it should be noted, was by way of giving custom to a tenant of the Duke's, for the Buffalo's Head, from which it came, was already, what it was long to continue to be, a well-known inn on the Bloomsbury estate under the direct patronage of the successive Dukes of Bedford.

After this, the bill for the supper at the Mermaid that night, which was made to include the servants' dinner next day, was extremely moderate.

> *Mr. Pennington at the Mermaid at Windsor, for their Graces' supper, and the servants' dinner next day; paid 19th August, 1702. £3 16s. 0d.*

Windsor. His Grace the Duke of Bedford's bill.

	£	s.	d.
Wine		10	0
Bread and beer		9	9
A neck and loin of mutton		7	6
	1	7	3

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	1	7	3
Fricassée of chicken		7	0
Partridges		9	0
Tarts		3	6
Shoulder of mutton		4	6
Dish of pigeons		4	6
Fowls and bacon		8	0
Shoulder mutton		4	6
Salad oil and vinegar		1	6
'Kole' tankard		3	6
Butter and cheese		1	6
Lemons		1	3
	£3	16	0

The Knighthood of the Garter was followed by Letters Patent which conferred on Wriothesley several Lieutenancies. These had, indeed, been already provided for, for his uncle, Lord Edward Russell, had in 1700 received Letters Patent which made him Lord Lieutenant of Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and of the county of Middlesex, during the minority of his nephew. Wriothesley now took these over, a little, it would seem, to the annoyance of Lord Edward. But Rachel had no intention that any of his uncles should outshine her son.

As for her daughters, Rachel did not neglect their worldly advancement either. In particular, her mind dwelt upon the position, and the possibilities of the position, of her younger girl, Katherine, whose marriage to Lord Roos, heir to the Earl of Rutland, had been the subject of such careful consultation between the two mothers. Even while she had been pressing the late King for consideration of the admittance of Wriothesley to the Order of the Garter, she had likewise been making suggestions to him that he might well take steps for the benefit of her daughter, Lady Roos.

It would, felt Rachel, be a far better thing for Katherine to look forward to becoming a Duchess instead of a Countess.

Whether because Rachel could on occasion play the part of the importunate widow or not, William at least took some notice of her letter, as he had done in the case of the petition concerning the Garter. There was found in his pocket on his death a letter addressed to him from Rachel, dated a few days earlier, and endorsed 'His Majesty's designs for Lord Rutland'.

But this affair of Lord Rutland did not come to a speedy conclusion. After all, the person for whom Rachel was asking advancement was her daughter's father-in-law and he perhaps felt that she was pushing him faster than he wanted to go. At all events, a few weeks before the day fixed for the Coronation of Queen Anne — St. George's Day, 1702 — a great dinner was given at Bedford House. The hostess was Rachel, Lady Russell. But her son and daughter-in-law were also present. At the dinner, rising in her place, Rachel put it to the vote that an address be made to the Earl of Rutland to be in town at the Coronation. Evidently her daughter, Lady Roos, who was at the table, had reported that her father-in-law was not as instant in appearing at high ceremonial as he ought to have been.

Lord Rutland took, at all events, no official part in the Coronation. But the following year, whether owing to Rachel's efforts or no, he was created Duke of Rutland.

Even if Lord Rutland disappointed her at the Coronation, Rachel had the satisfaction of seeing her son play his part. He was chosen to perform the office of Lord High Constable.

The horse on which the young Duke of Bedford rode to Westminster had caparison and trappings of green velvet, richly inlaid with gold lace and fringe. But when it came to

the Coronation robes themselves, the young man indulged in no new ones, as he had done for Parliament. On that great occasion he wore the robes which his grandfather, as well as his great-grandfather, had worn before him. They did have, however, the addition of a new cape, for which were bought some 'extraordinary choice powdered ermines' at a price of thirty-two pounds ten shillings, from Thomas Browne, the skinner or furrier.

Incidentally, these robes, unlike the Parliament robes and the others worn as Knight of the Garter, did not remain in the Duke's own wardrobe. Thomas Browne kept them for him, charging a guinea a year for the accommodation. They were certainly not in their first prime, and there was probably some justification for their being described in the inventory taken after the young man's death as 'very old'. How should they not be, seeing that they had been worn at not only the Coronation of Charles II, but that of his ill-fated father, and almost certainly of James I as well?

The Lieutenancies and the Knighthood of the Garter, like the other ceremonies in which the Duke took his share, were a prelude to the part that he and his Duchess were prepared to play, and which Rachel earnestly desired they should play, as persons of importance in Society.

They had, of course, plenty of new clothes, fashionable new clothes of the day, made of fine flowered silks or satins. The choice lace cravats and ruffles, like the gold lace embroideries, worn by their predecessors, still remained. But the cut of the garments was more severe than had been the fashion in the previous generation; nor did Wriothesley appear in the elaborate lace frillings, pendant from the breeches or garters, which his father had worn with such elegance at his wedding. But furbelowed, as the tailor termed it, the Duke's coats were.

Coatmaker William Baker's bill.

June 12, 1708.	For making 2 coats of pearl colour and yellow flowered silk, both furbelowed	£1	12*s.*	0*d.*
	For durance for the bottoms and Persian to line the tops	£1	0*s.*	0*d.*
February 1, 1708/9.	For making 2 coats of grey mohair, both furbelowed	£1	12*s.*	0*d.*
	For durance for the bottoms and Persian to line the tops	£1	0*s.*	0*d.*
April 20, 1709.	For making a coat of green and white flowered silk		14*s.*	0*d.*
	Ditto of black and white striped silk		17*s.*	0*d.*
	Ditto of black and white striped silk furbelowed		16*s.*	0*d.*

Furbelows, furs and feathers: the three items occur again and again in the bills, and the Duchess had her elegant feather muff as well as her fine Russian sables.

Her Grace The Duchess of Bedford. Debtor.
To Thomas Browne, Skinner.

		£	*s.*	*d.*
September 25, 1703.	For clearing Her Grace's Russia sable back Czar from the moth and addition of sables		15	0
October 4.	For a choice white lining, and new making Her Grace's feather muff		5	0
		£1	0	0

In their fine clothes, the Duke in his pale coloured flowered silk surmounted in wet and cold weather by the coat of grey mohair, or something similar, and his Duchess with her hands thrust into her little feather muff, drove in London, or paid visits in the country. For London they had a chariot, or light town coach, which, painted on the outside, was lined with white cloth, was glassed in front and had what was now the settled fashion of glasses in the doors. One sedan chair, also painted and be-coroneted, was lined with crimson and white figured velvet, and had damask curtains which could be drawn in front of the three glass windows.

The travelling coach was an altogether heavier and bigger affair than the light London chariot and was lined not with the easily-soiled white cloth, but with what was described as 'clouded cloth'. It carried, too, rolled in leather, a bed or beds for use when their Graces stayed at inns — a precaution which was necessary in many cases both for the sake of cleanliness and comfort.

All in all, the Duke and Duchess did a good deal of travelling in their coach. They went to Chatsworth to see the Duke's sister, now Duchess of Devonshire, a journey which took them, by way of Northampton, Leicester and Nottingham, nearly three days. At Market Harborough they stayed at the Swan, and at Nottingham at the White Lion.

Nottingham house bill and stable bill, paid the 11th August, 1709. £2 2*s.* 8*d.*

	£	*s.*	*d.*
A jowl of salmon		6	6
A loin of mutton and pickles		4	0
A couple of boiled chickens		2	0
Mutton steaks		1	6
For ale, bread, beer, butter and cheese		6	2
	£1	0	2

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	1	0	2
7 coach horses hay one night		3	6
2 bushels and a half of oats		6	8
2 pecks and half of beans		3	4
The coach greasing		1	0
Watching the horses		1	0
The smith			6
4 saddle horses hay one night		2	0
A bushel of oats		2	8
A peck of beans		1	4
The smith			6
	£1	2	6
	£2	2	8

Nottingham. White Lion.

Received the contents of this bill.

ELIZ. SULLEY.

11th August, 1709.

Only a few papers remain — nor are there any at Chatsworth — concerning the visit. The principal item of information is that the young Duke sent away nine letters and the Duchess six while they were staying in the Duke of Devonshire's house, for which an account for postage was rendered them.

Postage in all	18*s.*	4*d.*
Gratuity to postman	2*s.*	6*d.*
	£1	0*s.* 10*d.*

September 6, 1709.

Received the contents for the postman of Chesterfield, by me JOHN WINSTON.

The visitors made at least one expedition, to Hardwick. This required the services of a guide.

Coachman's disbursements at Hardwick.

		s.	*d.*
August 13, 1709.	Then paid at Hardwick for watching the horses	2	0
	Paid the smith		6
September 7.	Paid to the smith at Hardwick		6
	Paid by Peter Branson.		
	Paid 2 men at the gates coming from Hardwick	1	6
	Given the guide for drink		4
		4	10

They also on one occasion at least made something of a sojourn at Bath for the sake of their health. The journey was by way of Oxford, where the opportunity was taken to make a stay for a day and a night in order that the Duke might again see his former tutor at Oxford, Doctor Hicks, introduce his young wife and show her something of the sights of the town.

The name of the inn at which they stayed is not given, only the details of what was served for the three meals of which they partook, a noble spread with a great variety of joints.

Bill paid at Oxford for supper the 15th July, 1701, and for dinner to servants next day.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
A neck of mutton		3	0
3 loins of mutton		13	3
A fricassee of rabbits		9	6
A plate of onions and butter		1	0
Chickens and Guinea beans		12	0
Artichokes		4	0
Crayfish		8	0
A jigget of mutton		6	6
	2	17	3

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	2	17	3
Cabbage and butter three times		3	10
Bacon and beans		5	6
A loin of veal		5	6
A shoulder of mutton		5	6
A quarter of lamb		5	0
A leg of mutton twice		9	0
A dish of Guinea beans		2	0
6 quails		12	0
Fruit		14	0
Cider and mead		4	0
Wine	1	10	0
Milk		1	0
Butter		2	0
Lemons and sugar		1	6
Bread and beer	2	12	0
Salad oil and vinegar		1	6
	£10	11	7

One day was spent in seeing the sights. Here Doctor Hicks, who had already sent the distinguished visitors a present of wine by his servant, accompanied them. He it was who paid out the gratuities and received in addition a sum of money to distribute among the poor.

July 16, 1701.	To Dr. Hicks paid that he laid out for the sights and the poor	£2	0*s.*	0*d.*
	To the doctor's servant that brought a present of wine for His Grace		5*s.*	0*d.*

The young couple were great at sightseeing, for after Oxford they made another stay on the way to Bath, at Cirencester, in order to see the town and the great abbey church.

After Bath, a tour was made in the west and a visit paid to the young Duke of Beaufort, newly entered into his title, at Badminton.

Besides visits to relatives and those for health to Bath, the Duke and Duchess allowed themselves one other extravagance. The fashion for horse-racing was now in full swing and Newmarket grew in popularity every year. The sport which had left the old grandfather quite cold appealed to the young couple and in 1707 they rented a house at Newmarket.

Society was beginning to understand the art of amusing itself with infinite variety. But it was also making great strides in its appreciation of art in all its forms. In his short life, Wriothesley, Duke of Bedford, stands out as the man who introduced into Southampton House and into Woburn Abbey fashions in the library, among the pictures and in the way of entertainments which were so new as to be almost revolutionary.

CHAPTER VII

MUSIC, BOOKS AND PICTURES

THE more conservatively minded of the English in the matter of the arts and literature — and there were many such — might well have deplored that ever a young heir to a dukedom had been allowed to go to Italy. At heart they were in complete agreement with Addison, who, a little later, pointed out in his *Letter from Italy* what a superior place to the peninsula was Britannia's Isle, with no need for its inhabitants to look wistfully to Italy's sunny shores.

> We envy not the warmer clime that lies
> In ten degrees of more indulgent skies.

But, whatever the advantages a true-born Englishman might perceive his own country had over Italy, somehow envy of the latter persisted; envy not only of the land of the myrtle and the orange flower, but of the country which now, as always, was exercising its influence in all that pertained to art. In the case of Wriothesley — nor was his a unique case — he might almost be termed, as far as his appreciation of art was concerned, the Englishman Italianate.

Wriothesley was doing no more than following the fashion of the day. That he did so with eagerness must be reckoned in part at least to have been due to his sojourn in Italy. There was awakened, under the most pleasurable conditions, except indeed in the little matter of borrowing money, his interest in the arts.

It was an interest that did not slacken upon his return home. Rather it bore its fruit in the introduction into

Southampton House, as into Woburn, of new elements which to some extent modified the character of the library and, to an even greater extent, of the collection of pictures.

But much more was done than even this. Something entirely new was brought in. To Wriothesley, in his short-lived young bloom, must be given the credit for breaking away from family tradition when he became a patron of music.

According to report, his grandfather, the old Duke of Bedford, had always evinced a mild approval of a local tune, usually called the Woburn tune, which was entitled 'Four and Twenty Fiddlers'. But further than this he had not gone. There is nothing in his papers to suggest that he took any real interest in music whatsoever. The melodious compositions of Henry Purcell which charmed the ears of the later seventeenth century and raised the reputation of English music to unwonted heights found no acceptance at Woburn Abbey or in the house in the Strand. Much less did any music that came from foreign parts.

It was quite otherwise with the old Duke's grandson, Wriothesley. Shortly after succeeding to the title and forming his own household, he attached to the latter two persons who were looked upon by the other officials at the best with a dubious air and at the worst with some suspicion. They represented, indeed, it must be admitted, a startling innovation, for they were none other than two Italian musicians.

The two were Signor Nicolo Cosimi and a much greater than he, Signor Nicolo Francesco Haym. Both men, in their receipts, constantly signed themselves 'Nicola' instead of the — to modern eyes — more familiar Nicolo. One of those two names, that of Nicolo Francesco Haym, was to become of considerable repute in the history of music. It is generally said that Haym arrived in England only in 1704, one of the forerunners of the many itinerant Italian

musicians, good, bad and indifferent, who were shortly to flock to London. But Haym was certainly closely connected with the household of the second Duke of Bedford early in 1702, and possibly even during the previous year. His instrument was the violoncello and he later proved himself to be a composer of some note. His primary duty, with that of his fellow, was the making of music for their patron. But both men, and Haym in particular, undertook many other services as well.

The indications in the accounts seem to point to the probability that the two were given residence in Southampton House. If it were not so, then they lived in sufficiently close proximity to it to be able always to be summoned when wanted. In any case, each of them received from the young Duke a regular salary of a hundred guineas a year.

January 17, 1703/4. Middleton, pay Signor Haym forty guineas, which, with one hundred and sixty guineas you have paid him before at several times, makes two hundred, and is in payment of his salary for two years ending 4th of March last, per Bedford.

Jo sotto schritto hō riceuto dal' Eccellissimo Signor Duca di Bedford per le mani del' Signor David Middleton quaranta ghinèe d'oro le quali con cento seisanta medesime riceute primo in diverse volte fanno la somma di duicento ghinèe cire lire sterlinghe duicento quindici il' quale è un compito pagamento del' mio honorario fino alli 20 di Marco dell anno 1702/3 passato in fede questo di 17 Gennaro 1703/4.

NICOLA [*sic*] FRANCESO HAYM.

It was all to the credit of the young Duke that he should have been the patron of so distinguished a musician in his day as Signor Haym. His household probably did not share his enthusiasm for the kind of music that Signors Cosimi and Haym produced. That they had but a low opinion of the musicians themselves is certain. It is not so much that a great diversity of opinion existed among them as to what the foreigners should be called and how their names should be spelt. This is not surprising when it is remembered that there was still no little inconsistency in the spelling of ordinary English names. There was certainly no recognized rule as to how many d's there were in the name of Mr. Middleton, the receiver-general, himself. Under those circumstances a good deal of elasticity might well be allowed in the treatment of the names of the non-Englishmen, and at Southampton House it seemed simpler to refer to the two gentlemen either as Nicolo or Nicola, or on occasion Nicolino—that both had the same Christian name was highly inconvenient—or, more simply yet, as the 'Eytalians'.

What was probably most embittering to the household, or to some members of it, was the fact that the Duke and Duchess were fond of taking the 'Eytalians' with them whenever they went on a journey. This meant that a member of the staff had to be detailed to look after the foreigners and get them safely to wherever the Duke had indicated as the destination.

In one instance the destination was Bath. Thither the musicians, in order that they might make music for the delectation of the Duke and Duchess in the tiresome business of taking the waters, were brought. They had to be escorted by a servant, whose bills seem to reflect the exasperation he felt at the task which had been allotted to him. He marched the 'Eytalians' from Southampton House to the starting point of the Bath coach, accompanied by a porter carrying a portmanteau 'and other things', for which

a shilling was paid. The journey was by way of Reading and Newbury, with a stop for the night at the latter town, where the servant paid the bill — modest enough compared with that paid for the Duke and Duchess — of eight shillings for supper for the three of them. The dinner at Reading had cost a shilling more, but that at Sandy Lane a shilling less than this sum. The amount is so constant, in other bills as well, that it looks as if the accepted cost of supper or dinner at an inn for what may be called a middle-class traveller was not as a rule less than two shillings nor more than three.

There was, it would seem, no idea of treating Signor Haym or his companion as in any way distinguishable, when it came to travelling, from the remainder of the Duke's servants. They must, indeed, have occupied in the household that position so familiar and so uncomfortable, a kind of betwixt and between, that was only too well known to other musicians greater than they when in the service of prince or noble.

John Hobson, who took Haym and Cosimi to Bath, for one, probably rated the two foreigners as but little better than the horses and far from as dear to his heart as the greyhounds, who had also got to be taken to Bath, since the Duke desired to have them there with him when an interval between the drinking of the waters should give him time for coursing. So exhausted, in fact, was John Hobson on arrival at the inn at Bath where all three stayed that he had at once to order a draught of wine, for which he paid two shillings.

But in fairness to John it must be said that the Italians were probably more trouble to move about the country than either the horses or the dogs, for it is clear from the bills that everything had to be done for them, and at no time while they were under the patronage of the Duke of Bedford, which was for some years, does it appear that they were

ever trusted to move about by themselves. Possibly one difficulty was that neither of them ever really acquired fluent English. But that is merely inference from their receipts and notes, which were invariably written in Italian.

Although they had been taken direct to Bath, and not allowed to accompany the Duke and Duchess on their far more circumambient route, and so had been given no chance to view Oxford, the Italians were not entirely deprived of opportunities for sightseeing. After the stay at Bath, the Duke and Duchess began a tour in the west, including a visit to the young Duke of Beaufort at his fine house at Badminton. Thither went the musicians also, and they and the gentlewomen attendant upon the Duchess were given the opportunity of being shown over the mansion.

September 6, 1701. Paid Mr. Bowman 10 shillings that he laid out for the Italians' horses and for a bait at Badminton, etc., when they and the gentlewomen went to see the Duke of Beaufort's house; and 2*s.* 6*d.* laid out by me on that account 12*s.* 6*d.*

After this, the Italians at last were carted — the word is really the correct one — back to London again, this time by another servant, the bills for their supper and dinner on the way remaining fairly constant at anything between two and three shillings a head.

That Wriothesley should thus have chosen to become the patron of two Italian musicians and to introduce them into his circle, whatever the household thought of them, shows him in the forefront of the fashion of the day in his musical

tastes. That fashion put on one side English music, not even sparing that of Purcell, in order to make way for what its opponents frankly termed the Italian invasion, which some of them, including Addison, gloomily suspected of being connected in some subtle way with popery.

Much of the new music was, indeed, horrifyingly new to the conservative mind. 'In Days of Old', wrote James Miller,

> . . . when Englishmen were — Men,
> Their Musick, like themselves, was grave and plain;
> Sung by themselves, their homely Cheer to crown,
> In Tunes from Sire to Son deliver'd down.

But now:

> A hundred various Instruments combine,
> And foreign Songsters in the Concert join.
> All league, melodious Nonsense to dispense,
> And give us Sound, and Show, instead of Sense.

This might be attributed, said he, to the most undesirable practice of allowing a young man to go abroad to finish his education. That such had long been the custom was not allowed to affect his argument.

But the combination of instruments after the French and Italian manner, and, in particular, that very newfangled form of music — newfangled, that is according to the English critics, although Italy had long since been acquainted with it — the opera, had come to stay, in spite of vicissitudes before it was really firmly established.

It is true that in the sixteenth century the music of Italy had been known and appreciated in England. But that was long before anything had been heard in that country of Italian singing. During the latter half of the seventeenth century there were a number of attempts at dramatic music some of which might fairly be called semi-opera. The singing, however, had always been in English, which, for

the Englishman, did much to modify the foreign origin of the performances. Now, although many still preferred to hear dramatic music sung in English, Italian had at last begun to creep in. Many of the performances and much of the music were, in truth, according to Continental standards, very second, even third, rate. By far the greater part of the audience did not understand the Italian tongue. Nevertheless, that audiences could be found, that Italian musicians were welcomed and Italian compositions approved was a sign of what was coming when, a few years later, Handel was to arrive in England, with his Italian reputation behind him, to begin his fight for a hearing, which was to end in triumph in Westminster Abbey.

Before this, encouraged by his Italian musicians, Wriothesley, second Duke of Bedford, had begun to collect what must have been a very pretty music library for Southampton House.

Much of it was bought for him by either Signor Haym or Signor Cosimi. It might be, and sometimes was, ordered from Rome. Unfortunately, in most of these bills the music is not detailed, and is only mentioned as 'music from Rome', or in such cryptic terms as '4 Piccioli Libretti di Musica', or, even more annoyingly, 'one volume containing 6 Operas'.

On occasion either Haym or Cosimi were even dispatched to Rome for the business of making purchases.

March 23, 1704/5.	Middleton, pay Signor Nicola Cosimi one hundred guineas, sixty whereof for three years of his salary extraordinary and the forty for his voyage to Rome, per Bedford	£107 10*s.* 0*d.*

But Haym himself was a composer. He adapted Bonon-

cini's opera of *Camilla*, which, on 30th March, 1706, was produced at Drury Lane. A copy of the score was later made for the Duke of Bedford.

July 13, 1708. Received then of the Right Honourable the Duke of Bedford, by hands of Mr. David Midleton, the sum of five pounds nine shillings and five pence, in full for writing the Opera of Camilla. By me.
W. ARMSTRONG.

Camilla, like Addison's *Rosamond*, was not perhaps worth much. But it was Nicolo Haym who, four years later, in 1712, after the death of his first noble patron, wrote the admirable book for Handel's *Tessio*, which was dedicated to the Earl of Burlington, under whose wing Haym then was.

At all times his first patron, the young Duke, had been generous enough in having the compositions of his Italians engraved and printed.

		£	s.	d.
1701.	Memorandum of the several payments made to Mr. Cross, the engraver, for account of engraving Signor Nicolino's music.			
	For engraving 52 plates, at 6 shillings per plate	15	12	0
March 4, 1702.	Paid Mr. Cross for printing said solos at 2*s.* 6*d.* per hundred, imprimis paid him as by his receipt	2	0	0
		17	12	0

		£	s.	d.
	Brought forward	17	12	0
April 4.	Paid him account of printing this day	1	5	0
	This £3 5*s.* 0*d.* was in full for 2,600 printed to the 4th April.			
	For a tray to steep the paper that I paid		2	6
	For 26 sheets ruled paper for the music paid by me		1	6
July primo	Paid Mr. Penythorn for the use of the press for printing said music	1	11	0
	Is	£20	12	0

Nor were his own Italians the only ones patronized by Wriothesley. On one occasion at least, on 23rd May, 1702, probably in Southampton House, although it is just possible it was at Woburn, he commanded a musical performance also by Italian players.

The Music.

		£	s.	d.
23 *May*, 1702.	To Signor Carlo and his boy, 15 guineas	16	2	6
	To Francesco Lodi, 5 guineas	5	7	6
	To the Bolognese the Traverse, 3 guineas	3	4	6
		24	14	6
	To Signor Walintino, 15 guineas	16	2	6
		£40	17	0

The predilection of the young Duke of Bedford for

Italian music, as for Italian musicians, is the more understandable in that since Purcell's death, in 1695, English music, in spite of those who declared for it as against the Italian invasion, had been in but a poor way. Nevertheless, there were a few bright spots to be detected. Nor did Wriothesley wholly neglect his own countrymen in the musical sphere.

Attached to his service was Doctor James Sherard, celebrated as a botanist and horticulturist. It was this Doctor Sherard who very largely assisted the Duke in the improvements which about this time were made in the gardens and park at Woburn. But Sherard was also, in his leisure hours, a musician and a composer. The Duke's interest in his compositions may have been in part consequent upon his appreciation of Sherard's other services. But encouragement from his patron in the making of music Sherard certainly received. His best known and most complete work, a sonata for three instruments, violin, violoncello and bass, was, however, only completed after Wriothesley's death and so was dedicated not to the latter, but to his young son. The parts of the music, in their original bindings, remain still at Woburn.

Another English musician who could count upon the young Duke of Bedford for patronage was Purcell's pupil, John Weldon, who, among other posts, held successively that of organist of New College and of the Chapel Royal. Besides church compositions, Weldon ventured into the realm of operatic music.

Among his compositions was the *Judgement of Paris*, for which he had taken first prize in a competition which had been organized through the medium of the *London Gazette*. Some time in 1702 a special performance of the music was given for the Duke of Bedford in the Lincoln's Inn Theatre, a comparatively new building, which had been inaugurated by the actor Betterton.

For performing in Mr. Weldon's Prize Music in Lincoln's Inn Fields for His Grace The Duke of Bedford.

Mr. Weldon: his bill.

		£	s.	d.
1702.	Mrs. Campion	3	4	6
	Mrs. Lindsey	3	4	6
	The Boy	1	1	6
	Mr. Hughes	2	3	0
	Mr. Bourdon	2	3	0
		11	16	6
	To myself	21	10	0
		£33	6	6

It may have been the same music of which another performance was given, in the same year, especially for the Duke of Bedford, again possibly, although not certainly, in Southampton House itself.

Mr. Weldon's bill for charge of music.
To the practice and performance.

		£	s.	d.
1702.	25 singers, paid 7*s.* 6*d.* or 10*s.* each in all	10	0	0
	Dressers.			
	Rogers and Davy, Wardrobe-keepers		10	0
	Cleveland and Sherman, dressers		5	0
	A wig for the girl		1	0
	A pair of shoes		2	0
	For powder and pins			9
	A porter to carry the clothes for the singers		2	0
	Mrs. Cuthbert for dressing Miss Camp		5	0
	Mrs. Hood and Mrs. Peachy for dressing the Boy and Mrs. Lindsey		10	0
	For coach hire, wine and other necessaries	1	0	0
	Sum total	£12	15	9

His successor's taste for music, and Italian music at that, would undoubtedly have surprised the old Duke of Bedford. He might have been equally surprised at certain additions that were made both to the library and to the collection of pictures, although here, in the library more especially, Wriothesley showed himself more conservative and more true to family tradition than had been the case in the matter of music.

The libraries at Woburn Abbey and in Bedford House in the Strand, as Wriothesley had known them as a boy and as they passed to him, had been at the best but dull affairs. Nothing of the output of the seventeenth century in poetry, or in drama, nor indeed much in the way of the humanities in general, had been placed on the shelves. Still less had there been anything which might indicate the beginning of an art library. Here, it is true, the fifth Earl had had fewer opportunities to buy books on art than had his grandson. Such books were, in numbers, the product of an age later than his own. Nevertheless, those which appeared in his own lifetime, some of them important and interesting volumes, were conspicuous in their absence from his library.

There is no sign that Wriothesley, in his turn, had any particular interest in either drama or poetry, or felt the necessity of improving the library in this respect. Certainly nothing of the kind appears to have been bought in his time. The books purchased for him — there are no very long lists — were chiefly of the same type as had been put on to his grandfather's shelves. There were many political dissertations — books and tracts — always exalting the Whig and condemning the Tory. The same service was performed for Protestant and Catholic by the religious publications. Added to these were a number of general histories. After which the regular book bills were augmented by entries for the *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, the *Observator* and other newspapers.

The great addition to the library made by Wriothesley

was something which may fairly be said to be in the nature of an art library. The prints and texts were for the most part a reflection of his Italian journey. Most of them were, indeed, purchased either by him, or for him, while he was abroad.

From Rome Sir John Chardin had written home that his young charge was buying a good deal in that city in the way of books of prints, and of music. John Thornton, at Woburn, had heard this with rather surprising satisfaction. But it is renewedly evident that the tutor was mellowing in his old age and did not even object to purchases which he might have thought frivolous in the old days. Not that the purchases in themselves deserved such an adjective, for they were, among other things, a valuable and interesting contribution to the history of art, in particular to the history of architecture.

They included a number of volumes showing Rome as it had been built up and enriched in the previous century. There were and are — for some of the books have, happily, survived — Giovanni Battista Falda's *Giardini di Roma*, Pietro Ferrerio's *Palazzi* and Joachim von Sandrart's *Romanorum Fontinalia.*

Nor were antiquities any longer neglected. Other books bought by Wriothesley are a useful reminder that the period of destruction, the concomitant of a great building age in Rome, was over, and that for some time the past had once again been exercising its attraction on men's minds. In Wriothesley's new library the illustrated story of the Villa Doria Pamphili jostled that of the Trajan column, as did Bellori's *Arcus Triumphalis* that of a fine copy of a volume of prints of the Vatican cartoons.

All these, put into the library at Southampton House, were, happily, allowed to survive; were brought to Woburn; and have been preserved there. Only too many of the other prints and treatises have disappeared. But other fortunate exceptions include G. P. Bellori's study of the Antonine

column, as well as his *Pitture antiche del sepolcro de Nasoni nella via Flaminia*, which had been published in Rome in 1680, and his *Antiche Lucerni Sepolcrati*. So, too, Pietro Santi Bartoli's *Oli Antichi Sepolcri* is still in existence.

In all forty-one volumes at least of this nature were bought by Wriothesley either while he was in Rome or immediately after his succession to the title; at all events, before the year 1702. Either they were bought in sheets, unbound, as was so often the case, or the bindings were not to the new owner's liking. In any case, the forty-one volumes were handed over to Robert Steele, the stationer in Little Britain, for binding. His bill, including the stamping in gold of the young Duke's coat of arms upon the covers — all of these books which remain show it — came, with a few other items, to twenty-two pounds in all.

One book, however, which also fortunately survived and is still in the library at Woburn, was bought already bound. It is a fine copy of the *Thesaurus numismatum Romanorum*, which had appeared in 1605. This beautiful volume of illustrations of Roman coins is in the original binding of brown calf, stamped on all four corners with the golden fleur-de-lis, and having in the middle, again stamped in gold, the arms of Henry, Prince of Wales, that eldest son of James I who, in 1612, had died so tragically of low fever. The title-page of the book shows that it was dedicated to and written for Henry of Navarre, whose daughter Henrietta Maria married Prince Henry's brother Charles, who took his brother's place as King of England. The book may well have been once in Prince Henry's library.

Wriothesley's purchases abroad extended to pictures as well as to books of prints, texts and music. Two of the pictures which he bought matched with some of his books, for they were called architectural pictures and were presumably scenes of Rome. They were put into — perhaps they were especially bought for — the great drawing-room in South-

ampton House which was the special apartment of the Duke and Duchess and which had been redecorated for them by Mr. Pink.

The pictures were set, not hung, over doors. In a room hung with tapestry, as were nearly all the principal rooms in Southampton House, the space over the door and that over the fireplace were still the only spots in which pictures could be acceptably placed.

For 2 *'Ettallyon Pickturs'.*

August 17, 1702.	Mr. Hertock, framemaker, his receipt for straining, varnishing and enlarging the two pictures of architecture for the doors of Her Grace's drawing room	13*s.* 0*d.*

Those two were the forerunners of other pictures which marked a considerable change in the picture collection.

In the previous century, in the time of the fourth Earl and in that of his successor, the fifth Earl and first Duke, the family, in common with most other well-to-do families of the day, had been in the habit of sitting constantly for their portraits; to Sir Anthony Van Dyck; to Sir Peter Lely; to Sir Godfrey Kneller; and to many other painters. So was the family picture gallery filled with portraits, excellent, good, bad or indifferent.

Elsewhere than in the gallery, and other than portraits, it was the exception, and not the rule, to find a picture or pictures. There were not more than half a dozen, perhaps not so many, such in the possessions which came to Wriothesley when he succeeded to his inheritance.

Wriothesley, in his turn, naturally enough had his portrait made. Sir Godfrey Kneller had painted him as a little boy in fancy dress for his grandfather. The same artist had painted him again, with his girl wife, Elizabeth

Howland, when the pair were newly-married, which portrait was a gift from the bride's mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Howland. But in later life the Duke and Duchess themselves were apparently painted only once each, both portraits being again by Sir Godfrey Kneller. Nor is there any sign that in the Duke's own lifetime portraits were made of any of his children, although here the extreme youth of the latter would be an explanation. But, even making due allowance for the short life of the Duke, it is clear that there were nothing like the number of portraits made of the family as had been done in a previous generation.

Instead of new portraits, the second Duke directed his attention to other pictures, which had been for some time rapidly coming into fashion. It was now recognized that a reproduction in some form of a painting that hung elsewhere might be a desirable asset in a collection.

Painted copies of portraits, either made by the painter himself, or by one of his pupils, or by a professional copyist had been, in the previous century and earlier, common enough. But they had been made, as almost an invariable rule, not on account of the merit of the original picture as a painting, but because a portrait was wanted to give to some member of the family or to a friend.

Now a painting might be reproduced for its own sake. The reproduction usually took the form of a print, the use of which word to cover a picture, or a design, printed from a block or a plate, had, according to the *New English Dictionary* first occurred in English in 1662. When Wriothesley succeeded to the title such prints were beginning to be common and he bought them frequently, an entirely new departure, for there are no instances of anything of the kind being bought earlier, either for the house in London, or for that at Woburn.

In the buying of prints Wriothesley turned for help to his Italian musicians, who came to the fore again. Nicolo Haym

at least — and possibly Cosimi also — was frequently sent to print-sellers, one of them being a Mr. Griffin Phillips.

Mr. Phillips his bill and receipt for prints sold His Grace.

		£	s.	d.
1708.	The Set of the Gallery of the Luxembourg, being 14 pieces, at	4	0	0
	Poussin's Landscapes	2	0	0
	The round Albanas	2	5	0
	The little Albanas		17	0
	2 pieces of Le Brun		16	0
		£9	18	0

Received of His Grace the Duke of Bedford on the 10th of May, 1708, the sum of nine pounds sixteen [sic] shillings, by the hands of Mr. Middleton, being in full of all accounts, by me, GRIFFIN PHILLIPS.

A bill of prints due to Signor Haym.

1709.	Un estampe large de la Galerie de Luxembourg		13	0
	Un estampe large ditto		14	0
	3 plus petites ditto		15	6
	Apollo et Daphne Venus et Adonis		13	6
	Armide et Arnoldo L'Education de Bacchus		12	0
	The Holy Family de Raphael		2	6
	Un estampe par Albano		2	6
		£3	13	0

The Duke's tastes had led him to form, indeed, what must have been a fine collection of the prints of the day. Unfortunately, succeeding generations did not admire his collec-

tion and thought but little of the taste which had made it. Every single piece in the list eventually disappeared, either by way of the sale room, or by successive stages of indignity of position until at last the dust heap was reached.

Besides prints, another entirely new line was followed in the purchase of pictures that were called flower pieces. Two came from Mr. Tristram Butler. Mr. Butler's establishment was in Russell Street, by which almost certainly the street of that name in Covent Garden was meant. The two in Bloomsbury had each their distinctive adjective.

Mr. Butler of Russell Street, his receipt for the two pictures of flowers. Paid 29th July £8 0*s.* 0*d.*

July 29, 1702. Received then of His Grace The Duke of Bedford, by the hands of David Middleton, the sum of eight pounds, in full for two pictures of flowers done by Castile; the which pictures I warrant to be originals of said hand, and if they prove not so to be, I oblige myself to deliver back to His Grace the said eight pounds, or to any having his authority to receive the same, the pictures being returned to me in good condition.

Witness my hand, at London, day and year above-written,

per TRISTRAM BUTLER.

Another set of flower pieces were the work of Niccolo Vanhoubrachen, were bought in Italy, and were shipped to London from Leghorn.

September, 1711.	4 pictures of flowers drawn per Signor Niccolo Vanhoubrachen, cost 13½ dollars per piece	54 *Dollars*
15 *September*, 1711.	Received aboard my ship, the *Levant Galley*, a small case directed for His Grace the Duke of Bedford, containing four pictures, which I promise to deliver at my said ship's safe arrival at London to Mr. David Middleton, or order, he paying freight for the same ten shillings sterling in all. Signed duplicates of this tenor, Livorno, at 15 September, 1711. Inside and contents unknown to RICHARD WAY.	

A note was added that each dollar was then to be reckoned as worth fifty-nine English pence. The word dollar was at the time the English word for the German thaler, as also for the Spanish peso, or piece of eight. But the last was more frequently in use in the Spanish colonies than in Spain itself. The flower pieces were probably paid for in German money.

Two of the flower pieces were placed in the dressing-room of the Duchess. Some of the prints were put into pearwood frames, which implies they were destined for hanging. Where they were put is another matter.

There was still but little space for pictures in Southampton House, except over the doors and mantelshelves. Tapestries were still extremely popular, even though in some

houses panelled walls were preferred. But the walls of nearly all the rooms in Southampton House were covered either with tapestries or leather hangings.

New tapestries were also added by the second Duke. Among his purchases were three pieces of what were called the Albanus tapestries, made in Brussels and based on the designs of Francesco Albani of Bologna. Those bought by Wriothesley depicted the Palace of Venus; Venus and Adonis; and Venus scolding Cupid. It is noteworthy that he paid for the three no less than three hundred and fourteen pounds, which was nearly eighty-five pounds more than the two hundred and twenty-nine pounds odd that his grandfather had paid for the complete set of five pieces of Mortlake tapestries after Raphael.

Altogether, existence in Southampton House under the second Duke reflected not only luxury and comfort, but a more elegant civilization than any that had gone before. The life of the young Duke and Duchess, whether at Southampton House or at Woburn Abbey, or when travelling in their gilt and decorated coach throughout the country, appears as gayer, easier and more polished than that of their grandparents.

But for all its elegance, civilization was still in many respects only skin deep at the best and underneath lay lurking dangers. Disease and death were ever ready to strike, regardless of persons. Not for nothing did Doctor Watts remind his readers that:

> The Flowers beneath the Mower's Hand
> Ly withering e'er 'tis Night.

It was proved true again and again.

CHAPTER VIII

RACHEL, LADY RUSSELL: THE END OF THE CHAPTER

In the summer of 1710 the Duchess of Bedford was expecting a child. Five children had already been born to her and the Duke. But of these five, two little boys had died in infancy. There remained to them two girls and a boy. The boy, who was named Wriothesley after his father, was the youngest of the three and had been born in the manor house at Streatham two years previously.

The Duke and Duchess now proposed to leave Southampton House and to go once more to Streatham to await the birth of the next child.

Rachel disapproved entirely of the move. She thought they should remain in Southampton House, or, if they must move, go to Woburn or Stratton. She had never really been interested in Streatham. Another Queen Dowager, Mrs. Howland, reigned there. But apart from a general prejudice against the place, she had a particular reason for objecting to a visit thither just at this time. The possibility of an attack of smallpox was, not without reason, viewed with horror and dread by most people. Lady Russell shared in this feeling to a peculiar degree. When, as far back as 1690, the Duke, then a child of ten, had developed what was thought to be the premonitory symptoms of the disease, his mother had worked herself into a fever of anxiety until the rash was diagnosed as measles. Now, at the talk of Streatham, the anxiety and apprehension had returned, since that village had a bad reputation in respect of the infection.

There had been, comparatively speaking, but only comparatively, little smallpox in London and the neighbourhood of recent years. This was the more notable because these years were those of Marlborough's campaigns, and foreign service was often associated with outbreaks of smallpox in England. But to this happy state of things Streatham had been an exception. In that village there had been a violent outbreak of the infection one year after another. There had even been cases within the manor house itself.

Two years before this time, when the Duke and Duchess had also insisted upon going to Streatham to await the birth of the child who proved to be the boy Wriothesley, there had been, it was said, more deaths in the parish during the spring and summer than in any year since the plague year.

Rachel had protested on that occasion. She protested now on this. But her wishes did not avail.

Throughout her life Elizabeth, Duchess of Bedford, showed a deep affection for the home of her childhood and she may well have wished for the company of her own mother, who was still ruling in the manor house, in the coming illness. Also, she could now have argued with her mother-in-law that the danger from smallpox in Streatham this year was no worse than anywhere else. After the period of quiescence, the infection had broken forth in London itself with renewed violence.

In any case, whatever the arguments for or against, leave Bloomsbury for Streatham the young Duke and Duchess did, a procession consisting of themselves, their children and an array of servants and of horses.

This company were by no means to be put up at Streatham for nothing. The visit, as was customary, was on strictly businesslike lines. The Duke paid his mother-in-law handsomely for accommodation.

Madam Howland's account and receipt for diet, etc.

Due from His Grace Wriothesley, Duke of Bedford, to Madam Elizabeth Howland, viz:

26 *August* to 27 *November*, 1710.	For diet, washing and other accommodations for His Grace, his Duchess, 3 children and 22 servants at her house in Streatham, with eleven horses, from 26 August to 27 November, 1710, being 13 weeks, at £21 10*s.* 0*d.* per week	£279 10*s.* 0*d.*

Once again at Streatham, on 30th September, 1710, a child was born. To the great happiness of the family, it proved to be another little boy. He was baptized by the name of John.

So far all was well, and Rachel's apprehensions, which she took almost as premonitions, were perhaps stilled for the time being. But they were only too shortly to be fulfilled. In the spring of the year after the last little boy's birth, Wriothesley and his wife drove down to Streatham once more. They had been there but a few weeks when that which Rachel had dreaded came to pass. The Duke fell ill and symptoms of smallpox showed themselves.

The month was May, a time when an epidemic often began to run its course. Seventy years earlier, in that same month of May, the young Duke's great-grandfather, the fourth Earl of Bedford, had died of smallpox in his house in the Strand. His was one of the earliest cases of a year in which the epidemic had proved to be severe. Six weeks later his daughter-in-law, the fifth Countess, had fallen ill at Woburn. But in her case remedies had prevailed.

Now at Streatham, directly the symptoms of illness

appeared in Wriothesley, a message was sent to Bloomsbury in haste and a doctor tenant there of the Duke was summoned. This was Doctor Hans Sloane.

After his return from Jamaica in 1689, Doctor Sloane had taken one of the row of houses which had been built eastward from Southampton House, on the north side of the continuation of Great Russell Street as it went towards what was afterwards Southampton Row. The house Doctor Sloane first occupied, and was almost certainly living in when the urgent message came to him to go to Streatham, was the fourth eastward from Southampton House. Later, Doctor Sloane also took the adjacent house. This was additional to the one in which he was living, and he appears to have required both for his own use, which, in view of his work, not to speak of his collection, may well have been the case. He also rented a piece of ground beyond the gardens which lay behind the two houses.

It was Doctor Hans Sloane who had warned Rachel, Lady Russell, of the particular danger of smallpox in Streatham three years earlier. Now the danger had taken shape and from his house in Great Russell Street went Doctor Sloane in haste to Streatham. Presently there was also summoned Samuel Garth, the physician and poet, a member of the Kit-Cat Club as well as of the College of Physicians.

May 30, 1711.	By payment to the nurse for looking after His Grace in the time of his illness	£4	6*s.*	0*d.*
June 6, 1711.	By a fee to Doctor Sloane for coming to my Lord all the time of his sickness	£43	0*s.*	0*d.*
	By a fee to Doctor Garth, who did not attend so closely	£21	10*s.*	0*d.*

Doctor Sloane's fee was rather more than double that which had been paid to his celebrated predecessor, Doctor John Clarke, who had attended Wriothesley's grandmother when she fell ill of smallpox at Woburn seventy years previously. Doctor Clarke had been given twenty pounds, with his travelling expenses from London to Woburn paid separately. Apparently, however, he made only one visit, whereas it is evident that Doctor Sloane either remained at Streatham with the grandson, or drove down from London fairly frequently.

But the skill of Doctor Hans Sloane, helped by Doctor Garth, and the time and care given to the case availed naught. Wriothesley, second Duke of Bedford, died on 26th May, 1711.

His successor was the child, Wriothesley, who had been born in that very house in Streatham three years before. The child's heir presumptive was his baby brother John, aged one year.

In many respects the young Duke who lay dead in his thirty-second year had been a hop out of kin. There are few or no indications that he had taken any interest, or, had his life been prolonged, would ever have taken any interest in the political work of the party to whose fortunes the death of his father, William, Lord Russell, had made such a marked contribution.

As for theology, the young Duke had done all that was proper in the way of helping the publication of Protestant writings. It was he, as well it might be, who had helped to make possible the publication of Burnet's *History of My Own Times*, and among his literary subscriptions was one to Strype's *Life of Archbishop Parker*. But no chaplain and no theologian played the part in his life that Thornton and others had done in those of his grandfather, his father and his mother.

It was rather in his time that Southampton House, in

spite of the presence of Rachel, Lady Russell, in the background, seemed likely to become, did indeed in a sense become, a centre for artistic, not for political, activities.

But the time allowed the second Duke was short indeed, and the artistic period came abruptly to an end with his premature death. Only here a picture, there a finely bound book, or an odd volume of music, remained and remain as a testimony to his interest in the world of art.

Sherard, it is true, dedicated his sonatas to the young son. Haym continued to appear at brief intervals in the accounts as doing some little services for the Dowager Duchess. But these things make only a faint impression. The part played by the family in the new artistic, particularly in the new musical, movements of the day was a thing of the past. So, too, for the time being, was the vigour of life in Southampton House.

Whatever Rachel may have hoped or wished, her widowed daughter-in-law had no intention of residing, with her children, in Southampton House for any length of time. Her decision was to withdraw with them — Wriothesley, now, at three years old, Duke of Bedford, his brother Lord John, and his two sisters — to the house at Streatham.

Furniture, pictures and books went to Streatham also. What precisely was taken, except as divided into these three categories, is unknown, for the bills of the numerous carriers who did the moving do not specify each item. But of the rooms in Southampton House in which the young Duke and Duchess had lived their gay married life, only two or three were kept for the use of the widow and her children when she should choose to come thither. The others were left empty and desolate. With one exception. The entire contents of the room which had been the nursery of the late Duke and his sisters were sold to Rachel, Lady Russell.

The Yellow Nursery.

Sold to Lady Russell.	3	pieces of landscape tapestry hangings; a bedstead and lath bottom, with yellow damask furniture with yellow serge curtains and case rod; a feather bed, 2 bolsters and one pillow; one Tristram quilt, 3 blankets and a calico quilt; 4 white striped dimity window curtains and 2 pulley rods; 2 cane elbow chairs and 6 black stools ditto; one nursing chair; a walnut-tree table; a fire shovel and tongs, and 1 pair of dogs; an old 4-leaved painted screen	£15	0*s.* 0*d.*

In Southampton House Rachel remained alone. The black hangings which marked the demise of the young lord were eloquent of the darkness into which the house, and with it Rachel's life, was once more plunged. Staircases and hall, like the rooms, were draped in black material.

June 22, 1711.		For furnishing two staircases and the hall with broad baize and narrow baize and black sconces, 12 months	£15	0*s.* 0*d.*
		For furnishing a Great Parlour with black cloth hangings, curtains, chairs, stools, shovel, tongs, etc., for 12 months	£20	0*s.* 0*d.*

	For furnishing a bed-chamber below-stairs with a black cloth bed complete, hangings, window curtains, chairs, stools, etc., for 12 months	£30	0s. 0d.

These hangings were all to be left for the space of a year. But one bedroom, whether Rachel's own or, more probably judging from the bill, that which had been the bedroom of the young Duchess and was now to be kept for her, was to retain its trappings of woe for yet longer.

June 22, 1711.	For furnishing a bed-chamber above-stairs with a black cloth bed complete, hangings, carpet, window curtains, back-stools, hearth, shovel, tongs and dogs, for 2 years	£30	0s. 0d.

It was a sad house enough. And presently its sadness, if it were possible, deepened. Even before the first year of mourning was out, fate struck again. Rachel's daughter Katherine, now, as her mother had so eagerly wished her to be, Duchess instead of Countess of Rutland, came to the house in Bloomsbury for a confinement. There, in her mother's arms, she died.

Rachel herself had another twelve years of life in front of her. But with the death of her son, the youth upon whom so many hopes had been fixed, followed by that of the beloved daughter, she entered into the evening of her days. Physically, she enjoyed at seventy years of age, and continued to enjoy, far better health than she had known for many years previously. Her eyesight had greatly improved with her improving health. As a result she found herself able to see

far better in her later years than she had been able to do in her middle age.

But improved health was no compensation for the sorrows of the heart. The last years of Rachel's life were years of mourning and retirement in Southampton House, only cheered by the occasional presence of her grandchildren. But she was no more all in all to the family, and her best hope of companionship was that a child could be wheedled or coaxed into taking a meal with her. [She], wrote Rachel:

> . . . was willing to take her dinner with me, her sister having taken physic and she not loving boiled chicken.

One at least of the little girls, Rachel or Elizabeth, when she came to Southampton House, was not entirely unmoved by cupboard love. But the impression left is at the best that the children saw but little of the old lady, who, more keenly aware than ever of the sorrows of this mortal life, sat silent and austere in Southampton House.

One entry only speaks of lighter things. There was a raffle — an early use of the word in that sense — in Southampton House, for which Rachel's daughter-in-law at least took a ticket.

May 1, 1721.	Paid Mrs. Putts Her Grace's share of a raffle for a quilt at Southampton House per order	£3 3*s.* 0*d.*

So the last years of Rachel's life passed away and in Southampton House, on Michaelmas Day, 1723, she died, in the eighty-seventh year of her age.

