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LIVES OF
LADY ANNE CLIFFORD
AND OF HER PARENTS
Lady Anne Clifford.

from a portrait formerly the property of Mary, Countess Gower, in the possession of Mr. Leveson-Gower of Pall Hill.
LIVES OF LADY ANNE CLIFFORD
COUNTESS OF DORSET, PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY
(1590–1676)
AND OF HER PARENTS
SUMMARIZED BY HERSELF

PRINTED FROM THE HARLEY MS. 6177

WITH A PORTRAIT, AND AN INTRODUCTION BY
J. P. GILSON, M.A.
Keeper of MSS. and Egerton Librarian in the British Museum

PRINTED FOR PRESENTATION TO THE MEMBERS OF
THE ROXBURGHE CLUB
1916
Dedicated and Presented

To

THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS

OF

The Roxburghe Club

By

DAREA BARONESSE ZOUCHE

IN MEMORY OF HER BROTHER THE LATE

ROBERT NATHANIEL CECIL GEORGE CURZON

(LORD ZOUCHE)
The Roxburghe Club
MCMXVI

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August, 1926.
TO THE LADY ANNE CLIFFORD

(circ. 1600–1602)

V
to the tender youth of those faire eies
The light of judgement can arise but new;
And yong the world appears t'a yong conceit,
Whil'st thorow the vnacquainted faculties
The late inuested soule doth rawly view
Those objects which on that discretion wait.

Yet you, that suche a faire aduantage haue
Both by your birth and happy pow'rs, 't outgo
And be before your yeeres, can fairely guesse
What hue of life holdes surest without staine;
Hauing your well-wrought heart full furnish't so
With all the images of worthinesse.

Nor may you build on your sufficiencie,
For in our strongest parts we are but weake;
Nor yet may ouermuch distrust the same,
Lest that you come to checke it so thereby,
As silence may become worse then to speake;
Though silence women neuer ill became,
And none we see were euer ouerthrowne
By others flattery more then by their owne.
For though we liue amongst the tongues of praise,
And troopes of smoothing people that collaud
All that we doe, yet 'tis within our harts
Th' ambushment lies, that euermore betraies
Our judgements, when ourselves be come t'applaud
Our own abilitie and our owne parts.

So that we must not onely fence this fort
Of ours against all others fraud, but most
Against our owne; whose danger is the most,
Because we lie the neerest to doe hurt,
And soon'st deceiue ourselues and soon'st are lost
By our best pow'rs that doe vs most transport.

Such are your holy bounds, who must conuay,
If God so please, the honourable bloud
Of Clifford and of Russell, led aright,
To many worthy stems; whose offspring may
Looke backe with comfort, to haue had that good
To spring from such a branch that grew s' vpright;
Since nothing cheeres the heart of greatness more
Than th' Ancestors faire glory gone before.

Samuel Daniel.
INTRODUCTION

THE MS. from which the text printed in this volume is taken (British Museum, Harley MS. 6177) is one of several copies or abridgements made from the three large volumes called the Great Books of the Records of Skipton Castle, compiled under the direction of Lady Anne Clifford herself, and in part her own composition. These copies or abridgements seem to have been made for the different branches of the family in the eighteenth century, when by failure of the male line the Clifford estates became divided among co-heirs. They are not all on the same plan, and a comparison between them, in the absence of the original Great Books themselves, enables us to get a fairly good idea of the contents of these Great Books. The title of the Harley MS. is "A summary of the lives of the Veteriponts, Cliffords, and Earls of Cumberland, and of the Lady Anne, Countess Dowager of Pembroke, Dorsett and Montgomery etc., daughter and heir to George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, in whom the name of the said Cliffords determined. Copied from the original manuscript the 29th of December 1737 by Henry Fisher."¹ Another abridgement is preserved at Bill Hill in Berkshire,² which is entitled, "An abridgement of the first (—third) great Booke of Records in Skipton Castle . . . by Tim. Banks. To the Right Honble Mary, Countesse of Harold."³ . . .

¹ Among the Portland Papers in the library of the Marquess of Bath are other transcripts of two portions of Lady Anne's abridgement of her own life. These two transcripts, which are not in the same hand, extend respectively from 1590 to 1652 and from 1652 to 1658. By the kindness of Lord Bath the editor has been able to use them to correct a few errors (chiefly Biblical references) in Fisher's transcript.

² An exact copy of this MS. (the property of Mrs. Leveson-Gower, of Bill Hill) has been made for Mr. A. F. G. Leveson-Gower, to whom the editor is indebted for its use and for much other help, some of which is acknowledged below, in the planning and carrying out of the present volume.

³ Fourth of the five co-heirs of Thomas Tufton, sixth Earl of Thanet, Lady Anne's grandson. Her second husband was John Leveson-Gower, first Earl Gower.
Dedicated by Tim. Banks, sometimes an unworthy servant to her most noble father the Right Hon. Thomas, Earl of Thanet. The special merit of the Harley MS. is that Fisher gives us a complete and exact transcript in the Countess's own words of the record of the family history and of her own times, adding nothing except a copy of her funeral sermon. The Bill Hill MS., on the other hand, abridges Anne's narrative, making it perhaps more readable, but much less characteristic. But in compensation for this Banks incorporates with it a copious selection of translations, copies or summaries of the original documents which the Countess and her mother and their advisers had collected together, partly for historical, partly for legal purposes, in connexion with the protracted litigation between herself and her relations and between herself and her tenants. Banks also embellished his work with genealogical tables based on the information given in the text.

In addition to the above, other manuscripts and printed books connected with the family have been consulted. These include: (a) A copy of the diary of Lady Anne's younger years (chiefly 1616–1619). Some extracts of this valuable document have been printed by John Nichols in his *Progresses of King James I* and elsewhere, but the further extracts printed in this introduction will, it is hoped, be found interesting. (b) A transcript of the Clifford MS. at Queen's College, Oxford. This is of the nature of a brief for Lady Anne's claim to the baronies of Clifford, Westmorland and Vesey, and includes genealogical tables and copies of records. (c) Transcripts of two MSS. at Lincoln's Inn (Hales 94 and Hales 83) containing formal pleadings in the claim before the Earl Marshal's court in 1606 to the above-mentioned baronies. (d) A scarce printed volume of *Collectanea Cliffordiana*, compiled by Arthur Clifford and printed at Paris in 1817.

Of printed sources, however, the most valuable for the history of the Cliffords is T. D. Whitaker's well-known *History of Craven*. Of

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1 Among them was Sir Matthew Hale.
2 For the use of this copy, which is preserved at Knole, thanks are due to Lady Sackville. Another copy is in the same volume of Lord Bath's Portland Papers to which reference has already been made, and this has been useful for comparison.
3 For the use of these three the editor is again indebted to Mr. A. F. G. Leveson-Gower.
Introduction

nearly 150 quarto pages (in the 1812 edition) devoted to Skipton by Mr. Whitaker, by far the greater part is based on a selection from the Clifford family records, including copious extracts of household books of expenses, etc. He also gives views of Skipton Castle and Barden Tower. For the Westmoreland castles the reader may be referred to Buck's engravings of 1739. They seem to show that Lady Anne's building was not very substantial or was much neglected by her successors. Whitaker also gives an account of the famous Skipton picture of the Clifford family, the central figures of which represent Lady Anne's father and mother and their two sons who died in childhood. The two side-pictures represent Lady Anne at the age of 15 and in her second widowhood. Subsidiary portraits introduced into the background represent many other members of her family, her tutor Samuel Daniel, her governess Anne Taylor, and her two husbands. All have long and characteristic inscriptions of Lady Anne's composition. As a work of art it is naturally not to be taken seriously, and fortunately there are other portraits to fall back upon. For the purpose of this volume it has been thought best to engrave an anonymous portrait at Bill Hill. It bears a close resemblance to, and may perhaps be a replica or copy of, a portrait at Appleby Castle which shows her in a similar costume. A full discussion of the whole subject of her portraits may be looked for in a work announced

1 Whitaker is usefully supplemented and in a few points corrected by Mr. W. Harbutt Dawson's *History of Skipton* (1882). Many extracts from Lady Anne's records are printed in an excellent lecture on *Anne Clifford* by Mr. George Watson, published at Penrith in 1901, with eight illustrations.


3 A fuller account, with diagrams, in Morant's edition.

4 There are other portraits at Appleby, and among the more important elsewhere may be mentioned pictures at Hothfield (formerly at Skipton), at Bolton Abbey (two, one with arms of Herbert impaling Clifford, the other with arms showing both marriages, and an inscription giving the inconsistent dates "set. suæ 60" and "A.D. 1672"), at Castle Ashby (in extreme youth), at Gorhambury, at Howsham Hall ("set. suæ 30, anno 1620," arms of Clifford quartering Vipont, and a Countess's coronet), at Knode, in the National Portrait Gallery (artist unknown), at Ross Castle, and at Wilton (two, one by Vandyck, the other by Dobson). The portrait in the ballroom at Knode, which shows her as Countess of Dorset, is familiar from the engravings in Lodge's *Portraits* and a derivative representation in Horace Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors* (1806 edition) "from a painting in miniature by Ozias Humphry, Esq., R.A., after the original at Knole." It has been asserted that this portrait represents not Lady Anne but Mary Curzon, wife of Edward Sackville, Anne's brother-in-law, who succeeded her husband in the title, but a comparison of the portraits is decisive against this, and Mr. C. J. Phillips, whose knowledge of the Knode pictures is very great, has no doubt that it represents Lady Anne. A poor engraving from one of the pictures representing her in extreme old age is to be found in Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*.
shortly for publication by a competent authority, to which allusion is made below.\footnote{See p. xxii n.}

It is not proposed in this volume to follow word for word the lengthy narrative in which, with many repetitions, the Countess of Pembroke tells the history of her remoter ancestry. The contents of the three great books from which the Harley MS. is derived must have formed an invaluable brief for a peerage lawyer, and the summary of them an indispensable handbook to the men of business whom this tenacious great lady employed to defend her rights. In our days original records are more accessible, and thanks to Mr. G. E. Cokayne and Mr. Vicary Gibbs the main points of the descent of the Clifford peerage are clearly and accurately set forth in print in the \textit{Complete Peerage}. Nevertheless, a rapid survey of the fortunes of this powerful family is necessary to explain the Countess's legitimate pride in its history.

Throughout the whole of the three centuries and a half which separate the first beginnings of a true Parliament from the opening of the great civil war in Charles I's time a continuous male succession of Cliffords (broken by a brief period of attainder) were not only lords of Parliament, but distinguished among other great lords by the extent of their hereditary possessions and honours. They were almost as great people in Cumberland, Westmoreland and Craven as the Percys were on the North-eastern border. And whether we look at the earlier period of the Anglo-Norman and Angevin kings, or at the later history of the chief families of our own times, connexions through the female line bring a remarkable proportion of the most prominent names into affinity with the Cliffords at one point or another of their line.

Robert de Vipont (Robertus de Veteri Ponte), with whom Lady Anne begins her abridged narrative, is numbered by Matthew Paris among the evil counsellors of King John. Certainly he was high in favour with that monarch, and was not among the barons who imposed terms upon him at Runnymede, but he was probably already a man of influence in the North before he rendered to John the services which the King repaid with estates and honours that made him the
greatest man in Westmoreland, of which county, or at any rate of a moiety thereof, he became hereditary sheriff. He was son of one William de Vipont, who is said to have been son or grandson of another William, who was one of the Conqueror's companions. Be that as it may, Robert's high position may be reasonably ascribed in some degree, apart from his personal character and influence with John, to the possession of lands and revenues coming to him from his mother Maud, daughter of Hugh de Morsvill of Kirkoswald in Cumberland and Knaresborough in Yorkshire, partly from his wife Idonea. This lady was the daughter and heir of John de Busley or Builli, Lord of the Honour of Tickhill. By the Builli family the Viponts had an hereditary connexion with Roche Abbey; and Idonea de Vipont left her body to be buried there. Her husband was buried in the Temple Church in London, to which he was a benefactor. Their son John, who married Sibyl Ferrers, daughter of William, Earl of Derby, was a benefactor to, and was buried at, Shap Abbey.¹ His son Robert the second (third hereditary sheriff) was a partisan of Simon de Montfort, and is said (but without much authority) to have been slain at the battle of Lewes in 1264.² What is more certain is that he added to the noble connexions of his house by his marriage with Isabella, daughter of John FitzJohn and granddaughter of the younger son of Geoffrey FitzPiers, first Earl of Essex, the well-known Chief Justice of King John. This lady was one of four sisters who became eventually (in their posterity) co-heirs to their two brothers John and Richard FitzJohn.

With Robert the second ended the male line of the Viponts, hereditary sheriffs of Westmoreland. He had by Isabella two daughters and co-heirs, of whom the younger, Idonea, though twice married, left no children, so that eventually the whole estate passed into the line of the elder, named, after her mother, Isabella. She had married in 1269 Roger de Clifford the younger, one of the King's partisans, to whom her marriage had been given by the King after her father's death, doubtless as a means of winning over the Northern following of

¹ The Countess describes his equestrian seal, on which he is represented with a shield charged with annulets, and remarks on the fact that the Vipont annulets were adopted into the arms of many of his tenants.
² He was certainly dead within three weeks after it (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1264, p. 322).
the Viponts to his interest, as well as of rewarding the powerful baron from the Welsh Marches, to whom, as we shall see, he was deeply indebted for the recovery of his independence.

The records of the Clifford family as set forth in the Countess Anne's compilation begin, a little earlier than those of the Viponts, with Walter de Clifford of Henry II's time. This Walter the first, who was the father of the Fair Rosamond, is indeed the ancestor from whom this surname, derived from Clifford Castle in Herefordshire, takes its origin; and the castle, it appears, came to him from his wife Margaret, who was daughter and heir of Ralph de Toney. Walter was a nephew of Milo, Earl of Hereford. He died in 1190.

His son Walter the second, who succeeded him, married Agnes de Cundy, and died in 1222. He had several sons, of whom the eldest, Walter the third, dying in disgrace with the King in 1263, left by his wife Margaret Bruce of Canter Selyf an only daughter who married a descendant of Henry II by Fair Rosamond, William de Longespee, Earl of Salisbury. The second son, Roger the first, called Roger de Clifford the elder, was father of Roger the younger, who married, as we have seen, Isabella de Vipont.

Both the elder and younger Roger were valiant men on the King's side in the later troubles of his reign, and conspicuous among those lords of the Welsh Marches who fought on his side at Lewes, and afterwards, when powerfully reinforced by the Earl of Gloucester's defection from Montfort, enabled Henry to recover his independence at the battle of Evesham in 1265. One of the two was a principal actor, some months earlier, in the escape of Prince Edward from Hereford Castle. The younger Roger was drowned in the Menai Straits on a military expedition in 1282. His father survived him, and died at the age of eighty-six in 1288. Among other gifts of Henry III to Roger:

1 Her will dated in 1263 was in Lady Anne's time in the possession of Sir Symonds D'Ewes. It is now in the British Museum (Harley Charter 48 c. 25). A translation is in the Bill Hill MS. She left her body for burial in Acombury Priory.