Twenty years afterwards a query arose as to her death and an inquiry was made on behalf of her grandson, then the fourth Duke of Bedford, to which came the reply:

> I have been this day with Mrs. Morrell, according to your orders, to ask her if she could not recollect herself more particularly when Lady Rachel Russell

> died. She says to the best of her knowledge she died between the hours of four and eight of the clock on Michaelmas Day in the morning. And she likewise says that she sat up with Her Ladyship all that night and was in the room when she died. And about eleven or twelve of the clock, in the forenoon of the same day, she helped to lay Her Ladyship out. And she further thinks Mrs. Mitchell and her sister and Mr. Sellwood's sister was present at the time Lady Russell departed.

The letter seems to re-echo the loneliness which had been Rachel's portion for many years. She had outlived by many years the two sisters who had once stood with her to see by lot how their father's estate should fall. They were in their graves more than thirty and forty years since. She had known the anguish of the trial and the execution of her husband. She had seen the only and beloved son, as well as a daughter, go before her.

She had been born in 1636, when Charles I reigned in England without thought of civil war, and had lived into the tenth year of George I. She had seen the fields of Bloomsbury covered with houses, she had watched the building of Southampton House, and in that house for more than half a century she had lived, as wife, as widow, as mother and as grandmother.

Now she had gone. What would happen to the Bloomsbury estate and Southampton House depended upon what two young boys, who knew neither house nor estate except as visitors, should determine.

During those last years of loneliness for Rachel, the young and vigorous life of the family as represented by her grandsons and granddaughters only touched Southampton House at intervals. It had its full play elsewhere.

In the manor house at Streatham the two little boys, with their sisters, had grown from babyhood into childhood under

the fostering care of their mother, Elizabeth, Duchess of Bedford. She, who had been married when she was only thirteen years old and in whose veins ran the blood of the Howlands and of the Childs, was no whit behind her redoubtable mother-in-law in belief in her own powers of ruling, a capacity which was given full exercise by reason of her son's minority. After the death of her own mother, Mrs. Howland, in 1719, she took over all the Streatham business also, and the household accounts and estate papers belonging to that estate show that the lady was in these matters not unworthy of the sound merchant stock from which she had sprung.

She had done her best, too, to transmit business ideas to her children.

A packet of papers shows how carefully the little Duke, his younger brother, Lord John, and the two girls were being instructed in matters of finance. No carelessness was allowed. By the time the younger boy, Lord John, had reached the age of ten, in the year before his grandmother had died, he had been allowed to make certain purchases for himself and to pay the bill. But if he had expended what was probably his pocket money on goods that properly belonged to the department of his Mamma, as they all called her — this word had now come into fashion — he had duly received the money back from her and had given her a formal receipt in return.

		£	s.	d.
1722.	Paid for two combs			9
	For two quires of paper		1	10
	For powder, pomatum and washball			10
	For powder, pomatum and washball			10
	For a rose		1	0
	For a buckle to the sword belt		1	6
	For a pair of buckles			8
	For powder, pomatum and washball			8
			8	1

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward		8	1
For a powder puff			4
For powder, pomatum and washball			10
For 6 fish-hooks			3
For red lead and turmeric			1
For powder and pomatum			8
For oilskin			4
For powder and washball			7½
For a letter			6
For a dozen of small buttons			3
		11	11½

February 21, 1722.

Received of my Mamma the full contents of this bill. I say received by me. [Signed] JOHN RUSSELL.

The same procedure had been required of the elder brother, the young Duke, and of the two girls.

The Dowager Duchess was herself in a position to set her son an example, for she had to keep a careful account of all her expenditure, even as Rachel had done before her, As earlier, the estates had been formed into a trust, from which she was allowed maintenance money for herself and her children, and for this she had duly to account.

The notes of what she was allowed for the young Duke are missing. But it appears to have been in the neighbourhood of a thousand pounds a year. For the younger boy, John, she was allowed four hundred pounds a year; and for the two daughters no more than two hundred pounds a year apiece. How much she was given for herself is not shown. All that is clear is that she personally saw to every detail of the Streatham estate, endorsing all bills and looking well to the ways of her household.

But hers was not destined to be a long life.

Her mother-in-law had had again and again ample justification for the fears she had expressed as regards infection from smallpox at Streatham. In March, 1720, the disease had got into the manor house once more. This time it had been little Lord John, at ten years old, who had suffered. Happily, the attack had been but slight and four days had been thought sufficient for his nurse, Jane Moss, to absent herself from the family and to air herself after she had nursed him.

1719/20. *Jane Moss' receipt for 4 days' board wages in airing herself, paid 23 March, 1719/20.* 4*s.* 0*d.*

March 23, 1719/20. Received this 23rd of March, 1719/20, of Her Grace the Duchess of Bedford, four shillings, by payment of David Middleton, in full for four days' board and charges in the country after Lord John had the smallpox, by me. [Signed] JANE MOSS. 4*s.* 0*d.*

Four years after the disease appeared again. The family were still in mourning for Rachel, Lady Russell, when, in the summer of 1724, the Dowager Duchess was taken ill and the illness proved, as had been the case with her husband thirteen years before, to be infection from smallpox. Nor was it any more possible to save her than it had been to save him. On 29th July, 1724, Elizabeth, Dowager Duchess of Bedford, died of the smallpox in her forty-third year.

Of her daughters, one was shortly to be married to the Earl of Essex. The other, Rachel, was already married. Her husband was Scroop, Duke of Bridgwater, a widower with a young daughter, Anne. This young lady's mother had been a daughter of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, and his wife Sarah.

But while one sister was about to be married and another

was already married, the two brothers, the young Duke of Bedford and Lord John Russell, were only sixteen and fourteen years old respectively. With no near relatives, their welfare was in the hands of trustees. There was no talk after their grandmother's death of their taking up their residence in Southampton House. They continued to live in the manor house at Streatham under the charge of a tutor, a Frenchman, Monsieur Bernege.

But no one in society was likely to overlook the fact that they were both extremely eligible young gentlemen. The year of mourning for their mother was not out when, nine months after her death, Wriothesley, Duke of Bedford, was married, a month before his own seventeenth birthday, to his sister's stepdaughter, Anne, daughter of Scroop, Duke of Bridgwater, and granddaughter of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough.

After the wedding, the younger brother was sent away to the establishment of a Mr. Hetherington, a tutor at Salisbury, and later went in charge of the same gentleman on a prolonged continental tour, as his forebears had done.

His own marriage was delayed until he had completed his twenty-first year. Then, a fortnight after having celebrated his birthday, he was married to Lady Diana Spencer, daughter of the third Earl of Sunderland. The Earl, like the Duke of Bridgwater, had married a daughter of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. The two brothers, the Duke of Bedford and Lord John Russell, had, therefore, as grandmother-in-law in common the redoubtable Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough.

All this time no attempt had been made to reopen Southampton House in any sense of making it a centre for the family life. The living rooms, like the bedrooms, stood for the most part empty and desolate, as Rachel had left them. Only at intervals would a short visit be paid to the mansion and one or two of the rooms be opened up.

This continued even after the marriage of the young third Duke. He and his wife from the first showed no particular liking for the house in Bloomsbury. There very speedily arrived a moment when the Duke at least seriously thought of giving it up. And not the house only, but the estate with it.

Certainly the house was much neglected. One person at least was of the opinion that such neglect was thoroughly blameworthy. Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, admired Southampton House, even if her elder grandson-in-law did not, and she had a good deal to say about it.

CHAPTER IX

SARAH, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH, AS GRANDMOTHER-IN-LAW

To be grandmother-in-law meant to Sarah unparalleled opportunities, whether she loved or hated, to interfere, criticize and advise. In the instance of the third Duke and his Duchess matters did not go very well. Their relationship with Sarah was, as was apt to be the case with anyone connected with the latter, a peculiarly uneasy and at times even a tempestuous affair, punctuated with outbursts from the older Duchess on the general unworthiness of her relations and more particularly of her relations-in-law.

At first all had seemed to promise well. The young girl, Anne, had as a child been a favourite with her grandmother. The latter had referred to her as a 'pretty talking child' whom she dearly loved, and to whom she proposed to leave a substantial legacy, together with all the plate at Marlborough House.

When this dear granddaughter married the young Duke of Bedford — an excellent match in the eyes of the grandmother, as of everyone else — the bridegroom was also approved. He was declared to be all that he should be. Nothing, thought Sarah, could be more charming or better than his parts and his behaviour.

But this did not last. Wriothesley quickly fell from grace in the old lady's eyes. She disapproved of all that he did or did not do. For this, indeed, as far as finance was concerned, there was a good deal of justification. The young Duke's recklessness in money affairs speedily became a subject of concern to all around him. It was not, as had been the

case with his father in Italy, an instance of a solitary fit of gambling, with a consequent debt, troublesome, but not disastrous. Now disaster did threaten. It seemed not improbable that, should the young Duke continue the way he was going, the family fortunes might be engulfed.

On the top of this, according to Sarah, Wriothesley treated his wife badly. The former lady declared, without beating about the bush, that her granddaughter's husband was a brute, such a perfect brute that she could not conceive of a greater.

But although Sarah made no bones about saying that the Duke of Bedford was ill-using his wife, and would probably kill her, she herself did not spare the young lady in the course of her quarrels. As a result of one of her vehement disagreements with her son-in-law and Anne's father, the Duke of Bridgwater, she announced that, in view of his infamous behaviour, she would leave Anne neither money nor plate.

Perhaps poor Anne tried to defend husband and father; perhaps she entered into the quarrel on her own account. At all events, a story, well authenticated at least by tradition, speaks of Sarah dealing drastically with a painting of her granddaughter in her possession. One day the face in the portrait was seen to have been covered with black paint, and underneath, inscribed in Sarah's own hand, was the sinister remark, 'But she is much blacker inside'.

One minor cause of offence was that the new Duke and Duchess of Bedford did not take sufficient interest in Southampton House. For this mansion Sarah, for her part, had a great admiration. 'It is,' she wrote:

> . . . the handsomest, the most agreeable and the best turned that ever I saw either in town or country. There is everything in it that can be wished. He that built it (my Lord Southampton) had a great character and I think that house represents one part of it very well.

But whatever the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough might think of the house, its fate, as that also of the Bloomsbury estate, was now hanging in the balance. The present owner was quite prepared to part with both, if thereby he could raise a sufficient sum of money.

In the meantime, whether he and his wife were in the house or not — and if they were ever there at all, it was but very seldom — his grandmother-in-law never hesitated about going in and looking round. As she did so, no inconvenient scruples held her back from criticism. In particular, a marble mantelshelf which was in the big eating-room, and was said to have cost ninety pounds, incurred her severest censure. It was too ornately carved for her taste, and the depth of the carving had resulted, as always when cleansing had not been carefully done, in the usual accumulation of dirt. 'It is,' said Sarah:

> . . . the dirtiest thing I saw in it [the house] and I am determined to have no one thing carved in the finishing my house at Wimbledon, my taste having been always to have things plain and clean, from a piece of wainscot to a lady's face.

Sarah, at seventy-two, was, in fact, at this time engaged in furnishing a new house for herself. She had bought the manor house at Wimbledon from Sir Theodore Jansen and was taking a great delight in arranging the rooms. She had purposely gone to Southampton House in order to see what ideas she could cull therefrom. In her old age she still possessed all her former vigour and her interest in affairs. Standing out against the all too frequent incidence of death among the young, the vitality of those who survived into old age, even extreme old age — and Sarah not least among them — is all the more remarkable. Physical disabilities she had. Either gout or rheumatism — perhaps a combination of both — had reduced her to the state of a cripple. The same

trouble was in her arms and hands. 'My hand is in flannel again', she would lament. But that did not prevent her from using her pen, though it might be very awkwardly, as she herself would apologetically remark. Nor were the crippled legs allowed to deter her from going anywhere she would. And wherever she went she flung herself into anything and everything, admiring sometimes, advising always and criticizing very often.

On this same visit to Southampton House she at last found something that could be admired and copied. In one of the rooms was a fine set of blue and gold leather hangings. These met with her warmest approval.

> I like it so extremely that I have bespoken the same to hang in one of my rooms at Wimbledon.

But it was the year 1732 when Sarah was talking about the marble mantelshelf and fingering the hangings, and the owner of the house, only twenty-three years old, was a prematurely aged and a very sick man, besides being a half-ruined one. Sarah was watching him with an eagle eye. She had another granddaughter; and that granddaughter was married to the Duke of Bedford's heir presumptive.

Lady Diana Russell was, with regard to Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, in a unique position. She was loved not once, or at intervals, by the old lady, but for ever. Sarah, as tempestuous in her loves as in her hates, bestowed in her old age all her passionate affection upon her 'dear angel', as she often addressed Diana in her letters. But she had another name for her also. 'I thank you, my dear Cordelia,' the grandmother wrote—

> . . . for yours of the first of June. That is the name I intend to call you for the future, which I think is the name of King Lear's good child and therefore a proper title for you, who have been always good to me.

Basking in the reflection of Sarah's affection for his wife,

DIANA, DUCHESS OF BEDFORD

Lord John Russell came in for a share of the old lady's approbation. It must be confessed that the young couple were extremely tactful in their treatment of her. They had a small country estate at Cheam which had been bequeathed to Lord John by the late owner, who was in Orders, and had at one time been rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. It was a pleasant little estate, with an excellent, well-built house upon it. 'The bricks', wrote Sarah, 'are extremely good, better than I have seen anywhere, except those at Marlborough House.'

Marlborough House and Blenheim were that lady's standard of comparison for everything that she saw, which is not surprising. But, in spite of the background of their magnificence, she frequently reiterated that she liked a small, compact house, and she undoubtedly liked Cheam, either because it was the country residence of the beloved Diana, or on account of the kind treatment she always received there.

When she came — and she came often — Lord and Lady John took care that she should be well looked after, even when they were not in residence. Once at least, driving down from London, her crutches beside her, she took care, knowing that neither Lord nor Lady John were there, to bring her own dinner with her and her drink. But she found that thought had been taken for her. Dinner had been provided and a most admirable wine.

> The first thing I did was to go upon my crutches into the garden, which is very full of flowers, a very innocent pleasure, but I think there is too many of them . . . In such a garden I would have all the borders stuffed thick with every thing that is sweet, useful, or that makes a show by the variety of fine colours; and beds as broad as they sow the corn in; and little walks to go between, that one might go round every thing.

> When I got into the house again I was so weary that I could not go upstairs, but went into the room where I dined. I carried my dinner with me and my drink, which I was sorry for afterwards, because my own dinner came first and was not near so good as what your housekeeper got for me. The best pigeons that ever I ate in my life; and she and another gentleman there would force me to open two bottles of your wine, one of which was champagne, so very good that I was frail enough to drink three glasses, though I feared it would hurt me.

If Lord and Lady John looked well to Sarah's comfort, she in return did her utmost for them with good advice. They had a town residence. This was a house in Grosvenor Street, one of the earliest houses to be built there, and for their welfare in the house Sarah poured out admonitions.

> But what I apprehend most, and which is the chief reason of my writing to you, is that the bed won't be finished time enough to have the room thoroughly cleaned and dry to be rubbed before you come to town. And if you come into a room that is but just washed you will get a cold, which will be very troublesome to you at this time. I do not doubt but that you will take care not to lie upon a new feather bed and to have all quilts well aired.

But what Sarah really wished was to see the beloved Diana and the well-liked Lord John reigning not at Cheam and in Grosvenor Street, but at Woburn and in Southampton House.

Her wish was fulfilled. At the very time at which she was thus advising Lord and Lady John, in the summer of 1732, the health of the third Duke of Bedford suddenly collapsed and he was ordered off on a voyage to Spain. 'If', wrote Sarah, with what seems like a gleam of hope:

> . . . the Duke of Bedford escapes being sick at sea, I fancy he may get to Lisbon. But if he should not, I think I told you that Dr. Mead was of opinion that it would kill him.

Whether it was due to being sick at sea or not, Wriothesley died on the voyage, at Corunna, on 23rd October. And Lord and Lady John entered, to the great joy of Sarah, upon their inheritance. The Grosvenor Street house, although not Cheam, became a thing of the past. There was no more talk of selling Bloomsbury, or of getting rid of Southampton House. On the contrary, the new Duke and Duchess, the fourth of the name, took over that mansion as their town residence.

What they did there at first, what new furnishings were added to the house, whether or no they cleaned that marble mantelpiece — although Sarah would probably have seen to it that that was done — there is no record. But two schemes proposed by the grandmother-in-law stand out, one of which came to nothing, the other of which was accepted.

The stairs in the front courtyard of Southampton House had been built of stone. They consisted of a single flight of steps with a balustrade on either side, carved so that the stairs, broad at the top, narrowed in the centre, to widen out somewhat again as they reached the top landing. Of this design, even though she confidently assigned it to Inigo Jones, Sarah vehemently disapproved, and recommended a change, which once again was based on the pattern set by Marlborough House.

> What I mean is the stairs in the first court, which, though they were of Inigo Jones's doing, they certainly are not handsome and look too much pinched in the middle. And I do think now the house is so extremely fine and large, with the two wings, it would be much handsomer if it was made with a flight of steps like those at Marlborough House, with large half

> paces; and a great deal of the stone would serve again, either on that side or the garden front. And I do not see how it could darken anything, unless the room under the hall, which, as I remember, was only designed for chairmen and footmen to wait in, which use does not want a great deal of light. And I cannot think the stairs would go so far as to take it all away. But this is only my own thought, and the Duke of Bedford will consider whether it is a good one or not.

Apparently the new Duke of Bedford did not think the idea a good one, for the steps were never altered, even though his grandmother-in-law sent a second hopeful letter. 'In my last letter', she remarked with great truth—

> . . . I said a great deal about the stairs before the house. If the Duke of Bedford should think it right to make them better than they are, I did not mean they should be of marble, as at Marlborough House, for those are slippery and inconvenient sometimes. But I mean only to have them of that shape, which I think is noble and handsome. But I think they should be of the same stone they now are, to agree with the house, and I dare say most of the same stone will serve again, and perhaps be stronger than what is generally got now.

But if Sarah did not get her way over the steps, another project which she put forward was fully carried out. This was the painting of some new family portraits specifically for the house in Bloomsbury.

Southampton House, when the fourth Duke and Duchess succeeded, was still, as it had always been, tapestry hung. Where there were no tapestries, there were, as Sarah had noted and admired, leather hangings. Here and there in the rooms a picture had been placed over a mantelshelf, or a doorway. There was no gallery, such as there was at Woburn Abbey, in which portraits could be hung. There was, how-

ever, the entrance hall. This was probably panelled, and it is likely that some portraits had been placed there.

Among these portraits there may have been one of Rachel's father-in-law, the fifth Earl and first Duke. Rachel had certainly asked for one of him for the house. Possibly there was also a portrait of Rachel herself by Jervas. Lastly, there was certainly to be seen in the hall a portrait of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. This had been painted by Kneller and had been a gift to her beloved Diana. Not that it was a portrait of which Sarah particularly approved, for, according to her, long after it was made, Kneller had had the audacity to alter the hair and make it appear powdered, for which she had a peculiar dislike.

> I remember my picture there [in the hall at Southampton House] is powdered, which I think mighty ugly. But as Sir Godfrey Kneller did that for himself, I never knew anything of it till, many years after his death, I saw it at his house in the country. But I believe that cannot be altered now without running the hazard of doing hurt to the picture, though it was a very odd fancy in him to make my hair look like the Queen's when she came first into England, clotted all over with powder, when I fancy the best thing I had was the colour of my hair.

To this portrait were now to be added, at Sarah's suggestion, several others, so as to make the hall a family portrait gallery. Among them was to be one of Sarah's great husband, John Churchill himself, who still lived in her heart and for whose sake she had refused even to contemplate any second matrimonial venture. There were also to be, very properly, pictures of the owners of the house themselves.

Sarah being Sarah, she was prepared to give her entire attention to the matter and to issue the most definite instructions when, where and in what manner the portraits were to be painted.

The artist selected was Isaac Whood. Whood was greatly esteemed as a painter who could make portraits easily and well in the manner of artists of the past generation more celebrated than he — notably Van Dyck and Kneller — a style of work much approved of at the time. He was already known to the Duke and Duchess, for some time before this he had been at Woburn and had painted the Duke's two sisters as young girls. He had also painted the Duke's sister-in-law, Anne.

As it happened, at this time, the summer of 1734, he was being employed by Sarah to make a series of portraits which would add to the furnishings of her new house at Wimbledon. These portraits were to include one of the young Duchess of Bedford and another of the Duke. For this purpose, Whood was to go down to Woburn, where the young couple were then in residence. It was, therefore, a simple matter to come to the decision that, while he was there, two other portraits, whether copies or otherwise, should be made for Southampton House. He could then go on to Blenheim and, for the same purpose, copy or adapt portraits there of Sarah and John Churchill.

Whood's earlier prices for his pictures had been moderate enough. His charge for the portraits of the Duke's sisters, each of them three-quarters length, had been five guineas apiece. But he had painted them at Woburn, where he would have received hospitality while the work was being done, and he charged, in addition to his fee, for all the implements of his trade in a bill of small disbursements which even included the money paid for compasses. Whood, however, had got on in the world, and Sarah had her doubts whether he might not be inclined to raise his charges. 'I believe', she wrote to Diana previous to Mr. Whood's arrival—

> . . . he sets a greater value upon his own work than others will do. I desire that you would make a bargain

> with him for what I am to give him for the picture when he has done it, that there may be no dissatisfaction on either side.

Diana, fortified no doubt by a remembrance of her grandmother in the background, made what was clearly a good bargain with Whood, although, unfortunately, there is no evidence as to the figure arrived at. But Sarah approved it.

> I think the agreement you have made as to the price is very reasonable. But do not say that to him, for it will make him mount upon other occasions.

How the pictures were to be painted was as carefully defined by Sarah as the bargain made over the fee.

For the portrait of the young Duchess of Bedford the plan which her grandmother put forward was characteristic of the taste of the day. The new picture was to be to some extent an imitation of an old one. Some time since, in the days of the third Duke, Sarah had visited Woburn and had been carried in her chair round the picture gallery. She had not thought much of the collection and the only picture which she allowed to have any merit was that made by Van Dyck of Anne Carr, fifth Countess of Bedford. With the charm of this young girl, as expressed in her portrait, Sarah had fallen in love. Now she proposed that the beloved Diana should have her portrait painted so as to correspond exactly with that of the seventeenth-century young girl.

> I desire that Mr. Whood will condescend to copy that picture that was done by Van Dyck for that charming Countess of Bedford in the Gallery. The white satin clothes and the posture I would have just the same for you. And I remember particularly that I liked the neck extremely. And I am sure if he copies that it will be more like yours than any he will draw for you.

But for the young Duke it was at first another matter. He, Sarah desired, was to be drawn in his coronation robes, as she had no picture in all her collection which illustrated that costume. But here Diana objected, saying, quite truly, that if she was to be posed in her portrait in a Van Dyck costume, while her husband was to be shown in his robes, then it would appear that the pictures had been drawn in different ages. Sarah waved the objection on one side on the ground that coronation robes were the same in any age. But if Diana insisted on being painted in coronation robes to match with her husband, then she must be very careful to see that the neck, hands, arms and posture were all copied by Mr. Whood from the Van Dyck picture.

At this point Diana gave in, and consented to have her own portrait an exact copy of the Van Dyck, as Sarah had at first wished it. But the idea of coronation robes for the Duke was abandoned, and it was proposed that for him Mr. Whood should copy the dress and posture 'of the famous picture at Althorp of my lords of Bristol and Bedford'. This was again a Van Dyck, of which a copy was later made for Woburn.

The two portraits finished for Sarah, Mr. Whood duly remained at Woburn to copy them for the hall at Southampton House, Sarah once more reiterating several warnings: first against allowing the unfortunate Mr. Whood to have any fancies of his own in the matter —

> For painters, poets and builders have very high flights, but they must be kept down;

and next against overpaying him —

> You will not forget to make a bargain with Mr. Whood, since most people as well as he are apt to overvalue their works.

From Woburn Mr. Whood, still pursued by Sarah's meticulous instructions, went on to Blenheim to copy

portraits there, first and foremost that made by Sir Godfrey Kneller of John Churchill in his Garter robes.

Unfortunately, the pictures of the young Duke and Duchess, as described by Sarah, cannot now be traced. But those of herself and of the Duke of Marlborough, with some other copies made by Whood of relatives of Diana, including the second Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Sunderland, were later taken down from the hall at Southampton House, to be brought to Woburn, where they remain.

The portraits in the hall spoke of Sarah's influence upon Southampton House. Even while Mr. Whood was painting them, she came to another decision concerning that mansion. Surely, she thought, in spite of her admiration for the Earl of Southampton, and the mark he had left upon the house, it would be far more fitting that it should be called after the family who had now inherited it. 'I am', wrote Sarah,

> . . . very sincere in what I said of Bedford House, which is the name I think it should now go by.

The letter was written on 21st June, 1734, and apparently her granddaughter and grandson-in-law accepted her decision without questioning. At all events, henceforth Sarah at least invariably referred to the house by the new name, and so addressed her letters, and the world in general quickly followed suit.

In 1734 Sarah, abounding in energy, still had ten years of life before her. The young Duke and Duchess over whose welfare she watched so faithfully seemed to be embarking upon what might well be a long, happy and prosperous married life. It is true that the only child so far born to them, a boy, had lived but a few hours. But there was every hope that others might succeed him. Fate decided otherwise.

In the early summer of 1735, Sarah, usually so lively, was more than commonly depressed, not so much for the moment about family affairs as the state of the country.

> You see by the prints the melancholy situation England is in, much worse, I think, than ever I knew it in my long life, and how we shall get any security is past my finding out.

But she had her private worries also. It was evident that the health of the young Duchess, aged twenty-five, was none too good. It speedily grew worse and disquieting symptoms showed themselves. Before the year was out she was lying in her tomb at Chenies. She had died in the great bedroom at Bedford House, on 29th September, of a rapid consumption.

For Sarah this was, as far as the Russells were concerned, the end of all things. She had caused, in triumph, because it was her granddaughter who was to reign there, the name of the house to be changed. She had given advice as to what was to be done inside and out. She might well have looked forward to some years during which she would be the friend and adviser of the young couple who would, she hoped, hold court there. But it was not to be.

In 1737, after two years of widowerhood, the Duke married again. His bride was Gertrude Leveson-Gower, daughter of the first Earl Gower. It was she, and not the beloved Diana, who was destined to become the well remembered lady of Bedford House.

That house now stood facing on to a well built over estate. A great deal had happened to the property since the year 1683 when William, Lord Russell, had died on the scaffold. And much of that happening had been extremely profitable.

CHAPTER X

BLOOMSBURY: 1683-1732

THE story of Bloomsbury from 21st July, 1683, the day on which Lord Russell was executed, until, on 23rd October, 1732, his grandson John succeeded as fourth Duke, is that of an estate which was ever expanding. And expanding, it grew more profitable.

As William, Lord Russell, had seen it for the last time, it had already been built over to a considerable extent. The square in front of Southampton House may at that time perhaps have had its full complement of houses, some large, some small, east and west and south. But how many of the houses had been added since the death of the Earl of Southampton in 1667, under whom at all events a great deal of building had been done, or even whether there was still a building plot here and there to let, must, in the absence of information for the square for these years, be uncertain. Nevertheless, as William Russell saw the square as he could look at it from his study window, it was well surrounded by houses.

In popular parlance the area was now Southampton Square. To Rachel, Lady Russell, it was 'our square', although she did sometimes use the name which had been commonly bestowed upon it. But the clerks who drew up the leases were to continue to refer to it for many years as 'the square' pure and simple. It was not until the year 1703, in the time of the second Duke, that it was referred to in such a lease as Bloomsbury Square. Even so, the rent books of the estate — they begin much later than the leases —

continued in a dignified way to ignore the newfangled sobriquet for another half century. Only in the year 1756 did whoever drew up these books allow the word Bloomsbury to be added.

As for Great Russell Street, which had been cut through under the Earl of Southampton and given a name in the time of William and Rachel Russell, it had by 1683 become a street indeed. It then had some twenty-six or twenty-seven houses on the north side and not far short of that number on the south side. Moreover, Montagu House, designed by Robert Hooke and ornamented by Verrio, had been built, to lend dignity, together with Southampton House, to the line of the other houses, small and great, on the north side of the street.

Possibly also before 1683 these two great mansions had a companion in Thanet House. But there is no evidence for the actual date of the building of the last; nor is there any record among the existing leases and other papers of the Earl of Thanet's tenancy. If the house was not already there in 1683, it must have appeared very shortly afterwards.

But fires occurred in Great Russell Street, as they did elsewhere; and Montagu House was destined to suffer what was still, in spite of the regulations concerning the non-use of wood for buildings, a common disaster. In January, 1685, it caught fire. At that time the owners themselves were away and the house had been lent or leased to the Earl of Devonshire. The fire was, it was said, caused by the airing of some hangings preparatory to the Earl of Devonshire quitting and the family of Montagu returning. As the flames increased in force the household fled into Southampton House, and the five-year-old Marquess of Tavistock was awakened by one of the Devonshire children being deposited in bed beside him.

For a time Southampton House itself appears to have been in danger. A strong wind blowing from the west carried

sparks and smoke into the courtyard. Nothing worse, however, happened here. Montagu House, on the other hand, was burnt out. The glories of Hooke and Verrio had gone for ever.

But Great Russell Street was not to be deprived of one of its mansions. The house was rebuilt almost immediately. The architect chosen this time is said to have been the Frenchman Pierre Puget, or Poughet. He did his work well enough for it to be warmly approved by Strype when, in 1720, his description and map of St. Giles were included in his edition of Stow's *Survey of London*. According to Strype, of the three houses belonging to noblemen in Great Russell Street, Montagu House was by far the handsomest building of the trio.

But in any case Strype much admired Great Russell Street as a whole. In his view this 'handsome, large and well built street', which, he pointed out, was of great length, since it took its beginning in King Street and then ran westward into Tottenham Road, was graced with houses which were the finest on all the Bloomsbury estate. And by consequence, said Strype, it attracted the best class of inhabitants.

As far as the tenants were concerned, Strype's remarks are borne out by the existing leases and by the later rent books. A claim might be put in on behalf of the square that the names of those who lived there show as high a proportion of important residents as were to be found in Great Russell Street. But the latter street had the advantage in numbers. In a rent book of 1729, the names of Sir John Meres and Lady Gower on the north side, and of Sir John Cope on the south, are only some among others of distinction.

The letting of building sites in the street since 1683 had likewise continued with great vigour. A map dated 1729 — not a very satisfactory map, since it gives no names of streets, is indistinct in parts and in any case appears to have been left half finished — shows the entire street from, as Strype said,

King Street to Tottenham Road, divided into building plots, again of varying sizes, on either side. This included ten sites between Montagu House and Southampton House. Houses were almost certainly already built on these last. But what the map does not make clear is how many sites farther along the street beyond those which are known to have been built over before 1683 had already been let and had houses standing on them.

The rent books, however, beginning in the same year, give some help as regards numbers. The 1729 book, dated nine years after Strype's description had appeared, gives a list of between fifty and sixty tenants for the north side of the street. Although it is not explicitly stated, some of the entries clearly refer to those whose garden plot was rented separately from their house and others who rented a coach-house only. But there seem to have been well over forty houses occupied on this side. A list of fifty-one names for the south side would again include some forty occupants of houses.

There were small houses, the result of the letting of small building sites, on both sides of the street. But the south side had a far bigger proportion of these than had the north side, and the names of the tenants confirm Strype's remark that the north side was given preference by the nobility and gentry, although such a man as Sir John Cope and others were living on the south side. But Strype thought, and he was probably right in thinking, that the preference was given to the north side largely because of the prospect at the back of the pleasant fields stretching out towards Hampstead and Highgate. This open outlook, said he, re-echoing the opinions of those who, fifty and sixty years before, had extolled the good air of Bloomsbury, was a great recommendation in the eyes of physicians. They regarded Bloomsbury, and Great Russell Street in particular, as one of the most healthful spots in London.

The gardens at the back of the houses in Great Russell Street must have added greatly to its attractions. Most of the leases, although not quite all, allowed for a garden at the back of the house that was intended to be built, whether there was to be a coach-house and outbuildings or not. The dimensions of these gardens differed greatly. On the whole, matching the importance of the buildings, the gardens behind the houses on the north side appear to have been considerably bigger than those in a similar position on the south. On the former, beyond Southampton House towards King Street, Sir Hans Sloane had not only the space for a garden behind the two houses which he rented, but also his additional plot of land at the back of these. Possibly this plot was used for the experimental growing of herbs and plants, a harking back to the Licours Garden which, a century earlier, had been attached to the Rose Field and for which the still house had probably been erected. But in any case, the double garden of Sir Hans Sloane must have been by far the most extensive in the street after those belonging to Southampton and Montagu Houses.

By 1732 a good deal had been done to the gardens of both these great mansions.

The first thought that had come to John Evelyn's mind when he surveyed what purported to be the garden at the back of Southampton House and the land beyond was that it was remarkably bare. Possibly very little was done to it in the lifetime of William Russell. But gradually improvements appeared. The 1729 map shows steps at the back of the house leading down into a garden laid out, after the fashion of the day, in grass plots standing four square intersected by paths. On either side were rows of trees, probably the lime and acacia trees which were well known later. At the end were steps going up to the terrace, perhaps, since in the map they are coloured green, cut in grass. Nearer the house a small space had been kept for that highly popular

device of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries known as a wilderness, which was closely akin to a maze, the main difference being that whereas a maze was usually made with closely clipped trees, a wilderness had the same design in bushes and trees of a thorny variety which were generally unclipped.

But the garden behind Montagu House, close by, was on a far more elaborate scale than that which lay behind Southampton House, and Strype found it, as he had found the house, much superior to its fellow.

What Strype chiefly admired in the Montagu House garden was its 'curious' lay-out. The formal garden was still preferred to the wild garden, for which Bacon had found a little space in his essay, and in which Milton had placed Adam and Eve. The much rubbed 1729 map shows the trees, flower beds and grass plots behind Montagu House arranged with careful formality, in squares, in rectangles and in triangles.

While the square and Great Russell Street had thus expanded after 1683, the remainder of the estate had not been behindhand in development.

Of the other streets which had been cut through under the Earl of Southampton, King Street had been given a name in his day, and Southampton Street, if it had not, as is probable, acquired a name in his time, had at least done so very soon after.

These two streets were by 1720 recognized as only second to the square and Russell Street for residential purposes. In each, small and big buildings stood in juxtaposition. But in both streets the larger houses, as Strype noted, had attracted a good type of tenant.

In King Street the same shades of difference might be observed between the two sides of the street as was also the case in Russell Street. On the whole, the proportion of larger houses on the east side of King Street was higher than

on the opposite side. They also, for the most part, had good gardens at the back, instead of smaller ones or none at all.

When the east side was prolonged towards the north to form a row which was given the name of Southampton Row is not quite clear. It is shown on Strype's map. But Strype himself has nothing to say about it. Possibly it was then just coming into existence. At any rate, the first mention of it by name in any lease occurs two years later. Then, in 1722, a building plot was let as being 'in Southampton Row at the north end of the street called King Street'.

It is, however, quite possible that a few leases dated between 1710 and 1720 which are marked 'King Street East' may refer to the letting of plots which were later reckoned as being in Southampton Row.

Like the east side of the street, of which it was a prolongation, Southampton Row at once became a popular spot for residence. It was the more so because, being a row and not a street, the houses therein looked out over the gardens and fields which lay behind Great Russell Street, and received, too, the benefit of the same invigorating air blowing down from the Highgate Hills.

It was this quarter, made up of the square, Great Russell Street, Southampton Street and King Street, with its prolongation as Southampton Row, which housed the more important residents in Bloomsbury. To what extent this was the result of a definite intention is difficult to say. The choice of a site by the Earl of Southampton for his own mansion had been a deliberate one. It was usual in a building licence to name the site on which the house in question was to be erected, as had been done in that issued to the Earl. There is no reason to think otherwise than that he himself had indicated the site he wished, the open fields standing well back from the main highway. It must also be inferred that the Earl had deliberately chosen to have the lay-out known as a square in front of the house. But how far he or

his immediate successors had planned what would be later called a good residential quarter is another matter. That the neighbourhood of Southampton House did so become may well have been a natural growth. Something must, in the first place, be allowed for the attraction exercised by a great mansion. The presence of the Russells and the Montagus in Bloomsbury drew others thither.

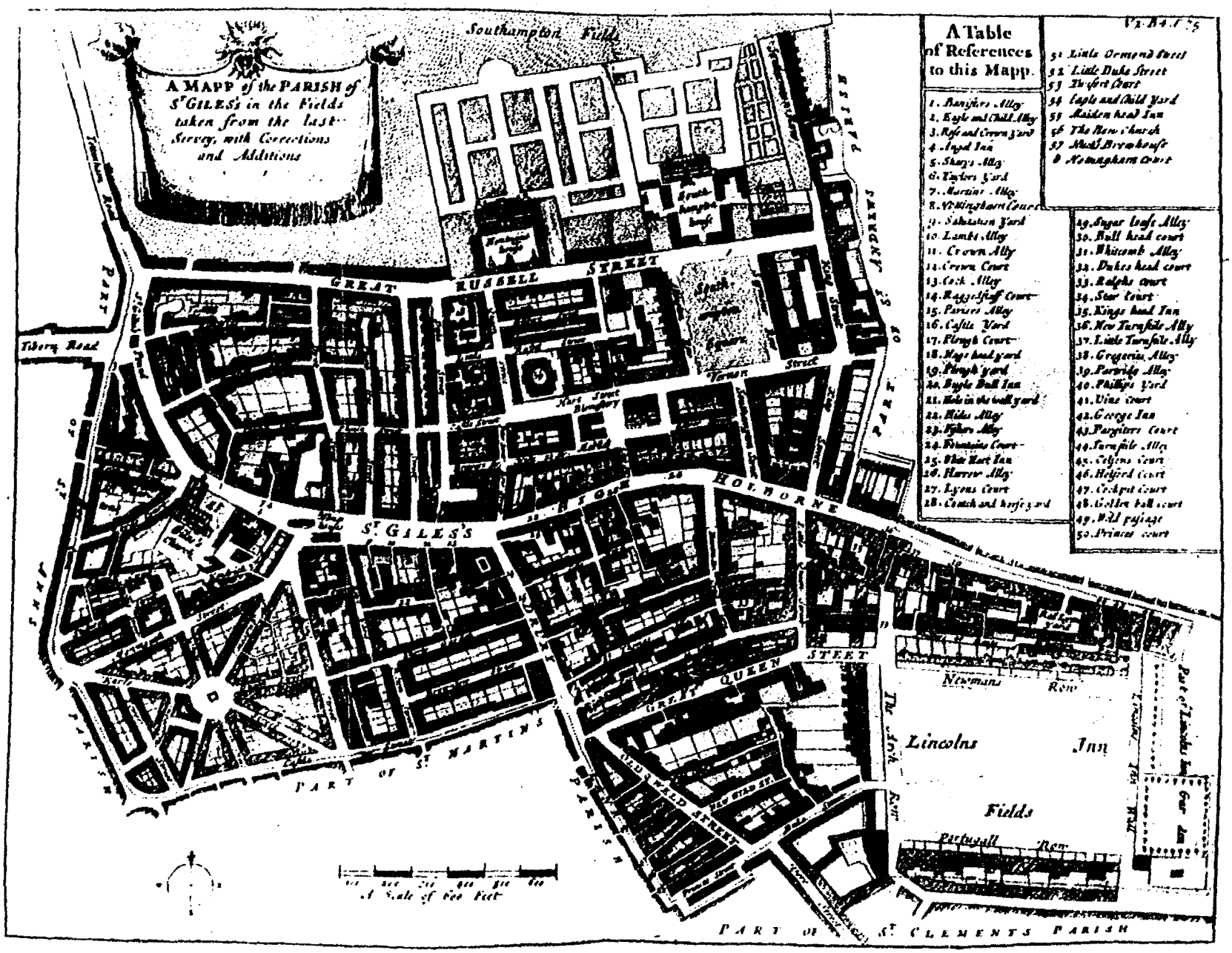
The difference that was recognized between the desirability of a site on the north side of Great Russell Street and a similar site on the south side marks the importance attached by all who could afford it to living in houses as near to the open country as possible and remote from the busy highway bordered by its blocks of buildings.

Moreover, once a certain class of tenant had appeared, others of the same position would have followed.

That the evolution of the district represented a natural rather than a planned growth is the more probable because it is clear that there was never any question as to smaller sites being let alongside bigger ones even in the square itself. Nor, so far as can be seen, was any restriction inserted in the leases as to business being carried on, and if so, what kind of business, except in the case of the early leases for the square. Even so, since the only trades forbidden were those of a vintner and a victualler, and those only in certain leases, while again it was only in particular leases that two families were discouraged from living in any one house, the restrictions were not uniform, nor even very rigid.

Actually, in the square itself none of the houses appear to have been let for use by tradesmen. But a few shops appeared both in Great Russell Street and in King Street if not, as was, probably the case, before 1732, at least very little later.

Inns were everywhere. That, in the early eighteenth century, would have been taken for granted. Several small inns were to be found in King Street besides the first tavern which had appeared there, the Three Kings. On the south



MAP OF THE PARISH OF ST. GILES IN THE FIELDS

side of the square the Buffalo's Head was a well-known building. On the north side of Great Russell Street was the Blue Boar Yard, in the stables of which many of the inhabitants who had no stabling or coach-house of their own kept their horses and vehicles. It does not appear that any inn was attached to this yard and it seems possible that the yard may have been connected with the celebrated Blue Boar Inn on the south side of Holborn.

Altogether, although the district was definitely the residential quarter, it was not kept severely as such. Smaller houses, inns with their courtyards, and shops with their signs — both the shops in King Street had signs — diversified the whole.

The building on the rest of the estate, as Strype saw it and commented on it in 1720, reflected the letting of sites on a somewhat different scale. The market may here have played a fellow part to that played by Southampton House, the one acting naturally as a business centre and the other as a social centre.

From the first and continuously the plots let in the district of which the market was a centre were, on the whole, although there were exceptions, small in size when compared with the more important and larger sites in, for example, the square and Great Russell Street. They were also clearly, as a general rule, from subsequent remarks on the appearance of the houses, let to tenants who would neither have been able nor have wished to put up the larger and more important type of house.

Nor did these lesser streets grow as quickly as had done Great Russell Street and King Street. Several of them in 1732 only boasted of half a dozen houses; some of even fewer. This was perhaps the reason why they had to be content for many years with being described with topographical details in the leases, instead of being given a name.

The most important way or road in the neighbourhood of

the market was that on the north side, which had been cut through by the Earl of Southampton as early as 1662 and several building sites let to face the market across the road. In a lease of 1705 this appeared for the first occasion as Hart Street. Later it was approved by Strype as large and open, with well-built houses. Possibly some of them were commercial establishments, as might indeed be expected from the proximity of the market. But in any case Hart Street was the best of the streets in the neighbourhood.

It would seem that there was a spate of official naming at the beginning of the eighteenth century, within a few years of the succession of the second Duke.

The year after Hart Street was named, the same was done for another street also off the market. Back in 1662 the Earl of Southampton had let several building sites in the south-east corner, where there was already some sort of a way going eastward. A lease of 1706 assigns to this way the name of Silver Street.

About the same time, Duke Street, Hyde Street and Lion Street, all three again cut through in the time of the Earl of Southampton, were also given their names. Of these only Hyde Street was to retain its name. Duke Street was to become Coptic Street and Lion Street to be absorbed into Bury Street.

There is evidence for the cutting through and for the naming of these streets, as there is also for Gilbert Street and Little Russell Street, both cut through and named in the time of William and Rachel Russell.

But there were other streets which Strype knew and depicted in his map. And some of these may have been cut through before William Russell went to the scaffold in 1683. But there is no evidence for this in the leases and deeds.

There is, for example, no direct information concerning the streets which by 1720 were known as Queen Street, Bow

Street and Peter Street. Together they made a connection between Great Russell Street, by way of the market, into High Holborn, and were later to become as one and to be called Museum Street. These may well represent a way which existed before 1683. By 1729 the three streets had altogether twenty-nine tenants.

Even less is known concerning the prolongation, shown by Strype, of Hart Street, as Vernon Street to the east and as Castle Street to the west. The rent book of 1732 recognized neither street. On the other hand, if any building sites had been let in them and houses erected, such may well have been treated by the officials simply as a prolongation of Hart Street.

Brewer Street, however, as a continuation to the west of Hyde Street, was recognized in 1729 as containing two houses.

How many of the tenants in these lesser streets, apart from those in the market, were the keepers of shops, or what was their business or walk in life, is impossible to say except in a very few individual cases. Those who drew up the rent books always and those who drew up the leases as a rule were not interested in adding the avocation followed by the lessee.

But what is clear is that, in spite of Southampton House and the well-to-do class who had houses round about, good shops, with one or two exceptions, never found a secure footing in Bloomsbury. Even the market, as Strype pointed out, was not a good market. The inhabitants did not use it to any great extent. They seem to have much preferred, as did certainly those who lived in Southampton House, to go elsewhere for most of their purchases.

The reason for this is difficult to assign. But one cause in the early eighteenth century may well have been the remarkable prosperity of the adjacent Covent Garden district as a centre for excellent shops of all kinds.

Strype did, however, allow that Bloomsbury had one good shop. This was the establishment of a baker or confectioner celebrated for his cheese cakes, pies and tarts. It stood in the yard or passage known as the Hole in the Wall — a favourite name for such openings — which ran between the market and Little Russell Street. And the shop at which the delectable goods were sold took the same name to itself. In 1729 there were altogether eight houses along this passage.

Apart from the prolongation of the various streets and the continued letting of building sites, one important change took place on the Bloomsbury estate before 1732. A church was built and a parish was formed.

The first talk of the building of the church and the making of a parish may have been heard as early as 1705, in the time of the second Duke. But, if so, the scheme lapsed until much later. It was revived again when Rachel, Lady Russell, bereft now of son as well as of husband, was alone and solitary in Southampton House and the estates were in the hands of trustees for the benefit of the grandson, the third Duke.

But the church which was ultimately dedicated to St. George, with its parish, was not to be added to the long list of ecclesiastical benefactions of the Russells, which began far back in the early fifteenth century with the foundation and subsequent endowment of the chantry of St. George in Weymouth by Henry Russell, and included St. Paul's, Covent Garden, as well as the French Protestant church in Thorney, both erected by the fourth Earl of Bedford. For good or ill, initiative in church building had to a great extent passed from the individual to the State. Formerly one benefactor, or a group of benefactors, had often made provision for the spiritual needs of a district in which he, or they, might be especially interested. Now, the growth of London rendering the existing churches and parishes quite inade-

quate in number, an Act of Parliament provided for the erection of no less than fifty new churches. Of these a church in Bloomsbury, with a parish to be cut out of the now overgrown parish of St. Giles, was to be one.

Funds for the erection of the church and for the endowment of the living were provided by the grant of three thousand pounds under the Act, together with local subscriptions, from which twelve hundred and fifty pounds were secured.

The site selected lay between Little Russell Street on the north and Hart Street on the south, and was secured in 1714 from Rachel, Lady Russell, acting with the trustees of the third Duke.

Later topographers usually refer to the site as being the Plough Yard. The only mention of the sale among the existing leases is in December 1714, which occurs as the cancellation of a lease of the yard known as the White Hart Yard. This, however, may have been not alternative, but additional to the Plough Yard.

The architect chosen was Nicholas Hawksmoor, the former pupil of Sir Christopher Wren. Hawksmoor, the designer of St. Mary Woolnoth, was just then at the height of his reputation. On the whole, his design for the Bloomsbury church was approved, except in one respect. The steeple, which was intended to realize Pliny's description of the mausoleum at Halicarnassus, was to Walpole at all events 'a masterpiece of absurdity'.

A year after Rachel's death, on 8th January, 1724, the deed for the parish which was to be known as St. George's, Bloomsbury, was enrolled in Chancery. But it was not until 23rd February, 1731, that the first rector, Edward Vernon, was inducted.

Thus by 1732 there had grown up from Great Russell Street to the Holborn high road a district well filled with houses — although there were still building sites to be let

and some of the streets were unfinished — with great house, or rather two great houses, market and church all complete.

Southampton House and Montagu House faced the little town. Behind them the remainder, by far the greatest part, of the fields, with their grazing, pasture and ponds, still stood open and free. They were so to remain for many years to come.

Nevertheless, coming events cast their shadows. On the eastern boundary the line of buildings called Southampton Row had begun at least in the seventeen-twenties to push its way northward. On the short frontage to the west, facing what was in his day Tottenham Lane, the Earl of Southampton had as far back as 1663 let a building site. Other houses, probably wooden houses, had already been standing there. But they seem to have come down. Perhaps not at once. By the year 1729 another seven sites were let. The rent book of 1729 shows altogether eight houses facing on to what had now for some time been known as the Tottenham Court Road.

For the time being, however, these houses, like those in Southampton Row, were but on the edge of the fields. The latter, with their ponds for the watering of cattle, were also still quite profitable.

Here, before 1732, were two farmer tenants. The one, James Pratt, was the lesser man. He appears to have farmed something like a quarter of the whole.

The other farmer tenant was Christopher Capper. Capper bore a name which, in its own sphere, was almost as closely connected with the district as was that of Russell. Those who took the way from St. Giles to Hampstead along the Tottenham Road, by whatever name they knew it, having passed on the right-hand side first the fields which represented that frontage of the Bedford estate, and then land which belonged to the City of London, would have come to the fields known as Cantelowe Close. There, facing on to the road, was Capper's farmhouse. It stood on the spot

which was afterwards marked by 195 Tottenham Court Road.[1]

Capper's farmhouse was thus outside the Bedford estate. In 1657 Cantelowe Close had been in the possession of the Earl of Clare, from whom it had passed to the Duke of Newcastle. It was only in 1772, the year after the death of the fourth Duke of Bedford, that it was acquired by the trustees of his young successor.

But though Capper was not a tenant of the Bloomsbury estate in respect of his house, he had a close connection indeed with the property. The date when the connection began is not clear. Capper is known to have been living in his farmhouse before 1693. But there are no records of any lands he may have leased at this date. In 1729 he was paying rent to the Duke of Bedford for fields and pastures to the amount of three hundred pounds a year, as compared with the mere seventy-five pounds a year paid by James Pratt.

The total of the rents paid by Capper and Pratt for the fields shows the income from them as somewhat diminished. The figure is slightly below the four hundred and seven pounds a year which Rachel, Lady Russell, had reckoned the lands let for grazing and so forth had brought her in when she received her inheritance.

The number of Rachel's tenants in 1668 had been reckoned as about a hundred and forty-six. A rent book of 1732 shows that in that year the number had risen to four hundred and fifty. This, like the earlier one, can only be taken as a round figure, since, as has been pointed out, the distinction is not always drawn between those who rented a house, and those who were only tenants for a garden or a coach-house.

[1] Cf. Mr. Ambrose Heal's interesting paper on 'The Old Farm House in Tottenham Court Road', *Trans. London and Middlesex Archaeological Soc.*, new series, III, 28 (1917).

As for the rent roll, that, when Rachel had taken over the estate, had been reckoned as between nineteen hundred and two thousand pounds a year. Rachel's son, the second Duke, drawing up a statement in 1700, had put it as rather over two thousand pounds. In 1732 it amounted to three thousand seven hundred pounds.

In the case of both the earlier figures there is no indication what was their relation to the necessary outgoings on the estate. In 1732 there is a clear statement. From the total had to be deducted one thousand five hundred and thirty-five pounds odd in all. This was made up of one thousand pounds odd for repairs and improvements; four hundred pounds for land tax and fifteen pounds for parish dues; and, finally, a hundred and twenty pounds for salaries. The net roll, therefore, amounted to just under two thousand two hundred pounds.

Since the rents paid by the tenants remained on the average precisely the same, the increase in the rent roll was due to the increase in the number of tenants. But there had also been fines for renewals.

From 1703 onwards the original forty-two year leases had been falling in. A series of new leases had been granted, this time, as a regular procedure, for twenty-one years. In a general way, the rent originally imposed for the site remained the same. Here and there, there were variations both ways, but these did not amount to very much. But for the new lease, the tenant, whether the former tenant or a newcomer, paid a fine. These fines varied between the top figure of three hundred pounds, which was paid for one or two of the largest houses, down to forty or fifty pounds. But they were not paid in every case. In some instances, even a fair number, they were omitted altogether, with a note that the house required, and the tenant contracted to make, extensive repairs or alterations. One or two houses at least appear to have been completely pulled down and rebuilt.

What these fines brought in as a capital sum is, with many leases missing, not possible to estimate. But they must have formed an extremely pleasant capital account for the second Duke. Nor was he the only one who profited.

When these twenty-one year leases began to expire, which occurred from 1724 onwards, just before and at the time of the majority of the third Duke, there followed another series of new leases which were on much the same lines as those of the earlier date. There was, however, one difference. The time for which the new leases were granted was now twenty-four years instead of twenty-one, as formerly. But the rents remained constant, with once more a fine payable for renewal. Nor did the amount of the fines vary very much from those taken earlier. In one or two instances they appear somewhat higher — one reached to as much as four hundred pounds. But this was an exception. Many of the fines asked were quite small, well under fifty pounds; and in a certain number of cases they were once again remitted altogether, for the same reason, repairs and alterations requiring to be made, as before.

But what was the nature of the repairs or the alterations that had to be done, either at the first renewal or at this second one, is never stated. The renewal was effected simply by taking the original lease and endorsing it with the number of years for which it was renewed; the name of the tenant, if that name were changed; the amount of the fine, if such had to be paid, or alternatively the word repairs or alterations.

Here therefore was a great capital sum, the amount of which cannot be exactly estimated, handed over to the owner of the property.

What the third Duke did with this sum, or indeed with his considerable income in general, remains a mystery. The only clear fact that stands out is that within a couple of years of his coming into his inheritance, at twenty-one years of

age, he was heavily in debt. So much so that he first decided, as his agent reported, to

> . . . cut down all the timber in Woburn Park and sell it to raise money to pay his creditors.

Before this was done, the Duke went further. He announced to the agent that he intended to dispose of the Bloomsbury estate and ordered that no time should be lost in making preparations for this.

It was well for the Duke's successors that the young man was then in what the agent himself called, and called rightly, the last stage of his life. Before the writings could be prepared either for the sale of the timber or for the sale of the Bloomsbury estate, the Duke had been dispatched on the voyage to Lisbon from which he did not return.

In three years the young man had succeeded in getting rid of an amazing amount of money. At the end of them he was threatening considerable damage to the family property. Nevertheless, the fourth Duke, in 1732, entered upon what was, if properly nursed, a fair inheritance enough. It is evident that the earlier years of his succession were beset by certain difficulties, which is not surprising seeing what had been the behaviour of his predecessor. But matters had not gone so far that they could not be mended. When, in 1737, he brought his second wife to what had been Southampton, but was now Bedford, House, the finance had been straightened and new agents and servants appointed.

CHAPTER XI

FAMILY BACKGROUND

At the time of his second marriage, John, fourth Duke of Bedford, was twenty-seven years of age. His portrait, as little more than a baby, in a family group, shows a good-tempered, chubby, round face. Later Horace Walpole referred to him as the 'merry little Duke'. Portraits of him as a man reinforce the description. He is seen as short and plump, as plump as when he was a child, with the same good-humoured countenance. The family as a whole had always tended to run to a reddish colour in their hair. His, however, was dark. Not that it was often possible to judge of the hue. As a child he wore the close fitting round cap of the day. As a man his own hair was covered by his wig. But one portrait, a youthful one, made by Thomas Hudson, does show him in his own natural dark locks.

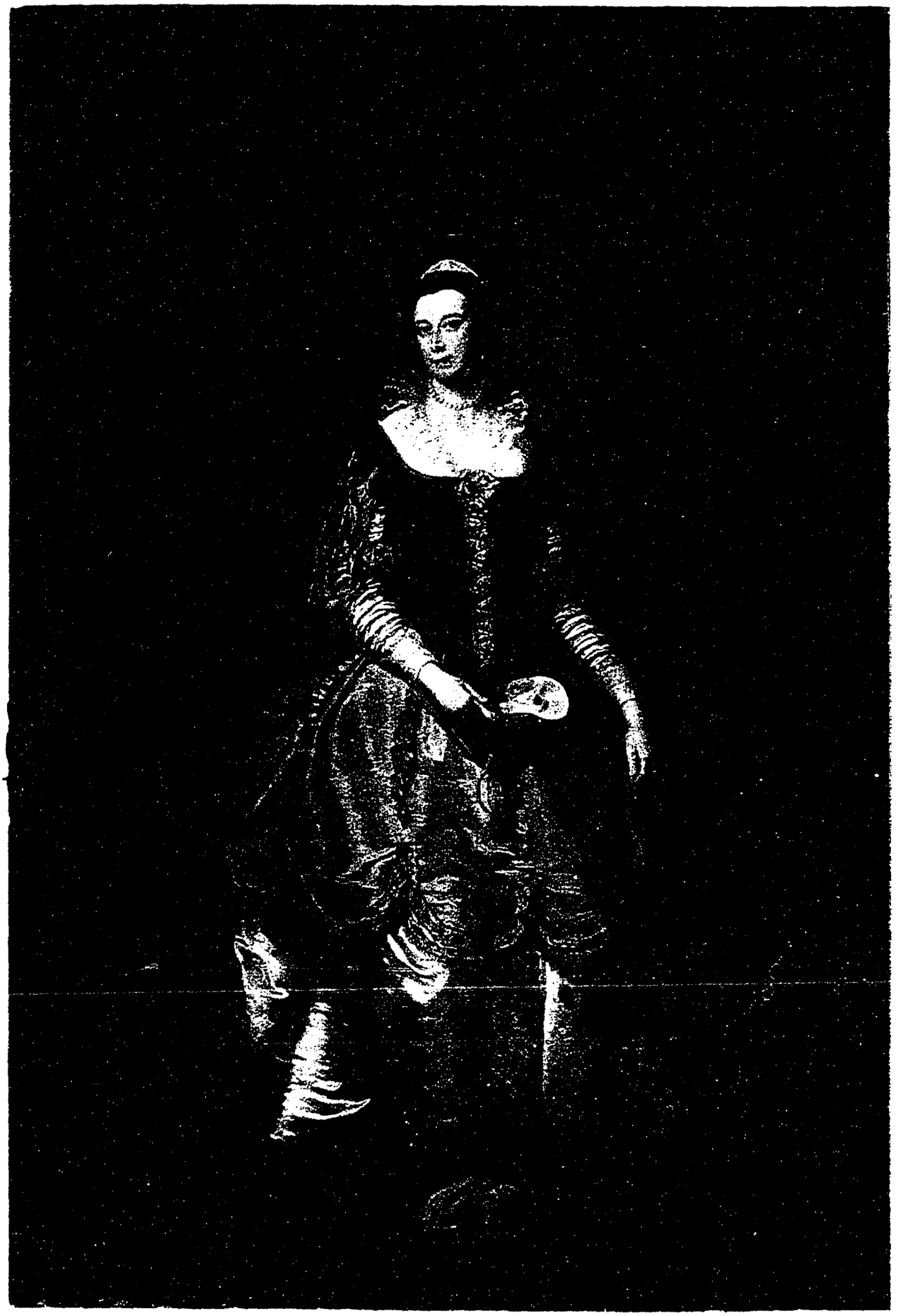
As for his second Duchess, she was twenty-two years of age at the time of her marriage. Gossip writers were later very free in their criticism of Gertrude, Duchess of Bedford. They passed uncharitable comments on her character as on her appearance. 'As yellow as a kite's foot', remarked Mrs. Delany. 'Stingy and avaricious', added the scandalous book called *The Whig Club*. Horace Walpole, too, who did not like her, could generally contrive a hit at her. Nor for that matter is tradition at Woburn any too kind to her. She is said to have been domineering and is credited with an addiction to what, even in the days when lords and ladies were not mealy-mouthed, was said to have been very coarse language.

But Mrs. Delany's comment on the Duchess was made when the latter was in Dublin — the Duke being then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland — some thirty years after her marriage. And most of the other severe strictures passed on her refer to her in middle and even old age. It may well be that as her character strengthened with the passing of youth, she gave more and more persons cause to dislike her.

Other and more pleasing characteristics are portrayed in an early painting of her at Woburn. This, like the portrait of her husband in his youth, was made by Thomas Hudson. It gives, in its grace and light-heartedness, a delightful impression of the young Gertrude. She is shown full length, dressed in a fancy costume — a black velvet bodice and pink skirt opening over a white satin petticoat. In her right hand she holds a mask. With mask and costume, she is ready for some masquerade, and she laughs merrily at the spectator. It is the young newly married Duchess in a happy mood.

But both the Duke — even though this was his second marriage — and the Duchess were in their early youth when, in 1737, they began their married life at Bedford House and at Woburn Abbey. It was to be for both of them a very full life.

Already at twenty-seven years of age, although his political career lay still ahead, the Duke had shown, happily for himself and for his descendants, that he possessed the business acumen and constructive ability which had certainly been lacking in his predecessor. The excellent training given by their mother in the keeping of accounts when they were children at Streatham, if it had failed with the elder, had fallen in the case of the younger brother on responsive soil. Later the detractors of the fourth Duke liked to imply that the close and unremitting attention he bestowed upon his affairs had its roots in avarice. Walpole, whose criticisms did not as a rule err on the side of generosity, preferred to call it a sense of economy, and remarked that, if it was really



GERTRUDE, DUCHESS OF BEDFORD

avarice, it was blended with more generosity and goodness than was usual in those governed by that passion.

Avarice or economy. Motives are easy to assign and difficult to appraise with truth. One fact stands out clear. The fourth Duke of Bedford was distinguished by a keen sense of how business, whether town or country, should be managed. It was not for nothing that he traced his descent from the two fifteenth-century merchant squires, Stephen and Henry Russell, who had done so much to lay the foundation of the family fortunes. And he must have owed something, perhaps a great deal, to his other forebears, the families of Child and Howland. The results show that his property was well managed. There is evidence that he could be a kind landlord, even though attempts to insist upon inoculation against smallpox for tenants and their children were not regarded with favour. He was certainly a good master to his officials and servants. If both he and the Duchess paid careful attention to the management of their affairs, they could and did on occasion spend splendidly. And not only splendidly, but in many respects wisely.

At Woburn Abbey they entertained much society, in particular political society. During the fifties the house was partly reconstructed, modern improvements were added and new furniture of the most elegant kind bought. The garden, too, was remodelled according to the most approved fashion of the day.

But Woburn, to the Duke, stood for much more than these things—the political gatherings and gay parties in the newly rebuilt and re-furnished house; friends strolling in the garden, with its fashionable temples. He was a countryman, and a countryman who was not only passionately interested in his estates, but ready and eager to follow up every agricultural improvement. In that respect he was the true heir of his great-grandfather, the fifth Earl and first Duke of Bedford. He watched over Woburn with the special

care that the latter had bestowed upon it. And, more than this, he expanded the estate almost exactly on the lines that the great-grandfather had laid down as desirable. Nor did he confine his attention to Woburn. His personal interest, like the introduction of improvements, was extended to all his properties.

But the fifth Earl and first Duke had been well content to devote himself to Woburn Abbey and the estate almost to the exclusion of all else, and had taken little or no interest in political affairs. His great-grandson was not only a country gentleman, attached to his country home and taking a keen interest in the management of his estates. He was to go down to history as anti-Walpole Whig and leader of the group of politicians to whom was applied the title of the Bloomsbury Group, or alternatively Gang. If he expanded and improved the Woburn estate to a degree that would have delighted his great-grandfather, he was also to hold a succession of high offices in the service of the State.

The holding of office by the Duke implied both for himself and his Duchess as active a life in town as in the country. In that busy and varied existence the house in Bloomsbury was the background. It was not home in the sense that Woburn Abbey was home. Nevertheless, as the London residence it played its part in the life of the family.

In Bedford House on 27th September, 1739, a son was born. Immediately there were the usual rejoicings, as there had been for other children born long since.

October, 1739.	Gave the ringers at Woburn for ringing upon the Marquess's birth	£1	1*s.*	0*d.*
	Gave 2 fiddlers playing at the Abbey upon ditto	£1	1*s.*	0*d.*

On 27th October, the child was baptized — at St. George's, Bloomsbury — by the name of Francis. That

name had been popular in the family since the time of the second Earl of Bedford, who had borne it in common with so many of his contemporaries in the sixteenth century.

The second child, born four years later, was a girl, who was given the name of Caroline, not in accordance with family tradition — Diana and Anne were the names for the girls — but in honour of the Queen Consort.

Once more, then, a family was established at Bedford House, and the young Marquess of Tavistock and his sister played in the nurseries where in days gone by their grandfather and his two sisters, the children of William, Lord Russell, had played.

But Lord Russell, in his long curled wig, his elaborate, full-skirted, brocaded coat, the lace frills falling at neck and wrist and from the garters, seems to be divided by much more than half a century from his grandson, in his short trim wig, his neat coat and close-fitting breeches. So much had happened in England since William Russell had passed through the gates of the house in Bloomsbury for the last time. The Whig world acclaimed him as their martyr. But it was a very different world from that which he had known.

The public life of the fourth Duke, whether as First Lord of the Admiralty, as principal Secretary of State, as Lord Lieutenant for Ireland, or as Ambassador to France, is contained in the many political papers and letters of the day. The part played by himself, as by his Duchess, in the political sphere stands out clearly. Here and there a sidelight is thrown on their intimate personal life by such correspondence as that of Horace Walpole, or by a diarist. But of the other letters and papers which might have told still more concerning that personal life, only a few remain. The blame for this must be laid in the right quarter — upon the Duke himself. 'My inveterate habit of destroying all personal correspondence', he wrote; and it is to be feared that the practice was extended to include letters written to him

as well as the copies almost certainly made of those which he himself wrote.

Later, his great-grandson, like himself a short man, better known as little Lord John Russell than as Earl Russell, edited the political correspondence of his predecessor, and in doing so eliminated all papers which did not appear to him of any importance. To be of no importance meant, in his view, that they did not concern political affairs. As a consequence, only once or twice did a personal letter, having been overlooked by the Duke, escape likewise being destroyed by his successor. The few which were allowed to survive, probably quite by accident, recount matters of small moment only. But they at least show that Walpole's epithet of merry for the Duke was on the whole justified. They also reveal a very pleasing relationship and affection between him and his wife.

In 1746 the Duke was ordered to Bath for bathing and to drink the waters. The previous year, destined to go down in history as the 'forty-five, had been for him one of much work and anxiety, as it had been for most of the prominent people in the realm. He was then First Lord of the Admiralty. He was also Lord Lieutenant of Bedfordshire, and in that capacity had in September, besides his general watch for possible trouble within his county, begun to raise a regiment of volunteers. Altogether he found himself, as he said, worn out.

The root of the trouble was gout. On the whole the Duke was blessed with a much better constitution than had been his unfortunate brother. But gout, that almost universal affliction of the time, had already, when he was still only in his early thirties, laid hold of him. It was to remain with him for the rest of his life. His great-grandfather had endured the same and had been sent to try a cure at Tunbridge Wells. His father, on the other hand, threatened with gout in his twenties, had chosen to go to Bath. And it

was to Bath, now the more fashionable of the two spas, that the son also went. Thence, in a letter dated 28th April, 1746, he wrote to his wife:

> As you seem desirous of knowing what I do with myself, I will tell you, as well as an idle Bath life can be described in writing.
>
> In the first place, I get up early in a morning, sometimes before 7 o'clock, and drink the waters or bath in their respective turns, so as to be able to be at the coffee house at breakfast at 10 o'clock. This morning after breakfast I rode out. Other mornings I saunter about this town till I am footsore, and then lounge till the time of dressing in the bookseller's shop, or at home with Père Daniel. Two or three people generally dine here, always Lord Fane (which, by the by, is the only comfortable thing I have yet mentioned). After dinner one glass of Bath water, a very short walk, and then home to write letters or read.
>
> Now comes the gaiety. At close of the evening I sit down to Guinea Whisk, either with Lord Winchelsea or Lady Bell, and have made a shift already to win 16 guineas. How long they will last God knows. At half past 10 I regularly return to my old woman to pump my hand; by the by, she has a daughter, but don't be jealous. After the lightest of suppers and one glass of Bath water, I get to bed soon after 11. Does not this agreeable life make you wish to be here?

The fourth Duke's Whisk, which was the name of the game that was afterwards to be Whist, was a great resource to him in the business of taking the waters.

As for the landlady's daughter about whom the Duke assured the Duchess she need have no anxiety, she was not the only lady he met at Bath, as he was reminded. 'Indeed, my dear love,' wrote the Duchess to him in a letter of a little later date — the Duchess seldom dated her letters otherwise than with the day of the week —

> . . . I am vastly glad you don't come up, for it really would have been dangerous for you if you had gone back, and the little time you have been there could have done you no good. I must own I have a great mind to go down and make you a visit. The lady that you carried the coat for is my only distress.

But, however agreeable were the other visitors and even with the relaxation of cards in the evening, drinking the waters was apt to be a weary process. The Duke's father had sought to relieve the tedium by having conveyed to Bath not only his coursing dogs, but also his Italian musicians. His son occupied much time not in coursing, but in riding every day on the downs, 'which', he wrote to the Duchess, 'is a better exercise for me than walking'.

The gout had, as other letters reveal, as usual seized him in his feet. The Duke underwent a species of mild torture in trying to walk on the Bath pavements, especially as the weather that spring was unusually warm. Letter after letter records his lamentations. 'My feet', wrote he,

> . . . are not yet got strong enough to bear a great deal of walking on these hard, hot pavements, but I think they begin to mend a little.

He was also, in spite of cards and agreeable ladies, thoroughly bored.

But all things, even drinking the waters at Bath, come to an end. The Duchess had reported to the Duke that both she and her little son were looking forward to his home-coming. 'Lord Tavistock', she wrote:

> . . . says he loves to have you go abroad because he is so very glad when you come home. I don't know how you will understand it, but it seems to me the most natural kind thing that ever was said.

Lord Tavistock did more than send messages; he sometimes wrote to his father himself in a fair, round hand. His wish

for the return of the latter was duly endorsed by the Duchess. 'I am vastly obliged to you, my dearest love,' wrote she—

> . . . for your charming long letter, which I received last night, and shall think this week very long till I see you at Woburn, where Lord Tavistock and I shall be vastly happy to meet you.

The meeting was anticipated with joy on both sides, for to the letter the Duke replied:

> Believe me, my dear love, I have not ceased thinking of you ever since I left London, and propose to myself great pleasure in seeing you again on Monday morning.
>
> Adieu, my dear creature, take care of yourself for both our sakes. I am ever yours,
>
> BEDFORD.

Not many such letters, of no political importance, as Lord John Russell would rightly have said, but reflecting family affection, have survived. Bills and accounts are more enlightening for details of the domestic life.

The little Lord Tavistock who was sufficient of an epicure to like his father's going away because of the delight of the return was at that time seven years old and his sister Caroline was three. Presently, as they grew older, they were provided with the amusements proper to their age.

In the household one Richard Branson had, as his particular duty, the office of attendant to the little boy and in some degree also to his sister. He made purchases for them of all kinds, including all sorts of things for their entertainment.

Richard Branson's bill of disbursements for Lord Tavistock and Lady Caroline.

December 2, 1751.	Paid for battledores and shuttlecocks	9*s.* 6*d.*
February 25, 1753.	Paid for paint and prints for Lord Tavistock and Lady Caroline	6*s.* 1*d.*

March 28, 1753	Paid for a book of drawings for Lady Caroline		5*s.*	0*d.*
May 5.	Paid Richard Bynion for fireworks for Lord Tavistock	£1	0*s.*	4*d.*
May 6.	Paid for the print of Miss Bellamy and Mr. Garrick for Lady Caroline		7*s.*	6*d.*
November 24.	Paid for battledore and shuttlecocks for Lord Tavistock		4*s.*	6*d.*
	Paid for whips and tops for Lord Tavistock			6*d.*
	Paid for 5 cups and balls		5*s.*	2*d.*

The children had their pets also.

Richard Branson's bill of disbursements for Lord Tavistock and Lady Caroline.

February 12, 1752.	Gave the dog doctor for coming to Bounce		5*s.*	0*d.*
May 29.	Paid Isaac Smith a bill for bird cages for Lord Tavistock and Lady Caroline	£1	14*s.*	0*d.*
July 19.	Paid for three pee-wits for Lord Tavistock		2*s.*	6*d.*
April 3, 1753.	Paid for a new door to the dormouse's cage			6*d.*

The birds, the dog and the dormouse were, like the toys, for the entertainment of the children in their nurseries and

schoolrooms at Bedford House and at Woburn Abbey. But Richard Branson and Lord Tavistock at least also went forth to get amusement, even if Lady Caroline was excluded.

Richard Branson's bill.

November 30, 1751.	Paid at the Playhouse with Lord Tavistock	10*s.*	0*d.*
December 2.	Paid for seeing the rhinoceros and alligator with Lord Tavistock	2*s.*	2*d.*
February 27, 1752.	Paid for seeing the Russia man, for Lord Tavistock	3*s.*	0*d.*
	Paid at the Playhouse, ditto	5*s.*	0*d.*

The Playhouse may have been any one of the three theatres, in Drury Lane, at Whitefriars, or at Blackfriars, for all of them were indifferently called the Playhouse.

Who or what was the Russia man, or where he might be seen, remains a mystery. Like the rhinoceros, he was a curiosity.

That beast, when Lord Tavistock saw him, was a curiosity indeed. The authorities at the Zoological Gardens venture the opinion that this may have been the first time that such a creature had been shown alive in England. If so, then England was behindhand, for it is known that as far back as 1513 the Portuguese had the felicity of gazing upon an Indian rhinoceros.

But the boy and girl grew older, as children will, and their advanced education had to be seriously considered.

The Duke himself, like his brother and his father, had had private tutors. For his son he chose otherwise. It was determined to send Lord Tavistock to Westminster School. This was a reversion to what had been done in the family

almost a century previously, and not done since. The younger sons of the fifth Earl and first Duke, James and George, had been sent to Westminster, then under Doctor Busby, in the year of the Restoration. The fourth Duke's son was dispatched thither early in 1752.

The headmaster was then Doctor John Nicoll, and to the Duke of Bedford in July, 1752, Doctor Nicoll wrote an admirable letter explaining with the greatest courtesy why he intended to do what he thought best for the nobleman's son.

MY LORD,

I hope your Grace will do me the justice to believe that if I had imagined a remove into the Fourth Form would have been to Lord Tavistock's advantage, he had certainly gained it. But he certainly wants to be steadier in Latin before he enters upon Greek.

He has now talked with some of his schoolfellows who have gone before him, and has learned from them of what importance half a year more well spent in the Third Form will be to him; and I believe when your Grace sees him next, you will find him easy and happy in continuing where he is. Two or three of the places he lost might be, and I believe were, by accident. That would easily have been got over, had it not been of real service for him to stay in the Third Form till the next remove.

It is with some reluctance that I take this liberty. But in an affair where Lord Tavistock's improvement is so much concerned, I doubt not of your Grace's pardon, if I act to the best of my judgment, and rather refuse what would make him happy for a day than grant what he would have reason to be sorry for ever after.

I am, my Lord,

Your Grace's most humble obedient servant,

JOHN NICOLL.

Lord Tavistock boarded at Westminster with Mrs. Hawkins. The fee for his board was twenty-five pounds a year. Ten pounds a year was paid for his room, and there was another payment of five pounds for a fire.

Mrs. Hawkins' bill.

1754-1755.	Fire	£5	0*s.*	0*d.*
	The room	£10	0*s.*	0*d.*
	A year's board due on December 6, 1755	£25	0*s.*	0*d.*

Certain lessons were paid for separately. These included, in the first place, instruction in writing.

Writing Master, Tempest Bowen.

		£	*s.*	*d.*
	The Lord Marquess of Tavistock.			
January 1, 1756.	A year teaching his Lordship writing	8	8	0
	Books		4	0
		£8	12	0

Lord Tavistock was taught dancing at Westminster by Monsieur Denoyer, Junior. This was perhaps the son or the brother of the Monsieur Denoyer who was dancing master to the royal family.

Dancing Master, P. Desnoyer. [*sic*]

Mr. Denoyer Junior.

To the Right Honourable The Marquess of Tavistock.

1753.	For eight months and a half teaching at Westminster at different times at two guineas a month	£17	17*s.*	0*d.*

Monsieur Denoyer attended at Westminster School for the purpose of giving his lessons. So also did the masters for French, and for fencing. But all three were probably visiting or honorary tutors rather than regular members of the staff.

J. Droz, French Master.

1753. Received this 31st December, 1753, of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, by John Branson, twelve pounds twelve shillings for one year's teaching Lord Tavistock French from 23rd November, 1752, to the 23rd November, 1753.

JOSUÉ AMÉ DROZ. £12 12*s.* 0*d.*

Fencing Master, Francis Keige.

The Right Honourable the Marquess of Tavistock's account.

		£	*s.*	*d.*
March 5, 1757.	For 15 months fencing beginning the 27th of February, 1755	37	16	0
	For 2 pair of foils	1	1	0
		£38	17	0

Besides the fees for board and for lessons, there was always from Westminster the usual school list of miscellanea.

The Right Honourable The Marquess of Tavistock's bill at Westminster from December 6, 1754.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
To a porter to Bedford House			9
Paid for letters		2	2
A porter to Bedford House		1	0
A letter			6
For a new double silver loop, a button and silk loop to a hat		2	6
Paid a porter for errands		1	6
Ditto going to the apothecary			9
Ditto for Dr. Carlton		1	6
Ditto to the apothecary			9
Ditto 3 times		2	3

	£	s.	d.
A letter			4
Ditto			3
Ditto			4
Ditto			3
Paid for a basket from the carriers		1	6
Two box combs		3	6
One great tooth comb and case		1	0
A comb brush			6
Two letters			6
Ditto			6
A letter			3
Ditto			3
To 34 letters sent to the post		2	10
Sitting in the Abbey	1	1	0
Cleaning the school		2	0
Ditto the shoes		6	0
Washballs, worsted, etc.		10	0
For washing 93 waistcoats	1	3	3
The bookseller	11	7	11

The young Lord Tavistock sent a good many letters back to Bedford House. Besides the payments shown in school bills, Mr. Branson, at Bedford House, constantly entered in his accounts, 'Paid a porter for a letter from Westminster'.

From Westminster, in 1757, Lord Tavistock proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge.

In the meantime, his young sister, Caroline, was being taught in the schoolroom at Bedford House, the schoolroom on the upper floor which had formerly been the nursery.

Here a French 'mademoiselle' was in attendance, one of the long procession of those ladies through many generations. But this lady was there to guard and chaperon rather than to teach. Any instruction she may have given was largely supplemented by tutors from outside.

The primary foundations of her education were laid for Lady Caroline by the writing master, Mr. Thomas Brooks-

bank, who had also for a time taught Lord Tavistock. He gave Lady Caroline lessons at between one shilling and two shillings a time, and also supplied pens and copy books.

Writing Master, Thomas Brooksbank.

1755.	To teaching the Right Honourable the Lady Caroline Russell from January 16th, 1755, to March 27th, 1755; 30 lessons	£2	12*s.*	6*d.*
	To ½ a hundred best pens 3*s.*; pens common 2*s.* 6*d.*; a copy book 1*s.*; a memorandum book 2*d.*		6*s.*	8*d.*

But a great deal more appertained to the education of a young lady of fashion, as Lady Caroline would be, than mere writing and reading. In particular, she was carefully instructed in the arts of music and dancing, and in the French and Italian tongues.

Lady Caroline's music master in 1753, when she was ten years old, was G. Manfredini. Perhaps he taught her the harpsichord. But two years later, at twelve years old, she was learning both singing and the harpsichord from Vincenzo Ciampi.

Vincenzo Ciampi for teaching Lady Caroline to sing.

March 27, 1755.	Received this 27th March, 1755, of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, by John Branson, twenty-two pounds three shillings and six pence for fifty-six lessons to Lady Caroline Russell, at £3 3*s.* 0*d.* for eight lessons, and 2*s.* 6*d.* for a song.			
	VINCENZO CIAMPI.	£22	3*s.*	6*d.*

Vincenzo Ciampi teaching Lady Caroline.

His Grace the Duke of Bedford. Debtor.

From April 7 to May 10 inclusive, 1755.	To teaching Lady Caroline Russell to sing and play on the harpsichord, twenty eight lessons at three guineas for eight lessons	£11	0*s.*	6*d.*

Ciampi also supplied a book of music.

Music Master, Vincenzo Ciampi.

May 31, 1755.	To a book of musical compositions	£6	6*s.*	0*d.*

After the harpsichord followed the guitar.

March 29, 1757.	Received this 29 March, 1757, of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, by John Branson, three pounds seven shillings in full for a guitar for Lady Caroline Russell per Frederick Hintz.	£3	7s.	0d.

For instruction in dancing there came to Bedford House the elder of the two Denoyers. When Lord Tavistock was at home, he joined in these lessons with his sister.

Dancing Master, George Desnoyer. [*sic*]

1755.	Trois mois et demi leçons de danse donné à Lady Caroline	10 *guinées et demi*
	Trois mois et deux leçons de danse donné à Milord Tavistock	9 *guinées et demi*

Then came the important question of languages. Supplementary to 'Mademoiselle' there was a French master,

Monsieur Alexander Lafong, who seems to have combined a certain amount of instruction in geography along with that in French.

French Master, Alexander Lafong.
Lady Caroline Russell's bill.
For teaching her Ladyship from November 29th, 1752, to May 14th, 1753, at a guinea per twelve lessons, as follows:

	Lessons
In the month of November	4
In December	6
In January	7
In February	9
In March	6
In April	5
In May	4
	41

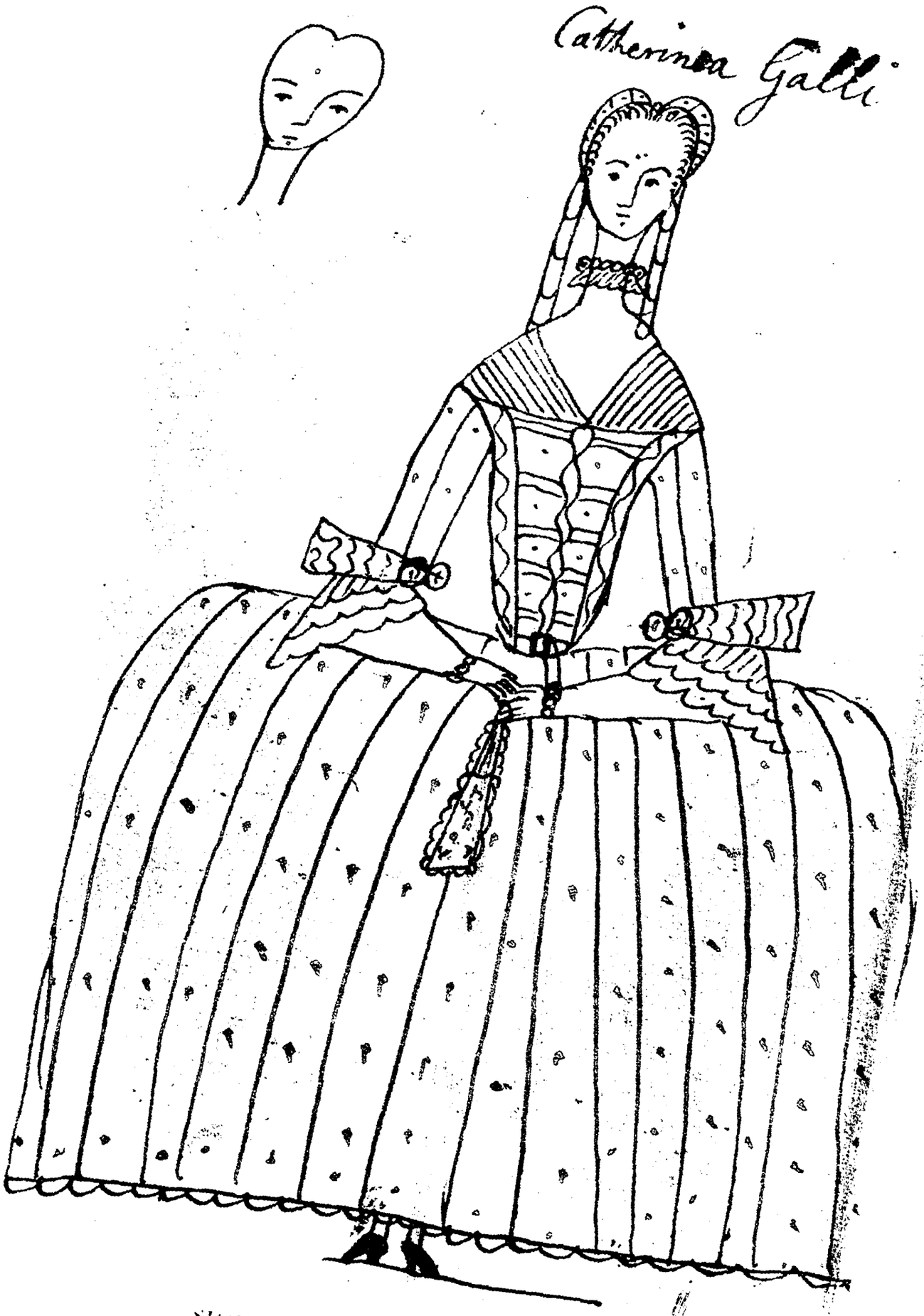
Coming to the sum of £3 11*s.* 9*d.*

March 23, 1753.	Furnished her Ladyship with a map of France	1*s.*	0*d.*
May 11.	A map of Spain	1*s.*	6*d.*
	In the whole	£3 14*s.*	3*d.*

Lastly, a lady came to teach Italian.

Signorina Galli for teaching Lady Caroline.
His Grace the Duke of Bedford.
Debtor to Caterina Galli.

1753.	To four months and three lessons to Lady Caroline Russell at £3 3*s.* 0*d.*	£13 13*s.*	0*d.*



SIGNORINA CATHERINA GALLI

Of all those tutors who came and went, the appearance of one only has been handed down to posterity. In a moment's respite from lessons, Lady Caroline demonstrated that she had a pretty skill in drawing. She made an elegant picture on the back of a bill of the Signorina Caterina Galli.

That bill, and many others, survived, where letters had not, to be placed among the piles of bills and papers preserved in the business rooms in Bedford House. In those rooms were drawn together by the receiver-general, or agent-in-chief, of the Duke of Bedford all the various threads of his master's affairs, domestic, business and financial, even including some which dated from the days of the Duke's immediate predecessors.

CHAPTER XII

AN AGENT-IN-CHIEF

At the head of all the officials and servants was the gentleman who had formerly been, and was still sometimes, called the receiver-general, but who was now more often given the name of chief agent, or agent-in-chief.

Very shortly after the fourth Duke had come into the title, he appointed a Mr. Robert Butcher to the post. With Mr. Butcher during his long tenure of office was associated a Mr. John Becuda. Together, the two names of Butcher and Becuda appear on files, catalogues and boxes, as if to indicate the sway of two inseparable twin brethren. In actual fact, the importance rested with Mr. Butcher, who was undoubtedly the leading spirit and held the chief post, while to him Mr. Becuda acted at best as assistant and feeder of information. But over two hundred years later their names on official documents and tin cases are for ever intertwined.

Mr. Butcher was appointed at the close of a somewhat troublous period in the general management of the family business.

Throughout the sixteenth and the first part of the seventeenth century, the Earls of Bedford had normally appointed as receivers-general men drawn from the country gentry; sometimes, but not invariably, a younger son with his way to make; or, on occasion, a man who would inherit a small estate from his father. In 1660 the fifth Earl, somewhat departing from this practice, had appointed Mr. Collop, who was the son of one of his tenants in a very small way in Dorset, a man who in any case would have had to have followed some trade or profession. Mr. Collop had been

succeeded by a professional lawyer, Mr. Fox, who had previously been attached to the Earl in the capacity of legal adviser, and had later undertaken all legal business in addition to the estate work.

After Mr. Fox had come Mr. Middleton, who had been receiver-general under the second Duke, and had continued in the post first during the long minority of the third Duke and then during the latter's somewhat troubled, but short career.

Mr. Middleton's tenure of the post had not been particularly successful. It may well have been that he was not quite up to the work, especially in view of the rapidity with which the town property was developing. Moreover, the extravagance of his lord, once the latter had taken affairs into his own hands, must in any case have made the task of the receiver-general one of great difficulty. There is also some indication that influences around the third Duke were working against his chief agent. At all events, for whatever reason, Mr. Middleton fell somewhat into disgrace even before the death of the third Duke, although he continued in his office. But on the accession of the fourth Duke he disappeared completely from view.

Into the post then stepped Robert Butcher, and shortly afterwards he had as his assistant his faithful shadow, Mr. Becuda.

Mr. Butcher was probably brought, as was quite suitable, from Streatham. When the Duke and his brother had been children playing in the manor house there, among the members of the household had been a certain Joseph and Mary Butcher. Robert Butcher was almost certainly related to them and may well have been their son. What sort of an education he had had is unknown. What is at once evident is his ability as an administrator and a business man.

The Duke had a right to expect, as he seems to have got,

a first-class man, for Mr. Butcher was extremely well paid. His salary, which was constant throughout, was as much as seven hundred pounds a year. In comparison with other salaries paid by the fourth Duke, this was a very high figure. It cannot easily be compared with salaries paid earlier to those who had held the same position.

Mr. Collop, a century earlier, had begun at fifty pounds a year, which had eventually been doubled. But he had lived rent free, and the inference from various papers is that he had a very large number of perquisites. His successor, Mr. Fox, had also done well. With a nominal twenty pounds a year salary as legal adviser, and a hundred pounds as receiver-general, he was in constant receipt of good fees for every bit of legal business undertaken and had many perquisites both as lawyer and as receiver-general. He died, as rumour had it, a wealthy man.

Poor Mr. Middleton was not, judging by appearances, in as good a position as these two. His salary was only forty pounds a year during all the years he served. At first sight, the figure seems ridiculously small in comparison with what had been given. But his receipts occur too often for there to be a possibility of error. It is evident that he had few or no personal expenses, for everything was provided for him, whether he lived in or whether he lived out, probably including all his clothes. But even so, allowing that he had no family responsibility and allowing for the inevitable lack of information as to perquisites and what they really meant, he was probably not well off in comparison with his predecessors and certainly not so in comparison with his successor, with his seven hundred pounds a year.

Mr. Collop, serving the fifth Earl as a married man, had, when in London, had his own house in Covent Garden. Mr. Middleton, an unmarried man, had, during the lifetime of the second Duke, had his own apartment in Bedford House itself. But shortly after the death of the Duke he

seems, somewhat abruptly judging from the papers, to have been made to leave Bedford House and to go into what were described as lodgings let by a Mrs. Webb. Where Mrs. Webb let lodgings is never stated. But it was presumably in the neighbourhood. The entire cost of the lodgings, including rent and down to the last sack of coal, was provided for Mr. Middleton first by the trustees of the child Duke and then, later, by the Duke himself. Nor was he perhaps entirely the loser by the change. His room in Bedford House had been, according to the inventory, mainly furnished with a bedstead and chairs that were 'very ancient', upholstered in silk that was 'much worn'. But the transition was an abrupt one and perhaps reflects some turmoil in the household.

Mr. Butcher had, however, with his seven hundred pounds a year, to find himself entirely, except that he may possibly have taken some of his meals in Bedford House. But his private life was passed with his family in his own home. That home was a house belonging to the Duke situated on the north side of Great Russell Street. For this Mr. Butcher paid a rent of ten pounds a year, a normal rent for a small house in that street. A letter to Mr. Butcher in 1747 addresses him 'at his house opposite a baker shop in Great Russell Street, London'. Although it is just possible that for one or two years he occupied another house in Bloomsbury Square, it was that in Great Russell Street with which Mr. Butcher was, throughout the whole tenure of his office, the most closely associated.

In the same street, in the yard of the Blue Boar, he rented stabling for a vehicle and three horses. The horse and vehicle must have been for his own private use and that of his family. There is no evidence that any allowance was made to him for them, and there is, on the contrary, evidence that when riding about his master's affairs, Mr. Butcher used the latter's horses.

Mr. Butcher must have been well pleased to return to his own residence in Great Russell Street, to be welcomed, after a strenuous day, by his wife and growing family — there were three girls and at least two sons — among whom was one daughter, Louisa, who, as she grew up, paid much attention to her father's comfort.

Among other things, Mr. Butcher required a good deal of sympathy for the gout with which he, in common with his noble master and many of his fellows also, was afflicted. He was told by at least one of his friends, no doubt to his own satisfaction, that the trouble was the result of overtaxing his brain rather than of over-indulgence in the port which was now circulating so freely among men of standing, and in Bedford House no less than elsewhere.

Burlington.
21 *June*, 1745.

DEAR SIR,

I confess I was a good deal surprised to hear that you have been attacked with the gout, which I hope (though it may confine you at some particular times) will afford you some relief in other respects. For my own part, I have long expected and perhaps deserved it. But as I remember the great Sydenham says that too much thought as well as too much liquor will sometimes bring on that disorder, if you are indebted to either of the above causes for it, it is certainly for the former.

Sir William Temple, in his works, gives an account of a trial he made on himself in a fit of the gout in its first stage, which was by applying a sort of Indian moss called Moxa to the part and setting it on fire, by which, if I forget not, he found almost immediate ease and the use of the part. But this fiery trial I leave to your consideration.

Believe me to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
R. HOLT.

Between the house in Great Russell Street and Bedford

House, then, went Mr. Butcher, in his drab or grey cloth coat — the only personal tailor's bills which survive always refer to cloth coats in those colours — and his worsted stockings. About the latter he was, judging from letters, very particular. 'I am very much ashamed', wrote the hosier —

> . . . that I have been so long in sending the stockings. But the maker was disappointed in getting fine worsted. I hope what I have sent will please.

In Bedford House Mr. Butcher stepped into the business rooms to deal with the papers upon which his mark, although that of Mr. Becuda was by no means excluded, was to be set.

The centre of the activities of Mr. Butcher and Mr. Becuda, with a group of clerks who worked under them, were the rooms in Bedford House known as the office, or offices. Such rooms were the successors of others which had found their place in Bedford House in the Strand. They were — and the same applies to the business rooms of most other great estates — the predecessors of an entirely separate building given over to the business affairs of the family, and particularly those of the head thereof.

These office rooms may at first either have been on the ground floor in the central block, or in one of the wings. But during the seventeen-sixties there are many references to, and bills for, what the endorsements on the papers always describe as a new office, or offices. These were certainly situated in one of the wings. They may have been old rooms reconstructed, or they may have been apartments newly allotted for the purpose. A separate entrance to them was also arranged from the courtyard. Doubtless, the rapid expansion of the Duke's concerns, due to his political importance as well as to his family affairs, made it highly desirable that the stream of persons coming on business,

small and great, should be diverted from the front door, at which they had formerly arrived.

In all, there were five of these office rooms. Two of them were obviously good-sized rooms and well furnished with regard to all the writing and other work that had to be done in them.

OFFICE

First Room.

Six mahogany fan-back chairs with black leather seats.
Five stools.
Three wainscot desks with drawers and one ditto no drawers.
A deal painted ditto with drawers underneath.
A chamber clock in a carved and gilt case by Hughes.
A slate.
A chimney glass in a gilt frame.
A fender, shovel, tongs and poker.

The second room had much the same furniture, but had in addition a Scotch carpet and a deal painted bookcase with glazed folding doors. It also had what was described as 'a glazed frame to copy plans'.

The three other rooms were but little more than closets. They contained all the necessary appurtenances for office work; deal steps, wooden and iron chests, a nest of pigeon-holes, with cupboards, and roll maps.

There was a bedroom over the office. But this may have been for the use of one or possibly two of the clerks. Mr. Becuda, like Mr. Butcher, lived out, although where he lived cannot be exactly identified.

In the proximity of these offices, although its actual situation is not quite clear, was another room also under the aegis of Mr. Butcher. This was the evidence room, of all the rooms perhaps that of the greatest significance for the documentary history of the family. Therein were preserved, as the name implies, evidences in the shape of patents of all

kinds, of nobility and of offices, as well as title deeds of the estates. But to these had for some time past been added likewise bundles of letters, bills and accounts, as they had passed through the hands of the various receivers-general and other officials and servants.

That so many of these additional papers were preserved was in part the work of Mr. Butcher. But, however bright a candle he deserves to have burnt to him, some acknowledgment is due elsewhere.

In the sixteenth century the evidence room had found its place in the first of the London houses of the Earls of Bedford, Russell House by Ivy Bridge in the Strand. A rough list implies that nothing but evidences proper, that is to say patents of nobility, with the other patents and deeds which constituted the title deeds of the estates, were kept there.

In 1585, when, on the death of the second Earl of Bedford, Russell House was given up, the evidence room was transferred to the house called Bedford House on the north side of the Strand. It would appear that for the time being the papers placed there were still confined to those of legal importance. At all events, household accounts and personal papers, whether originating from one or the other of the London houses, or belonging to one of the residences in the country, were not, it would seem, preserved until, in the middle of the seventeenth century, the then receiver-general, Mr. Collop, began to place in the evidence room his docketed bills, which reflected the whole economy of family life.

The next move was to Bloomsbury.

When, after the death of the old Duke, in 1700, the furniture in the house in the Strand and, it is to be feared, some, if not all, of the pictures also, had been scattered in a sale, the evidence room had been left intact. It was only four years later, when the workmen were ready to enter the house in order to pull it down, that these were dealt with. Easily then the additional papers, which might well have

been regarded as negligible, could have been consigned to destruction, and only those documents, the patents and title deeds and so forth, recognised as vital, been moved. But someone, whether it was the young Duke himself or his receiver-general, decided otherwise and over to Bloomsbury went all the papers.

Francis Lindon's bill and receipt for removing the Evidence House.

		£	s.	d.
May, 1705.	For two bags for writings		4	0
	For sand and wax			9
December	Paid at several times for laces, tape and packthread to tie up the writings and evidences in order to remove them		2	6
	Paid for cords to bind up the boxes wherein the writings were carried		5	6
	Paid for porters to bring in two great presses full of writings into the Evidence Room in Southampton House		3	0
	Paid the carman for four loads of writings		9	0

There, then, in the new evidence room, lay piles of bills relating to the seventeenth-century household as well as to the family business affairs, alongside the other papers more important in the eyes at least of the lawyers. And there they were allowed to remain undisturbed during the short reign of the second Duke and during the minority of the third, when activity had been withdrawn from Bloomsbury to centre in Streatham.

The room itself, to be sure, did not escape the universal and ineradicable tendency to utilize any room that was not actually occupied by the family as a dumping ground, and

on the death of the second Duke in 1711 it contained a variety of debris.

In the Evidence Room.

2 silk setting nets.
A wainscot oval table.
A pair of tongs, fire shovel and poker.
2 sets of pewter, coarse and fine.
A large curtain rod.
1 pair of bellows.
2 small bells and springs.
An old brass sweetmeat pan and scummer.

But, in spite of these intrusions, the papers that had reached the room had at least found safety there.

Then Mr. Butcher and Mr. Becuda, coming to preside over the evidence room, as well as in the office rooms, made many changes. In the first place, every paper, letter, bill, or business statement, that passed through their hands, was, in so far as they could ensure it, duly docketed and neatly tied up in its appropriate packet. Then, with a clearly endorsed wrapper, the packet went to the evidence room.