2 He was on the side of Richard, Earl Marshal, in the troubles of 1233-4, and it is of him that Matthew Paris (v. p. 95) tells the tale of his forcing a king's messenger to eat the king's writ. Lady Anne, though she admits an "unhappy difference" between Walter and the King, transfers this story to Roger the second in Edward II's time.

3 The deed by which he bequeathed his body to Dore Abbey is translated in the Bill Hill MS. He was also a benefactor to Haughmond and Acornbury.
de Clifford the younger were lands in the vale of Monmouth, afterwards exchanged by his son Robert with Edward II for the castle and honour of Skipton in Craven.

The younger Roger's widow, the Vipont heiress, holds a place in the history of women's rights in England, for in the words of her descendant—

Very remarkable is it in the life of this Isabella, that in the time of her widowhood she had the honor to execute the same office [of sheriff] in her own person, and sat herself upon the bench as hereditarie sherif of Westmoreland upon trials of life and death, an honor which no woman in this kingdom hath hitherto attained but herself.

If the story be true, which it may very well be, she probably sat in an executory rather than in a strictly judicial capacity, and in that case the instance is not unique, for Ela, Countess of Salisbury, was sheriff of Wiltshire for several years in Henry III's time.¹

Robert Clifford the first, son of Roger the younger and Isabella, who thus united the Clifford and Vipont lines, and united likewise, by his exchange with Edward II of lands in Monmouthshire for the Honour of Skipton,² the great estates of Westmoreland and Craven,

¹ The incapacity which Britton states in the words "the blood of a man shall not be tried by a woman" seems to be the rule of the thirteenth as of later centuries (see Pollock and Maitland, Hist. of Engl. Law, i. p. 483). As regards accounting it does not appear from the Public Record Office list of sheriffs that Isabella ever acted in person, and it would seem that the King eventually took into his own hands (as Isabella's guardian) even the presentment of the under-sheriff.

² For the earlier story of the Honour of Skipton see Whitaker, Hist. of Craven, and Dawson, Hist. of Skipton. It contains one romantic episode, the legend of the Strid in Wharfedale, made famous by Wordsworth's poem "The Force of Prayer," and it may be worth while to transcribe here the version of the legend given by the Bill Hill MS., because the attempts of Mr. Whitaker and Mr. Dawson to reconcile the story with history have not been so completely successful as to place the facts beyond doubt. The passage is as follows: "The first owner of this [Skipton Manor] since the Norman Conquest was Robert Rumelia, who gave lands to the Abby of St. Mary's near York. Of whose residence there the great mountaine hanging over the towne of Skipton doth take the name of Roumelsmoor. He left one sole daughter and heir named Cicilia de Rumelei, a devout lady who tooke to husband William de Meshins, Lord and Baron of Cooperland in Cumberland and owner of Cockermouth and Egremond, who together with the said William de Meshins her husband founded the Priory of Embsey for nuns, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, about a mile distant from her Castle of Skipton in the 21 year of King Henry the 1st. The said Cicilia had onely one daughter, who was named Alice de Rumelia, who took to husband Duncomb, son of Malcolmb, King of Scotland, who remov'd the house of nuns from Embsey to Bolton in the first year of King Henry the 2. She had issue Richard, surnamed in the records Richardus Puer de Egremond, who dy'd unfortunately about the beginning of King John's reign without issue. There is a tradition in those parts that he going a hunting and passing the stryde upon the River Wherfe, not far from Barden Tower, being a narrow place where the River runs between two rocks, where offering to leap over, was pull'd back by his dogg which [he] held in a slipp, and so had his braines knock'd out against the rocks, his mother being present."

The mother's presence, it will be noted, is inconsistent with the form of the story given by the
Lady Anne Clifford

was also, by his summons in 1299, the first Clifford to be a peer of Parliament. He married Maud, daughter of Thomas de Clare, the brother of Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester. This lady was herself by the mother's side a descendant of Rosamund Clifford. He was killed at the battle of Bannockburn in 1314, and his dead body, with that of his wife's uncle Gilbert de Clare, was sent to England by Robert the Bruce after the battle.¹

Of their children, the eldest (Roger the second we may call him, if we omit from the numeration Roger the younger who died in his father's lifetime), a partisan of Thomas of Lancaster, died without legitimate issue either in 1321–2 or some time between then and the opening of Edward I's reign.² His brother, Robert the second, who

poet, and there are other discrepancies of name and date which are still more difficult to account for. In a statement as to the Rumeli pedigree given in the Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland, ii. pp. 15, 16, we learn, what is certainly the fact, that it was not Duncan, son of Malcolm Canmnr, who married Alice de Rumeli, but Duncan's son William, and we are told that the name of their son, the boy of Egremont, who died in his minority, was not Richard but William. Even this evidence, however, is far from contemporary. The document (among the Miscellaneous Rolls formerly in the Tower) dates from about 1275 and may have been based on statements of the monks of Holmcultram. It is indeed confirmed by charter-evidence as to the fact of Alice having a son named William. But inasmuch as this William confirmed his mother's charter of 1154 by which he established at Bolton the priory which had originally been founded at Embssay, it is obviously impossible that his own death could have been the cause of the removal of the priory. In other points the pedigree is clearly inaccurate. Ranulph de Meschines, for instance, was never Earl of Carlisle, and William FitzDuncan apparently never Earl of Moray. In any case, nothing that happened early in John's reign could be the cause of a transference of the priory in 1152. None of our authorities are trustworthy, and to shift the whole story a generation back with Mr. Whitaker, so as to make the boy a son of Cecilia de Rumeli, is a risky expedient, but possibly a little better than Mr. Dawson's suggestion that Alice had two sons Richard and William. It would perhaps be more reasonable to conjecture that the boy was Alice's son William, that he died soon after 1154, and that the priory, which had already been moved in his lifetime, was specially charged with anniversaries for his memory.

¹ His seal, appended to the famous letter of the barons to the Pope in 1301, was reproduced by the late Mr. Joseph Foster in his Some Feudal Lords and Their Seals (1904), p. 93.

² He built for his concubine Gillian the house called Julian's or Gillian's Bower in Whinfell Wood (see pp. 129, 137). Lady Anne says of him that he was "so obstinate and careless of the King's displeasure as that he caused a pursuivant that served a writt upon him from the King in the Baron's Chamber in Appleby Castle there to eat and swallow down part of the wax that the said writt was sealed with, as it were in contempt of the said King, as appears by some writings that were extant within these thirty years in the hands of Mr. Thinne the great antiquary." But this seems to be a mistake (see above, p. xvi n.). As to the date of Roger's death, the statements of the chroniclers, who include his name among those drawn and quartered after the battle of Boroughbridge in March 1321–2, are on the whole to be credited rather than the Countess's confident assertion that "it is certain he lived six or seven years longer and died the latter end of March or the first of April 1327." This seems to be founded simply on the date of his inquisitio post mortem; but the necessity for such inquisition arose in consequence of the restitution to Robert Clifford as his heir of the lands forfeited by Roger to Edward II. It is at least certain (Cal. Fine Rolls, iv. p. 5) that he was dead before the 3rd of February, 1327. The Boroughbridge Roll, as printed in Parliamentary Writs, II. ii. app., p. 200, has his name in the middle of a list of those executed after the battle, but the original, now Egerton MS. 2850, divides this list into two brackets, only the second bracket being represented as executed,
succeeded him, married Isabella, sister of Thomas, Lord Berkeley. The Countess records with pride both the greatness of her dower, 1050l., and the splendour of her wedding dress, “of brown scarlet with a cope furred with the best minniver.” Her name is perpetuated in London by Clifford’s Inn, which she leased to the law-students. A visit paid to Robert by Edward Balliol, King of Scots, was long commemorated in the legend of the Hartshorn Tree, referred to by the Countess on p. 83 below. Robert the second died in 1344.

Of his sons we again find the eldest dying without issue and succeeded by the second, but the names are in this generation reversed. Robert the third, according to the Countess’s narrative, fought at Crécy and Poitiers and died in 1362. Modern authorities deny him these distinctions. He died a minor in 1345, so the Complete Peerage tells us. His brother Roger the third married Maud de Beauchamp, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Warwick, and died in 1389.1

Roger’s son, Thomas the first, who only outlived him two years, married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, Lord Ros of Hamlake, and was killed “in the country of Spruce,” the Countess has it, that is to say in Prussia, 4th of October, 1393, by her reckoning, but 18th of August, 1391, our better informants tell us, fighting under the banners of Thomas of Woodstock against the Lithuanians. He left an infant son John.

This John, first Lord Clifford of that Christian name, married Elizabeth Percy, Hotspur’s only daughter, and was killed at the siege of Meaux in 1422. He was the first Clifford to achieve the distinction of the Garter.

His son, Thomas the second, the “old Clifford” of the “Second Part of King Henry VI,” was killed on that King’s side at the first battle of St. Albans in 1455. The “silver livery of advised age” with which Shakespeare invests him is, however, a mistake, though an excusable one. He was a grandfather, but he was only in his forty-first year at the time of his death. He married Jane, daughter of Thomas, Lord Dacre of Gilsland.

while the first, which has no note against it, includes Gilbert de Talbot who was undoubtedly allowed to purchase his pardon. Clifford is apparently, if not quite certainly, meant to be the first name of the second bracket.

1 13th of July, 13 Richard II. The Harley MS. erroneously gives this as A.D. 1391.
His son, John the second, Shakespeare's "young Clifford," is admitted by the Countess to have "had the misfortune to kill the young Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of Rutland," at the battle of Sandal Castle in 1650, but she protests that it was in fair fight, and that the young man was a soldier of seventeen, not a mere child of twelve butchered in cold blood. Nor does she hold him guilty of taking a hand in the death of York. In the last point, indeed, Shakespeare is not warranted by his authority Holinshed, though the chronicler represents Clifford as concerned in mocking York's corpse with a paper crown. By his marriage with Margaret Bromfleet, who styled herself Baroness Vesey, a claim, apparently ill-founded, to that title also passed to the Cliffords. He fell near Towton, on the eve of the battle, in 1461, little more than five years after his father's death.

The violent end of four successive holders of the title, and the sentence of attainder imposed upon the Cliffords by the house of York in revenge for Rutland's slaughter, naturally drove the widow to take unusual measures for the safety of her children, but the story of Henry, Lord Clifford, the "Shepherd Lord," though familiar from the use of it made by Wordsworth in his "Song of the Feast of Brougham Castle," and again in a fine passage of the "White Doe of Rylstone," is strange enough to be worth giving in the Countess's own words.

There is a certain tradition, which is also averred by diverse old writings and papers in several men's hands, that presently after she was left [MS. last] widdow she was fain to conceal and hide both her sons, the eldest, Henry, Lord Clifford, being then about seven years old, and his brother Richard about six. The eldest of them she committed to the tuition of certain shepherds whose wives had served her, which shepherds and their wives kept him concealed sometime at Lonsborrow and sometimes in Cumberland and elsewhere for the space of almost 24 years, till Henry the VIIth obtained the crown, at which time he was restored by Act of Parliament to his lands and honors. Her second son Richard Clifford she sent away into the Low Countreys to be kept, where he dyed within a little after, being very young.

The concealment, in which the widow is said to have been aided by her father Henry, Lord Vesey (d. 1468), and afterwards by her second husband Sir Lancelot Thirkeld, was carried, we are told, to such lengths that the unfortunate child, bred up "in the habit of a shepherd's boy or man for four or five and twenty years," received no education suited to his real station, not even learning to write or read; "notwithstanding which disadvantage," she proceeds, "after he came
to be restored again to the enjoyment of his father's estate he came to be a very wise man and a very good manager of his estate and fortunes.” ¹

The restitution of the Clifford attainder,² on petition to the Parlia-
of r Henry VII, apart from the new King’s general policy of reconcilia-
tion, is represented as partly due to the young man’s marriage ³ to his first wife Anne St. John, daughter of John, Lord St. John of Bletsoe, who was half-brother to the Lady Margaret, Henry VII’s mother. Of this lady the Countess records that “she caused tapestry hangings, which was then a rare thing here in England, to be made, and some of them are remaining until this time, with the arms of herself and her husband wrought in them.” She was the mother of his eldest son Henry, afterwards first Earl of Cumberland, and of one other son and four daughters. By his second wife, Florence Pudsey, the Shepherd Lord had also a family, but of these only a daughter left issue. She married Sir Hugh Lowther.

The education of the Shepherd Lord’s son Henry, in sharp contrast to that of his father,⁴ was at court as the intimate companion of the young Henry VIII, to whom he was a kinsman through his mother’s family. In 1525, two years after his father’s death, Henry made him Earl of Cumberland, and he was fortunate enough to retain the King’s favour till his death in 1542, obtaining among other honours and favours the Knighthood of the Garter, the post of President of the North, and

¹ It is probable that there is some exaggeration in the story, at any rate as to the length of time during which he led the shepherd life. It is an undoubted fact, though the Countess does not mention it, that Henry Clifford received from Edward IV in March 1471-2 a general pardon, wherein he was recognized as heir, not indeed to the Clifford estates, but to those of his maternal grandfather.
² The confiscated estates had been given to the Duke of Gloucester (Richard III) and to Sir William Stanley, both of whom were now dead.
³ The date of this marriage, however, does not seem to be known.
⁴ Hence very possibly the bitter quarrels between the two, of which the Countess preserves a record in a letter copied in the Bill Hill MS. The father, writing to one of the Lords of the Council, recalls how he had complained to their Lordships of “the ungodly and ungudely disposition of my son Sir Henry Clifford in such wise as it was to[o] abominable to hear it. Not onely disobeysance and dispityng my comandements, and the threatning my servants, saying that if ought came to me he shoud utterly destroy them all, as appeareth now lately in strikeing with his own hands my poor servant Henry Popeley in perill of detth, which so lyeth and is like to dye, but also spoile my houses and felonsly stole away my proper goods, which was of great substance, onely of malice and for maintaining his inordinate pride and ryot, as more specially did appeare when he departed out of the court and com into the country and apparrelled his horse and his self in cloath of gold and goldsmith work, more like a Duke than a poor Barron’s son, as he is.” Another cause of dis-
sension was doubtless the father’s second marriage.
a grant at a cheap rate of the lands of Bolton Abbey conveniently adjacent to his estates of Skipton and Barden Tower. He was also allowed to ally his family still more closely to the Royal house by the marriage of his son to the King’s niece, a daughter of the Queen Dowager of France by her second husband the Duke of Suffolk. The first Earl’s wife too, Lady Margaret Percy, daughter of the fifth Earl of Northumberland, was of Royal blood, her mother, Catherine Spencer, being a daughter of Eleanor Beaufort.