Mr. Butcher's main interest was naturally in these particular papers, reflecting, as they did, the business which passed through his own hands. Endorsements everywhere in his precise handwriting testify to the care he bestowed upon the documents. But he went further than this. It was he, if notes are to be trusted, who, in the year 1756, when he had been something like twenty years in the office, whether under the direction of the Duke or on his own authority, had the estate deeds running back through the centuries sorted, filed and endorsed, a tremendous task, but completed apparently within the one year. Even if he paid rather less attention to estate papers which were not, strictly speaking, title deeds, and to the household accounts and bills dating before his time, even in some cases going so far as to label the packets as 'useless', he at least saw that, useless or not, again

in so far as he could ensure it, no destruction ensued, but, on the contrary, that every packet should find its place in a safe receptacle.

It is only a pity, from the point of view of later generations, that the heads of the family had not handed and did not hand over their own correspondence, both domestic and political, to be placed in the evidence room also. Then that, too, might have survived in even more generous measure. But it was not so.

Moreover, even Mr. Butcher, great conserver of papers as he was, could not bring about the restoration of those that had gone amissing, such as, for example, papers, letters and the like which must once have been in the possession of Rachel, Lady Russell, not to speak of certain leases; nor ensure that accidents would not happen to others. Anything may have happened to a packet here and there. But it is quite likely that some may have been destroyed by fire. Certainly among the survivors there are a few whose appearance seems to hint at a conflagration and, worse, at water used to put that conflagration out.

One of the wings of Bedford House was undoubtedly on fire in January, 1737/8, and this may well have been the wing in which the business rooms were situated.

		£	s.	d.
January 16, 1737/38.	Gave to the first engine when the wing at Bedford House was on fire	1	1	0
	Gave to the firemen belonging to the Office		10	6
	Gave a man who discovered the fire first and lost his hat and wig assisting		5	0

Another fire occurred sixteen years later, but whereabouts in the house is not stated.

		s.	*d.*
January 31, 1754.	Gave Mark Harding's boys for assisting at the fire at Bedford House	10	0

It is also known that on one occasion the office of the Duke's lawyer was likewise on fire and that certain papers — the lawyer, however, explained that these were of no importance — were destroyed.

But if some papers went, many others remained, to be handled by Mr. Butcher — household accounts, financial statements and the whole mass of business papers concerning the estates, Bloomsbury among them.

In the offices in Bedford House both Mr. Butcher and Mr. Becuda were to be found in person for the greater part of the time. Nothing reflects more clearly the change in the activities required of the receiver-general, now the agent-in-chief.

Mr. Collop, having his private house in Covent Garden, had also office rooms in Bedford House in the Strand. Yet his papers, notably the bills for the monies paid over to him on account of board and lodging, show that a great part of his time was spent at Woburn, where he had private rooms reserved for him, with frequent excursions to the other estates, both in the east and in the west. His own home could have seen him but little and his visits to the offices in Bedford House, although fairly frequent, were also clearly short in time. In any case, a great deal even of his business work — the drawing up of the accounts and so forth — was done at Woburn.

But Mr. Butcher's activities centred definitely around the London house. Even to Woburn he only went on

occasion, and his visits to other properties were few and far between.

This is not because the fourth Duke himself was static. On the contrary, he was far more mobile than ever was his great-grandfather, the fifth Earl. The latter had at all times preferred remaining at Woburn to paying visits either to London or to his outlying estates. He did, of course, visit both, but only on occasion. Woburn was his home, and at Woburn he stayed.

His great-grandson, the man of politics, dearly as he loved Woburn, was almost as closely identified with Bedford House in Bloomsbury as with his country property. In a very busy life, in the course of which he was called both to Ireland and to Paris on affairs of state, he also contrived to spend considerable periods of time in Devonshire.

In the meantime, while the master moved about, the man, that is the agent-in-chief, remained in Bloomsbury. Far more use was made of clerks than had been the case hitherto. It was they, directed by the Duke on the one hand, or Mr. Butcher on the other, who rode about the country, transmitting instructions and taking messages.

But pen and ink, too, were far more extensively employed than hitherto. Correspondence was an easier matter in the middle of the eighteenth century than it had been during the seventeenth. The fifth Earl, careful supervisor as he was of all his own business, writing many short notes, never produced — was not likely to have produced — the many long, beautifully-written memoranda that survive in the clear hand of the fourth Duke, any more than Mr. Collop could have attained to the facility with which Mr. Butcher poured forth his opinions and advice on paper.

All day and every day the flood of business flowed through the office in Bedford House. The misdemeanour of a servant would be reported. A packet of tradesmen's bills would

have to be checked. There might be a communication concerning the Duke's financial affairs from Child's Bank. A query would come from one of the estates. Often the business day was one of small things. The lists, carefully noted, of callers at the office show the number of persons who arrived there daily, on necessary, or, as sometimes those in the office must have felt, entirely unnecessary business. The statements against their names can be matched by any other office in any other generation.

Persons who have called at the office in Bedford House; June to August, 1755.

The painter to acquaint Mr. Becuda the carpenter had not put up the slips in Lady Caroline's room.

A gentleman called to pay his rent, who said he was going out of town and would call again about a fortnight's time; did not leave his name.

Mr. William Davis, having received a letter from Mr. Becuda wherein he acquainted him if he did not do the paving Mr. Barlow ordered that he should employ some other person; he called to acquaint Mr. Becuda, Mr. Barlow had not ordered him to do any.

Charles Lethieullier, Esquire, who sent in the morning to Mr. Becuda, to go to him half an hour after ten o'clock, which message Mr. Becuda received himself; and as he has not yet been, Mr. Lethieullier a quarter before six sent to acquaint him if he did not come in half an hour's time he should be gone out, and tomorrow goes in the country.

Mr. Bird wanted Mr. Becuda at the house in the square.

Mr. Butler desires Mr. Becuda will speak to the workmen to get forward.

Mr. Wheatley and Mrs. Hughs sent to acquaint Mr. Becuda that they imagined the pipes must be broke as the water has come into their houses near a

month, and desire him to send some person to look at them.

Mr. Walford desires the rubbish may be taken from before his door, which came from Mr. Fletcher's chimney, as he says it is an injury to his business. He desires Mr. Becuda will call on him tomorrow morning upon particular business.

Such entries, in those summer months of 1755, are only some among many. The number of callers in the course of any one day often rose to as many as twenty, or even more. And those who did not call about their business, trivial or otherwise, wrote.

18 *December*, 1747.

SIR,

If my Lord Duke has appointed any time to be waited on by the gentlemen of this parish with their address, be pleased to let me know.

Your company is desired next Monday evening at seven at Mr. Haynes's (Tom's Coffee House) in Russell Street to meet several of your friends.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

JOHN SPRANGER.

The coffee house called Tom's Coffee House in Russell Street, Covent Garden, owned by Richard Haynes, or Haines, was at all times well patronized by the household in Bloomsbury, and there was many a meeting there. Such social gatherings were an agreeable interlude in the day's work.

Among other alleviations were the gifts which came to the office, sometimes from the country bailiffs to the Duke. From Tavistock would come the present of a fine hare caught on the moor, or, more acceptable, a cask of wine or even brandy which had been brought in, so it was said, by a ship. This may or may not have paid duty. From the estate

of Thorney in the fens, celebrated for its water fowl of all kinds, would come ruffs and reeves, or on occasion a swan.

27 *December*, 1747.

DEAR SIR,

I am very sorry to hear His Grace has been indisposed with the gout, but hope he is not likely to be long confined with it.

If he does not leave town, I shall beg you will be so good to crave his acceptance of a fatted cygnet, which I propose sending up on Thursday, to be in town on Saturday, unless I hear from my clerk on Wednesday that he is gone to Woburn.

I shall send with it another for yourself, which I beg you will dress out of curiosity, and though it may appear very awkward upon first sight, I am persuaded you will have a good opinion of it after you have seen it upon the spit and tasted it. We dress them as we do wild ducks, rather under roasting them than otherwise, and provide the same kind of sauce for them. All of us who breed them in these parts think this is the best way of eating them, though the common way is in a pie.

Your most obedient and obliged humble servant,

BENJAMIN WOODWARD.

This letter, with many another, found its appropriate place in the evidence room. The packets remaining there show how Mr. Butcher, with the help of Mr. Becuda, directed all the affairs of the Duke of Bedford, from the oversight of the estate to the management of the household.

CHAPTER XIII

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HOUSEHOLD

MR. BUTCHER was the ultimate authority for the household. Nevertheless, here much of his work was perforce delegated. Under him the outstanding official was the house steward. For the greater part of the time that office was held by Mr. John Branson. His salary began at eighty pounds a year and was subsequently raised to a hundred pounds. Over and above this, he had his board and lodging free, for, an unmarried man, he lived in Bedford House.

There in Bedford House he had, besides his bedroom, two other rooms for his occupation. These rooms were perhaps business rooms. Both were well supplied with what were described as 'walnut-tree splat back chairs' with black leather seats. Each had its wainscot table. The bigger room rejoiced in two folding screens, one covered with India paper and the other of needlework on mahogany; the smaller was furnished with two painted cupboards with folding doors, besides a reading desk and a nest of drawers and partitions, which were very necessary in view of Mr. Branson's numerous books and papers. The final touch was added by the presence of cases of pistols, also in their own way necessary articles for anyone, but especially for one who rode, as Mr. Branson had to do, about his master's business.

A pair of horse pistols, silver mounted, by Griffin.
A pair of pistols, mounted with brass, by Turvey.
A pair screw barrel ditto, mounted with silver, by Buckmaster.

There is no indication that, over and above his comfortable living quarters and his good salary, any clothes were provided for Mr. Branson, as had frequently been the case for a man of his position in the past. But in any event, he had no reason to grumble.

Mr. Branson's office was, however, much more important than the name implies, or than it had been in the time of his predecessors. He was not only manager of the household. He also undertook a great part of the personal business of the Duke, sometimes independently, sometimes in conjunction with the chief agent. In short, he inherited most of the functions of the former gentleman of the privy purse and forestalled those of the later private secretary, an official who does not appear at all in the time under review. He was an extremely useful man, as significant on the personal side of the Duke's affairs as was the chief agent on the business side. Only after John Branson's retirement, when another steward, Percival Beaumont, succeeded him, did the Duke engage once more a gentleman-in-waiting, or gentleman of the privy purse.

As house steward in Bedford House, John Branson was immediately responsible for all the servants.

In the kitchen, as heretofore, appeared at the head of the list the personage known as the clerk of the kitchen. The first engáged in the time of the fourth Duke had a salary of sixty pounds a year, in addition to his board and lodging, for he lived in. His successor, a Mr. Dionysius Milles, was given as much as a hundred pounds a year under apparently exactly the same conditions.

But in spite of his good salary and the fact that he was doubtless still regarded as the chief person in the kitchen, the position of the clerk of the kitchen was not quite what it had been. In the seventeenth century the cooks, compared with him, had been but insignificant and ignoble figures, obviously subordinate in every sense of the word and

earning comparatively low wages. Now, however, they were rapidly becoming personages of a good deal more consequence.

Throughout his lifetime the fourth Duke had as principal cook a Frenchman, and this gentleman — for the greater part of the time he was a Monsieur L'Allemande — received the same salary as the clerk of the kitchen, namely, sixty pounds a year, and no doubt thought himself the latter's equal. But, although, like the clerk, Monsieur L'Allemande enjoyed free meals, he did not have lodging. He was a married man and, as a tenant of the Duke, had, like Mr. Butcher, a house in Great Russell Street. He also paid the same rent as his fellow official, namely, ten pounds a year.

In the wage bills Monsieur L'Allemande was always carefully referred to as the French cook and thereby differentiated from the English cook, who was only half as valuable, for he received but thirty pounds a year. On the other hand, he lived in.

Nevertheless, his salary was less even than that of the third man, who was the confectioner. The latter lived in at any rate for most of the time, and had fifty-two pounds ten shillings a year. But the confectionery was an important business and a first-class man would be required.

In contradistinction to the salary of the clerk of the kitchen, with its handsome rise of forty pounds a year, that of both the first and the second cook and that of the confectioner remained constant throughout all the period, right up to the time of the Duke's death.

The French cook was in himself an innovation. But changes might also have been observed in the lower ranks of the kitchen.

In the seventeenth century no female, old or young, had had any place in the kitchen premises. All the subordinate work had been done by the men and little boys. But now Tom-in-the-Kitchen and his like had been ousted by the

other sex. The cooks in the fourth Duke's kitchen had under them four or five kitchen-maids, whose wages never varied from what was apparently a regulation eight pounds a year. Only the confectioner's special maid, obviously a lesser being, had to be content with four or at the most five pounds.

Possibly the introduction of the female element into the kitchen was not entirely a success, or, more likely, when the new clerk of the kitchen, Dionysius Milles, was appointed some time in the sixties, he personally did not care about it. An acid little note in the steward's book remarks that the said Dionysius has insisted on one at least of the kitchen maids being replaced by a man. The latter was to receive the same wages as his female predecessor, namely, eight pounds a year. There is an implication that the process of changing over from women to men may go on, although it appears that no further changes were in the event made.

Outside the kitchen the proportion of the female staff to the male staff remained very much as it had been for the past hundred years or more, that is to say the female staff were entirely subordinate in number and salaries to the male staff.

Among the men there were some entirely new figures. A butler, an under-butler and a groom of the chambers had appeared, personages unknown in the lists of the servants of the Dukes of Bedford both during the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century.

The butler received in wages fifty-seven pounds ten shillings a year, not much below the French cook. In comparison with all his subordinates his wages were high, for the groom of the chambers had no more than sixteen pounds a year and the under-butler but six pounds. Since precisely the same salary as the last was paid during the fifties to each of the array of footmen, the office must have been honorary rather than productive.

The number of footmen was always varying. At one time there would be only four or five, and at another time seven or

eight. In any case, one of them was always specified as being the Duke's footman, and another as given up to the service of the Duchess. These men received the same wages as their fellows and apparently did not rank any higher than they.

But the wages of the footmen in general are an example of a somewhat startling change in the lists. Whereas the head cook, the butler and so forth were receiving exactly the same wages in the late sixties as they had received in the early fifties, the wages paid the footmen, on the contrary, having begun at only six or eight pounds a year, had, during the years before the Duke's death in 1771, risen to anything between fourteen and seventeen pounds a year. This was certainly not an increase on account of long service, since the names show how often men came in and out of this particular office, very probably because it was a jumping-off ground for advancement. Nor is it likely to have been due to a general rise in wages, since the other officials and servants did not receive such. Some allowance may be made for the fact that the footmen might have been the earliest to benefit by a rise. But this is not sufficient to account for the difference in their treatment from that of the others.

At a hazard, the explanation may be that, since the rise begins to show itself just at the time when the fourth Duke was taking a very prominent part in public affairs, and affairs which required considerable state, such as the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland and the embassy to France, it may well have been that more was asked of the footmen and that they were men of a class somewhat superior to that of their predecessors.

But in any case the footmen were highly privileged members of the staff, for, apart from their salaries, they above all the others could count on an extra income in the shape of gratuities. In the first place, they were always given something extra when they attended, as they were often required to do, one of the ladies of the house to the opera, to Ranelagh,

or to some other place of entertainment. A present was also forthcoming when they had to escort a distinguished guest to his or her home. Further, not only were they the recognized messengers between one house and another, for which service they were always given something, but they were also often lent out to some friend of their lord and lady who required additional help, and when they were so lent out their temporary master for the evening rewarded them with anything from five shillings upwards. Take it all in all, the addition to their wages must in any one year have been considerable.

Besides the footmen, there were two ushers. The one had his place in the steward's room; the other in the servants' hall, the great room, furnished with tables and benches, by the side of the lower entrance. The ushers, like the footmen, began in the fifties with something between seven and ten pounds a year and ended in the late sixties with sixteen pounds a year or even more.

All the men, groom of the chambers, butlers, footmen and ushers, had their board in addition to their wages, whether they lived in or out. The lesser men, as a rule, lived in. Those who lived out were for the most part to be found among the upper servants, and the fact that they did so implies, as a rule, that they were married men. Frequently they occupied a small house on the Bloomsbury estate, either in one of the two Russell Streets, or in King Street. Whether they lived in a house or in rooms, they appear usually to have paid rent. But this point is not always clear.

As for clothes, each man, whether from the upper or the lower ranks or whether he lived in or out, was supplied with liveries. The footmen at least were also given the worsted stockings, heavy shoes, leather or cloth breeches and coarse shirts in which they did their rough work.

The major part of the running of the house fell, then, upon the men. But outside the kitchen there was also, as

there had always been, a small female staff. At the head was a housekeeper. She received from the beginning twelve pounds a year and her wages never rose above this. Under the housekeeper were three or four housemaids, who received never less than five pounds a year, but never more than six, and two or three laundry maids. The head laundry maid sometimes arrived at six pounds a year, with some five pounds each for her assistants.

There were two, or sometimes three, other female figures in the house. These were the personal maids of the Duchess and, later, one for her daughter. Here, as in the case of the personal attendant of the Duke, was a real break with the past and on the same lines. The fifth Countess and the second and third Duchess had each had their 'lady' or 'ladies'. The names of these gentlewomen did not at any time appear on the ordinary salary list. Their owners clearly occupied a special position in relation to the household at large and to the wives of the heads thereof. But even as the steward of the fourth Duke, Mr. John Branson, greatly relied upon as he was by his master, never attained to the rank formerly held by his predecessors, the gentlemen of the privy purse, so the Duchess and her daughter now had no 'ladies' permanently attendant on them. They had instead the servants who were described as Her Grace's or Her Ladyship's women; trusted upper servants they might be, but yet only put into the ordinary salary list as part of the ordinary household. Of these the head woman received as a rule twenty pounds a year and the other, or others, eight pounds a year.

'Ladies', however, like 'gentlemen', appeared on state occasions. Special ladies were appointed to attend the Duchess in Dublin, when the Duke was Lord Lieutenant, and in Paris, when he was Ambassador.

Unlike the men, all the women at all times appear to have slept in.

The accommodation for the staff in the house was on the attic floor, on the ground floor and in the two wings. Those who lived in, whether men or women, above a certain rank always had a room to themselves. Thus, the clerk of the kitchen had his own private bedchamber on the ground story.

Clerk of the Kitchen's Bed Chamber.

A four post bedstead with blue morine furniture.
A feather bed, bolster and pillow.
A check flock mattress, three blankets and a linen quilt.
A blue morine window curtain on an iron rod.
Five beech matted chairs.
One elbow ditto.
A mahogany bannister back chair covered with black leather.
A painted press with folding doors.
A wainscot chamber table with a drawer, and a ditto smaller.
A walnut-tree bureau.
A pier glass in a walnut-tree frame.
A fender, shovel, tongs and poker.

Close by the clerk's bedroom was the cook's bedroom, occupied by the lesser, or English, cook.

But one or two of the staff were better off than even the clerk of the kitchen or the cook in that they had what might almost be described as a suite of two or even three rooms. When this was so, all the rooms appear to have been adjacent to one another and in some cases the additional room, or rooms, clearly served the double function of a sitting and a working room for the occupant. This was certainly true of the two rooms occupied by the butler. On the other hand, the housekeeper, besides having a closet, which was in effect a small sitting-room, opening out of her bedroom, had again beyond that what was described as her own breakfast room.

Housekeeper's Breakfast Room.

Two green cheney festoon window curtains.
Eight beech matted chairs.
A round mahogany pillar and claw table.
A wainscot oval two-leaved dining table.
A wicker firescreen on a steel pillar and claw.
A dressing glass in a mahogany frame.
An old Persia carpet.
A chamber clock by Tompion.
A set of shovel, tongs, poker and moulding fender.

Of the lesser hierarchy, the kitchen maids shared one of the rooms on the ground floor; and the housemaids two in the attic story. A number of footmen occupied a room, or rooms, again on the ground floor, and some may have slept over the stables, where there was plenty of accommodation.

For these communal rooms were provided one or, it would seem, at the most two bedsteads, hung with either cloth, chintz or linen. Each bed had its feather bed, with bolster, and each room its dressing glass, its chair or chairs, and sometimes a small table or a tall painted cupboard.

Kitchen Maids' Room.

A four post bedstead with green haratteen furniture; a feather bed, bolster and two pillows; three blankets, a rug and a lindsey back quilt.
A wainscot chest bedstead, with a feather bed, bolster and four blankets.
Three old chairs; a deal chamber table with a drawer; a dressing glass in a beech frame; and a fender.

To a very great extent the furnishing of all the rooms of the staff is so uniform in the way of hangings, chairs and tables as to suggest that the furniture had been bought especially for these rooms. But here and there the mention of an Indian screen, or that Persian carpet which was in the housekeeper's room, suggests the transference from the

rooms of the family to those of the staff that later generations have cause to lament.

Outside the house, but also under Mr. Branson, were the men employed in the stables and in the garden, together with the watchmen, who were also porters.

All the men in the stables, whether coachmen or stable helpers, appear to have had their quarters either over the stable buildings, or in rooms adjacent to them. They therefore lived rent free. The arrangements for board are not so clear. Some certainly had their meals given them; but others apparently did not.

The list began with a head coachman and his second. The first of the head coachmen, Mr. Walter Watkins, had no more than twelve pounds a year. But when he was succeeded by the curiously named Conrad Cuneman, the latter had twenty-six pounds six shillings a year.

The second coachman did not fare nearly as well. During the whole time, although he never sank below nine pounds a year, he never rose above ten pounds. On the other hand, the wages paid the postilion had risen between 1753 and 1771 from a mere six pounds a year in the earlier year to as much as eleven pounds a year in the later. Throughout these years, only one postilion at a time was ever on the list, and perhaps he was the only one employed under ordinary circumstances. If and when more show was wanted for a state occasion, extra postilions were hired. Here was a change from past generations, when two postilions at least had been the regular order of the day, and very often four.

But neither the head coachman nor his assistant were responsible for all the driving. During the forties, possibly earlier, two entirely new figures appeared in the stables. These were the post-chaise drivers. They began at six pounds apiece. But by the sixties the head man was receiving twenty pounds a year, and his subordinate — for the greater part of the time he was Mordecai Mold — had nine pounds.

The post-chaise, strictly speaking, was a light travelling carriage which, as its name implied, could be hired on journeys from post to post. But many persons, as did the Duke of Bedford, preferred for this purpose to have their own private vehicle, or vehicles, of the type, with their own drivers. Even so, however, as a rule the horses were still hired for each stage of any journey.

The advent of the post-chaise, the use of which became possible when the roads in general gradually, if slowly, were improved by the device of the Turnpike Trust, was very beneficial to travellers.

When Rachel and William Russell had left Bedford House for Woburn Abbey, their heavy coach lumbering down Great Russell Street into the Tottenham Court Road and so over the Highgate Hills, they had required at least twelve hours and often as much as sixteen, going all the time, to complete the journey, the distance of which was reckoned as forty-two miles. To do this in a single day, if the destination was to be attained at a reasonable hour in the evening, necessitated, as Rachel once wrote, leaving at six or earlier in the morning. More often the coach halted for the night at St. Albans, or perhaps at Dunstable.

Once the lighter post-chaise could be used, over better roads, a great difference was seen. There are no exact times for the journey of the fourth Duke, his Duchess or his household. But, after his time, his grandson, using much the same vehicle, though perhaps over slightly better roads, normally accomplished the journey in four hours. This cut the time required by Rachel and William Russell by at least two-thirds.

The use of the post-chaise was accompanied by other changes in the arrangements for the stables at Bedford House as well as those at Woburn. The post-chaise served for journeys between London and the country. The heavier coaches, suitable for going over roads in the country which

had not yet been remade, were now specifically attached to Woburn Abbey and the other country residences. But very much lighter vehicles could be and were employed in London, where the road surface had been improved. In the accounts for repairs and so forth the word 'London' attached to the coach or chariot was interchangeable with the other word 'light'.

For London, too, an entirely new vehicle was, in 1753, added to the stables. This was the carriage called a landau, which had been introduced from Germany a few years earlier.

Coachmaker Richard Hodges for a Landau.
His Grace the Duke of Bedford. Debtor to
Richard Hodges.

May 12, 1753. For a new handsome Landau body and carriage made of the best seasoned timber; all the body neatly run and bottom sides turned with a scrowl; and all sorts of proper ironwork to body and carriage, as iron joints, shackles, large plates to the bottom and 2 iron axtrees, and set of wheels and crutch iron to support the footboard;

Painting the body with a light stone colour, with your Grace's crests, coronets and Garter on all the panels, and the carriage and wheels painted vermilion;

A large Salisbury budget set of braces, and set of Ilay springs; and the Landau body covered with the best neats leather, with two door glasses and canvases;

And two wainscot boxes, with two locks and keys;

	£	s.	d.
And all things complete to the Landau except the cloth and lace	116	0	0
For a new handsome carpet fitted into the bottom of the Landau		15	0
For a new awning made to the head of the Landau, and fixing it up, and lace and rings	2	2	0
	£118	17	0

In addition to the coaches, there were sedan chairs especially for the ladies. One sedan chair belonging to the fourth Duchess has survived, and there were others in the stables. But chairs were also frequently hired. Nor were chairmen on the regular staff. They, too, were hired when wanted, which was frequently, to all intents and purposes indeed daily.

Presumably the chairmen, being, so to speak, independent professionally, had their own customary clothes and did not wear the Duke's livery. Like the footmen in the house, however, the coachmen, chaisemen and postilions all had their liveries supplied, and also the usual everyday working clothes.

		£	s.	d.
April 15, 1757.	To making a postillion's suit, richly laced, with gold and velvet lace	2	12	6
	Sleeve linings and pockets		2	6
	Body lining		2	6
	Velvet stand-up collar		1	0
	Breeches linings and pockets		4	6
	Silk garters		2	0
	4 dozen 1 gilt coat buttons 2*s.* 6*d.*		10	2½
	4 dozen 7 breast ditto		5	9
	Twist and sewing silk		12	0
	Buckram and stays		4	0
		£4	16	11½

A tailor's bill for liveries in any one year amounting to as much as a hundred and fifty pounds — but this included some clothes for the footmen as well as the stable folk — was no uncommon thing. But a certain economy could be and was observed.

August 27, 1757.	For altering a full livery coat and making them fit for the new coachman	10*s.* 6*d.*

The remaining outdoor servants were the gardener and the watchmen.

The gardener at Bedford House was quite distinct from his colleague at Woburn, and was always in residence, whether the family were there or not. His wages throughout the whole period were thirty pounds a year, with lodgings. He had his board when the family were in town. When they were out of town he had to find his own food. Another gardener, probably an assistant, appears to have had four pounds a year, also with lodgings and presumably his diet.

The watchmen were quite frankly a problem. Perhaps temptations lay more heavily upon them than upon any other of the servants, particularly when the family was out of town. At all events, their history is a long story of unsatisfactory conduct ending in abrupt dismissal. A letter from John Branson in 1760, in which year he was at Dublin with his master, written to Robert Butcher, is only one of a long series.

Dublin Castle,
13 *April*, 1760.

DEAR SIR,

I had wrote to you to desire the favour that you would direct the discharging of Thomas Kirk. Before I could send my letter away, I was favoured with yours of the 6th. I am very glad you have discharged him. I gave him a very severe lesson on my leaving England with respect to his

behaviour, and it is not long since he had very fair warning given him at my desire by Mr. Wynne, but he has proved incorrigible.

Few things have given me more concern than the bad manner the place of watchman at Bedford House has for some years been executed.

I am, dear Sir,

Your much obliged humble servant,

JOHN BRANSON.

The watchmen — they were liveried men, colours of orange and brown — who stood in the great courtyard of Bedford House were very far from impeccable, succumbing easily to the temptation of conversations with undesirable characters and also to the attractions of the numerous inns round about.

In a long series of receipts signed by the Duke's servants there is much variation in the number of those who could write and those who had still perforce to make their mark. In a salary list of 1753, out of forty employees, five men — the postilion, one post-chaise man, a stable helper and two groom's boys — make their mark, and four women — that is, two laundry maids, the confectionery maid and one of the kitchen maids. This is on the whole an average year. Later, towards the end of the sixties, the proportion of those who can write seems to rise. But there is always liable to be in any list of receipts a sudden surprise in finding that someone who seems to be quite an important official, perhaps more particularly among the women, has to make his or her mark, although the predecessor may have been able to write perfectly well.

In 1753 the servants on the salary list at Bedford House were forty in number. This included both indoor and outdoor servants, but excluded all the casual helpers and others, such as chairmen, specially hired. It also excluded the skeleton staff kept at Woburn and elsewhere. In all, the

wages for these forty amounted to £637 8*s.* 0*d.* In addition to this there were the allowances of all kinds.

In 1771, the year of the Duke's death, the number of servants, again on the Bedford House list, was forty-two in all. £859 16*s.* 0*d.* was now the figure of the wage list. With but two additional persons, therefore, the wage list had gone up by over two hundred pounds.

In many respects it is a puzzling list. The two new persons employed were the 'gentleman', who was responsible for much of the private business which before his time had been conducted by the house steward, and a hairdresser. These accounted respectively for sixty and twenty pounds a year.

Three of the higher officials and servants had had substantial increases. The house steward, in spite of the fact that now a 'gentleman' had taken over a good deal of the business, had a hundred pounds a year as against the former eighty pounds. The clerk of the kitchen had sprung from sixty pounds to as much as a hundred pounds. The head coachman's wages, beginning at twelve pounds, had more than doubled themselves. So had that of the head post-chaise driver. On the other hand, the butler, with all his assistants, like the confectioner — an important person — and the second coachman and so forth, together with all the women, had received no increase at all. The fortunate persons were the lesser fry of footmen, with the outdoor porters and the postilion. The wages of the whole set had not so much doubled as nearly trebled themselves. Some of the apparent discrepancies, however, could be accounted for if more were known about the system of allowances and whether or no the official or servant in question was living in or out.

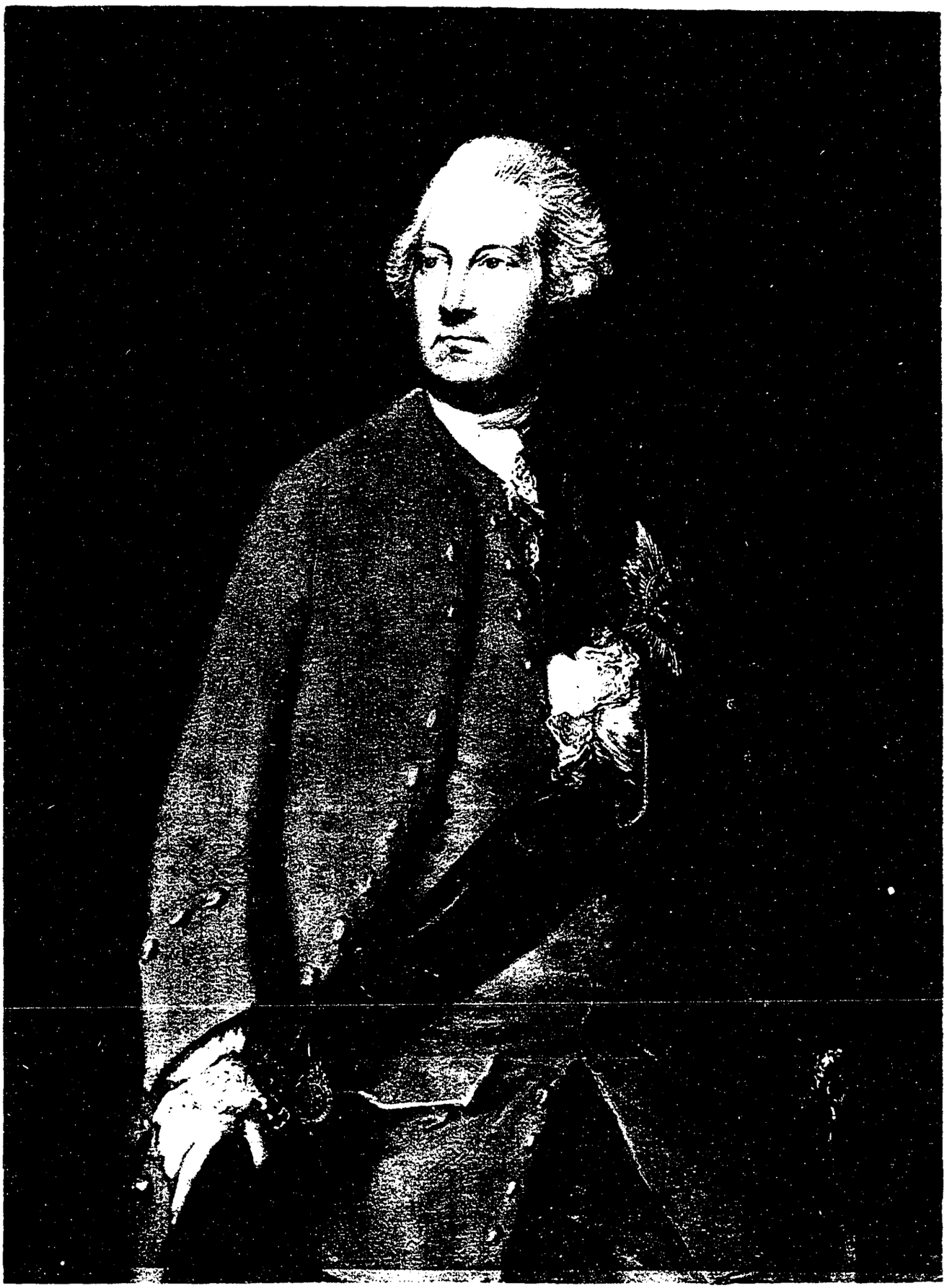
There is no evidence how the members of the household who had their board fared as to diet. But, on the other hand, there is a considerable amount of evidence that the entire

household alike in Bedford House and at Woburn Abbey were well looked after in time of sickness. Heavy bills for their doctoring and medicine were met by the Duke. Many entries refer to the engagement of a nurse to look after a sick man or woman. But in one direction the household did not altogether appreciate what was done for them. The Duke was perhaps one of the earliest employers of labour in the country to insist upon inoculation against smallpox. Of this his servants — and incidentally his tenants — were deeply suspicious.

The Duke had from the first, as well he might considering the history of his family — although that was far from being unique — taken a great interest in the possibility of taking precautions against infection by smallpox. In 1743, when little Lord Tavistock lay sick at Woburn Abbey of the disease, everyone in the Abbey was inoculated from him. 'All those', Mr. Butcher was told in a letter, 'who are inoculated with him are in a very good way, which makes our noble master and mistress very happy.'

Within a very short time the Duke endeavoured to secure that all his servants should be inoculated when the opportunity arose. He also pressed the same upon his tenants. In some cases he arranged for these latter to come up to the Abbey expressly for the purpose. But here there was trouble. Remonstrances were frequent. The Duke, however, persisted.

Presently matters became easier. In 1746 the first smallpox hospital was founded, to which sufferers from smallpox were admitted on bringing a subscriber's letter. It was particularly intended for the domestics of the great households. To this hospital the Duke of Bedford was from the first a steady subscriber. On occasion he sent the authorities as much as two hundred pounds in the year. But he also took advantage of the hospital for his servants. Those who were seized with smallpox were sent there. It would seem



JOHN, FOURTH DUKE OF BEDFORD

that the employer was expected to pay for the nurse who attended the patient and to provide food for both. Bills dated 1761 show the Duke sending in meat, milk, vegetables, bread and so forth for the use of one of his footmen who was in the hospital. He also paid for the same man a substantial bill for ale, small beer, brandy and gin. But this bill was endorsed that the drink was for the use of the nurse as well as the patient.

The establishment as detailed was the ordinary household of the Duke and Duchess. When, in the year 1756, the Duke was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and when, in 1762 and 1763, he was Ambassador in France, his household was vastly enlarged by additional officials, secretaries, gentlemen of the embassy, chaplains and so forth, not to speak of a portentous array of extra servants.

For these households, too, Mr. Branson was responsible, and it was he who journeyed to and from Ireland, and again across the Channel, with his master. For this Mr. Branson, excellent servant as he was, had unfortunately one serious disqualification. He was of those who were sick at sea. 'I did not', he wrote in reference to thoughtful provision made for him by colleagues in London when he was crossing to France,

> . . . eat the tongue that Mr. Godin was so good as to procure for me, for I was sick at sea. Your cheese I got safe through the barriers. But my Cheshire was shook all to pieces by the pavements.

But whether for the normal household, or for the enlarged one, or in connection with his private work for the Duke, every payment made by Mr. Branson had to be submitted to and countersigned by Mr. Butcher.

CHAPTER XIV

SOME HOUSEHOLD BILLS

MR. BUTCHER, sitting in his office in Bedford House, was confronted, as his predecessors had been and his successors were to be, with the usual pile of bills of all descriptions. They had to be unfolded — there was, of course, not the additional fatigue of tearing open the envelope — and carefully scrutinized. Then, having been passed for payment and duly receipted, neatly endorsed on the back by one of the clerks and tied up in bundles, they were put away, alongside the accounts and papers of past generations.

Some changes might have been observed in the bills which passed through Mr. Butcher's hands as compared with those dealt with by his predecessors. Names of tradesmen once well known had disappeared, not at one fell swoop, but having dropped out here and there. As always, tradesmen whose wares were staple goods tended to survive where others who catered only for the fashion of the day disappeared. The bills of Pink, the painter, Ashfield, the grocer, and Doddridge, the oil and brandy man, were all as familiar to the agents of the second Duke as they had been to those who had purchased for the fifth Earl and first Duke half a century earlier. Edward Apthorp, who sold glass ware, including a great deal of Venetian glass, was also enjoying the custom of the Russell family in the eighteenth century, as for long before.

But even firms which supplied staple goods were not immortal, nor were their customers always constant. By the time the fourth Duke had held the title for a decade, no

name appeared in his accounts which had been known in the previous century. Either the firms had disappeared, or his custom had gone elsewhere.

An official who had made purchases in the seventeenth century had as a rule turned his steps towards the City — to the Exchange, St. Paul's Churchyard and, in particular, Ludgate Hill — or he had directed his orders there. A few tradesmen had established themselves in Covent Garden, in the neighbourhood of Bedford House in the Strand. To a limited extent these had been patronized by their landlord. But the main shopping district had been the City of London. Nor had the City any serious rivals, at any rate as far as the Russells were concerned, in the days of the second and third Dukes of Bedford. Only here and there a new address shows the penetration westward.

Mr. Butcher, in Bedford House, Bloomsbury, likewise continued to order on behalf of the fourth Duke many goods for the house and for the family from shops in the City. And he also patronized very extensively those in the streets around Covent Garden. Many excellent shops had appeared in that district and perhaps, on the whole, more shopping was done for the family there in the time of the fourth Duke than anywhere else. But Mr. Butcher did not confine himself to that locality, or to the City. It might have been supposed that he would have made purchases in Bloomsbury. So he did. But only in a very few instances. The Earl of Southampton's little town had not become a shopping centre. Even the market, except possibly during the early years, had never been really successful. The residents chose to purchase elsewhere. Such shops as had appeared in the district were few in number and very far from first-rate in importance. Westward however was found a shopping district indeed, and when goods did not come to Bedford House from the City or Covent Garden, they came, as a rule, from one of the new shops which had sprung up in the neighbour-

hood of St. James's Square and Piccadilly, following hard on the heels of rank and fashion, who had established themselves in the handsome houses in the square and in the adjoining streets.

Firms had flourished and had disappeared. Retail trade was pushing westward. Such changes were reflected in the accounts sent in to Bedford House. At the same time, the actual appearance of those accounts was altered.

The bills sent in to debtors during the seventeenth century had not been beautiful to look upon. With a very few exceptions, they were made out in what was generally a sprawling and far from elegant, although on the whole tolerably clear, handwriting throughout. The setting out of the items seldom showed any pretensions to order or regularity, save that the name of the creditor was usually, although by no means invariably, placed at the top, together with the name of the person to whom the goods had been supplied. Only on occasion was an indication given where the establishment of the tradesman might be.

Many of the bills sent in to Mr. Butcher in his business room at Bedford House did not differ greatly from their unlovely predecessors. But others presented not only a much neater, but a much more attractive appearance.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the officials of the second Duke had on occasion opened a bill that showed new ideas in its manner of setting out and its caligraphy. Not only was the handwriting somewhat better, but a notion had arisen that it might be worth while to make a bill look well. Some attempts were, therefore, made at a heading in a large hand, with fine up and thick down strokes.

More than this, the arts of printing and engraving were rapidly developing. They were more easily available than hitherto and enterprising tradesmen began to utilize them more freely. Their use for bills had not been entirely unknown earlier and there had been tradesmen ahead of their

times in the seventeenth century. But such were few and far between, and none of their accounts or trade cards appear to have come the way of the Russells.

The earliest instance of an engraved bill sent in to that family came from a firm where, in the year 1701, the young Duchess of Bedford bought, or had bought for her, Indian calico quilts. This was James Rudyerd and John Jesse, at the Three Kings within Ludgate. No attempt was made to put a picture on the bill. But the lettering was admirably done.

Another bill with an engraved heading of which the lettering was also remarkable came considerably later. This was an account for hose, shoes and quilted petticoats from James Cutt, coat seller at the Ape on Horseback in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.

Another bill which came in two years later for a length of cherry and white tissue likewise had its printed heading to the effect that the material had been bought of Caleb Trenchfeild, Joshua Feary and Robert Carr at the Wheatsheaf on Ludgate Hill.

One great advantage possessed by this engraved heading, apart from its appearance, was that it stated not only the name of the tradesman; sometimes — but not always — the wares that he sold; but almost invariably the locality of his shop.

But the bills of Mr. Rudyerd and of Mr. Trenchfeild and their respective partners were no more than two bright spots in what for long continued to be a collection of mere scribbled bills. Such were still in the majority even when some attempt was made at more elegant handwriting for the heading.

The time of real blossoming, when many of the bills folded and unfolded by the clerks in the office were really worth looking at for themselves alone, belongs to the days of the third and to an even greater extent of the fourth Duke.

Then tradesmen more enterprising or more artistic than their fellows were no longer content with a mere engraved heading giving their name and address. The bills they sent in were often pictorial.

The use of the pictorial trade card for advertisement — it had already had its tentative beginning in the previous century — had now burst forth in profusion. The name of card was a misnomer, for the documents were really sheets of paper. Hence it was an easy matter sometimes to write the account on the back, or if, as was often the case, the design did not cover the whole sheet, then to use the blank space left in which to insert the various items. In other instances the design on the trade card would be transferred to a b ll proper. In that case the words 'bought of' would be somewhere incorporated.

Here, then, so to speak, art and business met together and kissed one another. The richness and elegance revealed in the description of many of the goods purchased is counterbalanced by the artistic charm in the headings of the bills which record the sale.

Even if the customers of the eighteenth century appreciated neither the advertisement nor its use on a bill — and perhaps they put them pretty much in the category of the ordinary illustrated catalogue of later days, sometimes to call forth a word of admiration, but more often a glance and no more — their descendants at least did so, and both the illustrated heading and the tradesman's card were greatly sought after for collections.

The basis of the illustration was most frequently the trade sign, the old hanging sign above the door of the shop, or the newer one carved on a stone panel placed over the door — a fashion which had spread rapidly after the Great Fire. Such signs should have been, and for the most part were, a pictorial announcement of the goods for sale. Sometimes, where a shop had changed hands and the nature of the goods

with it, the old sign remained, to cause confusion and annoyance to such purists as Joseph Addison.

Not all tradesmen, of course, adopted the custom. Many continued — and firms of importance among them — to send in their accounts written on a piece of paper of no particular size or shape, with not so much as a printed heading. Among the bills for fish, flesh and fowl sent to Bedford House, there is no instance of either an engraved address, or of a pictorial heading. This is partly, no doubt, because such were often bought from individuals, farmers and the like, who were not specifically traders. But the fact holds where the goods were bought from regular shops. Not that this necessarily means that these trades had no followers of the fashion among them. But if that was so, they were not among those who served the Russells.

Among other businesses, certain tradesmen had elegant bills, others were content with a mere heading, and others kept on placidly in the old way.

One of the earlier illustrated bills belonging to the time of the third Duke came from a purveyor of olive oil. In 1720 Richard Hockett sold the Duke three quarts of what he called Lisbon oil, which was olive oil, and also a pound and a half of the Castile soap that was greatly valued at the time, out of his shop at the corner of Cecil Street in the Strand. Hockett had as a trade sign the arms of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and these arms were placed at the top of the bill.

Later on, the third Duke's brother, the fourth Duke, bought his olive oil chiefly from Joseph Austin's shop in Catherine Street in the Strand. The sign, placed on the bill, not as suitable as that of the other purveyor, was that of the Flying Horse.

Olive oil and Castile soap seem always to have been sold together, often in conjunction with fine wax candles. Hannah Jones, in the Poultry, who had her sign — a very

beautifully engraved Star and Garter — on her bill, sold olive oil, wax candles and pickles. But for Bedford House the wares required of her were only the candles. She sent forty-eight pounds of white wax lights there regularly every month over several years.

This must have been the regulation amount that was allowed for use in the house, for when Hannah Jones was succeeded by John Barrett, in St. James's, Haymarket, he too supplied the same quantity, forty-eight pounds each month of wax lights at two shillings and tenpence a pound. Barrett had no sign and called himself a wax chandler only.

Lamp oil was another matter. That, in the days of the fourth Duke, was one of the few articles bought quite regularly in Bloomsbury itself. It came from Samuel Strode, the oil and colour man who lived 'at the corner of Southampton Street, near Bloomsbury Square' and sold his goods under the sign of the Ship, which was on his bills. He had a good customer in the Duke, for great quantities of lamp oil were delivered weekly, and sometimes even daily, at Bedford House, even though tallow candles and wax lights were likewise used in great profusion. The regular price of the oil was two shillings and fourpence a gallon. It was sent either in a cask or sometimes, if a smaller quantity, in a stone bottle.

His Grace the Duke of Bedford.

London.
October 20, 1756.

Bought of Samuel Strode,
Oil and Colour Man,
at the Ship the Corner of Southampton Street
in Holborn near Bloomsbury Square.

1756.		£		
October 20.	Lamp oil, 12 gallons at 2*s.* 4*d.*	1	8	0
	The cask at		2	6
November 10.	Lamp oil, 20 gallons 1 quart at 2*s.* 4*d.*	2	7	3

		£	s.	d.
	The cask at		3	6
November 12.	Lamp oil, 4 gallons 2 quarts at 2*s.* 4*d.*		10	6
	A stone bottle to ditto at		3	0
	Cotton for lamps, ½ pound, at		1	0

Another Bloomsbury tradesman who had a sign and from whom purchases were made was William Lowdon, the druggist and chemist, whose establishment was at 'the sign of the Greyhound, the corner of Lion Street, near Bloomsbury Market'. The sign was reproduced at the head of the bill. It showed an elegant greyhound standing alert, surrounded by a rococo frame. At each of the four corners of the frame were depicted respectively goblets of Daffy's Elixir and of fine Hungary Water, and jars of Opodeldoc and Spirit of Lavender.

William Lowdon's bill.

		£	s.	d.
November 23, 1751.	¼ finest Gum Dragon		1	0
	2 ounces finest Gum Arabic			6
	1 ounce Cochineal powdered		2	0
	1 ounce Roach Alum			2
	1 ounce Cream Tartar			1
	½ drachm Oleum Cinnamon		2	6
	½ ounce Burgamott		1	6
	¼ Gamboge		2	0
	Bottles			2
30.	2 ounces Gamboge powdered		1	4
May 1, 1752.	2 ounces Cochineal powdered		4	0
			15	3

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward		15	3
2 ounces Roach Alum powdered			3
2 ounces Cream Tartar powdered			2
		15	8
¼ finest Gum Dragon		1	0
		16	8

Only occasional purchases were made from Lowdon, Mr. Butcher often going much farther afield to other chemists.

The same applied also to groceries. Two grocers from whom purchases were sometimes, but only sometimes, made, had shops on the Bloomsbury estate. Both establishments were to be found in King Street, now called King Street, High Holborn, to distinguish it from the other streets of the same name which were to be found in Covent Garden and in St. James's.

The one was Christopher Earby. Earby's sign was the Canister and Four Golden Sugar Loaves, and the drawing — a charming one — at the top of his bill shows the canister of tea supported on elaborately scrolled iron work from the points of which hang the four sugar loaves.

The other was Thomas Hurnall, who had no sign.

But from neither Earby nor Hurnall were groceries bought in any very big amounts. Much more was bought from establishments elsewhere. One of the principal of these was the shop of Bartho Valle and Brother. The shop — destined to be known well into the nineteenth century — was at the sign of the Orange Tree and Two Jars in St. James's, Haymarket. The orange tree and the jars — obviously olive oil jars — appeared on the bill, and Valle sold olive oil with other goods.

SOME HOUSEHOLD BILLS

His Grace the Duke of Bedford.

London. 17(69).

Bought of Bartho Valle and Brother at the Orange Tree and Two Jars in St. James's, Haymarket.

		£	s.	d.
July 20, 1769.	11 quarts Florence oil and bottle		19	0
	8¾ pounds cheese		13	1
	6 pounds capers and bottle		10	0
	6 pounds anchovies and pot		10	0
	Chest		1	0
November 4.	1 gallon Provence oil and bottle		11	0
	7 pounds macaroni		9	4
	6 pounds anchovies and pot		10	0
	7¼ pounds cheese 18*d.*		10	10½
	3 pounds French plums		3	0
	2 pounds capers and bottle		3	3
	1 bottle small ditto		2	6
	11 pounds isinglass		4	0
	1 pint soap		2	6
	4 mangos and pot		3	3
		£5	12	9½

Received January 18, 1770, of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, by D. Milles, the full contents of this above bill, BARTHO VALLE & CO.

Another grocer often patronized was also in the neighbourhood of St. James's. He was Peter Le Moine at the Green Canister in King Street, St. James's Square.

Altogether, Mr. Butcher's requirements for Bedford House led him often into the fashionable streets in St. James's and Piccadilly. Not the least fashionable of these was New Bond Street, which had been cut through some time since — it was first rated in 1721 — as an extension

northward of the original street. Here were to be found shops selling all kinds of elegant luxuries. Among them was a notable confectioner, Richard Robinson, who enjoyed a good deal of patronage from Bedford House. Robinson had a heading on his bills showing dishes of delectable confections, with a reminder that he also dispensed ice.

His Grace the Duke of Bedford.

Ice Sold Here. Bought of Richard Robinson, Confectioner, in New Bond Street, London.

		£	s.	d.
April 9, 1756.	To 2 boxes prunellos		5	0
May 24.	To 1 pound green wax		2	0
	To 2 boxes prunellos		5	0
	To 1½ pounds comfits		6	0
	To ½ pound aniseed ditto		1	0
	To 1 piece of large snail		3	0
	To 2 pieces small ditto		5	0
	To 12 flowered jelly glasses		9	0
	To 4 pounds limes	1	4	0
	To 2 pounds pistachio nuts		8	0
		£3	8	0

It is noteworthy that, although the grocers whom Mr. Butcher patronized nearly all included coffee, tea and chocolate in their lists of goods for sale, and some of them, like Christopher Earby in Bloomsbury and Peter Le Moine in St. James's, even showed a tea canister as their sign, no one of these items appeared on their bills sent in to Bedford House. When Mr. Butcher wanted to buy coffee, tea or chocolate, they were ordered elsewhere, sometimes from a coffee house, sometimes from a tradesman who specialized in their sale, combining it with another business.

Of the three, coffee was the oldest established drink. When it had been first bought for the Russell family, in the middle of the seventeenth century, it had been purchased a

shilling's-worth at a time — the quantity is not stated — from a special purveyor. Towards the end of the century it had been bought freely in ever-increasing quantities, generally from a grocer. In 1691 the price had been four shillings a pound. Two years later it had risen, as a consequence of Customs duty, to six shillings a pound. In 1757 the price paid by Mr. Butcher at Bedford House was four shillings and ninepence a pound. On the whole, the quantities he bought for use in the household were neither much more nor much less than what had been consumed each year during the past sixty or seventy years, from the time when it had become a popular drink.

But coffee now had two serious rivals in popularity. Chocolate, not much thought of in the previous century, had made its way to the front, and tea, with a remarkable drop in price, was being more and more lavishly imbibed.

Chocolate had been heartily despised when it was first introduced into England. Parkinson, in his *Herbal*, had remarked austerely in 1640 that as a drink chocolate might do well enough for natives, but for Christian tastes it must be reckoned as nothing more or less than a wash for hogs. Presently it was to begin to make its way. But it did not do so very quickly, at any rate in such a conservative household as that of the Russells. None apparently was ever bought for the Duke's great-grandfather. It is quite likely that the seventeenth-century peer rated it, if it had crossed his path at all, pretty much as Parkinson had done. Not long after his death, however, his granddaughter Katherine, Lady Roos, had reported in 1702, to her father-in-law, the Earl of Rutland, that King William, whose injury to his collar bone was now seen to be far more serious than had been at first supposed, had enjoyed a cup of 'jockcolate', which was thought to be a good omen. The expectation was, unhappily, not fulfilled. But the drinking of chocolate had come to stay, and many a salesman profited thereby.

The first indication that the Russells had taken to drinking chocolate occurs in an account of 1707, when a chocolate cup was bought for Katherine's brother, the young Duke of Bedford. The cup, presumably of china, came from one Elizabeth Snowdon — her shop unknown — and cost two shillings and threepence. Two years later the Duke had a chocolate pot, price six shillings, bought for him of Robert Sparke, who sold all sorts of ironmongery and brass at the corner of Catherine Street, against Somerset House, Watersgate, in the Strand.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the once despised hogwash had come to be accounted one of the most elegant drinks of the day, and for the fourth Duke it was bought in considerable quantities, appearing on the same bills with the coffee and the tea. A great deal of it came from the coffee house in Covent Garden known as Tom's Coffee House, which often served as a meeting place for Mr. Butcher and his friends. The proprietor, Richard Haynes or Haines, had an attractive trade sign, an admirable engraving of the Monument, which he used on his bills.

His Grace the Duke of Bedford.

London.
14 *December*, 1756.

Bought of Richard Haines,
Chocolate-Maker, at Tom's Coffee-House,
Who Sells
Superfine Vanilla and Plain Carracca Chocolate,
Finest Teas of all Sorts, Best High Roasted
Turkey-Coffee, Spanish, Havannah, etc., Snuffs,
Wholesale and Retail
at Reasonable Rates.

		£	s.	d.
December 14, 1756.	1 pound fine Green Tea at 12*s.* per pound, and a canister	12	6	
		12	6	

		£	s.	d.
	Brought forward		12	6
February 15, 1757.	Making 82 pounds Chocolate at 8*d.*	2	14	8
	Vanillas for 42 pounds	2	12	6
	10 pounds treble refined sugar at 11*d.*		9	2
	Paid excise of 82 pounds Chocolate at 1*s.* 6*d.*	6	3	0
28.	2 pounds fine Green Tea at 12*s.* and 2 canisters	1	5	0
	2 pounds fine Congo Tea at 10*s.* and ditto	1	1	0
		£15	8	4

Tom's Coffee House combined the selling of both tea and coffee with chocolate. The Congo tea bought on this occasion at ten shillings a pound represented a considerable drop in price, which largely accounted for the increase in tea drinking and the readiness with which it was purchased. At the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth the price paid for tea at Woburn Abbey and at Bedford House in the Strand, bought only in very small quantities, sometimes only half a pound at a time, had never been lower than twenty-five shillings a pound and not infrequently rose to as much as three guineas a pound.

The other tea that came from the coffee house was green tea. This tea, so called because the leaves had not been fully dried, was now and had been for some time extremely popular. Its price had also been remarkably constant. As far back as October, 1703, Rachel, Lady Russell, had written a letter to her daughter Katherine at Belvoir, in which she mentioned that she had heard that some particularly good green tea was to be had for as little as twelve shillings a pound. Half a century later the price of green tea at Tom's

Coffee House was exactly the same amount, the canister in which it was contained costing another sixpence.

But the tea, coffee or chocolate supplied to Bedford House did not always come from Tom's Coffee House, or even from any other coffee house. On the contrary, they were often purchased from certain tradesmen who combined their sale with other businesses, notably druggists and sellers of glass and china ware.

In Covent Garden, Elmes Foster, the druggist, at the Sun in Bedford Street, sold his landlord fine teas, coffee and chocolate. His teas included green tea, at the regulation price of twelve shillings a pound, and Souchong, which, like the Congo tea, was two shillings cheaper.

Purchases were also made of William Robinson, at the Greyhound and King's Arms in Fleet Street, the heading on the bill to match. Robinson stated that he sold tea, coffee, chocolate, sago, hartshorn; then, in a fine sweep, 'all sorts of drugs'; and, finally, in much smaller lettering, 'and snuffs'. The teas bought from him for Bedford House were chiefly Congo, at the same price as Tom's Coffee House sold it, ten shillings a pound, and Hyson, which was more expensive at fourteen shillings a pound.

Hyson tea, at the same price, also came from Joseph and Robert Cartony, of Long Acre, Covent Garden, who sold china and flint glass as well as being dealers in tea. In their case perhaps the china and flint glass were only sidelines, as suitable to be combined with tea. Doubtless some of their china came over in the same ship as did the leaves. At any rate their sign was a tea canister with the word Hyson across it.

It was not only that tea was now, in the middle of the eighteenth century, considerably cheaper than it had been some fifty years before and was a great deal more freely imbibed. For one thing, it had been discovered that milk combined well with tea to make a pleasing beverage. As

far back as May, 1698, Rachel, Lady Russell, writing to her daughter, Lady Roos, then at Haddon, had mentioned the mixture of milk with tea, and had gone further and promised a present.

> Yesterday I met with little bottles to pour milk out for tea; they call them milk bottles. I was much delighted with them, and so put them up for a present to you.

But the practice of mixing the two liquids only made its way slowly. Five years later, when she reported on the excellent green tea, Lady Russell still thought it worth while to emphasize the fact that it was 'good with milk'.

Nevertheless, the fashion grew. At the same time, tea drinking in general became more and more recognized as a highly civilized affair, requiring elegant and costly equipage for its serving.

The fifth Earl of Bedford, his wife and his daughters, had been accustomed each to have a little single tea set of china. There was no family set, and only towards the extreme end of the century had any of the little individual sets included a tea pot. This was, from the price, almost certainly a china tea pot. Milk bottles, which may have been jugs, such as Lady Rachel discovered, had not apparently come within the cognizance of the old Duke at all. It is quite likely that he never drank his tea with milk. That was an experiment left for his daughter-in-law and his grandson.

They, too, enjoyed much more elaboration in the way of tea equipages. As early as 1707 the young second Duke, Wriothesley, always in the forefront of fashion, had had bought for his use a silver tea pot, engraved, presumably with his arms. This was purchased from the goldsmith David Willaume. Willaume, who was of Huguenot stock, regularly wrote his name thus. But the authority at Bedford House who endorsed the bill always preferred to call him Gillhomme.

Monsieur Gillhomme's bill.
Livré par D. Willaume, Orfèvre.

		£	s.	d.
27 *avril*, 1707.	Un pot à thé	14	19	7
	Façon	4	2	6
	Gravure		7	6
		£19	9	7

This silver tea pot was only a beginning. From the first decade of the eighteenth century onwards the store of plate at Bedford House, as at Woburn, continued to be vastly augmented by silver pots and kettles for tea. A silver tea kettle came in 1711, bought from Sir Francis Child, who, although the bank was in full swing, was still carrying on his avocation as goldsmith and silversmith. In 1719 a tea pot with a stand and lamp appeared. The set cost eight pounds and sixpence and was bought from Seth Partridge, of Cheapside, a notable gold and silversmith of the day, who later was to be Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company.

The complete tea equipage, around which the Walpole family sat in Hogarth's picture, had arrived.

What applied to tea applied to coffee also. The silver coffee pot appeared, to oust the original little china pot. Willaume sold the second Duke a silver coffee pot at the same time as he sold him the tea pot.

Willaume, as well as Sir Francis Child and Seth Partridge, for all the celebrity and good standing of the two latter, had made no attempt to fall in with fashion in their bills. None of the three used an engraved heading, much less any pictorial design. Nor does any one of them give an address on the bill.

CHAPTER XV

MORE BILLS

Of all the bills sorted by Mr. Butcher, those which took pride of place as far as illustration went were, not unnaturally, such as came from tradesmen who specialized in articles of attire, with all the accessories.

Perhaps such tradesmen were in any case the earliest to advertise and to ornament their bills with pictures calculated, as they hoped, to lure and attract. Certainly as far as those tradesmen patronized by the Russells were concerned, illustrations appear on the bills of mercers, coat-makers and others well before any other tradesmen indulged in such ornamentation.

Some packets, done up by Mr. Butcher with no less care than he accorded the bills for which he himself was responsible, contain accounts which date from the seventeen-twenties and the brief reign of the third Duke. Lying in such a package was the trade card of Rebecca English. Rebecca advertised that at the establishment called The Old Swan and Roll — the bird and the roll of silk together forming the illustration — which was over against the iron gates on the south side of St. Paul's Churchyard, she sold all kinds of black and coloured plain silks for mantuas and petticoats, and also furbelow scarves and silk aprons ready made, together with ribbons and fans, all of which were good in quality and reasonable in price. But this was only a trade card. There was no corresponding bill to say what was bought for the young third Duke or his household from the establishment.

Contemporaries of Rebecca English, that is to say in the seventeen-twenties, were Mary Blackstone and William Hay. These partners had a trade card, a good drawing of the sign of the Blue Boar, which hung over their shop near the Conduit in Cheapside, London. Blackstone and Hay were not rivals of Rebecca English for, although they were silk merchants, they did not sell piece silk, but, on the contrary, skein silk for embroideries and the like. At their shop might be found, said their card, all sorts of fine silks, as Naples, Naples Sleave, India and Belladine in shades for stitching and embroideries. Naples Sleave was a floss silk. But what was Belladine cannot so far be traced. All sorts of silk twist for the making of purses and of partridge nets were also offered; and, finally, fine Sneil, which was coiled wire covered with silk, in every shade. From their shop Mary Blackstone and William Hay sent, in 1723, a quantity of silks which were to be used for the working of samplers by the children of the charity school at Woburn.

Both these tradesmen were to be found within the precincts of the City and for the most part clothes and etceteras bought for the third Duke were purchased, as had been those for his predecessors, from shops in St. Paul's Churchyard and the neighbourhood, as were also most other goods. Nevertheless, here and there bills indicated that for some articles attention was being turned to establishments in Covent Garden. When the fourth Duke reigned at Bedford House and Mr. Butcher made the purchases for him, the triumph of the shops in Covent Garden, more especially such as specialized in articles of clothing, over those in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's was complete.

In 1723 two silver garnitures were bought for the Duchess from Thomas Alexander, the laceman, at the sign — reproduced on his bill — of the Golden Cockerel, in Bedford Street. In the same district, at the corner of York Street and Charles Street, Charles Torkington put on his bills a most

delightful engraving of his sign, the Turk's Head. This may have been a pun upon his name. Or it may have been taken over, for it has little connection with his wares, which were mainly inexpensive coats and jackets for rough wear bought for the menservants. A canvas coat sold by Torkington cost no more than thirteen shillings.

Another mercer in Covent Garden was Richard Perkins, of Henrietta Street, who in 1727 sold lengths of silk to Elizabeth, Duchess of Bedford. The illustrated heading on his bill was the royal arms.

Besides the mercers, woollen drapers flourished in Covent Garden. Notably, during the seventeen-fifties, two of these tradesmen in particular did extremely well out of Bedford House. The one was Gabriel Fouace, to be found at the Pearl and Crown in Bedford Street. If he had a trade card, none have survived; nor was the sign reproduced on his bills. He was a man who dealt in the very finest cloths, quantities of which were supplied to Bedford House to make up coats and breeches for the master of the house and, later, for Lord Tavistock.

It was a sign of the times that the trade of Fouace, a woollen draper, was so good. The woollen drapers were now, in the seventeen-fifties, in many ways rivals of the mercers. Gentlemen of position had, in fact, taken to fine cloth for their coats and breeches, even for best wear, in place of the silk, satin, brocade or velvet which had been the style of the previous century. The latter materials were now to a great extent reserved for the waistcoats, which were altogether richer both in material and ornamentation than the accompanying coats. Over such an elaborate waistcoat a cloth coat, plainly cut, but with perhaps a little trimming of silver lace, would be worn even for smart occasions.

Not that such coats were in any way inexpensive garments. The cloths supplied by Fouace for making up for the Duke and his son were invariably described as superfine and the

cost was anything from seventeen to twenty-five shillings a yard. Elegance and richness of colour — scarlet, claret, deep blue and 'blossom colour' — atoned for the plainness of material and cut.

His Grace the Duke of Bedford.

Bought of Gabriel Fouace at the Pearl and Crown in Bedford Street, Covent Garden.
Woollen Draper.

			£	s.	d.
January 22, 1753.		⅞ yard superfine blue cloth, at 18*s.*		15	9
May	8.	2½ yards superfine claret coloured cloth, at 17*s.*	2	2	6
	25.	3 yards superfine blossom coloured cloth, at 17*s.*	2	19	6
		3¼ yards superfine mixed cloth at 17*s.*	2	15	3
July	14.	½ yard superfine claret coloured cloth, at 17*s.*		8	6
	31.	2½ yards superfine white cloth, at 17*s.*	2	2	6
			£11	4	0

Gabriel Fouace, who may well have been of Huguenot stock, was succeeded in the business by James Nourse, and Nourse did have the Crown and Pearl put on his bills. He continued to sell the same style of wares as his predecessor.

The fashion for wearing fine cloth was greatly to the advantage of the clothmakers of England, for it was they, and not foreign manufacturers, who supplied the material. But the mode carried with it one disadvantage which could not have been foreseen in the eighteenth century. Whereas garments in silk, brocade and velvet of those days and earlier have survived in some numbers, their fellows made of cloth

are among the rarer exhibits. Doubtless a silk or velvet coat might be carefully preserved, while a cloth coat might well be tossed on one side. But also silken goods of the quality supplied in the eighteenth century had a power of endurance which was not accorded to cloth, so susceptible above all to ravages of moth.

The other woollen draper in Covent Garden supplied even more to Bedford House than did Fouace and afterwards Nourse. But he sold a greater variety of goods. He was James Morris, at the Black Spread Eagle and King's Arms in Russell Street, and his bills show his sign — a two-headed eagle surmounted by the royal arms. Like Fouace, he sold superfine cloth, some of which was priced at as much as twenty-five shillings a yard, to be made up for the Duke himself. But he also sold less expensive material, which was used for the liveries of the footmen, chairmen and other menservants.

The bills for the latter show that the fourth Duke still kept as the main colour for the liveries that which had been favoured by his great-grandfather in the seventeenth century, namely, orange. Lengths of orange cloth at ten shillings a yard, bought sixty or seventy yards at a time and specified as for footmen, or watchmen and so forth, appeared in the bills at least every half year and sometimes more frequently. Lengths of the cloth known as shalloon, in orange, yellow or brown, costing one and eightpence a yard, were for linings. For the men's overcoats the material used was the coarse narrow cloth, usually ribbed, known as kersey and supplied to Bedford House, again sixty or more yards at a time, in a hue merely described as light coloured. This perhaps means a pale fawn. The cost was six shillings a yard.

Many a gentleman, even those of good position, probably wore a fine cloth coat on all occasions and never indulged in one of silk or brocade. Others would have one or at the most two silk or brocade garments, to be brought out for

such high festivals as a wedding, or attendance at Court, and carefully put away in between whiles, which helps to account for safe survival. But the Duke of Bedford required sumptuous attire on many an occasion, private and public — at balls; at Court; as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and as Ambassador Extraordinary to France. Alongside the cloth had to be purchased silk and brocade for other coats, besides the lengths of those materials which were necessary for his waistcoats.

One of Gainsborough's finest male portraits shows the Duke wearing a coat of scarlet cloth and in several other pictures he is similarly attired. But in a painting of him by Sir Joshua Reynolds, showing him in his peer's robes — a portrait which, like the other, is now at Woburn Abbey — he wears a gala coat of blue velvet. In another portrait, now in the residence of the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, his position as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Chancellor of the University of Dublin is honoured by a green satin coat.

The materials for these gala coats, like those for the waistcoat worn under the cloth coat, were also for the most part bought from tradesmen in Covent Garden. Covent Garden could boast of as many, or more, admirable mercers' establishments as of woollen drapers. One of the principal of the former was that of Hinchliff and Croft in Henrietta Street. Their sign, which appeared on their bills, was the extremely incongruous one of a sitting hen watching her chickens feeding.

In the fifties Hinchliff and Croft were selling the Duke, for his coats and waistcoats, white and silver Ducape brocade, which cost twenty-five shillings a yard. Ducape has been taken to mean a plain-wove silk fabric. But all the Ducape bought for the Duke, as well as that in white and purple purchased at one time for his daughter, was in a brocade design. Lustring, or lutestring, a glossy silk fabric considered rather ordinary and suitable for everyday clothes

rather than for fine wear, was bought many yards at a time, and so also were the many varieties of silk called tabby.

The name of this last was derived, so says the *New English Dictionary*, from the Arab name of the quarter of Bagdad in which the material had first been manufactured. Strictly speaking, it should be, as it was in the beginning, a striped silk, or a silk of uniform colour waved or watered. But in 1753 Hinchliff and Croft sold the Duke for his own use a rich black unwatered tabby silk, which cost nine shillings and sixpence a yard, besides a yellow flowered tabby, which was priced at a shilling more.

His Grace the Duke of Bedford.

Bought of Thomas and William Hinchliff and James Croft, Mercers, in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London.

		£	s.	d.
December 18, 1752.	11¼ yards richest crimson Genoa velvet at 27*s.*	15	3	9
May 21, 1753.	8 yards rich straw colour Lustring at 8*s.*	3	4	0
October 29.	8¼ yards rich black unwatered Tabby at 9*s.* 6*d.*	3	18	4½
	8 yards black ½ ell Persian at 2*s.*		16	0
December 6.	7½ yards yellow flowered Tabby at 10*s.* 6*d.*	3	18	9
January 14, 1754.	8¾ yards white and silver Ducape brocade at 25*s.*	10	18	9

Another thin silk also bought in great quantities was alluded to as Persian. This name, and also that of tabby, had been used in the seventeenth century. Possibly both

of these names had been bestowed upon the silks by the Levant Company, then operating and importing such goods. But when many yards of both tabby and Persian were bought for the fourth Duke of Bedford in the middle of the eighteenth century, the place of their origin was Italy. Other names, such as the rich Genoese velvet — sometimes the bill went further, as did that from Hinchliff and Croft, and said it was 'the richest' — and the Paduasoy, which name was afterwards transformed into Poult-de-soie, are constant reminders of the dependence upon Italy for rich silk goods. And not upon Italy alone. Silks, velvets and brocades sold in the mercers' shops, when not imported from Italy, came as a rule from France. Although some of each was manufactured at home, such manufacture was only on a very moderate scale.

Another mercer in the Covent Garden district was the firm of Mason, Lucas and Higgons, whose trade card showed the sign of the Lamb. This was in Chandos Street, a turning out of Bedford Street. The street, which was one of those cut through in the time of the fourth Earl of Bedford, had been named after his wife, Catherine Brydges, the daughter of Lord Chandos. There was situated the inn known by the name, the Hole in the Wall, which also had been bestowed upon the pastrycook and the passage in the neighbouring estate of Bloomsbury. Probably both names occurred for very much the same reason, that they really represented a passage or break in a barrier.

But if the Hole in the Wall in Bloomsbury was celebrated for its pastry, the inn in Covent Garden became known to fame when Claude Duval was arrested there. Altogether, Chandos Street attained some little celebrity, since therein was also situated the house which was said to be the first in England outside which a balcony was erected. The mercers' shop of Mason, Lucas and Higgons represented the more prosaic side of the thoroughfare. The chief merit, for later

generations, of those tradesmen was that they had a most admirable trade card.

MASON, LUCAS AND HIGGONS,
Mercers,
at the Lamb in Chandos Street, London.
Sell

Genoa & Dutch Velvets	Satins	Stripes & Plain Lustrings	Striped & Plain Irish Stuffs
Brocades	Tabbys	Sarsenets	Furniture & Other
Damasks	Armozeens	Persians	Stuff. Damasks.
Paduasoy	Ducapes	Poplins	Camblets
Rasdemores	Sergedusoys	Broglios	Callimancos etc.
	Mantuas		

Norwich Crapes

for Mourning of particular good Mixtures, Black and White Bombazeens, also Rich Figured and other Silks for Gentlemen's wear.

Clothes for anyone in the position of the Duke of Bedford, whether he wore a coat of fine cloth, or of a richer material, were not cheap. To their cost had to be added the expense of the gold and silver trimmings. Although the expenditure on such had steadily diminished since the seventeenth century, when silver and gold had been used on clothes in far greater profusion than the more severe taste of the eighteenth century allowed, it yet came to a goodly amount, and the laceman dealing in gold and silver and silver-gilt lace still prospered. So also did embroidery workers in gold and silver thread, even though their work might not be in quite so much demand as it had been in the past. But when it was used for a particular occasion the bills were high.

EMBROIDERER, J. G. BATTIERE.
His Grace the Duke of Bedford. Debtor
to John Gaspard Battier. [*sic*]

November, 1757. To embroider a rich suit of crimson velvet with gold 64 *guineas*

Presumably, for his sixty-four pounds, John Gaspard

Battier supplied the gold braid or what-not as well as undertook the embroidery. But even so, the price was a high one in comparison with other bills. The coat, however, is known to have been worked in Dublin — a piece of magnificence required for some ceremony in connection with the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland.

This was a particularly elaborate piece of embroidery. Nevertheless, even the plainest of the cloth coats of the eighteenth century, as made for a man of position, would as a rule have a silver or even a gold binding. Silver buttons in rich designs were still used, and the waistcoats were allowed a considerable variety of ornamentation in silver and gold.

The buttons were, indeed as they had always been, a great feature. One of the earliest bills for the Duke, belonging to the days when his brother Wriothesley, then a child Duke, and himself were in the nursery, draws a picture of the pair of them in frocks well and truly buttoned.

By the silversmith John Farram,
paid him for 3 dozen and ½ of
breast buttons for His Grace
and Lord John's frocks, as per
bill No. 14 £1 9*s*. 6*d*.

Almost at the same time, their little sisters, under six years old, had dresses sewn thick with many yards of gold and silver braid.

This gold and silver braid was sold by weight. This was of importance since it had been customary, as all the seventeenth century bills show, for the silversmith or laceman from whom the goods had been bought to take back any left over, or sometimes, when it had been taken off the coats and dresses, to re-buy the whole. It might also be sent back to be refashioned. Hence the importance of noting the exact weight.

Eighteenth-century bills show that this practice still

continued. Peter Bunnell, the laceman at the Golden Cock in Bedford Street, who in 1757 sold for the use of the Duke of Bedford twenty-two yards of rich gold brocaded and scalloped lace at eighteen shillings a yard, advertised on his bill that he gave full value for all old lace; and the exact weight of the lace that he sold is carefully given on the bill. Very often, however, although the salesman might call his wares gold and silver, it is very evident from the price that they were in many instances merely gilded or silvered wire. Of this a great quantity was used at all times.

The cloth, silks, satins or velvets bought for the Duke in Covent Garden went to a tailor to be made up and also, for the metal work, to an embroiderer. The materials bought for the Duchess and her daughter, Lady Caroline, must also have come from the Covent Garden shops. No bills, however, for the fourth Duchess of Bedford, save and except some for gala occasions such as the coronation, have survived. They were probably dealt with by her own head waiting woman and were never transmitted to Mr. Butcher's office at all. What became of them is not known; perhaps the dust heap, or the fire.

Many of Lady Caroline's bills must also have been settled with those of her mother. But a few of them came into the hands of Mr. Butcher.

The materials bought for Lady Caroline came from much the same tradesmen as sold lengths of silk, satin and so forth for the use of her father and brother. The lengths were then given over, to be made up, to a variety of workers, both men and women. The bills of these workers, written in poor handwriting and made out after the untidy fashion of an earlier day, are not elegant to look at, as are those from the shops. Nor do they give, as a rule, any indication in what locality the workshop was to be found.

In the first place, there were the mantua makers. Those who worked for Lady Caroline were women.

MANTUA MAKERS, E. & I. MUNDAY.

The Right Honourable Lady Caroline Russell.
Debtor to Elizabeth and Jane Munday.

		£	s.	d.
June 2, 1760.	Making a pink and silver gown and coat		14	0
	Body lining		2	6
	Full trimming the gown and coat	1	10	0
	Making a striped lady's gown and apron		8	0
	Body, sleeve linings & ferret		4	6
	Pinking, trimming and stomacher		6	0
October 29	Making a crepe gown		8	0
	Body and sleeve linings		4	0
	Pinking the ruffles		2	0
	Making a bombazine gown and coat		14	0
	Body and sleeve linings		4	0
	Ferret and buttons		2	6

Elizabeth and Jane Munday did the ordinary dress-making work, including mending and repairing of all kinds. But when Lady Caroline wanted a sacque, or a sack dress, she went to a professional sacque maker, who was a man.

SACK MAKER, F. METIVIER.

The Honourable Lady Caroline Russell.
Debtor to Francis Metivier.

		£	s.	d.
October 15, 1758.	To making a black silk sack and petticoat	1	1	0
	To pinking		4	0
	To lining, binding & buttons		5	6
January 27, 1759.	To making a bombazine sack	1	6	0
	To lining and binding		5	0
		£3	1	6

As a rule bombazine, a twilled material of silk and worsted or cotton and worsted, or even worsted alone, was, like lutestring, reserved for plainer wear. But Lady Caroline's bombazine sacque was more expensive than the other of silk, which also had a petticoat.

The third worker was the hoop maker. It is not clear whether this was a man or a woman.

HOOP MAKER, S. BROWN.

HOOP PETTICOATS.

The Right Honourable the Lady Caroline Russell's bill.

		£	s.	d.
August 4, 1757.	To a blue hoop	1	8	0
	Paid for eleven yards of lutestring at 6*s.* per yard	3	6	0
	Paid for pinking the flounce		14	0
	For flouncing a hoop		14	0
	Paid for a hoop box		4	0
		£6	6	0

There are no bills to show that Lady Caroline ever replaced her silks, satins and velvets, lutestring and bombazine by cloth for a dress or coat. But cloth was used for her riding habits, which were made by a William Thompson, whose place of business does not appear. Sometimes it was superfine grey cloth at twenty-four shillings a yard. But on one occasion at least the young lady also had a far more elaborate habit in blue and white, with gold and silver buttons.

HABIT MAKER, WILLIAM THOMPSON.

Riding Habit for the Right Honourable Lady Caroline Russell.

		£	s.	d.
1758.	12 yards fine white jean at 3*s.* 6*d.* per yard	2	2	0
	$3\frac{3}{4}$ yards superfine blue cloth at 18*s.* per yard	3	7	6
	$4\frac{1}{2}$ yards white silk serge at 5*s.* 6*d.* per yard	1	4	9
	Gold and silver buttons	1	11	2
	Making the habit, with linings, pockets, etc.	2	14	0
		£10	19	5

Perhaps this blue and white habit was similar to one worn by her mother, the Duchess. The last had an historic interest. Admiral of the Fleet the Honourable John Forbes, being called in by King George the Second to discuss a design for a naval uniform — 'a uniform dress is useful and necessary for the commissioned officers, as well as agreeable to the practice of other nations' — is said to have made to a Mr. Locker the following statement. Being summoned —

> . . . to attend the Duke of Bedford, as first Lord of the Admiralty, and being introduced into an apartment surrounded with various dresses, his opinion was asked as to the most appropriate; the Admiral said red and blue, or blue and red, as these were our national colours. 'No', replied His Grace, 'the King has determined otherwise, for having seen my Duchess riding in the park a few days ago in a habit of blue faced with white, the dress took the fancy of His Majesty, who has appointed it for the uniform of the Royal Navy'.[1]

Incidentally, a blue and white costume edged with a braided design made of twisted silvered wire was also the

[1] From a note kindly supplied by Captain E. Altham, R.N., Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall.

livery of the Dunstable Hunt, in which Lord Tavistock often appeared and in which he was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

If there were any woollen drapers, or mercers, or gold and silver lace sellers on the Bloomsbury estate, it does not appear that they were patronized by Bedford House. But two haberdashers, both of whom were in King Street, drove a good trade.

The one was Francis Bishop, who called himself haberdasher, glover and pattern drawer. His shop was at the sign of the Sun and Dove — he had no trade card or illustrated bill heading — at the upper end of King Street, near Bloomsbury Square. Bishop had set up there, according to his own statement, after having been an assistant or an apprentice at Mr. Walkwood's shop at Holborn Bridge. All sorts of small articles, needles, fancy pins, tapes and ribbons, were bought from him.

The rival establishment was at the Holborn end of the same street. Here Francis Flower, who later took two partners called Brooks and Amery, had his establishment under the sign of the Rose and Woolpack. His is one of the cases in which the trade card was differentiated from the bill. On the bill was merely the Rose and the Woolpack, charmingly drawn, enclosed within an equally charming little rococo frame. But the trade card went far beyond this. The Rose and Woolpack — not the same design as on the bill — was merely an item in an elaborate frame, again rococo, showing vases of roses, as well as bunches of that and other flowers. The whole is an admirable example of how the prettiness and frivolity of rococo could be made to suit an advertisement of pretty and frivolous wares.

Flower, like most haberdashers, included gloves and stockings amongst his wares, and gloves for the fourth Duke came from his shop. But here was a considerable change of fashion. The very elaborate embroidered glove shown in all

its richness in contemporary portraits had been a great feature in the dress of gentlemen of position throughout the sixteenth as throughout the seventeenth century, and an amazing amount was expended with the glover or the hosier, who also supplied coverings for the hands. The array of portraits belonging to the mid-eighteenth century show the descendants of the glove-wearing gentlemen with bare hands. The elaborate embroidered glove had entirely disappeared and even an ordinary glove was only worn for driving or riding and such other activities that made the use of a hand-covering desirable.

The fourth Duke wore gloves, when needed, either of French kid or of wash leather. Both varieties were sold at the very reasonable uniform price of two shillings a pair. Kid gloves for his daughter Caroline cost exactly the same amount. But the price of gloves of lambskin for the young lady, of which she had nine or ten pairs bought at a time, was only eighteenpence a pair.

Francis Flower included stockings in his list of goods, as did nearly every haberdasher. But in the matter of stockings those who bought for the Duke of Bedford went back to the City. Their purchases, however, were no longer the stockings shaped out of material, linen, wool or silk, of the past. Those worn by the fourth Duke and his family were of worsted, or thread and of silk. Stockings of all three qualities were bought many pairs at a time, usually from Nisbett and Masters at the Queen's Head in Queen Street, Cheapside, or sometimes from William Wilmot, at the sign of the Black Lion in Norfolk Street, Strand. Wilmot was a hosier pure and simple. Nisbett and Masters were also hatters. But it does not appear that hats for anyone in Bedford House ever came from them.

The hatter principally patronized by the Duke himself was, in the first instance, William Finch, who was at the corner of Tavistock Street, facing Long's warehouse, in

TRADE CARD: FRANCIS FLOWER

Covent Garden. Finch had an admirable sketch on his bills on plain, straightforward lines, as an advertisement of his wares. This was a pair of stockings between two hats, excellently drawn, but with no elaboration of design and no ornate frame. The one hat was the tricorn of the day. But the other was of an old-fashioned pointed type, and the stockings, although seemingly of thread, were made on equally old-fashioned lines, following the fashion of the former piece stockings. The whole suggests an old-established tradesman, whose sign was in marked contrast to such a one as that of the Rose and Woolpack. He dealt in mixed wares, for besides hats he sold stockings, gloves and pieces for waistcoats and breeches in silk and worsted.

But Finch did not retain the custom of the Duke of Bedford for hats. In 1759 the fourth Duke went westward for his headgear. In that year Mr. James Lock had taken over the hatter's establishment of his father-in-law, Charles Davis, in St. James's Street. And from Mr. James Lock, in the spring of 1759, a hat was bought for the Duke of Bedford.

Hatter, James Lock.

		£	s.	d.
May 15, 1759.	A fine beaver hat	1	1	0
	6 double silk cockades		9	0
September 19.	A fine beaver hat	1	1	0
	A double cockade		1	6
		£2	12	6

The shop — there was no trade sign, nor any address, on the bill — was originally on the west side of the street, and was probably still on that side when the fourth Duke's hat was bought. Whether it was the year after this or a little later still that the move to the other side was made is not quite clear. The purchase, had the fourth Duke but known it, was the first of a long series which were to be made from Mr. Lock by his successors, even down to the present day.

Lady Caroline, like her father, also wore beaver hats. But hers, which cost as a rule a guinea each, came mostly from a hatter called Stephen Gaudry. Gaudry had a double title on his bills. He was:

STEPHEN GAUDRY
Hat Maker at the Hat and Beaver
in Little Newport Street, near Leisterfields,
London.

But he was also:

ETTIENNE GAUDRY
A L'Enseigne du Chapeau et Castor
dans le Petit Newport Street, proche Leisterfields.

His bill heading showed, within a rococo frame, a tricorn beaver hat, elegantly be-plumed, with the animal whence the hat had been derived beneath.

Sometimes, too, Lady Caroline would buy, with other small frivolities, a chip hat from a regular milliner.

Milliner, Prudence Page.
The Honourable Lady Caroline Russell.
Debtor to Prudence Page.

		£	s.	d.
September 4, 1756.	For a pair of blond ruffles and tucker		12	3
7.	A blond lace and Cyprus apron	1	2	6
	4 yards of rose colour ribbon at 9*d.*		3	0
	2 yards of white ribbon at 1*s.*		2	0
	A box sent			6
	A superfine chip hat		3	0
		£2	3	3

Judging solely from the bills of the Duke of Bedford, it might be supposed that the shops in the neighbourhood of St. James's and Piccadilly were, for the most part, given up to the sale of groceries and elegant confectionery rather than to the sale of more solid goods. Shops for the latter may have been there. But if so, then the Duke preferred to make his purchases from the tradesmen in Covent Garden.

But, just as Mr. Butcher went to New Bond Street for dainty confections for the table, so he also found in the same street elegancies for the toilet. There, between Grosvenor Street and Brook Street, James Smyth and Company had opened a perfumery establishment under the sign of the Civet Cat, a delightful sketch of which appeared on their bills, where lavender water — it cost five shillings and two pence a pint — was at any rate from 1757 onwards bought for the Duke of Bedford. The shop survived, to be patronized by members of the family well within living memory.

Lavender water was only a very small item in the long list of toilet requirements for men and women.

Little Lord John, making out his bill in order to retrieve money expenses from his 'Mamma', had mentioned wash-balls and pomatum. As a grown man the money expended for him on those articles, with the addition of scented waters of all kinds, was very considerable.

Many such things were bought from G. Storer, the address of whose shop is unknown.

His Grace The Duke of Bedford
To G. Storer.

		£	s.	d.
March 31, 1759.	To 1 pound of perfumed soap		1	0
April 2.	12 pounds plain powder, 2 pounds superfine ditto, a roll and a pot of pomade		9	0
16.	Powder and pomade		8	6
30.	Ditto		8	6

			£	s.	d.
May	14.	Powder and pomade		8	6
	17.	6 bottles F. lavender water		15	0
		2 pounds of perfumed soap		2	0
	28.	Powder and pomade		9	0
June	11.	Ditto		8	6
	25.	Ditto		8	6
		1 bottle of Hungary water		1	0
July	9.	Powder and pomade		8	6
	23.	Ditto		8	6

The Duke needed any amount of perfumed soap and water. The powder and pomade may have been bought for him, or for one of the ladies of the family. He himself always had wigs, not the elaborate long, curled wig of his predecessors, but neat and trim, with close rolled curls and short tails. His daughter and, by inference, also his wife needed for her hair a whole array of powder, pomade, curling irons and combs.

Sundries, J. F. Perrier.
The Right Honourable Lady Caroline Russell,
her bill.

			£	s.	d.
Août	10, 1757.	Pomade à bâton		1	0
		Un peigne à queux		2	0
Novembre		Poudre grize		2	6
		Oupe de signe		2	0
Janvier,	1758.	Pour une oupe de cheveux		5	0
		Pour une boîte à poudre		1	6
Juillet		Un bâton de pomade		1	0
Novembre		Une tresse de cheveux		10	6
		Pomade aux Jassemint		5	0
Janvier	1759.	Pomade à bâton		1	0
		Un couteau à ôter la poudre		2	6
			1	14	0

		£	s.	d.
	Brought forward	1	14	0
Fevrier	Épingles à crochet		1	6
	Pour trois livres de poudre		3	0
Mars	Pomade à la graise Doürs; pour Dublin		2	6
Juin	Six livres de poudre		6	0
	Pour un fer à frizer		2	0
	Un bâton de pomade		1	0
	Un peigne d'ecaille		2	6
Novembre 6,	Pomade à la graise Doürs		2	0
	Pour des épingles noires		2	6
	Épingles à crochet		1	0
Janvier 6, 1760.	Pomade aux Jassemint		2	6
Avril	Pour 2 cent d'épingles à crochet		2	0
	Un étuit de fer blanc		1	6
Juin	Pomade aux Jassemint		7	6
Juillet	Pomade à bâton		1	0
Août	Un peigne d'ecaille		2	6
Novembre 14	Pour un bâton de pomade		1	0
25	Pour des épingles noires		2	6
	Pour un cent d'épingles à crochet		1	0
Decembre	Pour un peigne à queux		2	0
		£4	1	6

CHAPTER XVI

ENTERTAINMENTS AND CEREMONIES

Amid all the business, private and political, of the Duke of Bedford, entertainments of all kinds were not far to seek, either inside or outside Bedford House, for the Duke and Duchess themselves; for their son and daughter; and for the household.

There was much here to recall the short, glittering heyday of the second Duke. But now, although the glitter was as bright as before and its manifestations even more elegant than earlier, yet the brightness was a background to the other activities rather than the main preoccupation of the lord and lady of the house.

A ball at Bedford House was indeed a brilliant setting for those occupied in the public affairs of the day. But such a setting required a good deal of preparation. It strained the resources of the household, beginning with Mr. Butcher and Mr. Becuda, to the utmost.

The suite of rooms, salons and drawing rooms, on the first floor at Bedford House, including the great room which had been decorated by Mr. Pink for the coming of the fourth Duke's young father and mother to take up their married life in the house alongside Lady Rachel, must have been admirably suited for the entertaining of guests. One of the rooms, either the great drawing-room or the salon adjacent to it, was now always known as the ball room. This apartment, refurnished as were many others by the fourth Duke and Duchess, was in their time a green and gold room.

Ball Room.

Seven large oval pier glasses fixed in plaster ornamental frames.

Seven green silk damask festoon window curtains, lines, etc., complete, with carved cove cornices partly gilt over ditto.

Four statuary marble slabs supported by carved and gilt dolphins.

Four mahogany card tables covered with green cloth.

Two large mahogany turned stands.

A plush work tapestry fire screen, backed with green lutestring, mounted on a walnut-tree carved pillar and claw.

Three large carved and gilt chandeliers, with twelve branch lights each, hung with green silk lines and balance tassels.

Six double headed couches, the frames carved and gilt; two squabs, eight pillows to each, covered with green silk damask, and green serge cases to ditto.

Eight small stools the same.

Four large ditto stools, with two squabs to each, covered as before, with green serge cases to ditto.

A large French settee, the frame richly carved and gilt, with a thick loose cushion to the seat, covered with rich variegated velvet, and green serge case to ditto.

Two burziers to match and one stool to ditto.

Eight cabrioles to match ditto.

Six smaller ditto partly gilt and six back stools, the seats only stuffed, the whole covered with variegated velvet and finished as the settee. Cases to ditto the same.

A large grate, with shovel, tongs and poker.

A steel hearth, a moulding wire fender.

Two small hexagon jars of enamelled china.

Burzier probably represented the maker of the inventory's version of burjier. The latter, in its turn, was the English

rendering of the French bergère, or winged arm-chair. The cabrioles were small arm-chairs.

Here, in the ball room, and in the neighbouring rooms — there were three rooms now reckoned as drawing-rooms, or salons, as well as the original big eating-room and the little eating-room — preparations were made for two among the number of great balls given by the Duke and Duchess. The one took place in May, 1757, and the other in April two years later.

Among the early preparations was the getting together of sufficient plate and glass. The Duke's own establishment could supply a good deal, as the long lists testify. But much more was wanted than this and had to be got from outside. Some was hired in the ordinary way from tradesmen.

Thomas Bridgman's bill for the ball.

April 14, 1759.	To Mr. Hughs & Co. for glass	£2	8*s.*	0*d.*
17	To Mr. Wheatley for 21 dozen of cut glasses	£1	1*s.*	0*d.*
20	To Mr. Been for the hire of china figures	£3	0*s.*	0*d.*

The plate, however, was not hired, but was borrowed from friends of the Duke. It was brought to the house and taken away again by chairmen, each of whom received a gratuity from the Duke of Bedford for the service.

Ball, May 1757.

Paid for bringing and carrying the plate home:

The Duke of Marlborough's chairman	5*s.*	0*d.*
Lord Bolingbroke's chairman	5*s.*	0*d.*
Lord Gower's chairman	4*s.*	0*d.*
Lady Ossory's chairman	4*s.*	0*d.*
Lady Betty Walgrave's chairman	4*s.*	0*d.*

A similar bill for the ball two years later shows that the arrangements made then were rather more expensive. Lord Sandwich lent plate this time, but his chairman had as much

as ten shillings for bringing and fetching it again. Lady Ossory's chairman had five shillings instead of his former four shillings, and Lord Gower's man had as much as seven shillings and sixpence. Also, on this last occasion, each of the under-butlers in the service of those who lent the plate received a gratuity of half a crown for their trouble.

The chairmen also made a little more on the transaction, for at the foot of each bill for the carrying and fetching of the plate there is a note to the effect that in the first instance one and in the second two of the chairmen had been impounded by the domestic authorities at Bedford House in order to help clean the knives. The gratuity for this was half a crown a head.

But not only plate was borrowed from the Duke's friends. The footmen available were insufficient in number to deal with a great occasion. Therefore, footmen, like the plate, were borrowed, mainly to wait at supper. The recognized gratuity to each of these men was one guinea. For the 1757 ball thirteen men were thus engaged, and fifteen for that two years later.

The account for those who waited.

		£	s.	d.
May, 1759.	Lord Sandwich's men	3	3	0
	Duke of Grafton's men	3	3	0
	Lord Gower's men	2	2	0
	Lord Bolingbroke's men	2	2	0

The names of these ten, with five others whose employers were not specified, were duly set out.

After the arrangements that the guests should be properly waited on at supper and for a sufficiency of plate and glass from which to eat and drink — although, unfortunately, what was put on the plates or in the glasses is nowhere given — provision was made for the other side of the entertainment, the music.

The man who sent the musicians in both 1757 and two

years later was one Barnard Rose. In 1757 he sent musicians unspecified, for whom he charged twelve guineas. On the second occasion he charged two guineas more, and this time the instrumentalists were named.

Received this 26 April, 1759, of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, by John Branson, fourteen pounds fourteen shillings for music at a ball at Bedford House on Monday, the 22nd of this instant, by me,
BARNARD ROSE £14 14*s.* 0*d.*

2 sets music each.
3 violins.
1 hautboy.
1 pipe and tabor.
2 bases.

Also a Mr. Thomas Leander came with the trumpet instrument which, developed from the hunting horn, was called the French horn and had leapt into favour during the previous ten or fifteen years.

Thomas Leander for French Horns.

April 27, 1759. Received of Mr. Branson three pounds three shillings for a Ball by me THOMAS LEANDER.

But music and dancing by no means contented all, and there was a hazard, or card room arranged also.

On the day of the ball itself, or at the very least the day before, amid all the final preparations, came the great wash. The rooms had to be thoroughly cleaned. Doubtless this was highly necessary. But it was also regarded by many as a most perilous proceeding, as Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, had warned her young couple twenty-five years previously. There was always a suspicion in the mind of

some guest who found himself shivering that the room had not been properly dried. And no doubt this often was so.

As there are no details of what the guests were given to eat and drink at either of the balls, so there are none for the clothes which were worn by the host and hostess, and their son and daughter.

But one account of the spectacle on the night in April, 1759, was given by Horace Walpole in a letter to his faithful friend George Montagu.

> The ball at Bedford House on Monday was very numerous and magnificent. The two Princes were there, deep hazard, and the Dutch deputies, who are a proverb for their dullness. They have brought with them a young Dutchman who is the richest man in Amsterdam — I am amazed Mr. Yorke has not married him!
>
> But the delightful part of the night was the appearance of the Duke of Newcastle, who is veering round again, as it is time to betray Mr. Pitt. The Duchess was at the very upper end of the gallery, and though some of the Pelham court were there too, yet they showed so little cordiality to this revival of connection that Newcastle had nobody to attend to him but Sir Edward Montagu, who kept pushing him all up the gallery. From thence he went into the hazard room, and wriggled, and shuffled, and lisped, and winked, and spied, till he got behind the Duke of Cumberland, the Duke of Bedford, and Mr. Rigby, the first of whom did not deign to notice him — but he must come to it.
>
> You would have died to see Newcastle's pitiful and distressed figure — nobody went near him; he tried to flatter people that were too busy to mind him — in short he was quite disconcerted. His treachery used to be so sheathed in folly that he was never out of countenance. But it is plain he grows old.

> To finish his confusion and anxiety, George Selwyn, Brand and I went and stood near him, and in half-whispers, that he might hear, said, 'Lord, how he is broke! How old he looks!' Then I said, 'This room feels very cold; I believe there never is any fire in it.' Presently afterwards I said, 'Well, I'll not stay here; this room has been washed today.' In short, I believe we made him take a double dose of Gascoign's powder when he went home.[1]

If the Duke and Duchess and their family had their balls in Bedford House, their household officials and servants had their entertainments also. The birthday of either the Duke or the Duchess was, as it had long been, always the signal for celebrations. The tenants had a dinner. So also did the household, both in London and in the country. 'Sir,' wrote Mr. Branson, then at Woburn Abbey, to Mr. Butcher in London —

> . . . I shall be obliged to know when it is intended to keep my Lord Duke's birthday, that I may send the venison. If it is kept new style, I must know by the return of the post. Do not fail letting me have an answer on Wednesday.

The question of the calendar was still an awkward one.

But at other times birthday parties were given not in the Bloomsbury house itself, but, perhaps more to the liking of those who attended, at some convenient tavern. Then was sent out a formal invitation. One, with a most charming rococo border, embodying scenes at a picnic, with vases of flowers and flying birds as well as Her Grace's arms, went to one of His Grace's men.

SIR,

The favour of your company is desired to dinner at the Hotel Tavern in the Piazza, Covent Garden, on Monday,

[1] *Letters*, ed. Toynbee, IV, 257.

A BIRTHDAY INVITATION

the twenty-seventh day of February instant, to celebrate Her Grace the Duchess of Bedford's birthday, by, Sir,

Your humble servant,

M. LEJEUNE
S. LUCAS } Stewards.

N.B. Dinner at ½ past 2 o'clock.

Far more popular for parties, however, than the Covent Garden tavern mentioned in the letter was one in closer proximity to Bedford House. This was the tavern whose sign was the Buffalo's Head. It was situated in what was known as the Island, a small block of buildings on the south side of Bloomsbury Square. Therefore, the members of the household had no more trouble than to stroll across the square in order to reach what was a favourite rendezvous.