The second Earl, Henry Clifford the third, born about 1517, married first, as we have seen, Eleanor Brandon, daughter of Charles, Duke of Suffolk, by his wife Mary, widow of Louis XII of France, and had by her two sons, who died young, and a daughter Margaret, who became Countess of Derby. Eleanor died in 1547, and about five years later the Earl married Anne, daughter of William, Lord Dacre of Gilsland, by whom he had, besides two daughters who died in childhood, two sons, George, the third Earl, Lady Anne’s father, and Francis, the fourth Earl, and a daughter Frances, who married Philip, Lord Wharton. The second Earl, who died in 1570, diminished the family estates by the sale of the manor of Tenbury, one of the old Herefordshire possessions granted to the Cliffords by Henry III. He was, by his granddaughter’s account, an alchemist and distiller of waters, and the owner of a good library of books printed and manuscript.

At this point Lady Anne’s record, as printed in this book, begins, and the hurried steps of this brief and inadequate summary must be exchanged for the more diffuse and stately march of the Countess’s “abridgement” of the records of her immediate progenitors.

And now as to the lady herself. This is not the place to write her biography.¹ The limits of an introduction do not admit of any serious attempt to fill up the provoking omissions in what she chooses to tell us of the “course of her life.” Clearly her memoirs might have contained much that would be of more vital interest to us than the record of migrations from the Baron’s Chamber to the “room in which my noble father was born and my blessed mother died,” or the exact computation of years, months and days since she last kissed each of

¹ A monograph on the subject is announced for publication by Dr. G. C. Williamson, which should be of much interest, especially from the artistic point of view.
her grandchildren. Kissed herself as a child by Queen Elizabeth, an eyewitness of the social changes following on the accession of James I, the wife of a Dorset, then of a Pembroke, in her second widowhood looked upon as the liege lady of vast districts of Northern England, where her authority could stand on its own basis against sectaries, and almost against Parliaments and armies themselves, and finally, under the Restoration, more than a match for borough-mongering politicians, there is matter enough in her life and times for a work approaching the scale of Masson's Life of Milton. But of all this we have little from her own pen. If we had to rely on the Records only we should hardly think of her as Donne described her, knowing well "how to discourse of all things from praedestination to slea-silk." Of all the interesting people she must have met how few are even mentioned in the Records! She probably saw Shakespeare. She took part in Ben Jonson's masques, perhaps under his own direction. She corresponded with Raleigh and visited his wife in the Tower. Her first husband, at least by her own account, was a great friend of scholars. At any rate her second husband, the Earl of Pembroke, was so. Massinger was his pensioner. A few weeks before his marriage he had appointed his kinsman George Herbert to the benefice of Bemerton. The connexions of the family with art were even closer, and in politics the part played by Pembroke, if not very dignified, was of considerable prominence. But Lady Anne was not fortunate in her marriages, and in her later life cared little to recall the experiences of her wedded life.

Fortunately, a fragment of her diary during a very few years of her life as Countess of Dorset remains to us; and this contemporary narrative, though the years it deals with were saddened by domestic agreements, is of real value as a picture of her mode of living. The transcript in the Knole MS. begins with a few childish reminiscences of the death of Queen Elizabeth and other events of the year 1603. Most of these have been printed by John Nichols in his volumes of Progresses, and we need not repeat here at length how the Queen's death robbed her, at the age of thirteen, of the expectation of a place in the Privy Chamber, or how disappointed she was in not being allowed to be a mourner at the Queen's funeral "because I was not high enough,"
Lady Anne Clifford

or how her father and Lord Burghley \(^1\) disputed the carrying of the sword before King James, when he came out of Scotland, or what a difference she saw in point of cleanliness between King James's court at Tibbalds and the late Queen's. \(^2\) She relates how she and her mother hurried Northwards to meet the Queen (Anne of Denmark) coming from Scotland, killing three horses in one day by their haste, and when they reached Wrest had to sleep in the hall, because all the apartments were locked and the key not to be found. \(^3\) Of her father we get an unfavourable impression, "At this time of the King's being at Grafton my mother was there, but not held as mistress of the house by reason of the difference between my Lord and her, which was grown to a great height." \(^4\) The plague is also remembered, when the King was at Hampton Court, and Anne and her mother "lay in one of the round towers, round about which were tents, where they died two or three in a day of the plague." \(^5\)

These early reminiscences end abruptly (about October 1603) with the words "Now there was much talk of a mask which the Queen had at Winchester, and how all the ladies about the court had gotten such ill names that it was grown a scandalous place, and the Queen herself was much fallen from her former greatness and reputation she had in the world." \(^6\)

From this point the MS. skips to January 1616, \(^7\) when the Countess of Dorset, for Lady Anne has now been nearly seven years married, begins a regular diary. Upon that New Year's Day "The Golden Age Restored," another of Ben Jonson's masques, was being acted, but the Countess kept her chamber. She saw it, however, on the second performance on Twelfth Night. The next entries are less frivolous:

Upon the 8th went to see Lady Raleigh at the Tower.
Upon the 21st my Lord and I went to church to Senoke [Sevenoaks] to grace the Bishop of St. Davids' \(^8\) prayers.

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\(^1\) Not, of course, the great Lord Burghley, but his son, the future Earl of Exeter, as Lord President of the Council.
\(^2\) At Tibbalds "we were all lousy by sitting in the chamber of Sir Thomas Erskine." *Progresses of Qu. Eliz.* (2nd ed.), i. p. xxiii; *Progr. of K. James I*, i. pp. 78, 111.
\(^3\) *Progr. of K. James*, i. p. 173.
\(^4\) Ibid., p. 189.
\(^5\) Ibid., pp. 195-197.
\(^6\) This masque does not seem to have been identified (Nichols, *op. cit.*, i. p. 291). Lady Anne was not present, but at Northaw at the time.
\(^7\) We therefore get no account of Ben Jonson's Masques of Beauty and of Queens, in which Lady Anne took part at Whitehall in January and February 1608 (*ibid.*, ii. pp. 174, 175).
\(^8\) Richard Milborne.
February 1616.—All the time I staid in the country I was sometimes merry and sometimes sad, as I had news from London.

Upon the 8th day of Feb. I came to London, my Lord Bishop of St. Davids riding with me in the coach and Mary Neville. This time I was sent for up by my Lord about the composition with my uncle of Cumberland.¹

Upon Monday the 12th my Lord Rous was married to Mrs. Ann Lake, the Secretary's daughter.

Upon the 14th my Lord supped at the Globe.

Upon the 15th my Lord and I went to see my young Lady Arundel, and in the afternoon my Lady Willoughby came to see me. My Lady Gray brought my Lady Carr to play at Glecko ² with me, when I lost 15l. to them, they two and my Lady Grantham and Sir George Manners supping with me.

Upon the 16th my Lady Grantham and Mrs. Newton came to see me. My Lady Grantham told me the Archbishop of Canterbury would come to me the next day, and she persuaded me very earnestly to agree to this business, which I took as a great argument of her love. Also my cozin Russel ³ came to me the same day and chid me, and told me of all my faults and errors in this business. He made me weep bitterly.

Accordingly she was lectured next day by the Archbishop for an hour and a half, and bullied by her relatives till at last she consented to go down to her mother in the North, to try to obtain her consent to the compromise. She went in March, accompanied as far as Derbyshire by the Earl; but the result of the council of the two ladies was a strengthened resolution against the scheme, and Anne returned to a cold welcome from her husband at Knole on the 11th of April. A little later:

About this time I used to rise early in the morning and go to the standing in the garden, and taking my prayer-book with me beseech God to be merciful to me in this, and to help me as he always hath done.

May, 1616.—Upon the 1st Rivers came from London in the afternoon and brought me word that I should neither live at Knoll nor Bolbrook.

Upon the 2nd came Mr. Legg and told divers of the servants that they should go away and that my Lord would come down and see me once more, which would be the last time that I should see him again.

Even her little daughter, not yet two years old, was taken away and used as a means to induce Anne's consent.

The 12th at night Grosvenor came hither and told me how my Lord had won 200l. at the cocking match, and that my Lord of Essex and Lord Willoughby, who was on my Lord's side, won a great deal, and how there was some unkind words between my Lord and his side and Sir William Herbert and his side. This day my Lady Grantham sent

¹ For surrender of her hereditary right to the Clifford estates.
² Glecko or Gleck, a three-handed game played with 44 cards (eight left in stock). The "gleck" consisted in three of a kind.
³ Francis, afterwards fourth Earl of Bedford.
Lady Anne Clifford

me a letter about these businesses between my uncle Cumberland and me, and I returned her an answer. All this time my Lord was in London, where he had all and infinite great resort coming to him, he went much abroad to cocking, to bowling alleys, to plays and horse-races, and commended by all the world. I staid in the country, having many times a sorrowful and heavy heart, and being condemned by most folks because I would not consent to the agreement, so as I may truly say *I am like an owl in the desart.*

For the next ten days more persecution of the poor wife, and anxiety also from news of her mother's dangerous illness.

Upon the 24th my Lady Somerset was arraigned and condemned at Westminster Hall, where she confessed her fault and asked the King's mercy, and was much pitied of all beholders.

Upon the 25th my Lord of Somerset was arraigned and condemned in the same place, and stood much upon his innocency.

These two entries are of interest, because we know that at one time there had been talk of Anne's own marriage to Robert Carr, now Earl of Somerset. If Dorset was an unkind husband, he was at least to be preferred to the man whom Lady Essex had married and inculpated in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.

On the 29th of May Anne heard the heavy news of her mother's death. This event, though it somewhat altered the Earl's plans for making ready money out of his wife's inheritance, in no way released her from persecution. Even during the time that her mother's body lay unburied the Earl sent her down to Knole, and continued to worry her with messages inviting her to make over her rights to him. Eventually in July she went down to bury her mother and to take possession of Brougham Castle. This she effected, though not without an affray between her servants and those of her uncle. The Earl joined her in August, but soon left her again, and on the 21st of September sent word down that she was not to go to London this winter. During this exile, doubtless intended to bring her to a more compliant disposition, we find her consoling herself with reading and needlework.

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1 See *Progr. of King James I*, ii. p. 214, 10th of December, 1608, Chamberlaine to Carleton, "Sir Walter Raleigh's estate is fallen into the King's hands by reason of a flaw in the conveyance, who hath bestowed it on Sir Robert Carr, who is likewise in speech to marry the Lady Anne Clifford."

2 Some months after the reprieve Anne visited Lord and Lady Somerset in the Tower, 2nd of January, 1617.
Upon the 9th [November] I sat at my work and heard Rivers and Marsh read Montaigne's essays, which book they have read almost this fortnight. Upon the 12th I made an end of the long cushion of Irish stitch, which my cozin Lady Cecily Neville began when she went with me to the Bath, it being my chief help to pass away the time to work. Upon the 19th Wm. Punn came down from London with letters from my Lord, whereby I perceived there had passed a challenge between him and my cozin Clifford, which my Lord sent him by my cozin Chayney. The Lords of the Council sent for them both, and the King made them friends, giving my Lord marvellous good words, and willed him to send for me, because he meant to make an agreement himself between us. This going up to London of mine at this time I little expected. By him I also heard that my sister Sackville was dead. Upon the 20th I spent most of the day in playing at tables. All this time since my Lord went away I wore my black taffety night gown and a yellow taffety waistcoat, and used to rise betimes in the morning and walk upon the leads, and afterwards to hear reading. Upon the 22nd I did string the pearls and diamonds left me by my mother into a necklace. Upon the 23rd I went to Mr. Blenko's house in Cumberland, where I staid an hour or two and heard musick, and saw all the house and gardens. On the 9th of December she set out for London, and arrived on the 18th, resuming her usual social habits. "Glecko" again appears as a bad speculation, and playgoing is mentioned. On the 17th of January, 1617, she is hurried up from Knole to London to see the King, who entirely fails to persuade her to give up her rights in Westmoreland. On the 20th more royal persuasion, equally vain. She returned to Knole and was for the most part left alone, occupied with her child, who was sickly withague and teething. In March and April, however, and again in August, Dorset was there, and something in the way of temporary reconciliation effected, though Dorset all the time, abetted by the King, was trying to gain his ends without her consent, as he could not gain them with it. On the 20th of July Dr. Donne came to Knole and preached the following Sunday, "he and the other strangers dining with me in the Great

Among other books mentioned, here or at Knole, for her reading are the Turkish History, Chaucer, the Faery Queen and the Arcadia. Chaucer was still a favourite much later in her life, see the postscript to an original letter of the Countess in the British Museum (Harley MS. 7001, f. 212) dated Appleby Castle, 10 Jan. 1649, "My love and service to worthy Mr. Selden, and tell him if I hade nott excellent Chacor's booke heere to comfortt mee I wer in a pitifull case, having so manny troubles as I have, butt when I rede in thatt I scorne and make litte of tham alle, and a little part of his deuine sperett infusses itt selfe in mee." We also hear of a literary project "to have all my father's sea voyages written. So I did set Mr. Jones to enquire about these matters." A MS. volume on this subject is at Bill Hill.
Lady Anne Clifford

Chamber.” It does not appear whether this was the occasion on which his hostess’s conversation so impressed him. Among the amusements at Knole “playing at Barley Break¹ upon the bowling green” occurs repeatedly.

The year 1618 is a blank in the diary.

January 1619.—The 1st of this month I began to have the curtain drawn in my chamber and to see light. This day the child did put on her crimson velvet coat laced with silver lace, which was the first velvet coat she ever had. I sent the Queen a New Year’s gift, a cloth of silver cushion embroidered richly with the King of Denmark’s arms and all over with stripes of tent stitch.

The 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th I sat up and had many ladies come to see me and much other company, and so I passed away the time.

My Lord went often to the court and abroad and on Twelfth Eve lost 400 pieces playing with the King.

The 11th my Lord went to Knowle.

The 12th the Banqueting House at Whitehall was burnt to the ground and the writings in the Signet Office were all burnt.

The 16th came my Lord of Arundel and his Lady. The same day I sent my cozìn Hall of Gretford a letter and my picture with it, which Larkingę drew at Knowle this summer.

On the 23rd of January she and the child returned to Knole.

The 2nd [February] my Lord went to Buckhurst meaning to lie there private a fortnight or thereabouts.

The 8th Lady Wootton sent her page to see me, and that day I made pancakes with my women in the Great Chamber.

The 10th Wat Coniston began to read St. Austin of the City of God to me, and I received a letter from Mr. Davis with another enclosed in it of Ralph Coniston, whereby I perceived things went in Westmoreland as I would have them.

There is a notice of the scandal about Lord and Lady Roos and the disgrace of Sir Thomas Lake.

My Lord should have gone to London the 24th of this month, but I entreated him to stay here the 25th, because on that day 10 years I was married, which I kept as a day of jubile to me. So my Lord went not till the 27th, at which time he rid on horseback by reason of the great snow, and was so ill and sick after his journey that whereas he intended to have returned in two or three days, he stay’d nine or ten daies.

There is a notice of the Queen’s death on the 2nd of March.

About the 9th my Lord came down to Knowle and continued taking physick and diet.

The 17th my Lord went to Buckhurst to search for armour and provision which shou’d be layed up by the papists.

¹ A sort of Prisoners Bars, played by three couples.
This day I made an end of my Lady’s book in the praise of a Solitary Life.

The 18th I compared the two books of the Cliffords that Mr. Kiniston sent me down. The 24th my Lord of Warwick died at Arlingstead 1 House leaving a great estate to Lord Rich and my good friend his lady, and leaving his wife, which was my Lady Sampwell [Saint Paul] a widow the second time. This day Wat Coniston made an end of reading Mr. Saragol’s Book of the Supplication of the Saints which my Lord gave me.

The 26th, being Good Friday, after supper I fell in a great passion of weeping in my chamber, and when my Lord came in I told him I found my mind so troubled as I held not myself fit to receive the Communion this Easter, which all this Lent I intended to have done.

The 27th in the morning I sent for Mr. Rand and told him I found myself not fit to receive the Communion.

The next day, when my Lord heard I had told Mr. Rand so much, he sent for him and told him the Communion should be put off, both for himself and the household, except any of them would receive at the church.

The 28th, being Easter Day, Mr. Rand preached in the chapel, but there was no Communion in the house, but at the church. In the afternoon I began to repent that I had caused the Communion to be put off till Whitsunday, my Lord protesting to me that he would be a very good husband to me, and that I should receive no prejudice by releasing my thirds.2

On the 17th of April she went up to London, where she stayed for a month. The diary contains much connected with the Queen’s funeral and litigation between her uncle and the Westmoreland tenants. On the 26th of April she visited Lady Raleigh at Austin Friars, while Dorset was cock-fighting at Whitehall. A few more entries after their return to Knole may be selected.

The 2nd [July].—My Lord and Sir Henry Vane played at Bowles. This day at night my Lady Margaret was five years old, so as my Lord caused her health to be drunk throughout the house.

22nd.—My Lady Margaret began to sit to Mr. Vansommer 3 for her picture.

The 30th [August] my Lord sat much to have his picture drawn by Vansomer, and one picture was drawn for me.

The 21st [September].—All this week I spent with my sister Compton and my sister Sackville, being sad about an unkind letter my Lord sent me.

1 This name is inserted in a blank space in the Knole MS. Lord Bath’s MS. reads Allington House. According to the Complete Peerage the Earl died at St. Bartholomew’s.

2 An old business dispute, not arranged finally till some years later, as mentioned in the Records.

3 Knole MS., Mrs. Vansommer; probably Paul van Somer.
Lady Anne Clifford

Upon the 8th [November] shortly after supper, when I came into my chamber I was so ill that I fell into a swoon, which was the first time that I ever swooned.

The 2nd [December] Wat Coniston made an end of reading a book called *Leicester's Commonwealth*, in which there's many things concerning the reignment and death of the Queen of Scots, which was all read to me.

For the periods of her first widowhood and of her second marriage we have no such intimate record to fall back upon. If we had, it is to be feared that the second venture would appear in quite as unfavourable a light as the first. Whatever promise may have been thought to appear in the young Philip Herbert at the time when Ben Jonson, if Jonson it was, addressed him as one of "incomparable pair of brethren" to whom the First Folio of Shakespeare is dedicated, the later career of the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery has commanded little respect from historians of any school of politics. His irascible temper and violence of language were not redeemed by consistency or loyalty, and Lady Anne, who united something of the Puritan in her religious habit of mind to much of the Cavalier in her political views, can have found him as little to her taste in one aspect as in the other. A bad husband and a man of little literary education or capacity, he was, however, respectable as a patron of art, and although he quarrelled with Inigo Jones, he was a friend to Vandyck and among the greatest collectors of pictures of his time.

In her second widowhood she had but little to do with society or politics. To the Court of Charles II, we are told, she refused to go "unless she might wear blinkers," to exclude sights at which a respectable old lady might indeed be reasonably expected to shy. At the end of the Knole transcript we have a copy of the well-known letter said to have been written by her in her old age to Charles II's Secretary of State, when he attempted to interfere with her parliamentary influence. It is headed "The spirited reply of the Countess of Dorset to Sir Wm. [corrected to Joseph] Williamson, who wished to nominate a member for the County of Cumberland [corrected to Borough of Appleby]," and the text is given as follows:

Sir,

I have been hector'd by a King, bullied by an usurper—but I will never be dictated to by a subject. Your man shall not stand.

Anne Dorset Pembroke and Montgomery.
To this is added a note:

"The more common reading is, I have been bullied by an usurper, I have been neglected by a court, but I will not be dictated to by a subject. Your man shan't stand."

This second version is that given in Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors* (ed. 1806, iii. p. 167); and a third may be added from the Marquess of Bath's MS. (Portland Papers, xxiii. f. 119) entitled, "The answer of Anne, Countess of Dorset and Pembroke (daughter and heir to George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland) to a letter written to her by the Earl of Arlington for the choosing Sir Joseph Williamson member of Parliament for Appleby." This is at any rate a possible account of the circumstances in which the letter was written, for Arlington was Secretary of State in 1668, when, as we see in the records, Thomas Tufton was elected member for Appleby. The text is given as follows:

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My Lord,

Your man shall not stand. I have been frown'd upon by a King, oppress'd by an usurper, but I'll ne'er be hector'd by a subject.

Anne Dorset Pembroke and Montgomery.
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None of these versions, however, is correct. The original letter has been discovered, and its publication may be looked for shortly in a volume to be published by Dr. Williamson. It is satisfactory to find that the objections raised by Lodge and others to the historic truth of the letter, founded on the imperfect versions, can now be dismissed.

That Lady Anne's physical courage was as high as her moral courage we have evidence in the story she tells (see p. 156, below) of her journey from Appleby to Brough at the end of her eighty-third year.

The latter part of the Harley MS. consists of a copy of the funeral sermon preached by Edward Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle. The sermon has been twice printed,¹ and inasmuch as it extends to some 20,000 words and must have taken nearly two and a half hours to deliver, the present editor will not venture to ask his readers to follow the bishop's moralizations much beyond the appropriate text, Prov. xiv. 1, *Every wise woman buildeth her house.* A glimpse or two, however, at

¹ London, 1677, and in *Carlisle Tracts*, 1839-1844.
the Countess's mode of life, referring doubtless to her later years, may be obtained:

It will be held scarce credible to say, but it is a truth to aver, that the mistress of this family was dieted more sparingly, and I believe many times more homely, and clad more coarsely and cheaply, than most of the servants in her house.

Or again:

You might have seen her sometimes sitting in the almshouse which she built, among her twelve sisters as she called them. And as if they had been her sisters indeed, or her children, she would sometimes eat her dinner with them at their almshouse, but you might often find them dining with her at her table; some of them every week, all of them once a month, and after meat as freely and familiarly conversing with them in her chamber as if they had been her greatest guests.

And, lastly, an extract appropriate to the times:

I was present when she was told of the certainty of the war with the Dutch and of the great preparation on all hands, on which subject she only said, "If their sins be greater than ours, they would have the worst."

Since the sheets of this book went to press, the editor has been given an opportunity of examining the original Great Books of the Records in the MS. belonging to Mrs. Leveson-Gower of Bill Hill. The superior authority of these noble volumes, which had, unfortunately, been temporarily mislaid, is clear from other internal evidence, and especially from the fact that most of the Biblical references, together with a few short passages of the text in it, are in Lady Anne's own hand. On the whole, however, so far as the summary printed in this book is concerned, apart from a few miscopied references and from minor questions of spelling and the like, there seems to be but little difference between Lady Anne's own copy and the text as here printed. One interesting result of the examination of the original is to confirm the statement in the margin of the Harley MS. (see p. 35, n. 3) that the earlier portion of the summary must have been written about 1653, the year of Lady Anne's "climacteric." For although there are a few passages in the years 1650–1652 which are evidently later insertions and refer to events of posterior date, the main portion of the summary up to this point is in the same hand and ink, whereas
Introduction

afterwards different amanuenses have evidently taken up the task one after another, and later additions become much more frequent. Among Lady Anne's autograph insertions are the words with which she prefaces the beginning of each year, "In the yeare of our Lord God—as the yeare beegines on Nwers [New Year's] day," a fact which explains why in some cases it comes in _mal à propos_ (see p. 88 n.). In the matter of Biblical references the following corrections are necessary:

- p. 42, n. 4: _for_ Is. _read_ Jer.
- p. 45, n. 5: _for_ Ps. iii. 10 _read_ Ps. xxxiii. 10.
- p. 57, n. 3: _for_ Ps. xxiv. 16 _read_ Ps. xlv. 16.
- p. 58, n. 4: _for_ Prov. xxvii. 28 _read_ Prov. xxii. 28.
- p. 62, n. 6: _for_ Ps. cxiv. 12–14 _read_ Ps. cxvi. 12–14.
- p. 64, n. 4: _for_ Prov. xx. 24 _read_ Eccles. viii. 6.
- p. 84, n. 5: some additional references are given.

A few other small points:

- p. 45, n. 1: Tauistock.
- pp. 72, n. 3, 85, n. 2: Whitchard (or Whitchar, p. 79) is the original spelling.
- p. 80, n. 1: The MS. does not explain the _lapsus calami_, but "third child" in l. 1 is written over an erasure of "fourth child."
- p. 129, n. 4: Anstone [? Enstone in Oxfordshire].
- p. 132, l. 5: A blunder of Lady Anne's should have been noted here. Cosimo was the name of the Prince of Tuscany, not of his father [Ferdinand II.].
- p. 145, l. 6: Waterby is a copyist's mistake for Wateby.

At the end, in place of the account of Lady Anne's death and burial given by the Harley MS., is a less detailed account of the same with a statement as to the descent of the property to Thomas, 6th Earl of Thanet, and the fines paid by tenants on the successive demises of the 4th and 5th Earls, followed by the 6th Earl's autograph note:

This short account was entered by my order after I came to the estate which shee by hur great prudence and resolution preserved to hurself and hur right heares, which being linnially come to mee, my children and family will ever have great reason to retaine a most sincere and grateful respect to hur memmory. Thanet.
Another entry in a clerk's hand, but signed by the Earl, relates to future renewals of tenants' leases; and a third is as follows:

There being four setts of these Books, one at Skipton, another sett at Appleby Castle and another sett at Hothfield, I thought it proper to keep this sett at London for the use and benefitt of my daughters or those concerned for them since they may hereafter have an interest in the Northern estate; and as the barony of Clifford after my decease will be in them, by my order the whole proceeding in the house of Lords is therein and herein entred. Thanet."
LADY ANNE CLIFFORD

[p. 98] A Summary of the Records of George, Lord and Baron of Clifford, Westmoreland and Vesey, and 13th Lord of the Honor of Skipton in Craven, and 17th in descent from Robert de Veteripont, 1st Baron and High Sheriffe of Westmoreland, 3rd Earl of Cumberland and last heir male of the Cliffords that was rightfully possessor of those ancient lands and honors.

He married the Lady Margaret Russell, youngest child to Francis Russell, 2nd Earl of Bedford, by whom he had his only daughter and sole heir that lived, the Lady Anne Clifford, now Countess Dowager of Pembroke, Dorset and Montgomery.

This George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, was born in Brougham Castle in Westmoreland the 8th day of August, 1558, some three months and ten days before the death of Queen Mary.

He came to be Earl when he was but eleven years and five months old, so as he was a ward to Queen Elizabeth ten years and something more.

He lived possessor of his lands and honors, after he came out of his wardship, twenty-five years and some three months over, and he lived Earl of Cumberland from his father's death to his own death thirty-five years and ten months, wanting some ten days. He was thirty-one years and six months old when his daughter, the Lady Anne Clifford, was born into the world in Skipton Castle in Craven, she that after proved to be his only daughter and sole heir.

This George, Earl of Cumberland, was one of the bravest noblemen that lived in his time, and performed many sea voyages, both to the Indies and other places, for the service of Queen Elizabeth and the
Lady Anne Clifford

good of England and his own person. Which Earl, when he was just forty-seven years two months and twenty-two days old, dyed in the Duchy house called the Savoy at London, the 30th day of October in 1605, his wife, that excellent lady, and his daughter the Lady Anne Clifford, being present with him at his death; which Lady Anne Clifford was just fifteen years and nine months old when he dyed.

His dead body was opened, and his bowels and inward parts was buried in the chappell in the Savoy, but his dead body was buryed a little after in the vault in Skypont Church in [p. 94] Craven the 13th of March following.

His only brother, Sir Francis Clifford, succeeded him then in the Earldom of Cumberland.

His Wife.

His wife was the Lady Margaret Russell, 7th and youngest child to Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, by his first wife, Margaret St. John, Countess of Bedford, who was daughter to Sir John St. John of Bletsoe in Bedfordshire; so as by the blood of the St. Johns¹ this Lady Margaret was cousin german twice removed to her husband, George, Earl of Cumberland; and so was many of his ancestors and their wives in the same degree of kindred one to another.

This Lady Margaret Russell was born in her father's, the Earl of Bedford's, house in the city of Exeter in Devonshire about the 7th day of July² in 1560; which house was once a nunnery.³ And

¹ blood of the St. Johns] The connexion is as follows:—

Sir John St. John = Alice Bradshaigh

Sir John

Henry, Lord Clifford = Anne two daughters

Sir John

Henry, 1st Earl of Cumberland

Oliver

Margaret = Francis, Earl of Bedford

Margaret = George, 3rd Earl

Henry, 2nd Earl

² about the 7th day of July] John Dee, who doubtless cast her nativity, probably in 1593, is much more precise: "1560 July 8th... hora 2 min. 9 Exoniae mane" (Dee's Diary, Camden Soc., 1842, pp. 1, 47).

³ nunnery] This is a mistake. Bedford House was the site of a house of Black Friars (Dominicans).
her mother dyed, about a year after her birth, of the small pox in Woubron House \(^1\) in Bedfordshire, which was once an abbey.