The tavern had come into existence at least at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was from the Buffalo's Head in 1702 that had been procured some of the wine sent to Windsor on the occasion of the second Duke, in his twenty-second year, being installed as Knight of the Garter. But it is only from 1733 onwards that it has an authentic history, and even then some of the interpretation of that history is doubtful.

According to the Bloomsbury rent books, a Mr. Timothy Fielding was granted a lease of the Buffalo's Head at some date after Michaelmas, 1733. He was to pay a rent of seventy pounds a year, and the first payment was due on Lady Day, 1734. Mr. Timothy Fielding's lease was only for the tavern. At the same time as he was given his lease, one was given for the vaults beneath to a Mr. James Agutter.

The press of the day, however, had it that the new lessee of the Buffalo's Head was none other than Mr. Fielding of the Drury Lane Playhouse. 'We hear', writes the *Daily Post* on 15th October, 1733 —

> . . . that Mr. Fielding of Drury Lane Playhouse who has entertained the town so agreeably with his com-

> pany of comedians at the George Inn in Smithfield, during the time of Bartholomew Fair, has taken that commodious tavern at the corner of Bloomsbury Square known by the sign of the Buffalo, and has provided good wines to entertain all gentlemen that please to favour him with their company.

A similar statement, announcing the reopening of the tavern on Monday, 22nd October, was made by the *Daily Post* five days later.

And finally, on Saturday, 18th October, 1735, the *St. James's Evening Post* told its readers:

> Mr. Harry Fielding, the famous comedian, son to Brigadier General Fielding, is ill of a fever at his house, the Buffalo's Head Tavern, in Bloomsbury Square, occasioned by a great effusion of blood from a fall downstairs.

The Bloomsbury rent books for each year, however, continued to speak of the Duke's tenant as Timothy Fielding, until in 1740 he relinquished his lease.

Whether Timothy was indeed Henry, or a close relation, appears to be still undecided. But whoever the lessee really was, there is no doubt of the entertainment afforded by the tavern to those who lived in Bedford House.

The birthday of the Duchess of Bedford was celebrated at the Buffalo's Head in August, 1734, one of a series of similar celebrations in the tavern. After 1740, when Fielding surrendered his lease, the house stood empty for a time. But only for a time. It was presently in full swing again. In October, 1765, John Wynne, the Duke of Bedford's agent in Devonshire, coming to London for a jaunt, wrote to one of his country friends:

> I should have wrote to you last evening, but was at the Buffalo celebrating His Grace's birthday.

While thus the officials and servants went forth to the

Buffalo's Head and other taverns, the Duchess was visiting Vauxhall and Ranelagh. The Duke sometimes accompanied her to both places, but not very frequently. For recreation and amusement it would seem that he vastly preferred the hunting, whether of the red deer that he so greatly enjoyed in Devonshire, or other hunting, presumably the hare, which he could find in more convenient proximity to London.

10 *February*, 1734.

His Grace hunts to-morrow on Mitcham Common, and will dine at Streatham between 2 and 3 o'clock.

The Duke, however, did subscribe to the opera, although it was his wife and daughter rather than himself who patronized that form of entertainment in person. 'Sir,' wrote Mr. Branson from Woburn Abbey, on the second of November, 1742, to Mr. Butcher, —

My Lord desires you would send to the Opera Office in the Haymarket for his opera ticket. If they demand half the subscription, which is ten guineas, or the whole, which is twenty, they must be paid.

I am, Sir,
Your humble servant,
JOHN BRANSON.

But in spite of the growing popularity of Italian music and the fashion for opera, all was not well with that form of entertainment, and the year after Mr. Branson had desired Mr. Butcher to send the Duke's subscription there arose a crisis in the affairs of the opera house. The case, as reported in June, 1743, to the Duke of Bedford, was:

The Opera is a bankrupt. The Directors have run out £1,600, and called this General Meeting to get the consent of the subscribers to take this debt upon themselves. This I opposed, as they seemed to look upon it as a right, and by the great weight and

interest I appeared with I reduced their motion, I think, to nothing, which, as it now stands, is that a letter should be wrote to every one of the two hundred pounds subscribing to desire them to pay their share of this deficiency if they think proper. Thus this important affair ended.

But the distress of the Directors is the most diverting thing I ever saw. The Duke of Rutland, whose name is signed to every contract, is as pale as death and trembles for his money. Lord M: importance is retired into the country to think of ways and means and Mr. Frederick is absconded. Lord Middlesex is only afraid that the credit of the English Operas should be hurt, and, though his name is to no contract would be glad to pay a share with the other four.

Two years later came more trouble. The year 1745 was a bad time for operatic entertainment. This was partly on account of the rebellion, but partly also because no good English singers were available, and in a wave of patriotic fervour the public, it was said, did not wish to hear foreigners.

But the troubles were surmounted more or less; the opera in the Haymarket continued, and both Gertrude, Duchess of Bedford, and her daughter were often present.

The next spring, in May, 1746, the Duchess wrote to the Duke, who had once more been sent to Bath to see what the waters would do for his ever-increasing gout.

I have not heard from you, my love, since Wednesday. It seems a vast while, but I hope for a letter today.

I missed you vastly last night at Vaux Hall because it was so vastly pleasant. I cannot say so of the masquerade, for it was very hot and disagreeable.

I supped at the Duchess of Montagu's on Tuesday night, where was Mr. Baker of the Royal Society, who electrified; it really is the most extraordinary thing one can imagine.

> The bucks have heard that the manager of the Opera does not treat the Violetta as she deserves, and these heroes, not satisfied with encoring her in the last dance and its being complied with, and the house resounding with applause, must hiss the Nardi, who could hardly finish her dance for crying, which gained everybody's compassion, except Mr. Hume and Mr. Husseys, who were drunk, and I believe the only hissers.

The opera which the Duchess had attended was perhaps Gluck's *La Caduta de' Giganti* at the Haymarket theatre, in which Eva Maria Violette, commonly known as The Violetta, afterwards Mrs. Garrick and, as the Duchess implies, the toast of the beaux of the town, appeared. The singer was in this year, as Walpole remarks, at the height of her fame, and 'she dines', wrote he, 'at Bedford House'.[1]

The Duchess and Lady Caroline went to the opera, to Ranelagh, or a to ball, sometimes each in her own sedan chair or sometimes in one that was hired. The chairmen would always be hired. But, besides the chairmen, a footman from Bedford House was, according to the custom of the day, of necessity in attendance. For this the man received his extra gratuity, which was as a rule one shilling for the entire evening.

William Lowe, footman.

April 21, 1762.	To waiting at Ranelagh	1*s.*	0*d.*
	To turnpike to ditto		2*d.*
22.	To waiting at the play	1*s.*	0*d.*
May 11.	Waiting at the Benefit Opera	1*s.*	0*d.*
23.	Waiting at Vaux Hall	1*s.*	0*d.*
30.	Waiting at the Duke of Richmond's ball	1*s.*	0*d.*

But there were greater occasions than either the opera, Ranelagh, or Vauxhall, or even a ball given by the Duchess of Grafton or of Richmond.

[1] *Letters*, ed. Toynbee, II, 197-8.

Amid all the piles of bills with which Mr. Butcher had to deal and the arrangements that had to be made by himself, or by Mr. John Branson, are those which concern the great ceremonies in which the Duke and Duchess played a part — the installation of the Duke as Knight of the Garter, when he took his place as the fifth of the family who had received the honour of knighthood in that Order, not to speak of the royal marriage in 1761, closely followed by the coronation.

On 22nd June, 1749, the Duke was elected Knight of the Garter at a Chapter of the Order held at Kensington. No sooner had his election taken place than he was promptly offered by a friend, Lady Pomfret, a lodging in Windsor Castle for the ceremony of the installation.

27 *June*, 1749.

MY LORD,

As by your Grace's favour I am possessed of a very agreeable and convenient apartment in Windsor Castle, it is no less my duty than inclination to beg your Grace's acceptance of it for the time your instalment will require your presence in that place.

As I never carried my whole family there, but went for the benefit of my health, a day or two every week, the beds are nothing better than stuff, and single, with paper hangings, and the kitchen only provided to roast a loin of mutton or boil a chicken. This furniture is so unfit to receive your Grace that I am ashamed to think of it. But as I shall take care to have it cleaned and well aired, I hope and believe it will be better than any lodging that can be procured in the town. And what your Grace has the best right to, so it is offered you from the best motive — that of gratitude, which interests me likewise in the honours and fortune that attends you, the long continuance of them being the sincere wish of, my Lord,

Your Grace's most obliged, most obedient
and most humble servant,

I. POMFRET.

The installation, however, did not actually take place until July of the following year, and there is no evidence whether or no the Duke occupied the apartments with what the lady described as the deficient furniture.

There were other great occasions.

In November, 1758, when Lady Caroline Russell had attained her fifteenth year, her mother presented her at Court. 'I got Miss presented to the Prince of Wales yesterday', wrote the Duchess to the Duke —

> . . . and she behaved as well to him as she did per contra to his grandfather. When she saw the latter coming to her, she opened her eyes to stare at tremendous Majesty, but never attempted a curtsey, or stooped to receive his kiss. But when she found he persisted, she almost knocked him down with her chin. I assure you it was so bad that I expect to hear he did not like her, though I think he could not help it. She looked so very pretty, and the whole drawing room was of my opinion.

No doubt the dancing master, Mr. Denoyer, had anxiously watched to see how his pupil would carry herself on this great occasion. He had the means of getting to know from his connection with the royal family and learned the Prince's opinion at first hand. To her mother's letter Lady Caroline added a postscript:

> Mama desires me to add to this that Mr. Denoyer has just been with me and says that the Prince of Wales thinks me very pretty and that I've exactly Mama's smile. I was against writing you this, for fear you should think me a saucy, vain Puss. But Mama insisted upon it.

Three years later Lady Caroline, a girl of eighteen, was bridesmaid at the wedding, on Tuesday, 8th September, 1761, of King George the Third — not yet crowned — to the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. 'Her intended Majesty',

said a letter from one of the bailiffs to Mr. Robert Butcher —

> . . . landed yesterday morning at Harwich, lay last night at Lord Abercorn's, near Witham, and arrived at St. James's about 3 this afternoon. She came along the new Turnpike Road by Tottenham Court and through Hyde Park and St. James's Park to St. James's, and is to be married at 9 this evening.

Another bridesmaid was Lady Elizabeth Keppel. She was Lady Caroline's future sister-in-law.

The coronation took place just a fortnight after the wedding on 22nd September. The family at Bedford House had once more to be in gala attire.

Mr. Butcher had his hands full. The preparations which had to be made were carried on to a running accompaniment of requests of all kinds, from people who had the right to ask them and from others who had not.

10 *August*, 1761.

SIR,

As you applied to me for a favour last winter, I take the liberty to ask you for another, which consists only to procure me two tickets for the Hall or Abbey at His Majesty's Coronation, provided it can be done without expense or great trouble to you; and it will much oblige, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

HENRY MUELMAN.

Mr. Muelman may have been entitled to indulgence. But Mr. Butcher's life was made a burden to him, although this was not an unaccustomed experience, by such requests.

In the meantime, he had to superintend the fitting out of the family.

The Duke was appointed to act for the day as Lord High Constable of England. In this office he had to ride into Westminster Hall. New robes were the first necessity. The family robes appear at this juncture to have been worn out, which is not surprising, seeing that they are known to have

LADY CAROLINE RUSSELL

figured not at one but at several previous coronations. Tradesmen were not slow in asking for patronage.

16 *July*, 1761.

Mr. Day presents his most respectful compliments to Mr. Butcher; begs leave to put him in mind of his many promises that my Lord Duke would some time or other think of Mr. Day in his way of business.

His Grace has now an opportunity which may possibly never happen again, which is to employ him in making the coronation robes for my Lord Duke's family, as we have all the patterns of the last coronation, at which time they was in general made at Long's Warehouse.

He hopes my Lord Duke will not take it amiss that he takes this method to apply, as Mr. Day is at this time afflicted with the gout and not able to wait on him in person.

Mr. Day was allowed to supply the robes. The ermine was, however, taken from the old robes; cleaned; and some new skins were added.

His Grace the Duke of Bedford for the Coronation.

The Robes. Bought of Benjamin Day and John Dornbush at Long's Warehouse, the corner of Tavistock Street, Covent Garden.

		£	s.	d.
August 22, 1761.	27 yards of rich mantua at 6*s.* 6*d.*	8	15	6
	Making the robes	4	4	0
	Making the cap, buckram, etc.		10	6
	A rich gold tassel	2	2	0
	A silk band for the neck, ribbon, etc.		4	6
	Cleaning the ermine and adding 60 skins	10	10	0
	Ermine for the coronet		13	0
		£26	19	6

The coronet came from one Andrew Hunter.

His Grace the Duke of Bedford.
The Coronet. Bought of Andrew Hunter.
September 15, 1761. A coronet and case £13 2*s.* 0*d.*

The trappings for the horse on which the Duke was to ride were nearly, if not quite, as important as those for the rider. These, however, had not to be provided by the Duke. John Wynne, the Devon agent, who was staying at Bedford House, reported from there to Robert Butcher, who had gone to Woburn —

> His Grace came to town last evening, and is appointed High Constable of England for the Coronation Day. His Grace is to ride to Westminster Hall on the Champion's right hand, on a horse very richly caparisoned, being the same furniture that was made a present of to His late Majesty by the Dey of Tripoli.

According to Horace Walpole, who saw the coronation, 'the Champion acted his part admirably', but 'his associates, Lord Effingham, Lord Talbot and the Duke of Bedford, were woeful', although, he added, in a kindlier spirit, the last was 'the least ridiculous of the three'.

But Walpole, when he reported thus to George Montagu, was thoroughly tired and out of temper. He had himself, in order to get a seat, spent the previous night in PalaceYard, where he had been unable to sleep, and had risen at 6 a.m. The result had been to leave him thoroughly scornful on the subject of coronations. 'Bartholomew Fair' was his verdict on the noble crowds that he saw assembled.

Of some of the ladies he did approve. But he was very ready to repeat an unkind criticism of the Duchess of Bedford. 'Lord Bolingbroke', he told Montagu —

> . . . put rouge upon his wife and the Duchess of Bedford in the Painted Chamber. The Duchess of

> Queensberry told me of the latter that she looked like an orange-peach, half red and half yellow.[1]

Whatever that lady looked like when the rouge had been put on, her clothes were of the splendour expected on such an occasion.

Her coronet came, like the Duke's, from Andrew Hunter. Her robes, however, came not from Benjamin Day, but from James Spilsbury, who, at Pritchard's Warehouse, was the robe and habit maker to the Queen. Spilsbury also supplied the material for her hooped skirt of silver stuff and her rich silver coat, which was trimmed with Point d'Espagne. The dress was flounced with silver net, that being bought from Kempe Brydges, the laceman, at the Three Crowns at the corner of Bedford Street in Covent Garden. And Brydges supplied also the gold and silver tassels with which the dress was further ornamented.

Lady Caroline, like her mother, wore, too, a hooped skirt which was embroidered in silver. Her bodice, however, was the tight bodice, with stays, made of what was described as a very rich embroidered material.

A coronation was not a cheap form of entertainment for those who attended it. But at all times, in the numerous variety of bills that had to be met, Mr. Butcher had a good deal to pay out. His responsibility, however, went far beyond the mere paying of bills, or countersigning for their payment. If much was paid out, a great deal also came in. Mr. Butcher had to supervise the last also. He had to a great extent the general finance of his master in his hands, and that was not an easy task.

[1] *Letters*, ed. Toynbee, v, 110.

CHAPTER XVII

SOME CROSS-LIGHTS ON FINANCE

THE financial affairs of the Dukes of Bedford become progressively more difficult to trace from the first year of the eighteenth century onwards, when the second Duke succeeded his grandfather.

The finances of the second Duke cannot be followed, as those of his grandfather could be, as a whole. For one thing, either his very inefficient receiver-general, Mr. Middleton, did not keep such detailed accounts as his predecessors had done, or, he having kept them, they have since been lost. But the root of the difficulty lies in a complete change in the manner and method of handling the income.

During the entire lifetime of the fifth Earl and first Duke his receiver-general had had complete control, although carefully supervised by his master, of all payments received and made. His annual account had been comparatively easy to make out, since it was he who received every penny of money that came in and he who paid it all out. He had merely to put down every sum which had been received, either as rent, or as a returned loan, or from the adventure in the fens, and everything that he had paid out, which included the family allowances as well as his master's own private pocket money. During the greater part of the time the bank had been the great money chest, into which the coins had been poured as they were received, and taken out again as they were wanted. Then had come the transference of the care of the money to the goldsmith-bankers, Messrs. Child & Company. Sometimes the money due was paid to them direct;

more often it was sent to them by the receiver-general, the cash having come to him first of all. So likewise it was drawn from them again, as it had been formerly taken out of the chest, when needed. But, although use had thus been made of the banking system that was gradually evolving, the old Duke himself had had no dealings with Messrs. Child, not even for his own private expenses. When he wanted money he had simply informed his receiver-general, who drew the necessary sum in the form of guineas and handed it to his lord, himself keeping a private cash account for him.

But the grandson, Wriothesley, second Duke of Bedford, had inaugurated for the Russells an entirely new procedure. He was in the habit of drawing money from the bank by means of an order which, signed by himself, was the precursor of the modern cheque. Such an order signed by him remains in the archives of Child's Bank to-day, the first, as far as is known, signed by the head of the Russell family.

Wriothesley did not only draw his own money. He kept his own private cash account book. All his transactions with the bank are contained in a little parchment book set out in his own handwriting, with the heading for each financial year:

> An account of all notes that I have drawn on Sir Francis Child, or receipts given to him, from the twenty-fifth day of March, 17—.

Such moneys were almost certainly drawn from the general account. A separate private account does not appear, as far as can be gathered from the history of banking as well as of private individuals, to have come into existence until considerably later.

Nor did Wriothesley set down in his account book for what purpose he wanted the money. This was nothing new. It applies also to his grandfather, who not unnaturally

seldom or never specified, when he asked his receiver-general for a hundred guineas or so, what he was going to do with the coins. The only difference was that by the earlier practice the receiver-general gave his master the money, took a receipt for it and placed the same with his accounts, whereas Wriothesley took what money he wanted direct. He did, however, keep his account of it.

But a certain obscurity does result, which did not exist earlier, from the practice of both the master and man paying into and drawing upon the general account at Child's Bank. As far as can be seen from the remaining cash books, the Duke and his receiver-general, Mr. Middleton, had somewhat elastic arrangements in the case of all money payments, both in and out. Sometimes one made them and sometimes the other. What was done was probably quite clear to themselves. But the surviving cash books are not the same help to the inquirer as were the carefully set out statements of account in the previous century, where one man only was responsible for all.

If the affairs of the second Duke are somewhat obscure, even more so are those of his eldest son and immediate successor, the ineffective third Duke. As far as the latter's agents are concerned, this is in part accounted for by the fact that a good deal of business was conducted from Streatham. There also has to be taken into account the amazing amount of extravagance which the Duke contrived to cram into the few short years of his adolescence.

But even when the younger brother, John, succeeded as fourth Duke, the situation is far from being clarified as much as might be wished. Certain aspects of his finance grow more distinct. Upon others more and welcome flash-lights fall. But, even so, it is impossible to assess the total amount of his income, even approximately, or to follow in detail upon what it was spent.

Once more no balance sheets for all the receipts and

expenditure have been found. They may never have existed. Surviving books connected with the bank account leave far too many gaps and too much unexplained.

The difficulty, the impossibility even, of assessing the total amount that came in lies not in the matter of the rentals. Here most of the figures stand out clearly enough. But the finance of the fourth Duke went far beyond a mere matter of rents. They were by no means his only source of income. He not only had his salary and perquisites for various offices, for which no sufficient details exist. He also had many investments and speculations: in lotteries; in annuities; in the South Sea Company; in Salt Tallies; and, last but not least, in the East India Company. These transactions are only visible at intervals and the hiatus are such that no clear view of the whole can be obtained.

A general rental shows that when the fourth Duke succeeded to his inheritance the annual income from the estates was reckoned at thirty-one thousand pounds odd. But this was the gross figure. Unlike the earlier general statements, this one gave that figure and then set out the deductions which had been made by the various receivers and bailiffs for taxation, repairs, salaries and so forth. The expenditure on these for all the estates for one year had been just under six thousand seven hundred pounds. This was made up of the land tax, nearly two thousand five hundred pounds; repairs and improvements, nearly two thousand four hundred pounds; with the balance as salaries to the bailiffs and supervisors.

All these outgoings were paid by the bailiff, or receiver, or agent-in-chief, who was responsible for each particular property, including those of Bloomsbury and Covent Garden, and the subsequent balance only delivered over, wherever it might go. This was the old custom, founded obviously on considerations of convenience. It was not a custom which made for good accounting. It was, neverthe-

less, one which was to continue for many a year after the days of the fourth Duke.

What was due from the estates after these deductions had been made might then, in 1732, be said to be between twenty-four and twenty-five thousand pounds.

This was an increase of some three thousand pounds for the year upon what the second Duke of Bedford had looked to receive thirty-two years earlier. The greater part of this increase, roughly about two thousand five hundred pounds in the year, came from the two estates of Bloomsbury and Covent Garden. Between 1700 and 1732 Bloomsbury had shown an increase of some seventeen hundred pounds a year and Covent Garden somewhere about eight hundred pounds. What is not clear is what proportion of the receipts from either estate in this, as in any other particular year, represents fines. As always allowance must be made for the possibility of fines being included among the rents in both returns.

The remainder of the increase on the whole rental came almost entirely from Woburn. Not only had this property been very carefully nursed, but, following arrangements specified in the will of the first Duke, it had from 1700 onwards been much extended by purchases of adjacent lands.

The income from Thorney and the east had remained almost constant. That from Devon, on the other hand, was continuing, as it had done before, to decrease annually, although the process was a very slow one.

This is not, however, to say that the fourth Duke would in fact have received the total of income due for the first, and possibly not even for the immediately subsequent years of his inheritance. The third Duke's plans for dissipating his estates had come to nothing. But there was considerable leeway to make up as a result of his debts, and the fourth Duke and his wife Diana would certainly not have received immediately the income that might have been anticipated.

The admirable Mr. Butcher, seated in the office in Bedford House, handling his master's papers, supervising his affairs, knew well enough what thus was due in the shape of rentals. But the problem of how and when they might be paid in was ever before him. Some aspects of this problem were well-worn tales. Receivers-general in the past had known well what a long and tedious business the collection of the rents could be, how hard it was to get in arrears and how, in a number of cases, there might be a complete failure to pay, with the alternative of proceeding against the tenant, or, where the lord and master chose to be kind — and he was very often so — writing against the figures the word 'forgiven'. In the case of the distant estates, they had also had to grapple with the difficulties inherent in the problem of the transmission of money. There had been, too, times when the plague had raged in Covent Garden, so that rents could neither be brought to Bedford House in the Strand, nor could be collected by the receiver of the estate. In the one dread year of 1665 the receiver himself had lain dead and the account books of the Earl of Bedford show how small a proportion of the rents for that year was then or subsequently received.

The problems of the arrears and the failures to pay, whether through financial disaster, or because of the ravages of illness — if the plague had disappeared, the smallpox was growing yearly in intensity — were always present. And even in the matter of the transmission of money Mr. Butcher's path in the eighteenth was not really very much easier than that of his predecessors in the seventeenth century. In some respects it was even more thorny, for it was beset by complications unknown to those predecessors. Some troubles as will happen, were not unconnected with progress. The development of the banking system did not at first make so much for simplification as for intricacies.

Already at the end of the seventeenth century the receiver-general had not invariably handled the rents himself, even

to pay them in to Messrs. Child & Company. In some instances the local agents had transmitted their rents direct to the bankers. But this was only done in a few cases, and when it was done a note was invariably sent to the receiver-general, who was, therefore, able to enter the amount in the general account. Since he, and he alone, drew the money from Messrs. Child, whether it was wanted for the personal use of his master or for other payments, his accounts were quite easy to keep.

But with the spread of banking business, more and more of the local bailiffs began to deal with Messrs. Child & Company direct. As a rule, Mr. Butcher, like his predecessor, was given particulars of what had been thus paid in. But not always. There is evidence that he was sometimes lacking this information. What was far worse for the accounts and created many more difficulties was when some of the tenants, themselves taking advantage of the improved facilities, proceeded to ignore both local receiver or bailiff and Mr. Butcher alike, and to pay their rents and dues direct into the Duke's account at Child's.

The paying into the bank, whether by the local bailiff or by a tenant himself, was not, however, yet universal. The rents from Bloomsbury and Covent Garden, as far as can be judged, were paid directly to Mr. Butcher, in Bedford House, in cash. Some of the country estates also paid direct to Bedford House, either in cash or by means of a bill of exchange. Occasionally, too, a tenant in London or in the country would break loose from the local bailiff and himself send or come with the money to Bedford House.

The trouble was — implying a great amount of extra work for Mr. Butcher — that no uniform system, or even approximately uniform system, obtained for the payment of rents. One estate differed vastly from another, just as had been the case in the previous century and was to continue for some time to come.

A series of letters for the year 1745, dealing with the estates in the west, shows how the receiver there still sent up the money, when collected, by means of a bill of exchange. The only difference was that it was now addressed to Bedford House in Bloomsbury, instead of, as it had formerly been, to Bedford House in the Strand. In the seventeenth century the bill of exchange had been first made use of for these estates, while others were still using the cumbrous method of dealing directly in cash in sacks. But the arrangements for these western estates, so far in advance of the others in the seventeenth century, remaining as they were, now appeared old-fashioned. Others had gone ahead in using the bank. In consequence, there would have been nothing unfamiliar to his predecessors, Messrs. Collop and Fox, in the communications which Mr. Butcher carried on with the west. They would have understood it all perfectly.

In May of that year, 1745, no bill of exchange representing even a small part of the rents that were due the previous Lady Day had been received from either Tavistock or Exeter, both of which towns were business centres for the Duke of Bedford's property in the west. Nor was a satisfactory reply received to letters. Mr. Butcher, therefore, sent one of his assistants down to inquire into the matter.

The assistant, having, with sad lack of judgment, started off with a boot that was too tight, had the additional exasperation of an inflamed foot all the time that he was in the west. This did not soften the frame of mind in which he received the excuses of the various bailiffs. They pointed out that, in the first instance, they had not got in all the rents that were due at Lady Day, and it was much better to send the whole amount at once, instead of remitting it in driblets. This was not allowed as a reasonable objection. There was no reason why the greater part of the rents which were actually in should not have been sent up.

The retort to this was that it was difficult to procure a bill

of exchange at short notice. This was admittedly true. But the gentleman from London felt and pointed out that the bailiffs in question had not made many efforts to get a bill through.

The bailiffs had their answer ready. Saying what might have been said before, they promptly replied that in any case the rents due at Lady Day never were paid much before June.

This was all an old story. In the case of other estates, other factors came into play to add to Mr. Butcher's troubles. Letters from Thorney in the east show in detail some of these.

If early in the seventeenth century use of a bill of exchange had been made first in the western estates, pre-eminence in the matter of using a bank could be claimed for Thorney, with which was associated the Northamptonshire property of Thornhaugh. Thorney, during the latter years of the lifetime of the fifth Earl and first Duke, had gone far ahead of all the other estates in that the agent there had begun to remit moneys to Child's Bank long before any of his fellows had done so. The main reason for this can easily be found in the association of Thorney with the Adventurers of the Fens who at an early stage had begun to use Messrs. Child as their bankers. Tenants in the east had, in consequence, been gradually drawn into the orbit of the bank. In the spring of 1739 Mr. Richard Disbrowe, chief agent for the Thorney estate, wrote to Mr. Butcher.

May 16, 1739.
Should be April 14;
received April 16.

SIR,

I have your last, in which you desire to know what money can be paid to Sir Francis Child for His Grace's use by the 10th May.

My receiving for Thornhaugh is fixed for this week,

but it is uncertain what money I shall receive in cash because I expect some of the tenants have paid their rents to Sir Francis Child already by their salesmen.

The receiving for Thorney is fixed 8 days in the first and second week in May, and you are sensible I ought to receive a good deal of money then.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

RICHARD DISBROWE.

The money collected justified the agent's optimism, who, in spite of being shaky as to the day of the month, and his letter having accordingly to be corrected by Mr. Butcher, seems to have been a very fair business man.

It is Thorney again which supplies an illustration of what was perhaps to Mr. Butcher the most trying incident which might occur over the collection of the rents. He always had before him as his predecessors had not, the possibility of the active interference of his lord and master. If the Duke happened to be in want of ready money, he had no scruples in ordering any rents that might be available to be sent direct to himself. Mr. Butcher might then have a letter:

13 *June*, 1739.

SIR,

We have had a very good receiving at Thorney, the same amounting to 3,400 pounds and upwards.

As His Grace by letter proposed sending two servants to Thorney for the cash, I have despatched a messenger this morning with a letter to be sent by the post from Oundle to Woburn, thinking that might save time. Lest that letter should miscarry, I give you the trouble of this, that you may write to His Grace to acquaint him that there is £2,500 ready, told up in gold, if His Grace would be pleased to take the first opportunity of sending for it.

Other letters from Thorney show that the money was constantly, so to speak, intercepted in the same way. And

in nearly every instance the money so dispatched to the Duke was in the form of cash, even when amounts up to two thousand pounds were involved.

Incidentally, this was a procedure that had its own peculiar dangers, for it invited the attacks of highwaymen. The money was never normally sent to the Duke direct, as the Thorney letters show, without advice that it was coming; nor yet without the precaution of two stout men being dispatched in charge of the boxes. But the danger was always there. This was so even when it was not cash that was being sent, only a bill of exchange. On one occasion at least Mr. Butcher was reminded — by Lady Essex — that an enterprising highwayman could secure the letter from a post bag and, with any luck, might negotiate it before it could be stopped.

14 *November*, 1762.

SIR,

I have sent you back my receipt for the £250. I desire you will never send it any more by the post without giving me notice, as I have had a great escape in not losing it. The post boy was robbed of all the bags except the Watford bag, and it might have been some time before you had heard it to have stopped the payment.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

E. ESSEX.

Letters concerning the estate business generally all tell the same story. The confusion was the worse because, as there was no uniformity in the general custom of the various estates, so also there was no uniformity on any one single estate. Here even the tenants themselves were erratic. The same man might on Lady Day pay his money to the bailiff and at Michaelmas into the bank, or vice versa. The local bailiff, in his turn, might and did alternate between paying the money into Child's, or sending it to Bedford House. There was the further possibility that he might at any

moment be instructed to pay such rents as he had collected to the Duke himself.

But in other instances where a demand was made for direct payment, it would appear that ready money was required and that actual cash was sent up. Possibly the inference may be made that, although the system of banking had made great strides, it was still regarded as — may perhaps even still have been — a slightly cumbrous method of dealing with money.

In spite of complexities and intricacies, it is just possible to see what was received in Bedford House in any one year from the estates. It is quite impossible to estimate the amount represented by the salaries and perquisites received by such a man as the fourth Duke of Bedford, or to estimate what was his financial gain or loss when he held such positions as one of the principal Secretaries of State; as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; or as Ambassador to France; or — a post he much enjoyed — as Warden of the New Forest.

Nor is it any easier to calculate the results of his investments and speculations. The Duke must at most times have had a certain, even a large, amount of floating capital available. He lived in splendid style. But there is the evidence that he was a careful man, as befitted one who had been brought up to keep his payments so accurately by his 'Mama', and he generally had money to invest.

When the Duke's great-grandfather had had money in hand, the normal channel, as far as he was concerned, for its employment had been in loans to friends and relatives. At the end of his life, he had also invested in the Adventurers of the Fens. These things — loans and the fen enterprise — had formed the chief outlet for his spare cash. But he had on occasion indulged in a lottery ticket and he had sold a certain number of annuities.

Fifty years later his great-grandson was still, it would seem, lending money as an investment. But the bankers now were to a great extent absorbing the business which

had been formerly carried on between friends. The fourth Duke's loans were never at any time so much, or so important a feature in his accounts as had been those of his great-grandfather. On the other hand, in annuities he dealt somewhat freely.

A number of payments entered as annuities were, of course, gratuitous allowances to former officials or servants. But other annuities were business transactions. Mr. Butcher, for instance, had bought from his master annuities for his wife and family.

> Received 14th November, 1761, of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, two hundred ten pounds for half a year's payments to Michaelmas last of the several annuities undermentioned. ROBERT BUTCHER.
>
> £40 on the life of my wife.
> £40 „ „ „ „ „ eldest daughter.
> £40 „ „ „ „ „ second daughter.
> £40 „ „ „ „ „ youngest daughter.
> £50 „ „ „ „ „ youngest son.

Unfortunately, no further particulars concerning these annuities exist. It is not anywhere stated what was paid for them. The advantage to the Duke was that he obtained a capital sum. To Mr. Butcher it meant, seeing that he knew his master to be a substantial man and, incidentally, an honourable and a fair one, the securing of maintenance for his wife and family.

Annuities, too, were saleable things, freely to be bought and sold.

> Received the 10th April, 1761, of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, seventy-five pounds for one quarter of a year's annuity due the 25th of March last to James Quin, Esquire, on his own life. I say received by letter of attorney dated 5th May, 1760, and granted to me by the said James Quin for that purpose.
>
> JAMES COUTTS.

Such were private annuities. Others of a rather different kind were those issued by the South Sea Company. That Company, when reconstituted, was the obvious channel for investment of the day, and in it, as in Salt Tallies, the Duke of Bedford was accustomed to sink at all times a good deal of money.

John Creech to Robert Butcher, Esquire; dated in London, 19 December, 1743.

	£	s.	d.
SIR,			
On Friday last I bought for His Grace the Salt Tally of Stephen Daubus I mentioned to you	500	0	0
At 2¾ per cent. premium	13	15	0
Interest from 10th October to the 20th December, 71 days	3	8	1
	517	3	1
Commission		12	6
	£517	15	7
This day I have sold the New South Sea Annuity for to-morrow, £200 at 114¼ per cent.	228	10	0
Commission		5	0
	£228	5	0
The difference between the Salt and Annuity	£289	10	0

All such entries occur frequently. They reveal the new channels through which money might now flow. But there were two other companies with which the Russell family had long had a particular and close connection. These were the enterprises known respectively as the Greenland Company and the East India Company.

CHAPTER XVIII

GREENLAND SHIPS AND EAST INDIAMEN

SIR,

You are desired to meet the Owners of the *Streatham* on Friday, the 28th instant, at the Jerusalem Coffee House at one o'clock in the afternoon, to receive a dividend for His Grace the Duke of Bedford.

Please to bring the Bill of Sale with you.

I am,

Your most humble servant,

JOHN HALLETT.

Such letters came not infrequently to the office in Bedford House. So also did others summoning Mr. Butcher to another coffee house, on behalf of another company.

SIR,

You are desired to meet the Owners of the ship *Duke of Bedford* at Cole's and the Greenland Coffee House, near Birchin Lane, Cornhill, on Thursday next at 12 o'clock.

Your humble servant,

THOMAS HOOD.

The connection of the Dukes of Bedford with both the East India and the Greenland Company went back for half a century and more before this time. The beginning was the building of first the dry and then the wet dock at Rotherhithe through the enterprise of the first Duke. It was a piece of work which had been made possible by the marriage of his grandson, Lord Tavistock, to Elizabeth Howland. The dowry of the little lady included the property on Thames-side known as Rotherhithe, which gave the opportunity for the building of the docks.

Almost immediately the dry dock was leased to the brothers Wells, shipbuilders, and so became known as Wells'

yard or dock. The wet dock, presently called the Howland Dock, was used by the vessels of the East India Company. But it became connected, or part of it became connected, with the second trading enterprise also.

A century earlier, in 1620, a company known as the Greenland Company had been formed by members of the Russia Company to pursue the whale-fishing trade. The Company had had a good many ups and downs, with the downs predominating.

In 1725 the South Sea Company undertook to do what it could to revive the trade. Wanting a dock, they approached Wriothesley, third Duke of Bedford, and agreed to lease from him, at a rental of five hundred and fifty pounds, either the wet dock itself, or more probably part of it, with an extension, which may have been recently added.

Henceforward, the vessels which drove through the mists and snow of the north lay side by side with those which sailed the Indian Ocean. The contrast between the two lands to which the trade was directed had indeed been noted before Bishop Heber remarked upon it. Three years after the Greenland Company had made its bargain with the Duke of Bedford, Macheath and his Polly, on the boards in the theatre at Lincoln's Inn Fields, were singing:

MACHEATH. Were I laid on Greenland's Coast,
And in my Arms embrac'd my Lass;
Warm amidst eternal Frost,
Too soon the Half Year's Night would pass.
POLLY. Were I sold on Indian Soil,
Soon as the burning Day was clos'd,
I could mock the sultry Toil
When on my Charmer's Breast repos'd.
MACHEATH. And I would love you all the Day,
POLLY. Every Night would kiss and play,
MACHEATH. If with me you'd fondly stray
POLLY. Over the Hills and far away.

The rents paid for the docks, both dry and wet, were a welcome addition to the rent roll. Also, the interest of the Dukes of Bedford went far beyond a mere question of leasing the docks. They had a very substantial interest in the ships themselves and their cargoes. The fourth Duke had for some time an eighth share in the voyages of the ship which was called by his own name. He also had a considerable interest in a second ship known as the *Henrietta*.

The accounts of the voyages of these two ships are drawn up in full, so that the money invested and the reward in the shape of dividends stand out clearly.

Account with His Grace the Duke of Bedford for money received and paid upon account of the ships Bedford and Henrietta: paid his Grace: balance £38 14. 7.

To His Grace the Duke of Bedford.

Dr.				*Cr.*			
1761. *Feb.* 4.	£	*s.*	*d.*	1761. *Feb.* 4.	£	*s.*	*d.*
To Thomas Hood received the dividend for 1/8 of the ship *Duke of Bedford*, having caught a whale and half in 1760	124	9	6	Paid Thomas Hood the 1/8 part of the outset of the ship *Duke of Bedford* in 1760	73	11	9
				Insurance at £6 6 0 per cent.	4	12	0
					78	3	9
				Paid ditto the call on 1/16 of the ship *Henrietta* in 1760	6	19	2
				Insurance at £6 6 0 per cent		8	0
					7	7	2
				Total	£85	10	11

Dr.	£	*s.*	*d.*
Brought forward	124	9	6

Cr.	£	*s.*	*d.*
Brought forward	85	10	11
Paid Mr. Brown His Grace's share of the expense Mr. Debouverie, Mr. Elhers and himself had been at about stopping the ship *Duke of Bedford*		4	0
	£85	14	11
By balance paid His Grace Feb. 4, 1761	38	14	7
	£124	9	6

An earlier voyage of the ship *Duke of Bedford* had yielded twenty-seven pounds profit for an eighth share. But earlier yet, in 1752, the dividend had been more substantial. Then the Duke had received £137 15*s.* 8*d.* also for an eighth share. This, however, represented the profits on an investment by the Duke of just over a thousand pounds, and was for two voyages, not for one.

But, although some dividends were good, investment in the Greenland Company was not in the long run very satisfactory. Ice and fog rendered perilous the voyage to the north; the privations of the sailors who sailed thither were great; and the whaling trade with which the ships were mainly concerned did not prove itself particularly profitable, chiefly, it would seem, owing to the retirement of the whales into the ice floes, whither the ships could not follow them.

As a result, trade grew steadily worse. The accounts of 1761 represent what were apparently the last voyages of the

ships *Bedford* and *Henrietta*. Both were sold shortly afterwards by their owners.

The history of the other company, the East India Company, was much more satisfactory.

Mr. Butcher, having turned his steps towards the coffee house on Cooper's Hill, Cornhill, which was called by the name of Jerusalem and was the recognized meeting place and subscription house for all merchants and such as traded to the East Indies and China, listened there to the stories of those who had sailed the seas, heard also the financial report of the particular voyage and the particular ship in question, and received the dividends on behalf of the Duke of Bedford.

Several of the East Indiamen bore names which spoke of the long association between the ships and the Russell family.

Shortly before his death, William, first Duke of Bedford, had caused to be built in Wells' shipyard a ship — of four hundred and ninety-nine tons — subsequently called the *Streatham* which he desired his grandson, Lord Tavistock, afterwards second Duke of Bedford, to present to the Company.

But this was not the only vessel built in Wells' shipyard in his time whose name carried with it a reminder of the enterprise which had resulted in the making of the first enclosed wet dock in England. The *Bedford*, the *Tavistock*, the *Russell* and the *Howland* were all in commission before 1700. So also was the *Tonqueen* — an outcast in the way of names, but a boat in which the family had a considerable interest. Subsequently, there was added the *Houghton*, a reminder of the later connection of the Dukes of Bedford with Houghton near Woburn, and — another outcast, but again in name only — the *Denham*.

In the voyages undertaken by all these ships both the second and the third Dukes of Bedford, like the fourth Duke after them and likewise Mrs. Howland during her lifetime,

had a considerable financial interest, varying, as a rule, from one-sixteenth to one-eighth part of the vessel for each particular voyage. The dividends, which depended upon the trading profits, plus, when soldiers were carried, the allowance made for them — nine pounds *per capita* — by the Government, could at any time be affected by the manifold perils which beset the sailing of the seas. Not only were the wind and the waves potential enemies, but there also had to be taken into consideration the enmity of nations. The sad little entry inscribed by Mrs. Howland in her account book:

> Lost in her voyage to India, being taken by the French;

could be and was written of many another ship besides the *Bedford*, to which this particular entry referred.

True, a ship that was taken by the French could be bought back again. This was the case with the *Bedford*. But that involved the owners in considerable expense. There were a good many risks attendant on the Indian trade. Yet there were profits to be made also.

When Mr. Butcher was summoned to the Jerusalem Coffee House in September, 1750, the *Streatham* was lying in the dock at Rotherhithe under repair, and ready presently to sail again, having been home nearly a year from the voyage of which the account was still to be made. Her log book, lying in the India Office, shows that on 30th January, 1747, she had come out of the wet dock and had lain off Deptford receiving stores, from whence she passed on to Gravesend, where she received further loads — bales of cloth, private trade goods unspecified — and also took on board some of the Company's soldiers bound for India. All this occupied time, and it was not until the third week of April that she and seven other Indiamen at length loosed their moorings and passed out of the mouth of the Thames into the open sea.

Whatever befell the consorts, the voyage had begun

thoroughly badly for the *Streatham*. Already while she was still in the English Channel she had lost the long boat with the third mate off Spithead. At the same time another disaster occurred. The sailors lost their drink. Immediately after the entry concerning the disappearance of the long boat occurs:

All beer sour; thrown overboard at Spithead.

Fifteen months later, at the end of March, 1748, the vessel rounded the Cape, and in October at last found herself in Bombay.

Between Bombay and the Tellicherry Roads then ensued the long business of sending the goods on shore, receiving others in return and all the manifold pieces of business which are only faintly adumbrated in the captain's log as concerning chests for private trade.

Then, loaded with saltpetre, pepper, Surat piece-goods, cotton yarn and Carmenian wool, the ship left Bombay once more, to sail up the Nore and into Deptford in September of 1749. It was a year later before her accounts could be sufficiently advanced to summon Mr. Butcher from Bedford House.

The profits received on the share taken by the Duke of Bedford in that vessel, as well as the amount paid for that share, are very difficult, if not impossible, to estimate, since the detailed accounts do not exist. Fifty years before this time Mrs. Elizabeth Howland set down in her account book one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds which she had paid for one-sixteenth part of the *Bedford* on her first voyage and which she reckoned a dead loss when the ship was captured by the French. She was a good deal more fortunate in the *Tavistock*, in the first voyage of which she had invested two thousand pounds. For this she had received back, with her original two thousand pounds, no less a sum than an additional four hundred pounds.

But this handsome profit, which in any case had to be set against such losses as those which attended the capture of the *Bedford*, was probably the exception rather than the rule in the time of Mrs. Howland's grandson, the fourth Duke of Bedford. Dividends, when they are spoken of, appear as a rule to have ranged from twenty-four pounds up to fifty pounds for an investment in a sixteenth part of the vessel. But how much was paid for that sixteenth is not easy to ascertain.

The walk or ride to the Jerusalem Coffee House was sometimes varied by attendance at the Crown Tavern.

21 *June*, 1744.

SIR,

You are desired to meet the Owners of the *Bedford* (on behalf of His Grace the Duke of Bedford) at the Crown Tavern, behind the Exchange, on Wednesday next (the 27th instant), at noon precisely, in order to settle the said ship's accounts.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

WILLIAM WELLS.

Doubtless the visits to coffee house or tavern and the talks there with the representatives of the Company were pleasing breaks in Mr. Butcher's routine in his office. But he had much other work to do for the Duke in connection with the voyages of the Indiamen. His master was much interested in their export as well as their import trade.

Among the principal goods which were put on board the Indiamen at Deptford and Gravesend were bales of English cloth, and in the English cloth trade the Dukes of Bedford had a peculiar interest, since an important part of it was then centred in the western town of Tavistock with which they were so closely associated.

A series of letters and accounts which passed between the agent in Tavistock, Mr. John Wynne, and either Mr.

Butcher or Mr. Becuda acting for him at Bedford House, refer to quantities of cloth which were sent up at intervals from Tavistock to Bedford House. Some of this cloth may have been and probably was utilized for the Duke himself — rightly encouraging local manufacture — to make the well-cut coats of wool which had now somewhat taken the place of those of silk and satin. But the greater part of the cloth sent was not for private use at all, but frankly for purposes of trade. Some was sold, if not to tradesmen in the neighbourhood, at least to tradesmen not far afield. A neatly drawn up paper by Mr. Becuda gives a list of the pieces of Devonshire cloth, in this case narrow cloth, which had been received at Bedford House from Tavistock and which had been disposed of to various persons.

Account of sales of 9 *pieces of Devonshire narrow cloths delivered at Bedford House from Tavistock* *July* 8*th*, 1755.

By John Becuda, received by him of the several persons undermentioned, for 9 pieces of narrow cloths, viz:

July 24, 1755.	Of William Perrit 1 piece quantity 28 yards at 4*s.*	£5	12*s.*	0*d.*	
	His share of packing freight, etc.		2*s.*	0*d.*	
					£5 14*s.* 0*d.*
	Of John Spinnage 1 piece quantity 32 yards at 3*s.* 6*d.*	£5	12*s.*	0*d.*	
	Packing, etc.		2*s.*	0*d.*	
					£5 14*s.* 0*d.*
	Of James Whittle 1 piece quantity 31 yards at 3*s.*	£4	13*s.*	0*d.*	
	Packing, etc.		2*s.*	0*d.*	
					£4 15*s.* 0*d.*

Six other persons all buying similar amounts at about the same prices are included in Mr. Becuda's list.

Other pieces of cloth went much farther afield; were in fact packed and shipped. A brisk trade was carried on with Spain. Once again bales of cloth delivered at the agent's office either in Tavistock or at Exeter were sent by him to Bedford House. There in the office they were repacked and dispatched once more on their way to Deptford or Gravesend to be loaded on a vessel for Cadiz.

Account of Mr. John Wynne, Tavistock, agent to John, fourth Duke of Bedford.

November 11, 1749.	To cash paid Mr. Becuda for the carriage to London and expenses of shipping to Cadiz 2 bales of grey serges, containing 6 pieces, by the *August*, Captain Palgrave, consigned to Mr. How	£1	6*s.*	5*d.*
April 9, 1750.	To Joseph Hales' draught dated March 6th, 1750, payable to the Commissioners of Excise	£100	0*s.*	0*d.*
	To ditto paid charges of entering and shipping 6 bales of serges consigned to Mr. How, merchant in Cadiz	£2	13*s.*	6*d.*

This business of sending goods overseas, especially to Spain, was a continuation of the trade undertaken by the Russells at least two centuries earlier — Russells who were long forgotten even by the family and who yet, both as squires and merchants, laid the foundation stone of the family fortune. Both as merchants, trading chiefly with Gascony, and as lesser landowners in Dorset, the Russells of the fourteenth century had interests in the wool trade. But they also

had a very particular interest in Spain. Owning lands scattered over the county of Dorset, they had established themselves in the manor house of Berwick, by Swyre, which had come to them by marriage. Berwick lay some five miles back from Weymouth over the downs, and it was with the port of Weymouth that the Russells, as merchants, were chiefly connected. But Weymouth in the fifteenth century was as pre-eminently the port for trade with Spain as the neighbouring Poole was the port for France, and it was William Russell, the great-uncle of the first Earl of Bedford, who in 1487 had a licence for exporting broadcloths from Weymouth to the ports of Spain.

Two hundred and fifty years and more passed by. The Russell family, that sound country stock with a keen interest in commercial enterprise, were numbered among the great families of the kingdom. The business ability which had ensured the prosperity of the Dorset squires and had aided the survival of the family when others, more hedonistic, more indifferent to the inexorable drive of the economic factor, had perished, still served the family well. There was an historical continuity in the arrival in the office in Bedford House in 1750 of bales of cloth which were going to Spain, as they had gone, through the agency of the same family, two hundred and sixty-three years previously.

And now the horizon had widened. William Russell of old would have found little to astonish him in the sending forth from the office in Bedford House — however much that office might have surprised him — of the bales of cloth to Cadiz. That was a port that he and his like knew very well indeed. That the cloth should travel to lands still farther beyond the seas was another matter.

But in the Bedford House of a later day at least as much was known concerning India as Spain, and the sending out of broadcloths to the east was as much a matter of business as was the sending of those to Cadiz.

A letter from the Duke of Bedford's agent at Tavistock, Mr. John Wynne, to Mr. Becuda, dated 11th November, 1757, mentions that five pieces of serge had been sent to London which were to be shown as patterns to the East India Company.

Tavistock,
November 11, 1757.

SIR,

I am directed to send you the enclosed bill for 5 pieces of serges sent to London in June, 1755, to show as patterns to the East India Company.

I am, Sir,
Your very humble servant,
JOHN WYNNE.