This excellent Lady Margaret Russell was married, when she was near seventeen years old, to George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, in St. Mary Overy's \(^2\) church in Southwark near London, the 24th of June in 1577, \(^3\) at which time and in the same place was married the said Earle's sister, the Lady Frances Clifford, to Philip, Lord Wharton, it being so great a marriage that Queen Elizabeth was pleased to honor it with her presence and to be there at the marriage. And it is to be noted that these two marriages were kept there, right that time forty years after that the said Earle George's father, then but Henry Lord Clifford, was married to his wife, the Lady Elianor Brandon her grace, in her father, Charles Brandon's, Duke of Suffolk's, house there in Southwark.

This Lady Margaret Russell, Countess of Cumberland, lived wife to this Earl George twenty-eight years and four months, and his widdow ten years and seven months; so as she lived Countess of Cumberland in all thirty-eight years and eleven months. And when that time was expired, she dyed the 24th of May, on Friday, 1616, when she was fifty-six years old, wanting about forty days. And she dyed in the same chamber in Brougham Castle in Westmoreland wherein her said husband was born into the world.

This Lady Margaret Russell her dead body was opened, and her bowells were interred streight after her death in the church at Nine Kirks \(^4\) in Westmoreland.

[p. 95] And her body was buryed the 11th day of July following in Appleby church in Westmoreland, where her only child that survived her, the Lady Anne Clifford, then Countess of Dorsett, and afterwards Countess of Pembrooke, was present at her funeral; though not at her death, for then she was at Knowll \(^6\) in Kent, when her said dear mother dyed.

\(^1\) Woubron House] Woburn Abbey. The site was granted by Edward VI to the first Earl of Bedford.

\(^2\) St. Mary Overy's] The Complete Peerage, however, states that the marriage took place at the Earl's father's house in Suffolk Place.

\(^3\) 1577] MS. 1571, a copyist's blunder.

\(^4\) Nine Kirks] A curious local corruption of the name of St. Ninian's church at Brougham.

\(^6\) Knowll] Knole.
Lady Anne Clifford

And this Lady Margaret Russell, Countess of Cumberland, was, even from her very infancy, so religious, devout and conscientious, as the like hath scarce been known. Besides, she was endowed with many excellent perfections both of body and mind, more than can be expressed by words; of which a more perfect relation will follow the records of her own life.

Their Children.

This Earl and Countess had only three children that lived to be christened, and she was five years, nine months and fourteen days married before she had her first child.

Their first child was Francis, Lord Clifford, who was born the 10th day of Aprill in 1584 in Skypoton Castle in Craven, where he also dyed the 10th or 11th of December in 1589, when he was five years and eight months old, and was buryed in the vault of the church there, where there is a tomb standing still for him. He was a child that promised as much goodness as possible to be in such tender years, and was even willing to depart out of this world to his Maker. When he dyed, his father, the Earl of Cumberland, was in the North parts of Ireland, where himself and his ship was cast in by tempest about twelve or fourteen days before, as he was returning from the Isles of Azores in the West Indies, his mother the Lady Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, being then great with child of her daughter the Lady Anne Clifford, of whom she was delivered the 30th day of January following in Skypoton Castle in Craven, where she and her then only son Robert, Lord Clifford, then lay.

Their second son was the same Robert, Lord Clifford, who came to be Lord Clifford by the death of his eldest brother; which Robert was born in North-hall house in Hertfordshire the 21st of September in 1585, and dyed in the same house the 24th of May in 1591; he being then Lord Clifford, for his elder brother dyed a year and six months before him.

1 West Indies] A geographical expression of wider application than at present; but Lady Anne's idea of their situation was very probably vague.
2 North-hall] The house (Nyn Hall) built at Northaw for Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and occupied by the Countess Anne, his third wife.
Life of her Father

This Robert, Lord Clifford, was a child of rare wit and parts and of a sweet nature, and had many perfections in him far above his years. Which made his loss far more bitter to his parents, especially to his dear mother, who mourned most bitterly for him while she lived, tho' she dyed not till just that day twenty-five years after his death. His bowells and inward parts were buryed in the church at North-hall, but his corps at the church at Cheneys in Buckinghamshire, amongst his mother's ancestors.

Their third and youngest child, who was their only daughter, the Lady Anne Clifford, was born in Skyppton Castle in Craven, the 30th day of January, being Fryday, in 1590, as the year begins on New Year's day. And she was christened in the church there, the 22nd of the month following; which lady continued to be the only child to her parents ever after the death of her brother Robert, Lord Clifford, at whose death she was a year and four months old.

She was also, by her marriage with her first husband, Countess of Dorset, and by the marriage with her second husband Countess of Pembrooke and Montgomery, she being now Dowager to them both, and by birthright Baroness Clifford, Westmoreland and Vesey, and High Sherifffess of that county, and Lady of the Honor of Skypton in Craven; of whom more shall be said hereafter in the records of her time.

The Course of Life of this George, Lord Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland.

He was born, as is said before, in his father's house at Brougham Castle in Westmoreland the 8th of August in 1558, and in that house and chamber where he was born did his father, Henry, Earl of Cumberland, dye, the 8th of January¹ in 1570, as the year begins on New Year's day. So as then this George, Earl of Cumberland, was but eleven years and five months old, and therefore he continued a ward to Queen Elizabeth ten years and odd months; for he came not out of his wardship till August 1580, or thereabouts. When his father dyed he was then in the house of Battell in Sussex, where he lived

¹ 8th of January] This date is given by the Countess here and elsewhere, but the Complete Peerage has 2nd of January.
then with his mother's sister and her husband, the Lord Viscount Mountague, as being sent thither a little before by his father to be bred up there for a while, that so he might see the renowned Queen Elizabeth and her court, and the city of London, and the Southern parts of England.

And presently after the death of his said father, when he fell first to be a ward, did the said Queen Elizabeth give the wardship of this George, Earl of Cumberland, unto Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford, Knight of the Garter, and one of the Privy Counsell, and a man dearly beloved by her, and generally much beloved through the whole kingdom, to the end that he might marry one of his daughters to this Earl George; which afterwards took effect.

And in the mean time this young Earl of Cumberland was bred up, for the most part, in the house and family of the said Earl of Bedford, sometimes at Cheneys in Buckinghamshire, and sometimes at Woburne in Bedfordshire, and sometimes at the said Earl of Bedford's house at Exeter in Devonshire, and sometimes at Cambridge, and sometimes at Oxford, where Dr. John Whitgift, who was also Archbishop of Canterbury, was this young Earles tutor, by the Queen's appointment. And although he never attained to any great perfection in the Latin tongue, yet he had a general knowledge and an insight into all the arts, and especially into the mathematicks, wherein he took great delight, and was so exquisitely versed in the same that it was thought to be one principal cause of his applying himself to sea voyages and to navigations, especially towards the West Indies and those new-found lands, wherein he became the most knowing and eminent man, of a Lord, in his time.

He was marryed to his blessed and worthy wife, the Lady Margaret Russell, youngest child and third daughter to Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, the 24th of June in 1577, in St. Mary Overy's Church in Southwark, with great honor and glory; he being then near nineteen years old, and she near seventeen years old, and his sister, the Lady

1 Mountague] Sir Anthony Browne, created Viscount Montague in 1554. His second wife was Magdalen Dacre and her sister Anne was the Earl of Cumberland's mother.
2 wardship] Copies of Bedford's letter to Queen Elizabeth asking for the wardship and of Burleigh's letter to Montague to produce the ward (dated 12th of January, 1569-70) are given in the Bill Hill MS.
Frances Clifford, being married at the same time, and in the same place to Philip, Lord Wharton. And so great was those marriages that Queen Elizabeth honored them with her presence there; and within a little while after the solemnization of those marriages they went down into the North unto Skypton Castle in Craven, to live there with his mother and kindred for a good while.

And his said mother, that Anne Dacres, Countess Dowager of Cumberland, dyed there in the said Skypton Castle in Craven about the latter end of July¹ in 1581, when her said son and his wife were then present at her death, he being then twenty-three years old. And by his said mother's death all the ancient lands of his inheritance in Westmoreland came to be in his possession.

And he lived after the death of his mother twenty-four years and three months, or thereabouts. And after her death he and his wife lived for a while in Brougham Castle in Westmoreland, and in Wharton-Hall in the said County; but for the generality of their abode it was either at Skypton Castle or in the Southern parts during the time of his life.

This Earl George was endowed with many perfections of nature befitting so noble a personage, as an excellent quickness of wit and apprehension, an active and strong body, and an affable disposition and behaviour. But, as good natures through humane frailty are often times misled, so he fell to love a lady of quality,² which did by degrees draw and alienate his love and affection from his so virtuous and well deserving wife; it being the cause of many discontents between them for many years together; so that at the length, for two or three years together before his death, they parted houses, to her extreme grief and sorrow and also to his [p. 98] extreme sorrow at the time of his death, for he dyed a very penitent man.

He sold much land at Rotherham and Malton to the Earl of Shrewsbury and others, and to Sir Michael Stanupp³; so that he consumed more of his estate than ever any of his ancestors did by

¹ latter end of July] She was buried, according to the Complete Peerage, on the 31st.
² lady of quality] I do not know that any suggestion as to her identity is on record.
³ Sir Michael Stanhope] Not the brother-in-law (beheaded in 1552) of the Protector Somerset, but perhaps the father of Sir Edward Stanhope of Edlington (d. 1603).
Lady Anne Clifford

much. To which his continual building of ships, and his many sea
voyages, gave great occasion to these vast expences of his. And
that which did contribute the more to the consuming of his estate
was his extream love to horse-races, tiltings, bowling matches, shoot-
ing, and all such expensive sports.

He was much beloved generally in the whole kingdom, so that
when he went his sea voyages he had persons of great quality and
many of the gentry that came voluntarily to tender their service to
him and to attend him in those voyages.

He was also in great favour and highly honored by both his
sovereigns, under whom he lived; for Queen Elizabeth made him
Knight of the most noble order of the Garter,1 and made him her
champion at all the tiltings from the thirty-fifth year of her reign
till her death. For in those exercises of tiltings, turnings and courses
of the field he did excell all the nobility of his time.

The same Queen Elizabeth also gave him the office of transporta-
tion of cloaths out of England for twenty-one years, and many other
profitable gifts both in lands and otherways, for that excellent Queen
did love him and his wife dearly.

Also King James, her successor, made this George, Earl of Cumber-
land, one of his Privy Counsell,2 and conferred some gifts of profit
upon him, in part of recompence for the great service he had done
in England in his many sea voyages.

This George, Earl of Cumberland, did undertake eleven or twelve
sea voyages in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, most of them in his
own person, either to the West Indies, or towards that continent.

His first voyage was in the year 1587 to the town of Sluce in the
Low Countries, to help Sir Roger Williams3 against the Duke of Parma,
but the town being surrendred to the said Duke, that proved but a
small voyage.

1 Garter] In 1592.
2 Privy Counsell] In 1603.
3 Sir Roger Williams] One of the most distinguished English soldiers of Elizabeth's reign. He
took part in most of the fighting in the Netherlands between 1572 and 1592, and was knighted by
the Earl of Leicester in 1586. His gallant but unsuccessful defence of Sluys gained him the
respect of the Duke of Parma, but slight acknowledgment from Elizabeth, who was seldom generous
to the defeated.
His second going to sea was in the year 1588, that memorable year when the King of Spain's great Armado came to invade England; where the said Earl of Cumberland did most gallant and brave service in the Queen's navy, fighting there against the Spaniards.

His third going to sea was that remarkable voyage to the Isles of Tarseras¹ and Azores, where he took the town of Fyall and was there dangerously wounded; but returned, through most extream tempestuous storms on the seas, safe with his navy into the North parts of Ireland, about the last day of November, [p. 99] where he landed to refresh himself and his soldiers untill the 20th day of December following. In which time of his abode in the North parts of Ireland, his son Francis, Lord Clifford, dyed in Skypton Castle in Craven, the 11th of that December 1589; but the death of that first son of his was not known to him till his return into England, which was about the last day of that December. And his only legitimate child that survived him, the Lady Anne Clifford, was born into the world the 30th day of January following in Skypton Castle in Craven. But he saw not his wife, nor his son Robert, after his coming home from that dangerous voyage, till after his daughter was born, by reason the Queen's busyness and his own affairs stayed him in London and those Southern parts from coming then to Skypton.

His fourth voyage was to the coasts of Spain and those parts, during which time, whilst he was on the sea, his second and then only son Robert, Lord Clifford, dyed in North-hall house, in Hertfordshire, to the extream grief of his sorrowfull mother; who then lay there, with her daughter the Lady Anne Clifford, who was then but a year and four months old. And ever after that she remained the only child of her parents.

His other sea voyages are too many and too long to be inserted in this place; but his last sea voyage was to St. John de Porta Rica,² where he won the towne and gained great honor, and returned safe back into England about the beginning of October 1598. And he

¹ Tarseras] Terceira, one of the Azores.
² St. John de Porta Rica] Puerto Rico. The Bill Hill MS, contains a copy of the Queen's commission for this voyage, dated 14th of January, 1597-8, and a brief account of the voyage.
never went to sea after that, nor out of England, for he lived but seven years and one month after it.

This noble Lord George was born Lord Clifford, which none of his predecessors were, nor [was there] any after him, that was born Lord Clifford, which lived to be Earl of Cumberland.

He lived Earl of Cumberland thirty-five years and nine months and twenty-two days, whereof ten years of that time he was in wardship to Queen Elizabeth.

His brother's fortune and his in this only were something alike; for his brother Francis lived also after him Earl of Cumberland thirty-five years and three months wanting ten days; whereof some twenty years before his death his son absolutely governed him and his estate. So as this Francis was within ten months and two days Earl of Cumberland as long as his brother Lord George was.

This George, Earl of Cumberland, dyed very patiently and willingly in the Duchy house called the Savoy, at London, the 30th day of October in 1605, of a bloody flux, whereof he had lain extremly sick about a month afore; which was caused, as is thought, by the many wounds he received formerly in his sea voyages; his excellent wife, and his then only child, the Lady Anne Clifford, being present with him at his death; where a few hours before [p. 100] he dyed he told them two and the company that was there present that he was confident all his lands would come to his said only daughter and heir, for want of heirs male of his brother; as it came to pass December the 11th, 1643, when his brother's son Henry, Earl of Cumberland, dyed without issue male.

This Lord George's bowells and inward parts were then buryed in the Savoy chappell, and his dead body was buryed the 13th of March following in the vault of Skyperton Church in Craven, by his eldest son and many of their ancestors.

This noble George, Earl of Cumberland, left but one legitimate child behind him, which was his daughter and sole heir the Lady Anne Clifford, then just fifteen years and nine months old, the same day her father dyed. She was after by her first marriage Countess of Dorsett, and by her second marriage Countess of Pembroke and Montgomery, and now Countess Dowager of both those lords.
Her said father by his will and other conveyances gave away all his lands to his brother and his heirs males, for the preservation of his name and house; and for default of such heirs males, then to return to his said only daughter; which by Divine providence did come to pass the 11th of December, as aforesaid, in 1643.