From whom the Company would actually purchase these serges is not mentioned in the letter. Nor is it absolutely clear from the somewhat involved accounts precisely how the transactions in cloth were carried on as between Mr. Butcher or Mr. Becuda, together with Mr. Wynne in Tavistock, acting for the Duke on the one side, and the cloth manufacturers on the other. In some instances it looks as if the cloth was bought outright on behalf of the Duke and sold again to his profit. In others it would seem that the office in Bedford House was a kind of middleman between the manufacturers and the ultimate purchasers. Very possibly the deductions are correct in both instances. It is certain that there must have been times when the office and the adjacent rooms were full of bales of cloth, probably greatly incommoding the workers there.

But there is also evidence that the Devonshire weavers dealt with the East India Company direct. Here, too, however, they had to look for assistance from the Duke of Bedford. The difficulty was the perennial one of lack of capital. If they took the goods to Mr. Wynne, to pass on to Mr. Becuda or Mr. Butcher, then they could, it seems clear,

reckon on getting their money almost immediately. If they sold them to the East India Company, this was not so, and they were forced to ask to be financed.

May 24, 1760.

SIR,

As I know His Grace's good inclinations to assist any of his tenants, hope you will excuse the liberty I take of conveying my sentiments to His Grace, if you think them proper.

The East India Company soon buy Long Ells, and their conditions of buying are to deliver in the months of August, September and October, and pay for the said goods in January. As the makers have it not in their power without some assistance to be in advance so long, if His Grace would be so kind as to advance £4,000 or £5,000, as they may have occasion to draw, I would engage with them to repay the money the first week in February, with interest.

Your most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS COMYN.

Other letters written in almost the same terms show that to ask for a loan from the Duke was not unusual, and that in some instances at all events it was granted. Moreover, the money was often lent without interest.

So much for the exports. But the imports were also of interest and profit.

Pepper had long since been the foundation of successful trading, a fact of which, in the sixteenth century, Queen Elizabeth was well aware, seeing that she herself had traded in that commodity to very great profit. In the centuries before the days of Mr. Butcher, pepper and spices had been, indeed, most necessary articles, when the methods of keeping meat were always of doubtful efficacy and were frankly failures during the winter, when no fresh meat was available. Now, thanks more particularly to the improved methods of feeding animals, it was no longer so necessary to introduce

spices to hide other flavours. But pepper was still of great importance. It was also extremely profitable. The purchase price of pepper in India was about threepence a pound; the selling price of pepper in England was more like three shillings a pound. A cargo of pepper, provided always it escaped the manifold perils which beset cargoes, could be very advantageous, and as far back as the time of the third Duke the family had taken an interest in the importation both of pepper and of pepper dust. There were also investments in snuff, so greatly esteemed by the gentry of England.

The arrival of the snuff and the pepper meant a more distant journey from Bedford House for Mr. Butcher than did the receiving of the dividend. It was to no coffee house or tavern he went, but to Deptford itself.

SIR, *May* 13, 1745.

This is to acquaint you that on Wednesday next, at 10 of the clock in the morning, Mr. John Barnes will be ready at my house to wait on you to Deptford to take the weights and also appraise the snuff.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

SAMUEL TORIN.

The snuff which Mr. Butcher had found at Deptford Docks and which he had to appraise was done up in bags, or sometimes in what were called serons, which name was applied to bales or packages containing all kinds of exotic products done up in an animal's hide.

Nicholas Lane in
Lombard Street,

SIR, *Monday*, 27 *May*, 1745.

Enclosed I have sent you a Sale Book of the 85 serons and bags of snuff.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
for Mr. Samuel Torin,

H. BARSSETT.

This snuff was, like the pepper, imported as a matter of business. But on the arrival of the ship some of each would often be reserved or bought in for the private use of the Duke, just as he might have a length off the broadcloth that was being sent out. Both he and the Duchess used a good deal of snuff. They were not, however, dependent on what was brought over by the East Indiamen. Quantities of it were bought for them in Holland, fourteen pounds at a time. It was also sometimes sent over from Spain. On the whole, the Duke appears to have favoured the Dutch snuff, whereas that from Spain was generally earmarked for the Duchess.

But the Indiamen brought home other cargoes than were comprised in the serons of pepper, snuff and the like. The latter were extremely profitable. But in the hold of the homeward sailing vessel there might also be bales of silk, or carpets, inlaid screens and tables, and, more particularly in the case of those Indiamen which went round by China, the pieces of porcelain and lengths of wallpaper which English taste had now for some time warmly approved — all things for the ornamentation of some house in England, Bedford House not the least.

Already in the days of the second Duke such things had found their way into Bedford House. In those of the fourth Duke, always and at all times Mr. Butcher was buying on behalf of his master. Furniture, silks and china from the Orient all went to enrich the rooms at Bedford House and Woburn Abbey.

Some were bought direct from the Company at one of their periodical sales. Mr. Butcher or Mr. Becuda joined the throng of buyers who crowded first the courthouse in Leadenhall Street and then, later, the new sales-room which the Company had adjudged to be necessary. There, one or the other of them would bid for goods of many kinds which the vessels had brought in. Notably, they would often buy pieces of the cotton cloth called dimity which, like the fine

muslin also brought over in bales by the East Indiamen, was greatly in favour. The dimity was sometimes utilized for dresses, but, embroidered with silk, it was chiefly in fashion for hangings, especially for beds.

January 24, 1755.

By Mr. Becuda, for 11 *pieces of dimity bought of the East India Company, with expenses, etc.*

		£	s.	d.
No. 516. Page 89, Lot 32.	11 pieces dimity stitched with silk for bed furniture	16	15	6
	Custom	4	2	11
	15 per cent. ditto	2	10	4
	5 per cent. duty		16	9
	15 per cent. insurance	2	10	4
	Cartage, porterage, etc.		6	8
		£10	7	0

Sold him by the United East India Company at their Sale commenced the 4th day of September, 1754, for whose use I say received.

S. DORRINGTON.
JOHN SEDGWICK.

At another sale silk bed furnishings were again bought.

No. 578. Received the 19th August, 1755, of His Grace the Duke of Bedford the sum of three pounds 17*s.* and 2*d.* per Montfort.

		£	s.	d.
Page 193. N. 11.	2 dimities, etc., with silk for a bed and furniture	4	1	0
	8 remnants ditto..ditto	2	4	0
		£6	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Custom	1	10	11
15 per cent. ditto		18	9
5 per cent. duty		6	3
15 per cent. indulgence		18	9
2 per cent. warehouse room		2	6
Freight	—	—	—
	£3	17	2 Paid £3 17 6

Sold him by the United East India Company at their Sale commenced the 12th day of March, 1755, for whose use I say received.

JOHN SEDGWICK.
JAMES WHITEHALL.

These goods were bought at the sale in the ordinary way. But the logs of the captains of the Indiamen show again and again how often the cargoes included mysterious chests, of which it was said that the contents were unknown, but which were the property of private persons. For the most part, such chests or bales contained goods which had been bought in India for private persons, and had often been especially made to order.

Packages of the kind were consigned to the Duke of Bedford. Their safe arrival, under the convoy of Messrs. Butcher and Becuda, at Bedford House, was the conclusion of a process which had involved everyone at the office in considerable wear and tear of mind and energy.

They had surmounted, in the words of the insurance policy, the adventures and perils of the seas, men of war, fire, enemies, pirates, rovers, thieves, jettisons, letters of mart and counter mart, surprisals, takings at sea, arrests, restraints and detainments of all Kings, Princes and people, of what

nation, condition or quality soever; barratry of the master and mariners, and of all other perils, losses and misfortunes that have or shall come to the hurt, detriment, or damage of the said ship.

But there was also so much delay involved before the chests were ever got on board that the perils of the sea seemed a small thing to the authorities at home provided they could learn that the goods had actually sailed.

In the late seventeen-forties, probably in 1746, an order was given through the Governor of the Company, John Foster, for a set of 'furniture' to be made especially for the Duke of Bedford at the Company's factory at Dacca, at the head of which was Nicholas Clerembault. What this furniture was is not stated. It may have comprised only embroidered hangings of various kinds — a sense in which the word furniture was often used. On the other hand, many tables, screens and so forth were brought from India for the Duke and some such may very well have been included in the Dacca order.

Whatever it was that was ordered, part payment was made at once. A sum of just under five hundred pounds was paid to a representative in England, who transferred it in rupees to the Company in India.

Some years elapsed, during which occurred the death of Governor Foster. At last it was felt that the time was approaching when the furniture might be expected to arrive from India. Inquiries were set afoot.

On 6th September, 1750, Mr. John Becuda made a long report to John Branson.

Bedford House.
September 6, 1750.

SIR,

In obedience to my Lord Duke's commands, I went last Friday in order to make inquiry after His Grace's Dacre furniture.

I was informed at the India House that the *Portobello*, Captain Fisher, arrived here from Bengal in October last. I went to Captain Fisher at Woodford Row, in Essex, (when I was informed he was very ill) the next day, who told me the furniture was not ready when he left Bengal, which was in January, 1748/9, but that Mr. Griffin, who was then in town, or Mr. Haman (the gentleman who drew upon His Grace for the £490. 17. 6.) could give me the best account of it.

Mr. Griffin I found was at the Bath. Therefore, I went to Mr. Haman, at Ham near Stratford, on Sunday morning, who told me the furniture was not finished when he left Bengal on account of a difference then subsisting between the Settlement and the natives; but that Governor Barwell (to whom he had, by the direction of Mr. Griffin, committed the care of the work after the death of Governor Foster) was just arrived in the *Prince William* from Bengal, and he did not doubt but that he had either brought it with him, or could give some particular and satisfactory account of it.

I found out Governor Barwell, and waited on him on Tuesday morning, who told me he had received a letter from Mr. Clerembault (principal of the factory at Dacre, and to whom the immediate direction of the work was committed), acquainting him that the troubles in that country had put a stop to the going on with the furniture; yet he hoped to have it finished and sent to Bengal by the 1st February. But the Governor sailing from thence in the *Prince William* the 17th January, he was prevented from giving His Grace the satisfactory account he earnestly desired. He told me that Mrs. Morse, by the desire of Mrs. Griffin, had sent to him the day before to know whether he had brought over His Grace's furniture, to whom he had wrote an answer, and for her better satisfaction had sent her Mr. Clerembault's letter, to which he referred me, as he believed she would have no objection to my seeing it.

I accordingly waited on Mrs. Morse, who very readily

showed me Mr. Clerembault's letter, and consented to my taking it with me in order for His Grace to see it, but desired me to return it to her again; which letter you receive enclosed.

The four following Indiamen came to their moorings in the river last week, viz. the *Prince William*, Captain Webber; the *Dragon*, Captain Kent; the *Duke of Newcastle*, Captain Fowler; and the *Salisbury*, Captain Burrows. But none of them came from Bengal, except the former.

Captain Webber told me yesterday that the *Edgebaston*, Captain Tidiman, and the *Tavistock*, Captain Cush, are daily expected in the river. The former left Bengal the 15th January and the latter the 1st of March, so that I am in hopes the furniture will come in one of these ships. But if Mr. Clerembault could not get it done in time so as to send it by either of them, I should think there is no doubt of its coming by the *Lapwing*, Captain Cheney, which Captain Webber told me was to leave Bengal in July last, and is expected home about Christmas. Besides those ships already mentioned, no other that I can hear of will come from that coast this year.

Governor Barwell told me that Mr. Clerembault would send the furniture, when finished, to Bengal, recommended to the care of Mrs. Foster (widow of the late Governor Foster), to see it safely shipped.

I have really used my best endeavours in this enquiry.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

BECUDA.

On the whole, seeing the round of visits he had paid, Mr. Becuda seems to be justified in the closing phrase of the letter.

But his anticipation that the furniture might possibly arrive by Christmas was not fulfilled. It was in June of the following summer that a further note appeared in the petty cash book.

Saturday, *July* 20, 1751.	Paid waterage to Deptford and Blackwall on board the India-men to enquire for His Grace's furniture	4*s.* 6*d.*

But the end was by no means yet. How many journeys were made to Blackwall, how many letters were written in the following year or two, is unknown. It was three years later, on 11th August, 1754, that the house steward was able to report triumphantly:

> Part of the Dacre furniture is arrived. My Lord Duke desires you will use all proper measures to get it to Bedford House as soon as possible.

Under the circumstances, my Lord Duke's wishes were not unreasonable. But wishes were of little avail with the Customs officials. By November the Duke felt it was necessary to stir in the matter again, and on the tenth of that month John Branson wrote from Woburn Abbey:

SIR,

I am favoured with two of yours of yesterday.

Their Grace's and family will be in town on Wednesday. My Lord Duke desires you would make immediate enquiry when the Dacre furniture can be had from the India House.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

JOHN BRANSON.

Presumably the goods, whatever they were, did get through the Customs eventually, although there is no evidence on the point.

Very little more information is available concerning the final instalment, which did not arrive until the next year. But here was certainly included what was referred to as a bed. This may very well have meant the bed hangings only. These were of worked cloth. The cost of the cloth was set

down as Rupees 120. 12. 0. That of the work was Rupees 2,353. 12. 0.

This bed, or bed hangings, had been a special order for the Duchess. But she had to wait eight years for its completion. A letter from Nicholas Clerembault reported that the final instalment of the furniture, in which he included the worked bed for the Duchess, had left Bombay by the *Montfort*, which sailed in December, 1754.

Eight months later, during August, 1755, John Branson, dispatched to the India House by Mr. Butcher, actually in triumph took possession of the remainder of the furniture, including the bed, and had it conveyed to Bedford House.

Mr. John Branson's account for Mr. Butcher.

19 *August*, 1755. Expense of clearing at the India House His Grace's Dacre furniture, per *Montfort*, Captain Vincent £5 12*s.* 6*d.*

Other purchases were made especially for the Duke and Duchess. But such difficulties as were involved in getting the furniture from Dacca might well have discouraged special orders and, as a matter of fact, many of what were called the India goods were bought either at the East India Company sales, or through agents or traders.

Sometimes the Duke himself would make a purchase, in which case he took care to get back the money from the office.

His Grace for a piece of India silk bought of Philip Margas.

January 6, 1752. Received January 6, 1752, of Samuel Davis, nine pounds nine shillings, being what I paid for a piece of India silk for furniture for Woburn Abbey. £9 9*s.* 0*d.* BEDFORD.

But the Indiamen in their voyages brought back the products of other countries than India. The trade with China was not only a matter of economic importance, but the visits of the Indiamen to that country did as much, if not more, to enrich English homes, in love with the arts of the Orient, as did those to India.

Frail as some of the products that came from China and Japan were, yet in many instances they have survived the test of time better than the goods which came from India. China may be broken, but at least it requires hands to break it. The Indian silks and brocades might be destroyed by other than human agency, and a piece carefully put away might be drawn forth threadbare and rotten. Possibly, too, the porcelain and fine paper from China were more appreciated and for longer than were the Indian silks and damasks.

As far back as 1702, when the Court of Managers of the East India Company had decided to increase the China trade, the *Streatham* had been one of the ships especially appointed for that purpose. She was to continue to China after her visit to India, and was to return by Mocha.

The Russells, like the Howlands, had even then been as well acquainted with the possibilities of the China trade as of that from India, and had been eager purchasers of the goods that the ships brought home. In August, 1699, the young Elizabeth, then Marchioness of Tavistock and soon to be Duchess of Bedford, reported to her sister-in-law, Lady Roos, afterwards Duchess of Rutland, that:

> There is two ships already come from China, and two more expected, the most china lacquered ware and fine things for furniture that ever came from India. I wish your Ladyship here, that you might have your choice. It is thought china will be very cheap. If your Ladyship would like to read the cargoes, I will send them.

Whether Lady Roos took Lady Tavistock's excellent

advice to buy the goods is not known. But it is certain that from this time onwards the house in Bloomsbury was greatly enriched, as is shown by bills and an inventory, with china of all kinds brought from the east for ornament as well as for use.

Some of this may very well have come direct from the ship. But a considerable amount was bought from a merchant, Henry Tombes, who dealt particularly in India goods, which was the generic name for anything bought home by the Indiamen whether from India, from China or from Japan.

Both the second and the third Dukes of Bedford were good customers to Mr. Tombes. China was the chief item bought from him, but silks and muslins were included as well, not to speak of an occasional pound of tea, a bottle of arrack, a little rice, some cloves, nutmegs or mangoes, with some pots for the last.

1709. *India goods, Mr. Henry Tombes' bill, from the 26th April to the 30th May, when paid in full.*

		£	s.	d.
April 26, 1709.	1 pair Japan jars	4	0	0
	12 white dishes		18	0
	3 baskets		12	0
	1 blue and white dish		6	0
	2 handkerchiefs		10	0
	2 Japan soap dishes	2	3	0
	2 bottles Arrack and bottles		13	6
	¼ hundred rice		18	9
	1 Japan jar	2	10	0
	1 ditto	2	10	0
	24 small blue plates		18	0
	1 basket		2	0
	Left to pay		3	0
		16	4	3

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	16	4	3
1 pound Bohea	1	10	0
1 sugar dish		3	0
6 white dishes		9	0
2 sugar dishes		6	0
4 Japan basins and covers	2	0	0
3 large Japan plates		13	6
Cloves		15	0
30 nutmegs		15	0
6 mangoes		6	0
2 pots for ditto		1	0
	£23	3	9

Henry Tombes had disappeared by the time that Mr. Butcher, for the fourth Duke, took over the purchases. But china from the east continued to be purchased, from a tradesman or direct, and, if direct, not always from an Indiaman, but perhaps brought over for the Duke by a man-of-war.

May 31, 1753. Expended at the Custom House with China Dishes. 16*s.* 2*d.*

His Grace the Duke of Bedford on account of 2 *boxes of china out of the* Rainbow *Man-of-War.*

	£	s.	d.
To Mr. Gibbs		5	0
Warehouse keeper		1	0
Weighers and wharfage		1	0
Mem. agency and attendance		5	0
		12	0
Expenses			8
Porterage		3	6
		16	2

Moreover, for china as for furniture, special orders were sometimes sent out. It was characteristic of the day that the

great families should wish to set their own sign, in the shape of their coat of arms, on goods which came from the east. Of such orders sent out from Bedford House, one stands out in particular, although the goods were wanted for Woburn and not for Bedford House.

Woburn Abbey was being redecorated after having been to a large extent rebuilt. It was determined that over the two fireplaces in the picture gallery should be placed the Duke's arms with quarterings. The background, in the bill of John Spinnage, who did the work, was 'mosaicked with enrichments from a drawing of Her Grace's design'.

The design, hexagons in blue on a white ground, is repeated on six tall china vases — also to-day in the picture gallery — which bear likewise the quartered arms, exactly as over the fireplace.

It was long thought that what John Spinnage had called the mosaic of the background of the ornamentation over the fireplace was copied from the vases and had originated in China, the coats of arms being merely added to it. This, however, is not so. The Duchess must not be deprived of her originality in the drawing. Not only has the design itself been pronounced so English that it would never have emanated from the east, but the manner of glazing shows clearly that the design must have been applied to the vases simultaneously with the arms. Both had doubtless been dispatched to China after Her Grace had made her drawing.

Those vases, like many others, remain complete to-day. So also does something else which came out of China.

In 1753 a bill runs:

On account of China paper £16 7*s.* 0*d.*

This paper, or a quantity of it, was not for Bedford House. It was intended for Woburn Abbey, and there is little doubt that it is the same which still covers the walls of two of the rooms.

But the inventories of Bedford House show how in almost every room there was something to speak of China or India, or both — fire screens, stands, tea tables, embroidered hangings and counterpanes from India, as well as the noble array of porcelain and other goods brought from China.

CHAPTER XIX

BEDFORD HOUSE: INSIDE AND OUT

When in 1735 the fourth Duke and his Duchess took up residence in Bedford House, it is more than likely that some at least, perhaps a great part, of the furniture to be found there dated from the days of William and Rachel Russell. The latter couple, beginning their married life together, may have completely re-furnished the house for themselves or they may have taken over furniture of a past day from the Dowager Countess of Southampton.

Some alterations since that time there had been. The rooms which had been allotted by Rachel to her son and daughter-in-law had been elegantly repainted for them and to some extent re-furnished. The young Duke had left his mark in pictures, books and prints, many of which were reminiscent of his tour in Italy. Furniture and china from the east — possibly brought over in the *Tavistock* or the *Streatham*, with which Indiamen he was particularly connected — had also been introduced in his time. After his death in his young prime, some at least of the contents of the house were moved to Streatham. Then, during the tragic widowhood of Rachel and the years of the third Duke, all is silence until Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, visited the house and said what she thought about it. Afterwards in the two brief years during which to her great happiness her granddaughter, Diana, had been Duchess of Bedford, the old lady had suggested alterations, and one of her suggestions — the hanging of portraits in the entrance hall on the first

floor — had been carried out. She might have insisted on more being done but for frustration by the death of the girl she so dearly loved.

But whatever the fourth Duke and his second Duchess found in the house when they came into it, they made many changes as time went on. Yet more china and furniture came from the east. New furniture and, probably for the first time, wallpaper, were bought to correspond with the fashion of the day. Alterations making for better comfort were introduced.

The private rooms of the Duke and Duchess were, according to tradition, those which had been redecorated for the Duke's young father and his wife. An inventory taken in 1771, after the death of the Duke, does not include his own bedroom and the adjacent rooms. It does give a full description of the appearance of the private rooms of the Duchess at least during the latter years.

In her bedrooms the hangings of the bed and the curtains, which, as was customary, matched, were of blue damask. The carpet was a needlework carpet. The furniture was chiefly of walnut and mahogany, probably for the most part English, but with the addition of one French piece at least.

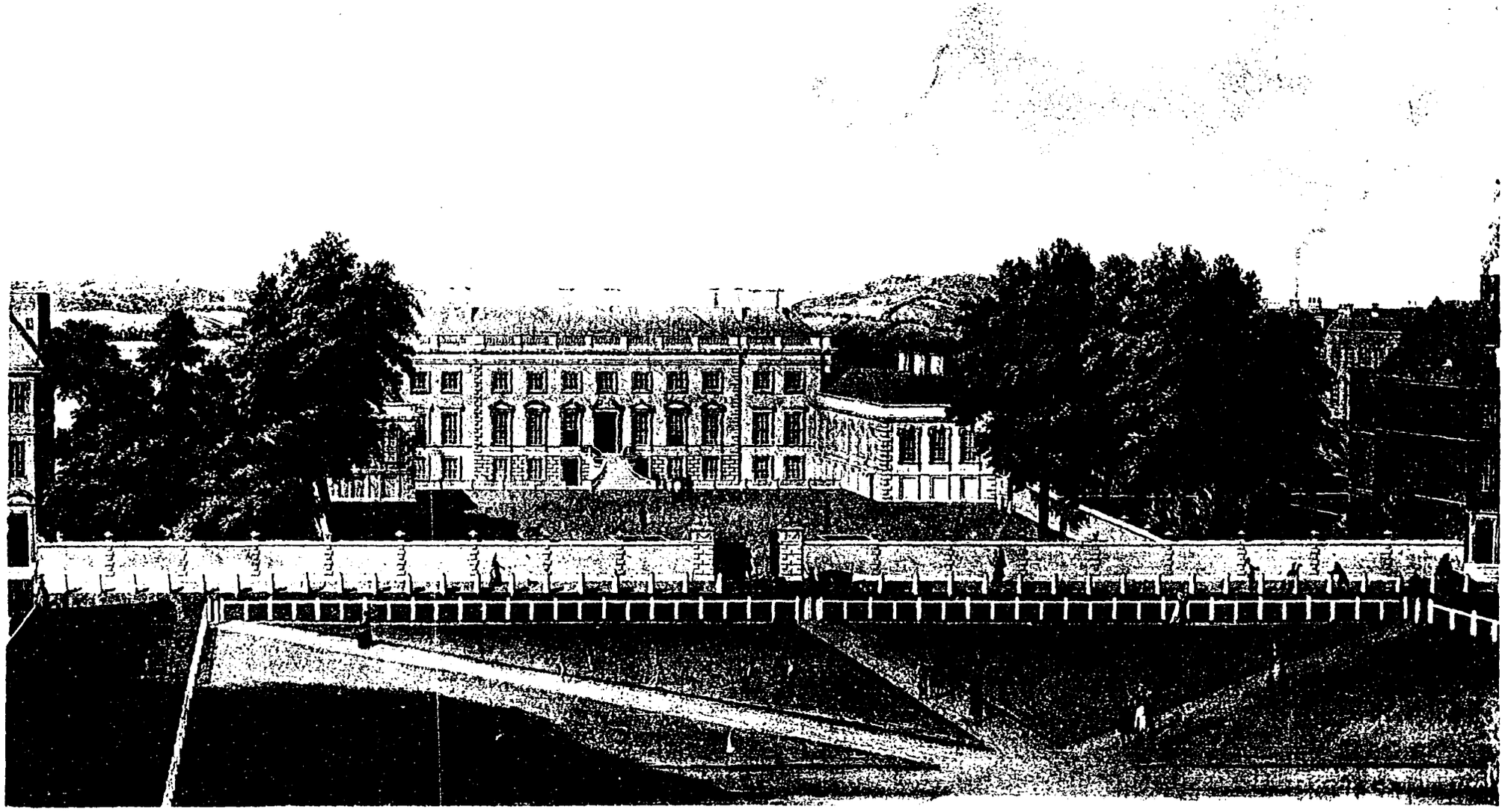
Her Grace's Bed Chamber.

Bed. A double headed couch bed covered with blue mixed damask, double brass nailed, with a dome canopy over ditto and a Gothoroon [*sic*] cornice.

Two feather bolsters; two check and one white flock mattresses; four blankets; a counterpane same as bed lined with tammy; a small white silk quilt.

Hangings and Carpet. Two mixed damask festoon window curtains, the same as the bed, lined with tammy.

A needlework carpet.



BEDFORD HOUSE, BLOOMSBURY

Furniture.

A pier glass in a gilt frame.
Four walnut-tree back stools covered with mixed damask.
A steel pierced fender, shovel, tongs and poker, and a folding tin fender.
A French inlaid dressing table with a glass to the box, etc., with folding top.
A mahogany chest of drawers with a writing drawer and sweep front.
A mahogany pot cupboard on castors.
A small mahogany screen covered with green lutestring.
A small mahogany fly table.
A nest of mahogany bookshelves with two drawers.
A wainscot airing horse.
A walnut-tree trunk with brass corner pieces on a frame.
A walnut-tree burgier in red Morocco leather, and a cushion to ditto, and cane back and seat.
An old India chest with brass corner pieces.

The list of china and glass found in the room when the inventory was taken is called an imperfect list, which it probably was —

A large enamelled jar.
A small burnt-in jar.
Two square blue and white bottles.
Two small blue and white jars.
Two large caudle cups.
A small enamelled basin.
Two square enamelled saucers.
Two cut-glass bottle stoppers.
A small glass lamp mounted in tin with a brass arm.

Lastly came two pictures described as India pictures in carved and gilt frames glazed.

Adjacent to the bedroom was the dressing-room of the Duchess. Here was a medley of colouring. The red and white curtains contrasted with the green and white upholstering of the cabrioles. The mahogany horse screen was covered with green lutestring, as was the horseshoe writing table with green cloth. The carpet was English — a Wilton carpet.

Her Grace's Dressing Room.

Hangings and Carpet.

Two festoon window curtains of red and white Tabaray, unlined.
Two spring curtains.
A Wilton carpet to cover the floor.

Furniture.

Four cabrioles, the frames carved japanned green and white, with loose cushion covers with striped Tabaray; two back stools and one large settee to match ditto.
A pier glass in a carved and gilt architrave frame.
A pedestal stove grate with fret fender, shovel, tongs and poker.
A French inlaid writing desk with three small drawers and ornaments ormolu.
A very elegant tortoiseshell commode with a shaped front, curiously inlaid with brass; a damask leather cover to ditto lined.
A dressing box of the rare old Japan and a leather cover to ditto.
A large dressing box with a glass to rise and small boxes inside ditto, neatly inlaid with ivory.
A small inlaid chiffonier table, with drawers and brass rim.

A mahogany horse screen covered with green lutestring.
A mahogany breakfast table with two drawers.
A horseshoe writing table covered with green cloth.

Ornaments.

A German lustre with cut glass ornaments, line and balance weight.
A stand for china of the rare old Japan.
A pair of wrought double brass arms.

The 'Tabaray' used for the curtains and cushions was probably the tabaret of the next century, the striped silk fabric much used for upholstery. Both names are likely to have been derived from the earlier tabby.

The dressing-room also had two pictures. One was a water-colour landscape in a black and gold frame. The other was a portrait of the only son of the Duke and Duchess. This portrait had been painted by Pompeo Batoni in 1762 in the course of a visit paid to Rome that year by Lord Tavistock. It shows the young man, then twenty-three years of age, dressed in the scarlet uniform of the Bedfordshire militia. But he was in Rome and the view at the back is that of the Coliseum with a seated statue of the goddess Roma holding forth a ball on the left. In the foreground lie fragments of architectural sculpture.

Nothing is said as to the walls of the bedroom and dressing-room of the Duchess. But there is indirect evidence that in the time of the fourth Duke the tapestries and hangings which had been in almost every room of the house were got rid of wholesale, and that in their place paper was put on the walls. In Woburn Abbey, where tapestries were replaced by paper when the house was reconstructed and re-furnished in the seventeen-fifties, a great deal of the paper used was landscape paper brought from China in the East Indiamen. Some of this paper may also have gone into Bedford House.

But if so, there is no mention of it. Two rooms were hung with stucco paper. A drawing-room had red flock paper on canvas.

This room, known as the red drawing-room, was one of the series of important rooms on the first floor. The largest of these had now, for some time, been known as the ball-room. Drawing-rooms were on either side.

Red Drawing-Room.

Walls, Hangings and Carpet.

Hung with red flock paper on canvas.
Two crimson mixed damask festoon window curtains.
A large Persia carpet.

Furniture.

Eight old walnut-tree back stools, partly gilt, covered with old silk damask, and blue and white check cases to ditto.
Two elbow chairs ditto, the feet plain.
A sofa ditto, with carved rail round the seat and eagle claw feet; three cushions to ditto.
A pier glass in an architrave moulding frame.
A table under ditto of the old Japan on a partly gilt frame.
A small horse sliding screen covered with green lutestring.
A chamber clock on a bracket, richly ornamented with brass, made by Paul Rimbalt.
A steel grate moulding fender, shovel, tongs and poker.
A small mahogany fly table with a shelf under ditto.
Two ivory handles and lines to bells.
A cabinet of the old Japan, with brass hinges and corner pieces, on a carved and gilt frame.
Two mahogany candlesticks.

Ornaments.

Two rich brass branches for three lights each, ormolu.
A German crystal lustre, with crimson line and tassel to ditto, with branches for four lights.
Two large enamelled china jars; two square blue and white bottles to ditto.
Two burnt-in china canisters.
Three enamelled china bottles.
Two small antique vases, ormolu.
Two burnt-in hexagon jars and covers.

Another drawing-room next to this was again hung with red. So also was the room which was perhaps more of a private sitting-room. Here it was definitely specified in 1771 that some of the furniture was old, and this may mean that it had been there well before the time of the fourth Duke.

Red Damask Room.

Hangings and Carpet.

Two crimson mixed damask window curtains, with lines and tassels, and four lines and tassels to the bells.
A fine large Turkey carpet.

Furniture.

Five old back stools with walnut-tree frames, partly gilt, covered with old crimson silk damask, brass nailed.
Two settees to ditto, with cushions.
Three other cushions and two pillows covered with same silk.
A long scroll stool with walnut-tree carved frame, covered with crimson lutestring, brass nailed.
A mahogany turning engine with brass boxes, etc., belonging to ditto, and a vice.
A blue veined marble slab on an old walnut tree frame.
Two dark printed cotton cushion cases.

A cabinet of the old Japan with brass hinges and corner pieces on a japanned frame.

An inlaid commode very richly ornamented with brass work; gilt festoon mouldings, etc., the tops of curious composition formed into a landscape of flowers.

A pier glass in an old glass bordered frame.

An old stove grate and a plain moulding fender.

A chimney board.

Ornaments.

Two large old enamelled beakers; one small ditto coloured china.

Two bottles and two beakers of the old red and white china.

A small jar with a cover and a bottle for flowers of the old burnt-in china.

A green and red canister.

A blue and white bottle.

This room was one in which recreation was sought. It contained various games.

A backgammon.

Table draughts and dice.

A mahogany Loo table lined with green cloth.

Card games were well thought of by both the Duke and the Duchess, for their own pleasure as for that of their guests.

A small blue drawing-room was in contrast to the series of red rooms. There blue damask chair and stool seats and blue lutestring window curtains replaced those of the more vivid hue elsewhere.

On the walls of these rooms were many pictures. The replacing of tapestries by paper gave a surface on which they might be hung, and they were no longer confined to the hall

or the space over the fireplace or doorway. On the contrary they were to be found everywhere. Now, too, landscapes as well as fruit, flower and animal pictures, rare in the previous century, went side by side with portraits. But only comparatively few of the pictures, whether portraits or no, can be identified. For the purpose of the maker of the 1771 inventory, the briefest description of any one picture sufficed. Often he thought it quite unnecessary to add the name of the painter, even when this must have been known. The entry 'A Portrait of Her Grace' gives no indication which of the many paintings made of this lady the one in question was. Nor did the writer commit himself to identification of pictures of past members of the family. The portrait of one of the Duke's immediate ancestors was to him simply that of 'A' Duke of Bedford.

A few of the pictures can be named. The portrait of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, still hung, with others, in the hall. In the two rooms which served for meals were pictures more fully described than others elsewhere. In the large dining-room was the portrait of the Duchess in her youth, dressed for a masquerade, added the writer quite correctly. Of the many pictures of her in the house, this is the only one which can be recognized. And that because of the description of the costume. The painter Hudson was allowed no posthumous fame in the inventory. Nor was J. B. Van Loo whose portrait of the first Earl Gower, father of the Duchess, was in the same room. But Antonio Canal, called Canaletto, was mentioned by name. Eight views of Venice painted by him were in the large dining-room. In the adjacent small eating room were sixteen others. Later all twenty-four, as well as the two portraits, were taken to Woburn.

At the end of the inventory the writer allowed himself a burst of enthusiasm. He listed 'Seven very capital paintings from Raphael's cartoons by Sir James Thornhill'. The

paintings were indeed very capital. They had been made from the cartoons in Hampton Court by Thornhill and purchased on his death in 1734 by the Duke of Bedford for two hundred guineas. The inventory speaks of their being 'fixed in the finishing of the room', and another reference shows that the room in question was the great ball-room with its green curtains and upholstery. They were the only pictures in the room. These paintings never went to Woburn. When in 1800 a great part of the contents of Bedford House was sold, the copies of the cartoons were bought in at four hundred and fifty guineas by Francis, the fifth Duke of Bedford. Three days later he presented them to the Royal Academy in whose keeping they remain.

The introduction into the house of new furniture and new pictures no less than the papering of the walls implied the discarding of much that was now either reckoned as worn out or looked on as out of date. Tapestries were rolled up. Furniture and pictures were relegated to some of the less important rooms or were stowed away as lumber.

There were at least two lumber rooms in Bedford House. Possibly an adjacent room was utilized as a third. For there was much which had to be accommodated.

Amid the usual jumble of old feather beds, old flock mattresses, broken chairs whose quality was unspecified, pictures and prints — they were called, as was everything else, 'old', but had no description attached to them — and the like were many pieces which spoke of past glories.

The list of what was found in one of the rooms began with three old chairs, a deal table and cupboard and an old fender. Then it continued:

> A very large wainscot chest containing the old furniture of a bed of green velvet, lined with calico, richly stitched and embroidered in silk, gold and silver; the covers to ditto, tester and

head board; a counterpane embroidered the same.
Four white damask curtains.
A slip of crimson satin embroidered with silk.
A sofa, four cushions, one bolster case of red striped cotton; three cabrioles, five back stools and one stool case of ditto.
A quilt lined with red lutestring.
Four crimson silk damask cushions.
Three pieces of orange coloured velvet lined with red linen.
Two pieces of India tapestry.

Beds in particular had been discarded very freely. That of green velvet was the best of those which had gone. But there had also been put away a four-post bedstead hung with crimson silk damask, one with green lindsey furniture, another hung with blue, and a fourth with yellow check drapings. Pieces of old tapestry were to be found in each of the lumber rooms, as well as old curtains of different sorts, and several carpets, among them one called old Persian. Finally, in one of the rooms were to be found 'twenty-nine old pewter plates with nine dishes'. Pewter was passing out of use.

The transition from old to new — wallpaper instead of tapestries, furniture made by the cabinet makers of the day to replace that of an older style, the neglect of pewter — was, whatever regrets might be felt by a later generation, a natural process. The eighteenth-century craftsman was a fine workman; much of the new furniture placed in Bedford House must have been most pleasing to the eye as well as practical in use. And alongside changes in the furniture and decoration of the house went others which meant more comfort.

At some date before 1758 baths, both hot and cold, were installed.

His Grace the Duke of Bedford's bill for plumber's work done at Bedford House per Edward Ives.

March 9, 1758.	To mending the cock over the Cold Bath.	3*s.*	0*d.*
March 30, 1758.	To mending the cock over the Hot Bath.	3*s.*	6*d.*

Woburn Abbey had rejoiced in a cold bath since the end of the seventeenth century at least. It was a sunk bath having the appearance of a small swimming bath to which use it was afterwards turned. Water was brought from the garden by a pipe. The hot bath introduced into the Abbey towards the middle of the eighteenth century seems to have meant a tub in a room called the hot-bathroom. The tub was probably, although not certainly, filled from a pipe.

Both the hot and the cold baths in Bedford House — almost certainly tubs — were, it would seem, also supplied by pipes.

For his water supply the Duke paid the New River Company seven pounds sixteen shillings a year. The Company had brought water to Bloomsbury since houses were first built there and in 1742 laid a new line of pipes — made of elmwood — across the fields at the back of Bedford House.

But matters did not invariably go smoothly between the Duke and the Company. In 1763 the Duke sent a severe letter.

GENTLEMEN,

I am going to new pave the street before this house; and observing the pipes belonging to you are continually breaking and that the pavement when taken up to mend the pipes is always laid down in a very bad manner; I give you this notice in order that you may direct the pipes to be made good that lie under the street I am going to new pave. And that wherever there shall be occasion to take up any part of it hereafter to mend your pipes, the pavement be laid down again in a good manner and upon a level with the

rest of the pavement. As I should be sorry to find myself obliged to take any measures that may be disagreeable to you.

Possibly the two water closets which were in the house in 1771 had been put in about the same time as the baths. If so, the date corresponded with that at which water closets were introduced into Woburn Abbey.

Outside the house certain changes were made. Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, had not succeeded in getting the flight of steps to the front door altered, and as they had been, so they remained. But in one of the wings the business rooms were reconstructed and given their own entrance from the courtyard. In 1757, too, the gates which opened into Great Russell Street were taken down and replaced by new.

Smith, Richard Barnett, on account.

1757.	Received May 7th, of his Grace the Duke of Bedford, by Mr. John Branson, nine pounds in further part of the smith's work done to the new gates at Bedford House. RICHARD BARNETT.	£9 0s. 0d.

To the gates were added as knockers two lions' heads, made by Messrs. Whittle & Norman, a firm who were employed much at Woburn Abbey as well as at Bedford House.

His Grace the Duke of Bedford. Debtor to Messrs. Whittle & Norman.

January 18, 1757.	For making and carving two very large lions' heads for the knockers of the gates at Bedford House; for mahogany, etc.	£4 10s. 0d.

Whence came the sphinxes which ornamented the pillars

on either side of the gates and now guard other gates at Woburn Abbey, is not known.

As for the garden at the back of the house, that had fared none too well. The map of 1729 had shown it as sufficiently well laid out but nothing more. Eighteen years later it was in a bad way. In that year, 1747, a new gardener, David Brown by name, was engaged not, it would seem, before it was time. Brown, having surveyed the garden, gave the Duke his candid opinion.

> I have made bold to trouble your Grace with this to inform your Grace that I have viewed your Grace's garden, and find it in a very bad condition, quite over-run with weeds and no crops in it; so that it will require three or four men for some time to put it in order; and the gravel in the Pleasure Garden is so full of weeds as that unless the whole is turned over it cannot be made clean.

Professional etiquette required that the newly-appointed gardener should disparage all he found in the garden and demand, as David Brown at once did, a complete new set of tools. But even allowing for this, it is clear that all was not well. Brown set to work. His bills show that he was permitted immediately to engage a number of men who undertook the weeding so sorely needed, relaid the gravel paths and tidied up generally. He also gave many orders for seeds and plants for the kitchen garden. There is every reason to suppose he was neither encouraged nor expected to do more than this.

A badly blurred and otherwise imperfect map of 1768 shows the rows of trees as they were in 1729 and again what are apparently grass squares. The wilderness has disappeared. In the midst of the general neglect it had perhaps fallen into decay and been done away with. No flower beds are indicated. Probably there never were any in the garden. Nor were any now made. Many bills of David Brown have

survived, but no single one among them mentions flower seeds or roots.

The kitchen garden was well stocked. A luxury was a house in which to grow melons. The pleasure garden remained a place of grass plots with the shady groves of trees approved by Horace Walpole. The trees and the open view from the terrace — shown on the 1768 map but without the grass steps — must have made the garden a pleasant spot, even if flowers were missing.

The garden, like the courtyard, and indeed the house itself, was threatened with violence the Sunday night in May of 1765 when the mob of Spitalfields weavers and their friends were battering at the walls. The Duke himself affected at first to think lightly of the affair. But the rioting was not confined to Bloomsbury, though he was a particular object of the attack. Consequently he thought it wise, as he said, to garrison his home; and one hundred infantry and sixty cavalry were installed in and around the house. After two days of agitation, culminating in another attempt to storm the walls, order was restored. Soldiers and horses departed. House, garden and courtyard resumed their wonted aspect.

CHAPTER XX

BLOOMSBURY AGAIN: 1732-1771

HAPPENINGS on the Bloomsbury estate during the years of the fourth Duke were less spectacular than those which had gone before. They were not less significant.

In 1732, the planning of the estate — in so far as there was a plan — had been completed for the time being. But in many of the streets only a few houses had, as yet, been erected. This was notably the case in the neighbourhood of the market, but there were probably some vacant plots even in Great Russell Street and elsewhere. In any event, Southampton Row was still only in its beginning.

The letting of the vacant sites, however, went on steadily. By 1765 the number of tenants had risen in round figures from something like four hundred and fifty to five hundred and fifty; though this does not necessarily mean that one hundred new houses had been built. Even after that year void spaces were still to be seen. During the next five or six years, many of these were built over in their turn.

One notable change was made when these new building leases were granted. In many instances, though not all, the term was no longer forty-two years as at first, or twenty-one or twenty-four years, as later, with a low uniform rent over the entire period. Now a number of leases were granted for sixty-three years with a peppercorn rent for the first three years and at the end of that period, a rent which might, according to circumstances, be anything from a few pounds a year up to fifty pounds or more.

It was not only in respect of the new building leases that

a change was made. When towards the end of the seventeen-fifties the leases which had been granted twenty-four years back began to expire, many, though not all, new leases were given, not at the same rent as before with a fine, but at an increased rent and no fine.

The abandonment, or more likely, the partial abandonment, of the practice of taking fines, together with the growth of the estate, meant a steady rise in the annual income from rents. From the three thousand and seven hundred pounds which had been the gross rental in 1732, there was a rise by 1765 to seven thousand and eight hundred pounds. In 1771, the year of the Duke's death, the rental was in the neighbourhood of eight thousand pounds. That some fines were included in these totals is probable. After 1732 there is no comprehensive statement of deductions for expenses and taxations.

The rents themselves covered a wide range of figures. In 1765 the top figure was the two hundred and ten pounds a year paid by the Honourable Charles Yorke for his house on the east side of Bloomsbury Square. But in the same year, two or three tenants in the square were paying no more than ten pounds a year; several paid anything up to fifty pounds a year; and two paid over a hundred a year. Similar variations occurred all over the estate — a tenant whose rent was two pounds a year might have one neighbour who paid ten and another who paid fifty. Remarks scribbled across leases or in the rent books — often in pencil — were no doubt of value to Mr. Butcher and Mr. Becuda. But the endorsements — 'I, Becuda' have done so and so or such and such — are not as helpful as they might be to later inquirers, especially when the pencilling has become rubbed. Much depended on whether or no the tenants were required to undertake repairs or even rebuilding. A good deal of the last was done, often by the tenant, but not invariably so. Some repairs and some rebuilding were done by the Duke himself.

Here for the first time the name of an architect — that of Inigo Jones always excepted — occurs in connection with the estate.

Henry Flitcroft, who in 1749 drew the plans for the rebuilding of Woburn Abbey, certainly acted in an advisory capacity to the Duke for the Bloomsbury property. How much and what kind of work he did is not clear. Surviving notes, with one exception, mention his name only in reference to small repairs. But one letter, dated February 1743/4, written by Flitcroft himself to the Duke, is extant. In this the architect speaks of 'plans and elevations' for two houses in Bloomsbury Square. No plans have been found. There is no indication whereabouts in the square the houses were situated. Nor is it quite clear whether it was a case of rebuilding or whether, on the contrary, two vacant sites remained in the square and were to be built over.

Amid the activities on the estate, one great family presently disappeared from the neighbourhood. The family of Montagu had never struck root in Bloomsbury as had their kinsmen, the Russells, and during the seventeen-thirties the second Duke of Montagu began to contemplate the possibility of getting rid of his mansion in Great Russell Street. At first he was hopeful it might be taken over by a committee — the President being the Duke of Bedford — who were considering the establishment of a home for foundlings, a scheme which resulted in the Foundling Hospital. The house, however, was not thought suitable for the purpose. That was in 1739. The Duke of Montagu had to wait another fourteen years. Then, in 1753, came the transaction whereby the nation, buying Montagu House for use as a 'general repository', to be known as the British Museum, created for itself a treasure house.

In the meantime, the rent books in the office of Bedford House continued to show the names of many distinguished residents. Other residents, if not so distinguished, were at

least of the greatest respectability. Bloomsbury was a pleasant spot in which to live. But troubles could and did come.

One annoyance was the passing of heavy traffic through the streets. The well-to-do inhabitants of that neighbourhood considered that they ought to be entirely remote from such traffic. Instead they suddenly discovered that it was actually coming their way. A petition was sent to Mr. Butcher:

That west country wagoners passing from London up Holborn, instead of holding their antient, direct and proper path through broad St. Giles's to that part of Tyburn road now called Oxford Street, are guilty of an innovation and a nuisance in turning aside up Southampton Street, through Bloomsbury Square and Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury and from thence returning back to St. Giles's Pound, by means whereof the peace and quiet of His Majesty's subjects residing in those parts are necessarily disturbed, by night as well as by day, their pavements greatly damaged, and the expense of repairing the same, according to law, very much increased.

The wagoners had discovered the advantage of making their way through quiet by-streets and the inhabitants of the by-streets were not pleased.

Another petition — there are moments when it would appear that Mr. Butcher's office must have been crammed with petitions — indicated a revolt of the more respectable against the less respectable. In the neighbourhood of the market, particularly towards Holborn, were narrow ways and passages; probably they represented what was left of the original lay-out of the estate with its wooden houses. Such alleys were an invitation to evil doers. Respectability rebelled. There were many complaints, and in one petition, undated, but probably about 1750, the owner of the estate was asked to take action.

To the Most Noble John, Duke of Bedford.
May it please Your Grace:

We whose names are hereunder written, inhabitants in Silver Street, on the back side of Bloomsbury Market, do humbly represent unto your Grace:

That there is an alley leading from the said street into Holborn, which is of no use to the inhabitants, or any other persons. But by the resort thereto in the night time of wicked and disorderly people of both sexes, we are continually disturbed by the dismal cry of Murder and other disagreeable noises.

Wherefore we humbly beseech your Grace that (for the redress of this grievance) you will be pleased to order the stopping up of the entrances into the said alley, which we shall esteem as a great favour done to us, your Grace's most humble and obedient servants,

THOMAS STACKHOUSE.	THOMAS HUTCHINGS.
JOHN FULLFORD.	THOMAS CAWTHORNE.
WILLIAM TWYFORD.	JOHN WALTER.
THOMAS HORNE.	WILLIAM KING.

So much for the built-over portion of the estate which lay between Great Russell Street and Holborn. Behind the line of houses on the north side of Great Russell Street matters were also astir.

After 1732, the extension of King Street, which was known as Southampton Row, pushed its way steadily northward along the boundary of the estate. Before 1765 more than twenty houses had been built there. But all were on the same, the east side, so that the way was thus left as a true row; and the poet Gray, living in one of the houses in 1759, could rejoice at the pleasant open prospect to be seen from his windows across the fields.

On the far side of the fields was the line of small houses on the short Tottenham Court Road front.

In the fields the Duke kept in his own hands two paddocks, one immediately behind Bedford House and the other to the

west of it. These he utilized for grazing. Formerly, notably in the time of the fifth Earl and first Duke, live stock bred at Woburn had been sent to market either at Leighton Buzzard or at Luton. The fourth Duke, however, had his sheep and cattle brought up from Woburn, pastured for a short time on the paddocks in Bloomsbury, and then sent to Smithfield. Profits in the city market probably made this worth while, for it was a weary journey from Woburn for men and beasts.

Entries concerning the 'fifty-two fat sheep' or the 'eight Welsh runts', which were driven along the road by way of Dunstable, St. Albans and London Colney, and so over the Highgate Hills towards Bloomsbury, show that the journey always occupied two days and sometimes more. The regular stopping places were Dunstable and London Colney. Once in the fields, a small but necessary expense was the cost of having stock watched at night.

March 18, 1759. Paid to two labourers sitting up to watch the fat cattle in Bedford House paddock 3*s.* 0*d.*

On the land beyond the paddocks the Duke had several tenants. The foremost of these still bore the name of Capper. Mr. Capper of Cantelowe Close had died in 1736 — a wealthy man. His son had taken orders and was lecturer at St. George's, Bloomsbury. But the farmer had also had daughters and one of them, Miss Hester — or Esther — Capper, had succeeded to her father's farming interests. She did more than succeed to them, she extended them. By 1759, according to rent books, and probably a good deal earlier, Miss Capper was leasing all the principal fields of the Duke of Bedford save for the paddocks he kept in his own hands and some of the outlying lands by Fig Lane.

The map of 1768 is unsatisfactory — the practice of writing over a map, not to speak of cutting pieces off and

out of it is, however convenient for the passing moment, not to be commended. But, supplemented by a short survey, it shows the fields of the 1657 map as Miss Capper held them a century later. Part of the Long Field beyond the Duke's paddock still kept the name by which it had been known long before ever King Henry VIII granted the manor to his Chancellor. The upper portion, however, was now the Nine Acres Field. Baber's Field, behind Montagu House, now the British Museum, had been, with the Night Field Mead, transformed into the Home Field. The name of the third field held by Miss Capper had also changed. The map of 1657, drawn up when the Earl of Southampton was about to build his mansion, had shown in the corner that was afterwards to be made by Great Russell Street coming into the Tottenham Court Road, a field called Cowley's Field, with Cowley's Field Mead adjacent. The two, put together, had become the Cowlayer's Field. Miss Capper likewise held Fig's Mead and the Little Pingle. She was a lady of importance.

In addition to leasing the greater part of the Duke's fields, Miss Capper also leased one of the Duke's houses. She did not continue to live in the farmhouse in Cantelowe Close. Possibly it had not descended to her. Instead she took a house from the Duke of Bedford.

The house in question was, as far as can be seen from the rent books, the seventh along the Tottenham Court Road from Great Russell Street. It had been originally quite a small house with no land attached to it, rented by a tenant at less than two pounds a year. When it was taken by Miss Capper out-buildings were added and it was gradually transformed into what it was then called in the rent books, a farm house.

In that farmhouse, Miss Hester Capper established herself with a sister, and as they grew older the two became conspicuous figures in the neighbourhood. They certainly

made their presence felt. Very little that went on in the fields with which they had had so long a connection, escaped their notice and most of what they saw was not in their eyes good.

They were not, to be just, the only grumblers.

One complaint re-echoed that voiced by the tenants of the Charterhouse two hundred years and more before. Then tenants objected to the pasturing of the King's horses and mules in the fields which they leased. In the eighteenth century the butchers of the market in Bloomsbury in their turn introduced sheep into the fields. 'Your butchers in Bloomsbury', the agent in chief was told in a furious letter —

> bring in their sheep every day, and when we speak to them tell us they will do it. There is now 28 in at this instant. I desire you will send somebody to pound them, for it is a great oppression to all my Lord Duke's tenants, and if you will not remedy it, I must endeavour to apply to those that will. — J. NASH.

The letter was endorsed 'Mrs. Nash' and Mrs. Nash, whatever the nature of her interest in the fields, was in a thoroughly bad temper when she wrote. She added a general statement to the effect that everyone knew what wickednesses were committed in the fields and that if such doings were allowed to continue — 'We must all leave our homes, there is no bearing of it.'

The accusation of wicked behaviour was often brought against those who frequented the fields. The open grassy spaces and the celebrated breezes blowing from the Highgate Hills offered attractions to other than the well-to-do residents in Bloomsbury. It was pleasant to walk in the fields — there were numerous footpaths. Young men came to play games; boys flew their kites. All this was innocent enough. Nor does it appear that either the Duke himself, or Mr. Butcher for him, ever contemplated barring access to the fields entirely. But certain of the highly respectable inhabitants of

Bloomsbury disapproved on principle of anyone using the fields, and much more of the reprehensible habit of playing games on them.

Miss Hester Capper and her sister did more than disapprove. They dealt, or tried to deal, with the offenders themselves. From their farmhouse in Tottenham Court Road, they had a good view of what went on in the Cowlayer's Field. In that field, as shown on the 1768 map, was a large pond. The pond exercised its inevitable attraction upon all small boys. When it was perceived from the farmhouse that youngsters were impudently bathing in the pond or were running across the field, flying their kites, the Misses Capper issued forth. They were dressed, as related by one of the early officials of the British Museum, writing his reminiscences, in riding habits and men's hats. One would dash to seize the clothes of the abandoned lads who were bathing. The sister, mounted on an old grey mare, and brandishing a large pair of shears, would gallop after the other miscreants and endeavour to cut the kite-strings.[1] Betsy Trotwood for ever plays her part. The race between the horses and the boys must, in itself, have afforded a good deal of sport to the latter.

Other persons, less vigorous in action than the two old dames, contented themselves with writing to Mr. Butcher, often at great length. 'Sir,' wrote one of his correspondents, in a letter, the construction of which, even according to the standards of the eighteenth century, was loose —

It is with the utmost reluctance that I break into your unwearied attention to his Grace's business, or in hindering that agreeable family converse, so charming to an ingenuous mind, the sole relish of life, and the solace of all our cares. Nothing, Sir, but the intolerable nuisances, which we daily, nay, I may say nightly receive, in Southampton-row, and the

[1] *A Book for a Rainy Day*, ed. 1905, p. 30. For this reference, as for many others, I am much obliged to Miss Jeffries Davis.

fields adjacent, by the vile rabble of idle and disorderly people, who assemble there to play at cricket, and such like pastimes, to the no small danger, and hurt, of the harmless people, who either walk for air or business.

Another nuisance of a most shameful nature I shall speak to, and that is running races, almost stark naked, and some quite so, which is shocking in a civilized country, and calls for the speediest remedy. But such abandoned miscreants can never be reclaimed, without a severe execution of the laws, and some examples made; such wretches are not to be borne, indulgence does but augment the mischief, nothing Sir but the whip, or battoon, that is the cudgel, will do with the vulgar.

Your endeavours in putting up boards of painted as well as written orders did some little good, but for want of making some examples, they like King Log in the fable became useless. Your excellent and good natured intention is to be praised.

With all submission: if you would please to order your people to inform you when these plays, pastimes, or races, are going to be exhibited, so as you may behold them, with the assistance of the worshipful Mr. Welch, and the attendants necessary, I am persuaded it would strike such a terror, especially if one, or two, were apprehended and made examples of. I please myself with thinking we should not be annoyed very soon, and every now, and then, upon notice given, I presume, would totally relieve us for the future. If our beadles were to parade oftener they would remove the nuisances so common in the row, of idle people sitting with baskets of fruit, barrows, etc., to the no small disturbance of the inhabitants, in freeing them from the abusive language of such base people.

Having mentioned the worshipful Mr. Welch, who some years ago executed the office of high constable to his own honour, as well as to the public utility; he used now, and then, to visit these fields and places adjacent, and did us very good service for which we were very thankful, and I no wise doubt of his ready concurrence to so laudable an

undertaking as the present as well as future relief from the lowest and vilest of mankind.

His Grace's readiness and alacrity in being serviceable to his tenants in every distress, needs no further mention, nor your co-operation as I have above related, under his Grace's directions.

Sir, be pleased to pardon the freedom I have taken in sending this letter, as being a well wisher to his Grace, and family; and no less, Sir, Your

Most obedient humble Servant

AN INHABITANT.

N.B. I could have wrote more, but leave the rest to your inquisition, not being willing to tire you, and knowing your sagacity in business.

The letter was sent, not to Bedford House, but to Mr. Butcher's own house in Great Russell Street. It is endorsed 'anonymous' and it is pleasant to fancy that the word was written with an ironic smile. Mr. Butcher received a good many such letters.

But, as usual, there was a good deal to be said on both sides. Many of the complaints made were doubtless justified. Liberty could degenerate into licence with remarkable rapidity; and the open fields offered as many opportunities to the disorderly and the worse than disorderly as did the dark alleys. Concerning duels and organized dog fights there were, probably, two different opinions. But games, and even more likely, the dog-fights, might and often did end in fisticuffs. Moreover, very real annoyance and even danger threatened from vagrants and even more undesirable characters. One method of warning off these gentry was by putting an advertisement in the *Public Advertiser* and the *London Evening Post* to the effect that, when found on the fields, especially if they were found gaming, they would be prosecuted.

But as time went on, certain developments took place in

the fields which, had the worthy inhabitants of Bloomsbury but known it, would eventually put an end to some of their troubles in a way they had not contemplated.

In the supplement to the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1755 appeared a full account of a scheme by which a road was to be cut to lead from the Edgware Road at Paddington to Islington. This road was not to go through the Duke of Bedford's fields, but was to pass some little distance to the north of them. The writer, who supported the plans, pointed out that the road would, in the first instance, provide a way by which the sheep and cattle coming into London from the north and north-west and going towards Smithfield, might be able to avoid the Oxford Road and Holborn. Additional support was hoped for on the grounds that the road would also be useful to the persons of fashion who were now living in the squares and new streets in the neighbourhood of the Oxford Road.

The inhabitants of Bloomsbury, however, perceived many disadvantages to themselves should the road be made. Miss Hester Capper, for one, leapt at once into the fray. She wrote to the Duke, pointing out that the traffic along the road and the resulting dust, would spoil the land in Bloomsbury, including that part which she held, and if the scheme was carried out, in view of the deterioration in the fields, she would certainly ask for an abatement of rent. The Duke himself was none too pleased at the idea of the road, even though a considerable space would separate it from his property. He, too, foresaw trouble from the dust raised by the traffic and he had heard that a certain amount of building was contemplated. Why building, at any rate, should worry him, Horace Walpole could not imagine. The Duke, wrote Mr. Walpole, 'was, after all, far too short-sighted to see what was going on'.

On the other hand, the scheme was warmly sponsored by the Duke of Grafton, who owned the land to the north of

the Bloomsbury fields through which the road would be cut, and was well aware of possible appreciation in the value of his property as building land, once the road was made. The party in favour of the project carried the day, and Miss Capper's letter, put before the committee of the House of Commons which considered the Bill for the making of the road, availed naught. The New Road or as it was sometimes called the New Turnpike Road, of which part hereafter was to be known as the Euston Road, was cut.

The Duke of Bedford had opposed the making of the road, but once it was under way he saw that it might be very useful to himself. He resolved to connect it up with his own residence by cutting a private road through from the point where the houses in Southampton Row ceased. This would give him an alternative route to Highgate on his way to Woburn. Instead of driving along Great Russell Street into the Tottenham Court Road, he would be able to pass by his private road into the New Road.

In 1759, labourers were set to work on the private road. All went well as long as it ran along the boundary of the Duke's own fields. But the pond on which Woburn Buildings were afterwards to stand was the northernmost point of his property, and beyond, before the New Turnpike Road could be reached, was the stretch of land belonging to the Duke of Grafton. Prolonged arguments passed between the representatives of the two landlords.

Then, either with or without the knowledge of the highest authorities, argument passed into action, and the fields were enlivened by yet another incident. For some months the Duke of Grafton's men regularly put up an extemporized bar against the passage of anyone coming along the Duke of Bedford's road. The barrier was as regularly thrown down by the Duke of Bedford's men. Ultimately, upon the latter himself intervening, a compromise was arrived at and the road continued across the Grafton property.

But the Duke of Bedford made it, as he had a right to do, a private road, pure and simple, and he had a gate put up. For this gateway free passes were issued, but only with discrimination. Applications for the pass, which took the form of silver tickets, were numerous.

> Mr. Garrick's compliments to Mr. Butcher and shall be greatly obliged to him for a ticket that will carry him through his Grace's grounds into the New Road.

Mr. Garrick was a favourite with the Duke. He probably got his silver ticket. So also did Admiral Osborn.

> Admiral Osborn desires his compliments to Mr. Butcher and should be glad if he could oblige him with a ticket for his coach to pass the Duke of Bedford's New Road, as his family frequently visit about Bloomsbury.

But although many persons certainly did receive the coveted pass, others were refused. Once more the difficulty was clearly that of a reasonable adjustment. Some receiving a refusal felt they had a legitimate grievance. In other cases Mr. Butcher could and did point out that the privilege, when given, was often abused.

The time when there would be houses along the Duke of Bedford's private road was not yet. But in 1766 a project, which was the prelude to the disappearance of the fields, had taken shape in the Duke's mind. He had always much admired the King's Circus at Bath, having had ample opportunities, amid the tedium of taking the waters, to observe the architecture of that town, even though, with gout in his feet, he could only hobble along its streets. Now he thought that a square, modelled on the Circus, might be laid out in one of his Bloomsbury fields. But the making of Bedford Square did not take place in his lifetime.

CHAPTER XXI

EPILOGUE

THE year in which the fourth Duke of Bedford planned a new venture in building in Bloomsbury was the last before overwhelming sorrow touched the family life.

A year after Lady Caroline had acted as bridesmaid to Queen Charlotte she was herself betrothed to George, Duke of Marlborough, the great-grandson of the first Duke and Duchess. Thus the connection of the house of Russell with that of Churchill was once more renewed. In the opinion of the young lady's brother — and he should have been a judge — it was a love match. 'Believe me,' he wrote to a friend —

> I am most extremely happy at my sister's match. Her affections were so strongly fixed that I should have dreaded to have seen her married to another. As for him, I may answer that the fellow is so good and his love and partiality for my sister so strong that I foresee a most happy prospect for them both. In my life I never saw two people so happy in each other.

On 23rd August, 1762, Lady Caroline was married in the little cedar-lined chapel at Bedford House. In September her husband brought her to Blenheim. Thence, on 14th September, she wrote to her father—

> I came here last Friday. I am much pleased with the place, which will some time or other be much finer, when the Duke of Marlborough has made all the improvements he talks of.
>
> My brother is gone from hence to Northampton this

morning, and means to go over to Woburn, where Mama now is. I am to meet her in town in about ten days' time.

I won't say how strongly I feel your absence. It is only putting us both in mind of disagreeable things. But I will flatter myself with the hopes of visiting you at Paris, and please myself with that thought. You have been too good to me all my life for me not to feel always something wanting to my happiness when I am not with you and Mama.

But I must say that the Duke of Marlborough's kindness and attention to me increases every day, and leaves me hardly anything to wish. My brother and he seem as well disposed to like one another, too, as I can desire, and as long as he stays in England I hope we shall see a good deal of him.

I have been over to see Blandford Park, which is, I think, a very pretty place, and seems a comfortable living house. Lord and Lady Charles Spencer are coming down there as soon as they are married.

I don't think it reasonable to take up any more of your time, which must be now so precious, than to add the Duke of Marlborough's best respects to you and to assure you, my dear Father, how much I am,

Your dutiful and affectionate daughter,

C. MARLBOROUGH.

The Duke of Bedford, with his incurable propensity for destroying all personal correspondence, could not, perhaps, bear to consign that letter to the fire or the dust heap. It stands out, with Lord Tavistock's note, among the few which escaped destruction.

Lady Caroline went from Woburn and henceforth her life belonged to Blenheim. Within two years of her leaving home, her brother also married. His bride was his sister's friend, Lady Elizabeth Keppel, daughter of the Duke of Albemarle.

This was said to be as much of a love match as had been

his sister's and it met with universal approbation. 'Lord Tavistock has flung his handkerchief,' wrote Horace Walpole,

> and except for a few jealous sultanas and some sultanas valides, who had marketable daughters, everybody is pleased that the lot has fallen on Lady Elizabeth Keppel.[1]

The wedding took place on 8th June, 1764, not at the bride's home, but at Woburn Abbey. As a country residence the Duke gave his son Houghton House, near Ampthill, the house which had been built for 'Sidney's sister', Mary, Countess of Pembroke. For a town residence, the young couple fixed upon Thanet House, the third of the important mansions in Great Russell Street.

All seemed set for happiness. Husband and wife were much in love with one another, and to add to the Duke's satisfaction at his son's wedding to a charming girl, two little boys, Francis and John, were born in quick succession. But all the pleasure and satisfaction in this happy extension of family life was to be but shortlived. The third year of the marriage was not yet completed when, in March, 1767, Lord Tavistock went riding in Houghton Park. The horse stumbled and he was thrown. He was picked up with a fractured skull. Some hopes were entertained of recovery, but those hopes were in vain; he died within a fortnight.

And then death struck again. To the young wife, the blow was overwhelming. Five months later Lady Tavistock gave birth to a third child, also a son, who was named William, but it was clear that she was rapidly sinking into a decline. She lingered for a year, depressed in spirit and daily growing weaker in body. In a vain hope to save her life, she was sent on a voyage to Lisbon. There at Lisbon she died, in her twenty-ninth year.

[1] *Letters*, ed. Toynbee, vi, 78.

FRANCIS, MARQUESS OF TAVISTOCK

EPILOGUE

At Woburn, Sir Joshua Reynolds's beautiful portrait of her looks down from the walls. She is wearing the dress she had worn as bridesmaid at the royal wedding. A little black page gazes up at her in admiration as she happily decks the altar of Hymen with flowers. The charm and beauty of the picture serves to intensify the memory of the tragedy.

The loss of his son, followed so quickly by the death of the young widow, was a blow from which the Duke never fully recovered. The four, father, mother, son and daughter, had always been a singularly united family, happy in their affection, one for another. Lord Tavistock's wife had been welcomed into their midst. But both he and she were gone. The happiness of Caroline at Blenheim and the presence at Woburn of the three little grandsons, who, after their mother's death came to live with their grandparents, gave some consolation. But it was soon seen that the Duke himself was in a bad state of health.

The mischief was largely due to the gout which had plagued him since he was a young man. It was rapidly worsening and was affecting his general health. His eyes, too, were giving trouble. His sight had never been very good — bills for spectacles in tortoiseshell, in silver and in horn occur very early. Now it was discovered that he was suffering, as his grandmother, Rachel, had done, from cataract — in his case in both eyes.

'It is generally thought', wrote Lord Holland to his son, 'that the Duke of Bedford will grow stone blind.'

Holland had, a year or two before, quarrelled with the Duke and Duchess, and had not forgiven them. 'R . . . y', he went on, 'was expressing his great concern when a friend of yours said it would give him more if the Duke opened his eyes.'[1] R . . . y was Richard Rigby, member for Tavistock and friend of the Duke.

The Duke's eyesight was saved. Towards the end of 1767

[1] EARL OF ILCHESTER, *Home of the Hollands* 1605-1820, p. 19

he was successfully couched for the cataract by the celebrated Baron Wentzel with another oculist, Mr. Gattaker, or Gatacre, in attendance.

But he was very far from well. In spite of repeated visits to Bath, the gouty complaint was spreading rapidly. At the end of 1770, it was seen that he was seriously ill. On 14th January, 1771, he died at Bedford House. He was sixty-eight years of age.

With his death was ended another epoch in the family history. His heir was the eldest grandson, Francis, a child of six years old. Once more the estates were in the hands of trustees. Once more there was a dowager who looked very sharply after affairs. Gertrude, Duchess of Bedford, who was presently to play the part of the 'Old Begum' for Walpole and his friends, reigned, despite the trustees, supreme. She had in her care the three little orphan grandsons, Francis, now the fifth Duke of Bedford, and his two brothers, John and William.

But no mere guardianship of children would suffice to satisfy Gertrude, even though one of them was the young Duke. Her hand was felt everywhere, in Bloomsbury as at Woburn.

At Bedford House the control of the office and the business affairs of the family also passed into other hands. Mr. Butcher, feeling himself growing old, worried perhaps about his health — it is not perhaps unfair to suggest that he thought a good deal about his health — retired either immediately after the death of the Duke or possibly a little earlier. The faithful Becuda had disappeared, either by retirement or death, some years before.

Quitting the house in Great Russell Street, Mr. Butcher went to live at Walthamstow. His devoted daughter, Louisa, was still at home to look after him. There were always new medicines with which he could experiment as he had experimented with the Indian Moss. When necessary, Miss Louisa

was deputed to make inquiries. 'My father,' she wrote to a friend, in a letter dated 28th January, 1772:

> who has been ill since Saturday se'enight in like manner as he was in 1764, desires you will buy at Mr. Corbyn's half a pint of oil of castor.
>
> As the oil of castor is a new medicine, my father will be obliged to you to call on Mr. Harrison and ask him if he is acquainted with it in gouty or bowel cases, and the method of using it.

Neither the pharmacopoeia of the College of Physicians in 1760 nor James's *Dispensatory* of 1764, both of which give a full list of the drugs then in use, mention castor oil. But once it had come into use, Mr. Butcher was eager to try it. It is to be hoped that it was efficacious, but in any case, gout, if it was gout that killed him, took a long time to be fatal to the former agent in chief. He survived his master for seventeen years, dying at Walthamstow in what the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in its obituary notice, referred to as extreme old age.

Change was everywhere. On the Bloomsbury estate as elsewhere.

When the Duke of Bedford had contemplated the building of a square in his fields, the note was struck which heralded the transformation of those fields into what John Evelyn would have called a little town, even as the Cherry Garden and the Licours Garden had been transformed a century before. Within a very short time of the death of the fourth duke, the first steps towards this transformation had been taken. The moving spirit was the Dowager Duchess.

Gertrude, Duchess of Bedford, looked forth from the old to the new. Her own span of life linked her up on the one side with the widow of William, Lord Russell, and on the other with the statesman who was to be Prime Minister to Queen Victoria. Lady Gertrude Leveson Gower was eight years of age when Rachel, Lady Russell, died in the house

in Bloomsbury. She lived into the third year of her great grandson, Lord John Russell, afterwards the first Earl Russell. It was fitting that as in the renewed building movement in Bloomsbury the first square to be planned and built should be Bedford Square, so the first important street to be cut through should be Gower Street.

INDEX

INDEX

Acts of Parliament: erection of churches, 183; reversion of attainder, 103
Addison, Joseph, 127, 129, 247
Aldrich, Dr., 81
Alexander, Thomas, laceman, 260
Altham, Capt. E., R.N., 272*n.*
Animals and birds, 198, 199
Anne, Queen: 107; coronation, 113-4
Annuities: family and household, 102, 310; investments in, 301, 309-11
Apparel, 14, 82, 114-5, 213, 261, 263-4, 269-72, 276; ceremonial, 114, 105-6, 263-4, 267, 294-7; trimmings and accessories, 62, 82, 259, 260, 267-76
Apthorp, Edward, 111, 242
Arms, Russell, 337
Ashfield, —, grocer, 242
Austin, Joseph, oilman, 247

Bacon, Francis, 176
Baker, William, coatmaker, 115
Balcony, 266
Banking system, 303-4
Barlow, —, 221
Barrett, John, wax chandler, 248
Bartley, —, at Buffalo's Head, 110
Bass, Mr., 110
Bath, 118, 124-6, 194-6, 290
Battiere, John Gaspard, 267-8
Beaufort, Duke of, visit to, 120, 126
Beaumont, Percival, steward, 225
Becuda, John, assistant agent-general, 208, 209, 213, 214, 217, 219, 221, 222-3, 280, 320, 326, 328-9, 331, 355, 372
Bedford House, Bloomsbury, 29, 55-6, 67, 76, 94-5, 97, 128, 133, 135-6, 146-9, 156, 158-60, 163-5, 172, 192, 211, 231, 232, 337-40, 348; change of name, 57, 169; building and planning, 31-33, 40, 177-8; allotted to Rachel, Lady Vaughan, 17, 54-5; description, 33-6, 213-9, 281; baths and plumbing, 349-51; chapel, 35, 78, 368; evidence room, 214-8; fire at, 218-9; garden, 58, 175-6, 352-3; terrace in garden, 36; garrisoned against rioters, 353; gates, 36, 351; refurnished, 339-51; stables, 36, 76
Bedford House in the Strand, 40, 48, 94-5, 96, 133, 213, 215
Been, —, 282
Bishop, Francis, haberdasher, 273
Blackstone, Mary and William Hay, 260
Blemund's Ditch, 20
Bloomsbury Estate: early history of, 15, 17-21; allotted to Rachel, Lady Vaughan, 54; new building, 26, 37-9, 48, 58-61, 171, 177-9, 183-4; disorder in, 357-8; healthy, 51-2, 174; heavy traffic, 357; income from, 58, 101, 185-6, 301-2; inns, 178-9; manor-house, 21-2, 26, 28-9, 37-8; market, 48-50, 58, 179, 181-2, 243; market gardens, 27; plan (1657), 38; mainly residential, 95, 243; rents paid to Crown, 23; suggested sale, 188; shops, 178, 181, 182, 243; survey of 1642, 32
Board, payment by visitors, 55, 143-4
Books and book-binding, 133-5
Bowling green, 28, 38, 39, 51
Bowman, —, 126
Branson, John, steward, 202, 204, 205, 224-5, 230, 237, 284, 289, 292, 241, 329, 332
Branson, Richard, 197, 198, 199
Bridgman, Thomas, 282
Bridgwater, Duke of, marriage with Rachel Russell, 154; Anne, daughter of, *see under* Russell
British Museum, 356
Broadsheet, 71
Brooks and Amery, haberdashers, 273
Brown, David, gardener, 352
Brown, S., hoop-maker, 271
Brown, —, 315

INDEX

Browne, Thomas, skinner, 114, 115
Brydges, Kempe, laceman, 297
Building: licences, 25, 32, 177; planning, 40; materials and restrictions, 32, 33, 34, 38-9, 42-4, 46, 65; *see also* Leases
Bunnell, Peter, laceman, 269
Burnet, Bishop, 69, 70, 71, 77, 146
Butcher, Robert, agent-in-chief, 209-23, 224, 237, 241, 242-4, 253, 259, 260, 280, 289, 292, 294-5, 297, 303-8, 310-11, 324-5, 328, 355, 357, 361, 364, 367; and trading companies, 312, 316-20; annuities for family, 310; death, 372-3
Butler, Tristram, 139
Bynion, Robert, 198

Caipineo, Princess, 90
Cambridge, Trinity College, 203
Capper, Christopher, 359; Hester, 359-62, 365, 366; farmhouse, 184-5
Carlton, Dr., 202
Carpets, 148-9, 214, 232
Carriages and coaches, 56, 87, 116, 234-5, 235-6
Cartony, Joseph and Robert, 256
Cavendish, William, 2nd Duke of Devonshire, marriage with Rachel Russell, 78; Duchess, 116
Chairmen, 236, 282-3
Chardin, Sir John, 83, 88, 134
Charles I, 25
Charles II, 31, 36, 49, 67
Charlotte, Queen of George III, 293-4
Charterhouse, London, 19, 22
Cheam, 161
Chenies, 62, 72, 99, 170
Cherry Garden or Orchard, 27, 29, 32, 36, 38-9, 40, 43, 47
Child, Sir Francis, 258, 299, 306
Child, Sir Josiah, 80
Child & Company, goldsmith bankers, 298-9, 304
China, goods from, 326, 334, 336-8
China and glass, 242, 254, 257, 281, 282, 340, 341, 343
Chocolate, 252, 253-4
Cibber, Colley, 47
Clare, Earl of, 185
Clarendon, Edward, Lord, 13, 31
Clarke, Dr. John, 146
Clocks, 214, 232
Cloth trade, English, 319-24
Coffee, 252-3
Coinage, foreign, 88, 90, 140
Collop, George, receiver-general, 208-9, 210, 215, 219, 220
Coronets, 296, 297
Correspondence, destruction of, 193-4, 218
Cosimi, Nicolo, 122-6, 128, 138
Covent Garden Estate, 14, 181; income, 102, 301-2, 303; market, 41; piazza, 40, 41, 95; shops, 243, 260, 277; tradesmen, 264
Cox, Thomas, dr. of physics, 43, 44
Creech, John, 311
Cross, —, engraver, 129
Cuneman, Conrad, 233
Curtains and hangings, 141, 148-9, 160, 164, 281, 340, 342, 344-6; *see also* Tapestry
Cutt, James, coat seller, 245

Davis, Charles, hatter, 275
Day, Benjamin, robe-maker, 295
Devonshire, Earl of, 172; Duke of; *see* Cavendish
Devonshire Estate, 302, 305-6; Tavistock, 102, 223
Dinners and Balls, 113, 280, 282-5, 286, 288; at hotels, 286-7; invitation cards, 286-7
Disbrowe, Richard, 306
Diseases and Treatment: cataract and operation, 80, 371; gout, 159, 194-6, 212, 223, 290, 371; plague, 51, 303; scurvy, 52-3; smallpox, 51, 142-6, 154, 303; inoculation, 191, 240; smallpox hospital, 240-1; typhus 51
Docks, 312-3, 314
Dodd, —, 100
Doddridge, —, 242
Dogs, 198; dog doctor, 198
Dornbush, John, 295
Dovecote, 22
Drugs and Medicines, 249-50, 372, 373
Dukedom and marquisate; creation of, 79
Dunstable, 359; Hunt uniform, 273
Duval, Claude, 266

Earby, Christopher, grocer, 250
East India Company: interests in, 301, 316, 318-9; docks, 312; goods carried, 318, 319, 323-8, 335-6; private trade, 317, 327, 328; officials, governors, factors, and wives, names, 325, 329, 330, 331; sale bills, 327-8; ships and captains, 312-36, *passim*
Eaton, John, laceman, 62
English, Rebecca, 259
Essex, Earl of, marriage with daughter of 2nd Duke of Bedford, 154; Countess of, 308
Evelyn, John, 34, 35, 36, 44, 45, 66, 95, 175, 373
Evidence Room, 214-8

Farmhouse, Tottenham Lane, 360-1
Farram, John, silversmith, 268
Fielding, Harry, comedian, 288
Fielding, Timothy, lessee of the Buffalo's Head, 287-8
Fields: complaints as to use of, 361-4; King's right to grazing, 22; let, 22, 58, 65, 184, 185, 358-9; Long Field, 22, 27, 29, 32, 33, 36, 46, 58, 64, 65, 360; Pond Piece, 20, 21, 22, 24, 38, 39, 46, 50; Rose Field, 28; names of, 20-2, 24, 38, 39, 46, 50, 64-6, 184, 185, 360, 362
Finance: accounts, 83-5, 88-91, 101, 104, 215, 218-9, 242-3; banking, 298-300; bills of exchange, 305-8; collection of rents, 303-4, 308-9; debts, 302; family allowances, 14, 74-6, 153; income, 58, 59, 101-3, 186, 301, 309; investments, 301, 309-11; loans, 309-10; recovery, 188
Finch, William, hatter, 274-5
Fires, 33, 34, 51, 172, 218-9, 246
Fitzwilliam, Doctor, 74, 80
Flitcroft, Henry, 356
Flower, Francis, haberdasher, 273, 274
Food and drink, 109, 223, 241; at inns, 111-12, 116, 118-9, 125
Forbes, Admiral John, 272
Fortifications, 29, 36
Foster, Elmes, druggist, 256
Fouace, Gabriel, 261-2
Foundling Hospital, 356
Fox, John, 75, 101, 209, 210
French governesses, 63, 203
Funeral expenses, 100
Furniture and furnishings, 96-8, 116, 147-8, 214-5, 224, 231-2, 245, 281-2, 340-6, 348-9; Indian and Chinese, 23, 245, 329-33, 340-1

Gambling, 88-92
Game and Poultry, 222-3
Games, 195, 198, 284, 346, 363
Gardens and gardeners, 28, 36, 40, 60, 175-6, 237
Garrard, —, parson, 25
Garrick, David, 367; wife of, 291
Garter, and Knights of, 49, 106, 107-12, 292
Garth, Samuel, physician and poet, 145, 146
Gattaker, Gatacre, —, occulist, 372
Gaudry, Stephen, hat-maker, 276
George II, 272
George III: marriage, 293-4; coronation, 294-7
Gifts, christening, 62, 63
Godin, —, 241
Gostlin, William, laceman, 62
Grafton, Duke of, 283, 365, 366
Gratuities, 63, 119, 283, 228-9, 291
Gray, Thomas, 358
Grazing, 359
Greenland Company, 312, 313-16
Gregory, Thomas, master of horse, 100
Groceries, 251, 256

Hampshire Estates, 15, 17, 20, 54, 55, 58, 77, 94, 101
Hanover, George, Prince of, K.G., 107
Harding, Mark, 219
Hardwick, 117-8
Hawkins, Mrs., 201
Hawksmoor, Nicholas, 183
Haym, Nicolo Francesco, 122-6, 128-9, 137-8, 147
Haynes, Haines, Richard, of Tom's Coffee-house, 222, 254-5
Henry VIII, 15, 19
Henry, Prince of Wales, 135
Hertock, —, framemaker, 136
Hicks, Dr. John, tutor, 81, 82, 83, 91, 118, 119
Highwaymen, 308

Hinchliff, Thomas and William, and James Croft, 264-5
Hintz, Frederick, 205
Hobson, John, 125
Hockett, Richard, 247
Hodges, Richard, coachmaker, 235
Holdernesse, 2nd Earl of, marriage, 57
Holt, Richard, 212
Hooke, Robert, architect, 66, 172
Horse-racing, at Newmarket, 120
Horses, 113, 117, 211, 234, 296
Houghton House, 370
House of Lords, fees, 105
Household: 197, 238, 239; accommodation, 211, 224, 230-33; board and lodging, 225, 226, 229, 230, 233, 237; clothing, 229; number in, 238, 239; salaries and wages, 224-32, *passim*; women servants, 226-7, 230, 239; agent-in-chief, 208, *see also* Butcher, Robert; butler, 227, 231, 239; clerk of the kitchen, 225, 227, 231, 239; clerks, 220; coachmen, 118, 233, 239; confectioner, 226, 239; cooks, 64, 225-6; footmen, 227-9, 239, 283, 291; gentlemen, 225, 230, 239; groom of the chambers, 227; hairdresser, 239; house steward, 224-5, 239; house-keeper, 231; 230, Ladies, 230; nursery maids, 63, 64; ushers, 229; watchmen, 237-8
Houses and Tenements, 145; Bloomsbury Buildings, 39; the Rose, 28; Southampton Buildings, 26; Woburn Buildings, 21
Howland Dock, 313
Howland, Elizabeth, daughter of John; *see under* Russell
Howland, Elizabeth, widow of John 79, 94, 142, 152, 316-7, 318-9
Howland, Giles, 80; John, 80
Hughs and Company, 282
Hunter, Andrew, 296, 297
Hunting, 289
Hurnall, Thomas, grocer, 250

Inns: Blue Boar Inn, Holborn, 179; Blue Boar Yard, 179, 211; Buffalo's Head, 110, 111, 178-9, 287-8; Cole's, 312; the Crane, 27, 28; Crown, 28, 319; George, Smithfield, 288; Greenland Coffee House, 312; Hole-in-the-Wall, 266; Horse-Shoe, 27; Hotel Tavern, 286; Jerusalem Coffee-house, 312, 316, 317, 319; the Three Kings, 178; Tom's Coffee-House, 222, 254, 255, 256
Inns—*contd.*
Insurance, marine, 314, 328-9
Ireland: 190, 237, 264; Lord Lieutenant, 228
Italy, visit to, 83, 85, 86-7, 92, 121, 128, 134, 135, 266
Ives, Edward, plumber, 350

James I, 23
James II, 67, 68, 104
Jansen, Sir Theodore, 159
Japan, goods from, 334, 335-6
Jewels, 14, 56
Jones, Hannah, 247-8
Jones, Inigo, 33, 163, 356

Keppel, Lady Elizabeth, 294; marriage with Lord Tavistock, 369-70
King, the, right to grazing on Bloomsbury fields, 22
Kirk, Thomas, night watchman, 237

L'Allemande, —, cook, 226
Lamb, —, 108
Leander, Thomas, musician, 284
Leases and Rents: 23, 41-2, 42-44, 46, 58, 60, 101, 103, 171-2, 173, 174, 185, 186, 288, 354, 355; renewals and fines, 186, 187, 355; restrictions, 178; statements, 58, 186
Leigh, Elizabeth, daughter of Earl of Chichester, *see under* Wriothesley
Le Moine, Peter, grocer, 251
Letters Patent, 25-6, 29, 32, 38-9, 49, 79
Leveson-Gower, Gertrude, daughter of Earl Gower, *see under* Russell
Licours Garden, 28, 38-9, 48, 51
Lindon, Francis, 216
Liveries, 236-7, 229, 263
Lock, James, hatter, 275
London: churches, 183; City, 67, 68; shopping district, 243; the Tower, 23; Fire, 34, 51, 246
London Colney, 359

Long's Warehouse, 274, 295
Lotteries, 301, 309
Lowdon, William, druggist, 249-50
Lowe, William, footman, 291
Luttrell, Narcissus, 96, 103

Maps and Plans, 21-2, 26, 31, 38, 173, 176, 177, 179, 180-2, 206, 214, 352, 359-60
Margas, Philip, 333
Market gardens, 27
Marlborough, George, 4th Duke of: marriage with Lady Caroline Russell, 368-9
Marlborough, John, 1st Duke of: K.G., 107-9; portrait, 165, 169
Marlborough, Sarah, Duchess of, 33, 155, 156, 157-62, 339; portrait, 165, 169, 347
Mason, Lucas & Higgons, 266-7
Massue, Daniel de, marriage of daughter to Earl of Southampton, 25
Materials, 14, 105-6, 259, 261-6, 271-2, 297, 326-7, 333, 343; list, 267
Maynwaringe, Doctor Everard, 52, 53
Mead, Doctor, 163
Metivier, Francis, sack maker, 270
Middleton, David, receiver-general, 101, 123, 124, 128, 129, 139, 140, 154, 209, 210-11, 298, 300
Milles, Dionysius, clerk of the kitchen, 225, 227, 251
Milton, John, 176
Mitchell, Mrs., 151
Mold, Mordecai, driver, 233
Molyneux, Frances, widow of Lord, 31; *see under* Wriothesley
Money-changers, foreign, 83-5, 89
Montagu, Duke and Duchess of, 64-6; Duchess of, 290
Montagu House, 64-6, 67, 172-3, 176, 356
Morrell, Mrs., 150-1
Morris, James, 263
Moss, Jane, 154
Muelman, Henry, 294
Munday, E. & I., 270
Muniments, 24, 39, 207, 214-9; Evidence Room, 215-6
Music, musicians and instruments, 87, 122-33, 147, 204, 205, 283-4; opera, 289-90; Woburn Tune, 122

New River Company, 350
Newspaper and Magazines, 131, 133, 288, 364, 365, 373
Nicoll, Dr. John, 200
Nisbett & Masters, hosiers, 274
Noel, Edward, marriage with Elizabeth Wriothesley, 16, 37
Nourse, James, woollen draper, 262-3
Nurses, 145, 240, 241

Oil, 247, 248-9
Ornaments, 337-8, 343, 345, 346; *see also* China
Osborn, Admiral, 367
Oxford, 80, 81, 118-9

Page, Prudence, milliner, 276
Partridge, Seth, goldsmith, 258
Pepys, Samuel, 44-5, 53
Percy, Joceline, Earl of Northumberland, marriage with Elizabeth Wriothesley, 16, 37
Perkins, Richard, mercer, 261
Perrier, J. F., 278-9
Pewter, 349
Phillips, Griffin, printseller, 138
Pictures, 122, 135-6, 137-40, 147, 215, 343, 347-8
Pink, —, 97, 136, 242, 280
Pistols, 224
Pomfret, Countess of, 292
Popish Plot, 67
Portraits, 56, 77-8, 99, 100, 136, 137, 164-9, 190, 264, 273, 339-40, 343, 347
Post-chaise, 234; drivers, 233
Postilions, 233, 236
Pratt, Sir Roger, 34
Printing and engraving, 244-5
Pritchard's warehouse, 297
Pughet, Poughet, Pierre, 173
Purcell, Henry, 122, 127, 131

Raffle, 150
Ranelagh, 228, 289, 291
Receiver-general, 101, 207, 208, 298
Rents, *see* Leases and Rents
Reynalds, John, receiver-general, 101
Robins, Henry, 98
Robinson, Richard, confectioner, 252
Robinson, William, tea from, 256
Roos, Lord, *see* Rutland, 2nd Duke of

Rose, Barnard, 284
Rotherhithe, 79; docks, 312, 317
Rudyerd, James & John Jesse, 245
Russell, Anne, Countess of Bedford, 144, 146, 167
Russell, Anne, wife of 3rd Duke, 157
Russell, Lady Caroline, 193-4, 197-8, 203-7, 269-72, 276, 278-9, 293-4, 297, 368-9
Russell, Diana, wife of 4th Duke, 155, 160-70
Russell, Lord Edward, 85, 112
Russell, Elizabeth, wife of 2nd Duke, 79, 80, 101, 115, 143, 136-7, 152-4, 261, 312, 334
Russell, Elizabeth, Lady Tavistock, 371
Russell, Francis, 4th Earl of Bedford, 40, 144-6, 182
Russell, Francis, Lord, 14, 66
Russell, Francis, Lord Tavistock, 192, 196-203, 261, 273, 369-70
Russell, Francis, 5th Duke of Bedford, 348
Russell, George, 200
Russell, Gertrude, wife of 4th Duke, 182, 189-90, 191, 195-6, 272, 297, 337, 347, 372, 373-4
Russell, Henry, 182, 191, 321-2
Russell, James, 71, 73, 200
Russell, John, 4th Duke of Bedford, 144, 152-4, 155, 166, 168, 169, 185, 189, 191-2, 220, 264, 353; business ability, 190-1; political interests, 192; offices held, 192, 194, 193, 228, 230, 241, 267, 294, 296, 309; K.G., 292; marriages, 155, 170; illness, 194-7, 290, 371-2; trading interests, 312-24; measures against smallpox, 240; death, 372
Russell, Lord John, 194
Russell, Katherine, *see under* Rutland
Russell, Rachel, Lady, 37, 55, 67, 73-6, 79, 80, 102-4, 106-7, 112-3, 142-3, 145, 147, 165, 183, 185, 255, 257; marriage and dowry, 13, 16, 17, 18, 20, 30, 54, 55; last years, 149-51
Russell, Rachel, *see under* Cavendish
Russell, Robert, 85
Russell, Stephen, 191
Russell, William, 1st Duke of Bedford, 61-3, 74, 77, 79, 83, 101, 140; trading interests, 316; death, 93
Russell, William, Lord, 55, 61-2, 63, 67, 76-7, 79, 146, 171, 175, 193; marriage, 13, 14, 18, 54-5; trial and execution, 68-71; attainder reversed, 103-4
Russell, Wriothesley, 2nd Duke of Bedford, 74-7, 80-2, 136-7, 142-4, 151-3, 172, 186-7, 257; marriage, 79-80; gambling debts, 88-92; travels, 83-93; K.G., 107-112, 287; offices held, 112-4; patron of arts, 120, 121-41, 147; death, 146
Russell, Wriothesley, 3rd Duke of Bedford, 142-3, 152-3, 157-8, 280, 300, 313; marriage, 155; debts, 187-8; death, 162-3
Russell House, Strand, 40, 215
Russia man, 199
Rutland, 1st Duke of, 72, 113
Rutland, Lord Roos, 2nd Duke of, marriage with Katherine Russell, 78-9, 113; Duchess of, 78, 149
Rye House Plot, 68-9

St. George's, Bloomsbury, church and parish, 182, 183, 192
St. Giles in the Fields, 20, 28, 48, 61, 99, 173, 183; Hospital, 23, 24; manor, 17, 24, 58; manor house, 24
St. Paul's, Covent Garden, 99, 161, 182
Salt Tallies, 301, 311
Samplers, silks for, 260
Scroggs, Sir William, 67, 68
Sedan chairs, 116, 236, 291
Sellwood, Mr., 151
Sherard, Dr. James, 131, 147
Shopping areas, 243-4, 251, 275, 277
Short's Gardens, 28
Silver: 56, 82; tea- and coffee-pots, 257-8, 282-3
Sloane, Doctor Hans, 145-6, 175
Smith, Richard Barnett, 351
Smyth, James, and Company, 277
Snowdon, Elizabeth, 254
Southampton House at Holborn Bars, 15, 20, 23, 25, 26
Southampton House, Bloomsbury, *see* Bedford House
South Sea Company, 301, 311, 313
Spain, exports to, 321-2
Sparke, Robert, 254

Spectacles, 371
Spencer, Charles, Earl of Sunderland, portrait, 169
Spencer, Lady Diana, *see under* Russell
Spencer, —, 81
Spilsbury, James, 297
Spinnage, John, 337
Spitalfields weavers, riots, 353
Spranger, John, 222
Staley, William, goldsmith, 14, 67
Steele, Robert, 135
Storer, G., 277-8
Streatham: manor, 79; manor-house, 80, 94, 142-6, 147, 151-3, 154, 155
Streets: Bedford Street, 21; in Bloomsbury, *see below*; Crowndale Road, 21; Euston Road, 366; Figgs Lane, 21; High Holborn, 47, 181; Holborn High Road, 20-4, 28, 38, 46, 95, 183; Holborn Bars, 15, 21, 23-6; Little Queen St., 71; St. Paul's Churchyard, 259-60; Strand, 40, 95
Streets in Bloomsbury Estate: Bedford Square, 367; Bloomsbury Square, 40-6, 59, 171, 173, 178, 355; The Island, Bloomsbury Sq., 287; Bow St., 180-1; Brewer St., 181; Bury St., 24, 28, 180; Castle St., 181; Chandos St., 266; Coptic St., 28, 51, 180; Darby Lane, 48; Dirty Lane, 50; Duke St., 28, 51, 180; Fish St., 48; Gilbert St., 61, 180; Great Russell St., 21, 46, 59, 60, 145, 172-6, 177, 178, 179, 181, 183, 211, 226, 229, 351; Hart St., 50, 180, 181; Hole-in-the-Wall passage, 182, 266; Hyde St., 50, 180, 181; King's Gate, 50-1; King St., 21, 50, 173, 176-9, 229, 250, 273, 358; Lion St., 49-50, 180; Little Russell St., 61, 180, 182, 229; Museum St., 181; Peter St., 181; Plough Yard, 183; Queen St., 180; Silver Street, 180, 358; Southampton Row, 21, 177, 184, 358; Southampton St., 47-8, 176-7, 248; Tottenham Court Lane, 20-1, 26, 46, 59, 60, 173, 184-5, 362; Vernon St., 181; White Hart Yard, 183
Strode, Samuel, 248-9
Tapestries, 96, 136, 140-1, 164, 343, 346, 349
Tea, 252, 255-8; milk with, 257; tea-pots, 257
Tenants, names of, 26-8, 43-4, 58, 173, 179, 184, 221-2, 354, 356-9
Thanet, Earl of, 172; Thanet House, 172, 370
Theatres: Drury Lane Playhouse, 287; Lincoln's Inn Theatre, performance at, 131, 132; the Playhouse, 199
Thompson, William, habit maker, 271
Thorney, 75, 102, 182, 223, 302, 306-7
Thornhaugh, 306
Thornton, John, 67, 76-7, 80, 88, 99, 100, 134, 146
Titchfield, 13, 15, 17, 30, 54
Toilet accessories, 152-3, 277-9
Tombes, Henry, 335, 336
Tooting Bec, 79
Torkington, Charles, 260-1
Tottenham Court House, 46
Toys, 64
Trade Bills and Cards, pictorial, 244-50, 259-63, 266-7, 273, 275-6
Tradesmen and Bills, 242-79, *passim*, 114, 115, 182, 235, 237, 295, 297; signs, 242-51, 259-76 *passim*
Travel, 83-5, 87-9, 116-20, 124-6, 234-5
Trenchfield, Caleb, Joshua Feary and Robert Carr, 245
Turnpike roads, 294, 365-6, 367
Turnpike Trust, 234
Tutors and visiting teachers, names of, 155, 201, 202, 203-4, 205-7

Uniforms, 272, 273, 343

Vaine, Lord Prior Anthony, 90
Valle, Bartho, and Bro., 250-1
Vaudemont, Prince de, 92
Vaughan, Rachel, widow of Francis, Lord, *see under* Russell
Vaughan, Lord, 13-4 30, 54
Vauxhall, 289, 291
Vernon, Edward, 183
Verrio, 66, 172
Victuallers and Vintners, restrictions as to trade of, in leases, 44, 178

Walkwood, —, 273
Wallpaper, 340, 343, 344, 346, 349
Walpole, Horace, 183, 189, 190, 193, 194, 285-6, 291, 296, 365, 370
Watkins, Walter, 233
Webb, Mrs., 211
Welch, —, high constable, 363
Weldon, John, 131, 132
Wells, Brothers, shipyard, 312-3, 316
Wentzel, Baron, occulist, 372
Westminster School, 199-203
Weymouth, chantry of St. George, 182
Wheatley, —, 282
Whittle & Norman, 351
Whood, Isaac, 166-9
Wigs, 278
Willaume, David, goldsmith, 257-8
William III, 107, 112, 113, 253
Wilmot, William, hosier, 274
Wiltshire, estates in, 15
Wimbledon manor house, 159-60, 166
Windsor, Mermaid Inn, 108, 111-2
Wines and spirits, 81, 82, 109-11, 119, 222
Woburn Abbey, 14, 52-3, 55, 74, 75, 77, 94, 95, 99, 131, 133-5, 188, 191-2, 219, 302, 356; charity school at, 260; portraits at, 56, 77, 164, 167; wedding at, 78-9
Woburn Abbey—*contd.*
Woodward, Benjamin, 223
Wriothesley, Elizabeth, *see under* Noel
Wriothesley, Elizabeth, *see under* Percy
Wriothesley, Frances, Countess of Southampton, 55, 57
Wriothesley, Rachael, Countess of Southampton, 29
Wriothesley, Henry, 2nd Earl of Southampton, 23
Wriothesley, Henry, 3rd Earl of Southampton, 23, 24
Wriothesley, Rachel, *see under* Russell
Wriothesley, Thomas, 1st Earl of Southampton, 15, 19-20
Wriothesley, Thomas, 4th Earl of Southampton, 14-5, 25, 29-31, 37, 45, 184; marriage, 25, 30; estates, 15, 21, 22; division of estate, by lots, 16-7, 54, 55, 56
Wriothesley family furniture and portraits, 56-7
Wynne, John, 238, 288, 319, 321, 323