This Earl George left his only daughter, the Lady Anne Clifford, fifteen thousand pounds portion in money.
A Summary, by way of digression, concerning Francis Clifford, who came to be 4th Earl of Cumberland by the death of his elder brother George, Earl of Cumberland, without issue male.

This Francis Clifford was born in Skypton Castle, a younger brother, the 13th day of October in 1559; and he was forty-six years old when he came to be the fourth Earl of Cumberland by the death of his elder brother George, Earl of Cumberland, without heir male, the 13th of October 1 1605. He was knighted when he was very young by Queen Elizabeth, and after made Knight of the Bath by King James, when his second son Charles was created Duke of York in the hall at Whitehall by the King his father, the 4th of January 2 in 1605, as the year begins at New Year's day; which was about ten months before he came to be Earl of Cumberland.

This Sir Francis Clifford in the year 1589, in the life time of his elder brother George, Earl of Cumberland, did marry Mrs. Grizell Hughes, daughter to Mr. Thomas Hughes of Uxbridge in Middlesex, and widow to Edward Nevill, Lord and Baron of Aburgavenny, viz. by whom he had four children:—

George Clifford, born at Uxbridge about 1590, and dyed before he was an year old in his mother's jointure-house (by her first husband, Lord Aburgavenny) called St. Low Newton 3 in Somersetshire.

Henry Clifford, their second son, was born in his father's house called Lonsbury 4 in Yorkshire, the 28th or 29th 5 of February in 1592,
Life of her Uncle

as the year begins on New Year's day. He lived to be the fifth Earl of Cumberland and last heir male of that family.

Margaret Clifford, their third child, was born also in Lonsbury house in Yorkshire in 1594, and was married young,1 after her father was Earl, to Sir Thomas Wentworth, who was many years after her death created Earl of Strafford: he that was beheaded the 12th of May at the Tower Hill at London in the year 1641. But his wife the Lady Margaret dyed the 13th of August in the great house at Stepney near London in 1622, of a burning fever, leaving no children behind her; but he left a son behind him, which he had by a second wife, that is now Earl of Strafford.

Frances Clifford, their fourth child, was born the latter end of February in 1596 in Lonsbury house in Yorkshire, and she was married, after the death of her mother, in Skipton Castle to Sir Jervace Clifton, she being his second wife; and by him she had a son called Clifford Clifton and diverse daughters. She dyed in his house at Hadstocks3 in Nottinghamshire in childbirth the 30th day of October in 1627.4 She was a very witty and a very good woman.

This Grizel Hughes, Lady of Aburgaveny, lived Countess of Cumberland seven years, seven months, and sixteen days; and when that time was expired she dyed at her husband's house at Lonsburrow in Yorkshire the 16th of June4 in 1613, and was buryed in the church there. She was a provident and wise lady. It is to be noted that though she lived so many years Countess of Cumberland, yet was she never at Skipton Castle in Craven, nor in Westmoreland; for she loved peace, and the great suites in law, that were between her husband and his sister-in-law, Margaret Russell, Countess Dowager of Cumberland, for the maintenance of the right of her only daughter, the Lady Anne Clifford, then Countess of Dorsett, made her unwilling to come into either of those places while they were in controversy.

This Earl Francis was never out of England. He lived Earl of

1 married young] In 1611. Her husband was only a year older.
3 Hadstocks] Hodsock.
4 1627] MS. 1527. The Complete Baronetage gives the 22nd of October as the date of her death.
4 16th of June] The Complete Peerage gives 15th of June as the date.
Lady Anne Clifford

Cumberland thirty-five years and three months wanting ten days; in which thing only his elder brother Earl George and his fortunes were to be paralleled, who also lived Earl of Cumberland thirty-five years and ten months wanting ten days, the first ten years whereof he was in wardship to Queen Elizabeth.

This Francis Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, was eighty-two years old and almost three months when he dyed in Skypton Castle, the 21st of January 1641, as the year begins on New Year’s day, in the same chamber wherein he was born; his only son being then at London, though his son’s wife was then with her father-in-law at the time of his death. His dead body was never opened, but buryed in the vault of Skypton church in Craven, near his elder brother Earl George. His niece the Lady Anne Clifford, then Countess of Pembroke, lay in her husband’s house at Ramsbury in Wiltshire when this uncle of hers dyed.

This Earl Francis was an honorable gentleman, and of a good, noble, sweet, and courteous nature. And some twenty years before this Earl Francis dyed, his son Henry, Lord Clifford, did absolutely govern both him and his estate, he being then forty-nine years old wanting forty days at the time of his father’s death. And he outlived his father but two years and eleven months wanting ten days, dying then without issue male.

1 when] MS. where.
A Summary, by way of digression, concerning Henry, Lord Clifford, fifth and last heir male of the Cliffords that were Earls of Cumberland.

He was born the 29th day of February, 1592, as the year begins at New Year's day, in his father's house at Longsborow, his father being then a younger brother.

This Henry, Lord Clifford, was married in Kensington House near London the 25th day of July 1610 to the Lady Frances Cecill, daughter to Robert Cecill, Earl of Salisbury and Lord High Treasurer of England, the greatest man of power then in the kingdom; which marriage was made purposely on his side to maintain those suits of law more powerfully, which they then had against the Lady Margaret Russell, Countess Dowager of Cumberland, and her only child the Lady Anne Clifford, then Countess of Dorsett.

Of which marriage there was born five children, three sons and two daughters, who all dyed young, saving their eldest daughter Elizabeth Clifford, now Countess of Cork, wife to Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork in Ireland, by whom she had many children. She was born in Skypton Castle some ten days before Michaelmas¹ in 1613, and was married in the chappel of Skypton Castle in Craven about the 5th of July in 1635² to Richard Boyle, then but Lord Dungarvan, the now Earl of Cork. Her grandmother Grizel, Countess of Cumberland, dyed in Lonsborow House in Yorkshire about three months before her birth, but her grandfather Francis, Earl of Cumberland, lived to see her married and have children; which Elizabeth, Countess of Cork, is now sole daughter and heir to her parents, for her sister the

¹ some ten days before Michaelmas] 18th of September according to Complete Peerage.
² about the 5th of July in 1635] 3rd of July, 1634, according to Complete Peerage.
Lady Frances Clifford dyed in Skipton Castle about the 1st of May in 1643, a little before the death of her father and mother.

This Henry, Lord Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, was endowed with a good natural wit. He was also a tall and proper man, a good courtier, brave horseman, and an excellent huntsman, and had good skill in architecture and the mathematicks, being much favoured both by King James and King Charles.

This Henry, Earl of Cumberland, when he was but Lord Clifford, yet then ruled all his father’s estate, did with his father, Francis, Earl of Cumberland, magnificently entertain King James at Brougham Castle¹ in Westmoreland, the 6th, 7th, and 8th days of [p. 104] August in 1617, in his return from his last journey out of Scotland; where that King then lay two nights together, in the chamber wherein dyed Margaret Russell, Countess Dowager of Cumberland, the 24th of May before in 1616, and wherein her husband was born in 1558.

A little while after his marriage for some year and an half he travelled into France, but came over again into England a little before the death of his wife’s father, Robert Cecill, Earl of Salisbury and Lord High Treasurer of England, who departed this life the 24th of May 1612.

This Henry, Lord Clifford, in his father’s life time, and not long before the death of his said father, in the year 1637 or 1638,² did go into Ireland some half year to see his daughter and her husband, then but Lord Dungarvan, and her husband’s father the Earl of Cork; so as his journey thither and that formerly into France was all the time that he was out of England.

This Henry Clifford lived but two years ten months and twenty-one days Earl of Cumberland; and when that time was expired he dyed of a burning fever in one of the Prebends’ houses in the City of York, the 11th day of December in 1643, when the wars were then very hot in England between the King and the Parliament; himself being then just fifty-one years ten months and ten days old when he

¹ at Brougham Castle] James stayed but one night (6th of August) at Brougham, sleeping at Appleby Castle on the 7th and Wharton Hall on the 8th; see Nichols’ Progresses of James I, iii. p. 391.
² 1638] MS. 1738.
Life of her Cousin

dyed. And his dead body was buryed in the vault of Skypont church in Craven, where many others of his ancestors were interred, it being very remarkable that there was no more room in that vault, but just to receive him, he being the last heir male of that family of the Cliffords that were Earles of Cumberland.

His wife also, the Lady Frances Cecill, then Countess Dowager of Cumberland, outlived him but two months and four or five days, for she dyed at the same house at York the 14th day of February following his death, of a dropsy, and was buryed in the Cathedral church at York presently after. She was a lady of a noble and just mind, very bountifull to her power, and kind and loving to her freinds and kindred.

By the death of this Henry, fifth and last Earl of Cumberland, did the male issue of the family of the Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland, determine, and became extinct by reason he had no issue male.

And also the antient inheritance of the Veteriponts and Cliffords in Westmoreland and Craven, which had been long detained by him and his father from the Lady Ann Clifford, Countess [p. 105] Dowager now of Pembrook, Dorsett and Montgomery, did then revert to his cousin german the Lady Anne, she then lying in her husband’s the Earl of Pembrook’s house called Baynard’s Castle in London.
A Summary of Records and also a memorial of that religious and blessed lady, Margaret Russell, Countess of Cumberland, wife and dowager to George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, by whom she had their sole daughter and heir the Lady Anne Clifford, now Countess Dowager of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery, and by birth Baroness Clifford, Westmoreland and Vesey, High Sheriffess of the same county, and Lady of the Honor of Skipton in Craven.

This Lady Margaret Russell was born about the 6th or 7th day of July\(^1\) 1560, in her father's house in the city of Exeter in Devonshire, which house was once a nunnery, she being the seventh and last child to Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford, by his first wife Margaret St. John, daughter to Sir John St. John of Bletsoe in Bedfordshire, who was by Queen Elizabeth created first Baron St. John of that place.

And by reason her mother, Margaret, Countess of Bedford, dyed of the small pox in Wowbrane\(^2\) house in Bedfordshire, which was once an Abby, when her said youngest child was but a year old, she, the then little Lady Margaret Russell, was by her father sent to her mother's sister, Mrs. Allice Elmers\(^3\) of Lillford in Northamptonshire, to be bred up there with her and her husband and their children, for some seven years; where also was bred up with them in her childhood for some time this Lady Margaret's only child, that lived any time, the Lady Anne Clifford; which caused that mother and daughter ever after to love a country life the better, they being both there\(^4\) 7th or 8th of July according to the Complete Peerage.

\(^1\)Wowbrane\(\) Woburn.

\(^2\)sic.

\(^3\)Her husband was Edmund Elmes, who died in 1602.
seasoned with the grounds of goodness and religion. And from thence this Lady Margaret Russell, when she was about eight years old, was brought home to live in her father's house under the government of her mother-in-law, till she came to be married.

Which Lady Margaret Russell was married to George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, the 24th of June in 1577 in St. Mary Overy's church in Southwark near London; she being then near seventeen years old, and he near nineteen years old; his sister, the Lady Frances Clifford, being married to Philip, Lord Wharton, at the same time and place; it being so great a marriage as that Queen Elizabeth honored it with her presence, and perhaps the rather, as remembering that, thereabout forty years before that, Earle George's father was married to his first wife, her cousin german, the Lady Elianor Brandon's grace, youngest daughter to Charles, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary the French Queen. The wardship of this George, Earl of Cumberland, had been given presently after his father's death by Queen Elizabeth to the said Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, to the end he might marry one of his two youngest daughters, which was performed by this marriage. The said George, Earl of Cumberland, and the Lady Margaret his wife being cousin germans twice removed by the blood of the St. Johns. And so were most of the ancestors of the said Earl in the same degree of kindred to their wives; which is apparent by the descent and pedigree.

This Margaret Russell, Countess of Cumberland, was endowed with many perfections of mind and body. She was naturally of an high spirit, though she tempered it well by grace, having a very well favoured face with sweet and quick grey eyes, and of a comely personage. She was of a gracefull behaviour, which she increased the more by her being civil and courteous to all sorts of people. She had a discerning spirit, both into the disposition of humane creatures and natural causes, and into the affairs of the world. She had a great sharp natural wit, so as there was few worthy knowlege but she had some insight into them. For though she had no language but her own, yet was there few books of worth translated into English but she read them, whereby that excellent mind of hers was much

1 Brandon] MS. Brondon.  
2 the French Queen] Widow of Louis XII.
enriched, which even by nature was endowed with the seeds of the
four moral virtues, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance.
She was a lover of the study and practice of alchimy, by which she
found out excellent medicines, that did much good to many. She
delighted in distilling of waters, and other chymical extractions, for
she had some knowledge in most kind of minerals, herbs, flowers,
and plants.

She was dearly beloved by those of her freinds and acquaintance
that had excellent witts and were worthy and good folks; so as to­
wards her latter end she would often say that the kindness of her
freinds towards her had been one of the most comfortable parts of
her life, and particularly of her husband's two sisters that lived to
be marryed; who dyed both in their brother her husband's life
time. For the Lady Frances¹ Clifford, wife to Philip, Lord Wharton,
his sister by the whole blood, dyed the 16 of April 1592, in her
husband's house called Wharton Hall in Westmoreland, and was
buryed in the church of Kirkby-Stephen there; and their eldest
sister of all, by the half blood, the Lady Margaret Clifford, Countess
Dowager of Derby, dyed in her then but new built house in Clarken­
well Green at London the 29th of September in 1596, and was buryed
in the Abby church at Westminster. She was by the mother's side
of the [p. 108] Blood-Royal, as descended from King Henry the
7th and Queen Elizabeth his wife. At which house at Clarken­
well her husband and she and their daughter, the Lady Anne Clifford,
did lye for the most part of seven years after her death.

And certainly this noble Countess had in her the infusion from
above of many excellent knowledges and virtues both Divine and
humane; which did bridle and keep under that great spirit of hers,
and caused her to have the sweet peace of a heavenly and quiet mind
in the midst of all her griefs and troubles, which were many.

And a little before her death, when she was in some doubt and fear
that through strength of power her daughter's antient inheritance
might be wrested from her, she would often say to comfort her heart,
*The Earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is.* Psalm 24.

¹ Frances] According to the Complete Peerage "sometimes also called Mary."
Life of her Mother

The Course of her Life while she lived a married woman, and of her children.

A little after her marriage in the year 1577 she went with her husband, George, Earl of Cumberland, down into the North, to Skipton Castle in Craven, to live there with him and his mother and their freinds for the most part of eight years; except it were for a while, when she lived in Brougham Castle in Westmoreland and in Wharton Hall in the said county with her lord's sister, the Lady Wharton, and her husband, and for a while when she went to meet her father at Buxton Well in Derbyshire for the recovery of her health. For presently after her coming into the Northern parts she grew extream sickly and discontented, and so continued for five or six years together; till at last she fell into a kind of consumption, so as many thought she would never have had any children. And in this time, about the end of July ¹ in 1581, dyed her husband's mother, Anne Dacres, Countess Dowager of Cumberland, in Skipton Castle in Craven, who at the time of her death expressed an high estimation of the goodness she had found in her said daughter-in-law.

But after this tedious time of sickness and discontent was past it pleased God to bless this virtuous Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, with extream love and affection of her husband, which lasted about nine or ten years towards her, and but little more. In which time she was delivered the 10th of April in 1584 in Skipton Castle of her first child, which was a son, who was the Lord Francis ² Clifford, and after he had been at London and the Southern parts with his father and his mother dyed in the said [p. 109] Skipton Castle, or at Newbiggin about a mile off, the 11th of December in 1589, when he was five years and eight months old, and was buryed in the vault of the church there with his father's ancestors; he being a child who expressed as much goodness as could possibly be in such tender years.

Her second child was also a son, called Robert Clifford, who was born in North-hall house in Hertfordshire, being then the house of

¹ end of July] Buried 31st of July according to Complete Peerage.
² Francis] MS. Frances.
Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and Anne, Countess of Warwick, her sister, which Robert was Lord Clifford for almost a year and six months before his death.

And he dyed when he was about five years and eight months old in the same house of North-hall the 24th day of May in 1591, his bowels and inward parts being buried in the church there, and his body being buried in the vault of Cheney's church in Buckinghamshire with his said mother's ancestors; he being a child that expressed as much witt and spirit as was possible to be in so tender years, so as his mother took his death with an unexpressible deal of sorrow. And when he and his elder brother dyed, was their father, George, Earl of Cumberland, out of England; for at the death of his eldest son he was in the North parts of Ireland, and when his younger son dyed he was in a ship on the seas in one of his voyages.

And this Countess of Cumberland's father, Francis, commonly called the Good Earl of Bedford, dyed about two months before the birth of her youngest son; and his then eldest son Francis, Lord Russell, was slain the day before his death by treachery upon the East borders of Scotland; so as she had sorrow for her father and her beloved brother all at one time.

Her third and last child, and only daughter, was the Lady Anne Clifford, of whom she was delivered the 30th day of January, being Fryday, in 1590, as the year begins on New Year's day, when her eldest son dyed but the 11th day of March before; which Lady Anne Clifford came after to be sole daughter and heir to her parents, and so consequently to be the rightfull heir to her father's ancient lands of inheritance, honors and baronies in Westmoreland and in Skyperton in Craven—she that is now Countess Dowager of Dorsett, Pembroké and Montgomery—her mother and her father with both their sons lying in the Lord Wharton's house in Channell Row in Westminster, hard by the river of Thames, when her father begat her. And presently after did her father go out to the seas, where he scaped with his life narrowly from tempests at seas and fighting by land. And at the time of her birth and christening, her father, the said George, Earl of Cumberland, was at London, being detained there by the Queen's command, to give an account of his late sea voyage, he being
then newly returned from the [p. 110] Azores Islands in the West Indies.

But about the latter end of March following he came down into Skypton Castle to his wife and his two children, Robert and Anne, which was the first time he saw his daughter, the Lady Anne Clifford, who after came to be his only heir.

And after he had lain three or four nights in Skypton Castle with them did he and his said virtuous wife, and both their children, go out of the said castle up towards London, about the beginning of that April; she and her son the Lord Robert Clifford being never in that castle after. But many years after, her only daughter, Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, came unto it again, as taking possession of it for herself and her posterity, when the chiefest part of that castle had been thrown down and demolished by command of the Parliament, by reason of the troubles of the times, some six months before her coming thither.

This Margaret Russell, Countess of Cumberland, was truly religious, devout and conscientious, even from her very childhood, and did spend much time in reading the Scriptures and other good books, and in heavenly meditations and in prayers, fastings and deeds of charity, especially for some fourteen or fifteen years before her death; and of such an elevated mind was she to all goodness, as any may truly say, she had a kind of a prophetick spirit in her in many things; and in particular, she would often tell her only daughter, the Lady Anne Clifford, that the antient lands of her father’s inheritance would at last come to be hers, what opposition soever was made to hinder it, though it would be very long first. Which many years after came to pass; and she was the rather induced to believe it by reason of a strange kind of divining dream or vision, that appeared to her in a fearfull manner in Barden Tower ¹ in Craven, when she was great with child with her third child, which told her she should be delivered a little while after of a daughter which should be the only child to her parents and live to inherit the antient lands of her father’s ancestors; which after proved to be true, though at that time both the said

¹ Barden Tower] In Wharfedale, about 2½ miles above Bolton Abbey, and four miles north-east from Skipton.
Countesses sons were living; but the elder of them dyed a month after the said dream or vision, and the younger of them when her daughter was a year and four months old. Which strange vision we are the rather induced to set down, because undoubtedly, whilst she lived here in the world, her spirit had more converse with heaven and heavenly contemplations than with terrene and earthly matters.

[p. 111] After her last going from Skypont Castle, in the beginning of April 1590, with her two younger children—the younger whereof, the Lady Anne Clifford, was but then about nine weeks old—upwards towards London, whither they all came well the 17th of that month, she came no more into the North till after the death of her husband, George, Earl of Cumberland.

She did with too much dear and passionate affection love her husband and her children; so as it proved a cause of much affliction unto her, by reason of the death of both her sons and also the unkindness of her husband towards her for some years before his death, which was the cause of much bitter grief to her, though she were well acquainted with the grounds, principles and comforts of divinity and philosophy, and knew well that all in this world is but vanity.

Yet when her husband parted houses with her, for two or three years before his death and more, it went very near her heart, for she was a woman full of kind affections. She was very happy in the dear love and affection of her eldest and excellent sister Anne Russell, Countess of Warwick, who being almost thirteen years older than her self was a kind of a mother to her and their middle sister, Elizabeth Russell, Countess of Bath; for these three sisters in those times were the most remarkable ladys for their greatness and goodness of any three sisters in the kingdom. This Countess of Warwick came to serve Queen Elizabeth when she was very young; so as she served that illustrious Queen, when she was maid, wife and widdow, even almost from the beginning of her reign till the said Queen’s death; and she was more beloved and in greater favour with the said Queen than any other lady or woman in the kingdom, and was no less generally esteemed and honored through the whole court and all the said Queen’s dominions; which indeed she deserved, for she was a great freind to virtue and a helper to many petitioners and others that
were in distress, that came to court for relief of their wrongs. She did not outlive her said great mistress a year, for she dyed the 9th of February following after her, in her own house called North-hall in Hertfordshire, and was buried in Cheneys church in the vault there in Buckinghamshire in 1604, leaving no children behind her. Their middle sister, the good Lady Elizabeth Russell, Countess of Bath, dyed about the latter end [p. 112] of March in her husband’s, the Earl of Bath’s, house at Tawstock 1 in Devonshire in 1605, and was buried in the church there, leaving two children behind her, a son and a daughter. So both of this Countess of Cumberland’s elder sisters dyed before she came to be a widdow.

This good Lady Margaret Russell, Countess of Cumberland, did in her husband’s, Earl George’s, life time and by his consent found and build an almshous at Beamsley 2 in Craven, about four miles from Skipton, for twelve widdows and a governess over them; for which she procured a mortmayn from Queen Elizabeth in the 35th year of her reign, under the Great Seal of England, having provided convenient maintenance for them before, as appears by records. And the same hath been since augmented by her only daughter the Lady Anne Clifford, Countess Dowager of Dorsett, Pembroke and Montgomery.

This noble Countess of Cumberland had a jointure made to her of all her husband’s lands of inheritance in Westmoreland, which were formerly the Veteriponts’, by Act of Parliament in the 35th year 3 of Queen Elizabeth, by the desire and consent of her husband, George, Earl of Cumberland, a copy whereof is inserted among the records of her; for when her freinds saw that her two sons were dead and her husband consumed his estate so much in sea voyages and otherways, they thought it better to have that jointure made to her in this manner, than to have her stand to the uncertainty of her thirds in his estate, considering that her husband’s brother was then likely to succeed him in the Earldom, as it fell out after.

Which jointure of hers when she came to be possessed of, though

1 Tawstock] MS. Toylock.
2 Beamsley] In Wharfedale, about a mile below Bolton Abbey.
3 35th year] cf. Lord’s Journals, 26th of March.
in her mind she was rather a contemner of riches than any ways inclining to covetousness, yet did she so wisely and prudently manage the same, as that she lived both very honorably of it, and did many charitable deeds therewith, besides the maintenance of great chargeable and long suits in law against her husband's brother Francis, then Earl of Cumberland, in the behalf of her then only child the Lady Anne Clifford, now Countess Dowager of Pembrooke, Dorsett and Montgomery.

The Course of her Life from the time that she came first to be a widow till her death.

Her husband, George, Earl of Cumberland, dyed the 30th day of October in 1605 in the Savoy House in London; she and her only daughter, the Lady Anne Clifford, being then present with him at his death, where he expressed an high testimony of the virtue and goodness of his wife, and also his belief that [p. 113] the antient lands of his inheritance would return to their only daughter, the Lady Anne Clifford, for want of heirs males of his brother, as afterwards it came to pass. And though this virtuous lady was but about forty-five years old and something past when her husband dyed, and that she had many honorable and rich offers of matches made to her, yet would she never be induced to marry again, for her mind was too much sett of an heavenly devotion to marry again.

Presently after her husband's death there arose great suits in law between her and her brother-in-law Francis, Earl of Cumberland, for the maintenance of the right of her only daughter the Lady Anne Clifford to the antient lands of her father's inheritance; in which suit she met with great oppositions, even from King James himself, who then reigned, and professed himself to be against her, and from some of the greatest men of power of that time in the kingdom; in which business she shewed she had a spirit too great to yeild to fortune or opposition, further than necessity compelled her to it; and so much constancy, wisdom and resolution did she shew in that business, that the like can hardly be paralleled by any woman. And to make that business go on forward the better, she went with her only dear
child, the Lady Anne Clifford, in the year 1607 from London down into the North into Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, whither they came the 22d of July, and continued to lye there, and in Brougham Castle, for some two months and more, about these law occasions; it being the first time the Lady Anne Clifford was ever in Westmoreland. From whence they came away the 8th of October following up towards London; which 8th day of October was the last time that mother and daughter were both together in Appleby Castle. And in their way towards London they came to Skypton in Craven, but were not admitted to enter into the castle, so much as to go in to see it, by those officers that then served Francis, Earl of Cumberland; so great the unkindnesses then were between the said Countess and her brother-in-law. But the 23rd of that month the said Countess with her daughter came back to London again into her house in Augustine Fryers, where she lay for the most part of her abode in that city afterwards.

And then the suit began afresh between her said brother-in-law and her self; in which suit she shewed her self so wise and industrious that she caused diligent search to be made amongst the records of this kingdom touching those antient lands, and caused copies to be taken out of them of such records as concerned her said daughter's inheritance, of which there are many records to make manifest and bring to light the right of her only daughter, the Lady Anne Clifford, to those lands in Westmoreland [p. 114] which were given by King John to Robert de Veteripont, about the 4th year of that King's reign, and to those lands in Craven which were given by King Edward the 2nd to Robert, Lord Clifford, about the 5th of that King's reign; to both which lands her daughter, the Lady Anne Clifford, was by a long succession the only heir by birth-right, through the providence of Almighty God. And indeed whatsoever good doth come to her posterity by the injoyment of those lands must, next to the mercies of Almighty God therein shewed, be chiefly attributed to the care and industry of this most worthy Lady Margaret Russell, Countess Dowager of Cumberland; it being the chiefest of all her worldly desires, and idea of her heart, for the things of this life, that her said only daughter should come to inherit the foresaid lands, as it came to pass afterwards.
And in truth so eminent was this noble lady, both for her piety and prudence, that to her may very fitly be applyed that eminent saying of Solomon, Prov. 31. 29, *Many daughters have done well, but thou excellest them all.*

She did with singular care and tenderness of affection educate and bring up her said most dear and only daughter, the Lady Anne Clifford, seasoning her youth with the grounds of true religion and moral virtue and all other qualities befitting her birth. In which she employed as her chief agent Mr. Samuel Daniel, that religious and honest poet, who composed the *Civil Wars of England*, between the two houses of York and Lancaster, in verse, and also writ many other treatises both in prose and verse. But the said young lady was not admitted to learn any language, because her father would not permit it; but for all other knowledge fit for her sex none was bred up to greater perfection than her self.

The 25th day of February in 1609, as the year begins at New Year’s day, was the Lady Anne Clifford marryed, in her mother’s chamber and in her presence, in Augustine Fryers house in London to Richard Sackvill, Lord Buckhurst, who fell to be Earl of Dorsett two days after by the death of his father, Robert, Earl of Dorsett; which young lady was nineteen years old and a month over, and he twenty years old wanting a month, when they were married together. And this Countess of Dorsett had the same destinie her mother had, which was to stay some years without children after her marriage.

This Countess Dowager of Cumberland, as she was born the last of her father’s children, so she outlived them all; for her youngest brother William, Lord Russell of Thornehow, who lived longest of any but her self, dyed the 9th of August in 1613 in North-hall house in Hertfordshire, she then lying in her castle of Appleby in Westmoreland. Which brother of hers was father to him that was afterwards Francis the Wise Earl of Bedford, which Francis was father to William Russell, now Earl of Bedford.

But at length it pleased God this blessed Lady Margaret, Countess

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1 Samuel Daniel] The poet was a friend of the Pembroke family as well as of the Cliffords, and dedicated to Lady Pembroke, Anne’s mother-in-law, both his collection of sonnets entitled *Delia* in 1592 and the 1609 edition of his epic on the *Civil Warres*. 
Dowager of Cumberland, had the happiness which she had so often and generally prayed for, which was to see herself first of all a grand-
mother; for her only daughter the Lady Anne Clifford, then Countess of Dorsett, was delivered of her first child, being [p. 115] a daughter, the 2d of July in 1614 in Great Dorsett House at London; which was christened in the chappel there with much worldly glory by the name of Margaret, her grandmother, Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, being present there and one of her godmothers. But she was not present at her grandchild’s birth by reason her daughter then had such quick labor, and also that she herself was gone from her own house, where she lay in Augustine Fryers in London, into the Tower in London to see some freinds there; where the gates being shut up by an accident that happened, she was kept there till after her daughter was delivered of her first child, though she had made a journey purposely from Appleby Castle, her chief jointure-house in West-
moreland, to London to be at her said daughter’s labor.

And this Countess Dowager of Cumberland had no other grand-
children born in her life-time, but only this Lady Margaret Sackville, though her daughter the Countess of Dorsett had other children after her said mother’s decease.

This Lady Margaret Sackvill, who was then newly born, is now wife to John Tufton, Earl of Thanet, by whom she hath had eleven children, six sons and five daughters; so that according to the prayer of her grandmother she hath had many children, and is like to have more: Jer. 29. 6 1; Jer. 30. 30 2; Psal. 18. 35 3.

The 3d day of August in 1614 she took her last leave of her son-in-
law Richard, Earl of Dorsett, in Great Dorsett House in London, and never saw him after; and the next day, being the 4th of that month, she took her last leave of her little grandchild, his daughter, the Lady

1 Jer. xxix. 6] Geneva version: Take you wives and beget sonnes and daughters; and take wives for your sonnes, and give your daughters to husbands, that they may beare sonnes and daughters, that yee may bee increased there and not diminished.

2 Jer. xxx. 30] Jer. xxx. 20: Their children also shall bee as aforetime, and their congregation shalbe established before me, and I will visit all that vexe them.

3 Ps. xviii. 35] Thou hast also given mee the shield of thy salvation, and thy right hand hath stayed me, and thy loving kindnesse hath caused mee to increase. This is one of the passages making it almost certain that the Countess habitually used the Geneva version. Neither the Authorized Version nor that of the Prayer-Book makes any reference to increase (A.V.: Thy gentleness hath made me great. Prayer-Book: Thy loving correction shall make me great)
Margaret Sackvill, in the same house at London, and never saw her after. For the next day that little Lady was carried, when she was about five weeks old, down into Knowle House in Kent. And the fourth day of that month also was the last time she saw her only daughter, the Countess of Dorsett, in London, or in the Southern parts; for she took her leave of her also the same day; though that mother and daughter saw one another after in Westmoreland in 1616, a little before the death of the said blessed Countess Dowager of Cumberland.

And about the 8th or 9th of August in 1614 this worthy Margaret Russell, Countess of Cumberland, went out of her house in Augustine Fryers in London down towards the North; and she never came into London, nor in the Southern parts, after; for the 22nd of that month she came into her castle of Brougham to lye there, and never lay out of it any more, for she dyed there within a year nine months and two days after in that castle.

This Margaret Russell, Countess of Cumberland, was a woman who had more truth, justice, and constancy in her hart and mind, than can be expressed by words. She was also full of noble, kind and sweet affections towards her kindred and freinds, and of a gratefull thankful mind to those that any ways deserved it from her, and of a most compassionate nature to any whom she knew to be in misery and distress. Which caused a great divine, that knew her very well, to say of her, that she was like a Seraphim in her ardent love and affection towards the most Divine Trinity, towards all goodness and good folks, and that she had the virtue of the bowells of compassion in her in more perfection than any he ever knew; and therefore he thought it much more happiness to be descended from so blessed a woman, than to be born heir to a great kingdom; for as gold is tryed in the fire, so was her virtues tryed in the unkindnesses, sorrows and misfortunes of this life, and that her spirits might justly have the attributes of clear and excellent. To which he would add, that even to those that outlived her the life of her spirit should be known (according to that saying of Isaiah 38. 161) in her goings through these

1 Is. xxxviii. 16 | O Lord, to them that overlive them, and to al that are in them the life of my spirit shall be known, that thou causedst me to sleepe and hast given life to me.
strange oppositions she met with in the great suit at law she undertook for the maintenance of her only daughter and her posterity’s right to the antient lands of her forefathers the Vetereponts of Westmoreland and the Cliffords of Skypton in Craven.

And the 6th day of March in the year 1616, as the year begins at New Year’s day, did her only surviving child, the Lady Anne Clifford, then but Countess of Dorsett, come from London into Brougham Castle in Westmoreland to live there with her said good mother, this Countess of Cumberland, for about a month; so as the 2d day of April following in the same year was the last time that ever mother and daughter saw one another. For that day about noon, a quarter of a mile from Brougham Castle, in the open air, they took their last leave one of another with many tears and much grief, the mother returning into her said castle again, where she dyed the 24th day of the month following, and the daughter then going forward on her journey out of Westmoreland towards London, and so into Knowles House in Kent, whither she came the 11th day of that month to her then only child, the young Lady Margaret Sackvill, and to her child’s father, the Earl of Dorsett; where this Countess of Dorsett continued to lie till after the death of her said blessed mother.

This Countess of Cumberland lived wife to George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland, twenty-eight years four months and six days; and she lived his widdow ten years and seven months wanting six days; and she dyed just that day twenty-five years after the death of her dearly beloved son Robert, Lord Clifford; and she dyed right seven years and three months wanting one day after the marriage of her only daughter.

This blessed Lady Margaret Russell, Countess Dowager of Cumberland, dyed Christianly and willingly the 24th day of May, being Friday, about 7 a clock in the evening, in 1616, in the same chamber in Brougham Castle in Westmoreland wherein her said husband was born, she being about fifty-six years old when she dyed, wanting some forty-four or forty-five days. She [p. 117] often repeated these words a little before her death, that she desired to be dis-

1 24th] The Complete Peerage gives 22nd, but Lady Anne’s precise statement with the day of the week is probably correct.
solved and to be with our Saviour Christ Jesus in the heavenly Jerusalem.

And her bowells and inward parts were buryed presently after her death in the little church called Nine Kirks ¹ hard by Brougham Castle in Westmoreland; but her dead body was buryed the 11th of July next following in Appleby church in Westmoreland, her only surviving child, the Lady Anne Clifford, then but Countess of Dorsett, being present at her buryal in Appleby church, but not at her death; for when her said mother dyed she was then at Knowles House in Kent, which was then her lord’s首席est house.

And she did truly deserve this epitaph, which is on her tomb in Appleby church.

Who * Faith, Love, Mercy, Noble Constancy,
To God, to Virtue, to Distress, to Right
Observ'd, express'd, shew'd, held Religiously,
Hath here this Monument thou see'st in sight,
The Cover of her Earthly part; but, Passenger,
Know Heaven and Fame * contains the best of her !

[p. 118 blank]

¹ Nine Kirks] MS. Mine Kirks. See p. 3 n.
* Fame] MS. Earth.

Who * Faith, Love, Mercy, Noble Constancy,
To God, to Virtue, to Distress, to Right
Observ'd, express'd, shew'd, held Religiously,
Hath here this Monument thou see'st in sight,
The Cover of her Earthly part; but, Passenger,
Know Heaven and Fame * contains the best of her !

[p. 118 blank]
A Summary of the Records and a true memorial of the life of me the Lady Anne Clifford, who by birth being sole daughter and heir to my illustrious father, George Clifford, the 3rd Earl of Cumberland, by his virtuous wife Margaret Russell my mother, in right descent from him, and his long continued noble ancestors the Veteriponts, Cliffrords and Veseys, Baroness Clifford, Westmoreland and Vesey, High Sheriffess of Westmoreland, and Lady of the Honor of Skypton in Craven, was by my first marriage Countess Dowager of Dorsett, and by my second marriage Countess Dowager of Pembroke and Montgomery.

I was, through the mercifull providence of God, begotten by my valiant father, and conceived with child by my worthy mother, the first day of May in 1589 in the Lord Wharton's house in Channell Row in Westminster, hard by the river of Thames, as Psal: 139. Yet I was not born till the 30th day of January following, when my blessed mother brought me forth in one of my father's chief houses called Skypton Castle in Craven, Eccles. ; for she came down into the North from London with her two sons, being great with child with me, my father then being in great peril at sea in one of his voyages. For both a little before he begat me and a little after, it was ten thousand to one but that he had been cast away on the seas by tempests and contrary winds; yet it pleased God to preserve him, so as he lived to see my birth, and a good while after, for I was fifteen years and nine months old when he dyed. And some seven weeks before my mother was delivered of me dyed her eldest son, the Lord Francis Clifford, in the said Castle of Skypton, and

1 Channel Row] Also known as Cannon Row.
2 Ps. cxxxix.] O Lord, thou hast tried me and known me, etc. (See especially vv. 13-16.)
3 Eccles. iii.] To all things there is an appointed time, and a time to every purpose under the heaven, etc.
the 22nd of February after my birth was I christened by the name of Anne in the parish church at Skypton; Philip, Lord Wharton, my aunt's husband, being then my godfather, my father being then at London, as he was also when I was born. For he landed in England the 29th of December before I was born, by reason of his great business of giving account to the Queen of his sea-voyages, he lying then at Bedford House in the Strand, where Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, dyed the day before I was christened, who was husband to my mother's eldest sister, the excellent Anne Russell, Countess of Warwick.

About the last of March my father came down to Skypton Castle to us, which was the first time he ever saw me, I [p. 120] being then near eight weeks old. And the 2nd of Aprill following my father and mother, carrying my brother Robert and myself along with them, went quite away from thence towards London. And I never came into that castle after that time till the 18th of July in 1649, when my second lord was then living; for he dyed not till the 13th of January following. And about six months before my then coming thither the said Castle had been demolished,¹ and the principal buildings thereof quite pulled down by order of Parliament, having been made and kept as a garrison in the time of the late Civil Wars. Eccles : 8. 6.²

I was but some ten weeks old when I came first up to London, yet did not I nor my mother return again into the North till after the death of my father, remaining both of us in the southern parts, as Northamptonshire, Hertfordshire, Kent, Berkshire, and Surry, and in and about the court and city of London, all that time. When I was about a year and four months old dyed my second brother Robert, then Lord Clifford, in North-hall in Hertfordshire, the 24th of May in 1591; and ever after that time I continued to be the only child to my parents, nor had they any other daughter but myself.

I was very happy in my first constitution both in mind and body,

¹ demolished] Whitaker shows that this must be taken in a military sense. The "'slighting" of the castle consisted in the removal of roofs and battlements on which cannon would be planted (Hist. of Craven, 1878 ed., p. 410).

² Eccles. viii. 6] For to every purpose there is a time and judgment, because the misery of man is great upon him.
Her Childhood

both for internal and external endowments, for never was there child more equally resembling both father and mother than myself. The color of mine eyes were black like my father, and the form and aspect of them was quick and lively like my mother's; the hair of my head was brown and very thick, and so long that it reached to the calf of my legs when I stood upright, with a peak of hair on my forehead, and a dimple in my chin, like my father, full cheeks and round face like my mother, and an exquisite shape of body resembling my father. But now time and age hath long since ended all those beauties, which are to be compared to the grass of the field. Isaiah 40. 6, 7, 8; 1 Pet. 1. 24. For now when I caused those memorables of myself to be written I have passed the 63rd year of my age. And, though I say it, the perfections of my mind were much above those of my body; I had a strong and copious memory, a sound judgement and a discerning spirit, and so much of a strong imagination in me, as that many times even my dreams and apprehensions before hand proved to be true; so as old Mr. John Denham, a great astronomer, that sometime lived in my father's house, would often say that I had much in me in nature to shew that the sweet influences of the Pleyades and the bands of Orion, mentioned in that 38 ch. of Job v. 37, 32, 33, were powerfull both at my conception and nativity.

But happy births are many times attended on by cross fortunes in this world, which nevertheless I overcame by the Divine mercy of Almighty God, Psalm 121. And from my childhood, by the bringing up of my said dear mother, I did, as it were, even suck the milk of goodness, which made my mind grow strong against the storms of fortune, which few avoid that are greatly born and matched, if they

1 Isa. xl. 6-8] All flesh is grasse, and all the grace thereof is as the floure of the field, etc.
2 1 Pet. i. 24] For all flesh is as grasse, and all the glory of man is as the floure of grasse. The grasse withereth and the floure falleth away.
3 A marginal note in the Harley MS.: "Note she was past 63 years when these memorials were written, or caused to be written."
4 Mr. John Denham] He is said to have lived in Distafit Lane (Black's Cat. of Ashmole MSS. col. 195). Cumberland, like other explorers, probably dallied with the occult arts in connexion with his voyages, cf. the "visions" of Humphrey Gilbert and John Davys in 1567 (Add. MS. 36674, f. 58).
5 Job xxxviii. 31-33] Canst thou restraine the sweete influences of the Pleiades? or loose the bands of Orion? Can thou bring forth Mazzaroth in their time? Canst thou also guide Arcturus with his sonnes? Knowest thou the course of heaven, or canst thou set the rule thereof in the earth?
6 Ps. cxxi] I will lift up mine eyes unto the mountaines, etc.
attain to any number of years; unless they betake themselves to a private retiredness, which I could never do till after the death of both my two husbands. In my infancy and childhood, by the means of my said aunt of Warwick, I was much beloved by that renowned Queen Elizabeth, [p. 121] who dyed when I was about thirteen years and two months old, and my mother outlived that excellent Queen the same time of thirteen years and two months over.

And the 1st of September in 1605 was the last time I ever saw my father in the air abroad; for then I took my leave of him on Greenwich Heath in Kent, as he brought me so far on my way toward Sutton in Kent, where my mother then lay, after I had been and stayed the space of a month in the old house at Grafton in Northamptonshire, where my father then lived, by reason of some unhappy unkindnesses towards my mother, and where he entertained King James and Queen Anne \(^1\) with great magnificence. Which was a time of great sorrow to my saint-like mother till I returned back again to her from my father the said 1st day of September. Psalm 19, v. 15, 16, 17.\(^*\)

The 30th of October, being Thursday, 1605, in the 3rd year of the reign of King James, dyed my noble and brave father, George, Earl of Cumberland, in the Duchy House by the Savoy at London, near the river of Thames, when he was about three months past forty-seven years old, my mother and I being present with him at his death, I being then just fifteen years and nine months old the same day; where a little before his death he expressed with much affection to my mother and me a great belief that he had, that his brother's son would dye without issue male, and thereby all his lands would come to be mine; which accordingly befell, about thirty-eight years after, for his brother's son Henry, Earl of Cumberland, dyed without heirs males in the city of York the 11th of December 1643.

My father, for the love he bore to his brother, and the advance­ment of the heirs male of his house, by his last will and other con­

\(^1\) King James and Queen Anne\] 16th to 20th August, 1605, see Nichols, *Progresses of King James*, i. p. 527. This was neither the first nor the last visit of James to Grafton. A fuller account of the earlier visit in 1603 is in Anne's diary and quoted by Nicholls, *op. cit.* i. p. 189.\(^1\)

\(^2\) Ps. xix. 15-17] A wrong reference. (Lord Bath's MS. shows that Ps. xc. 15-17 is meant.)
veyances which he had formerly sealed, did leave to his brother Francis, who succeeded him in the Earldom of Cumberland, and to the heirs males of his body, all his castles, lands and honors, with a proviso that they should all return to me, his only daughter and heir, if the heirs male failed; which they afterwards did, as before is mentioned. And my father was the last heir male of the Cliffords who did rightfully enjoy those antient lands and honors in Westmoreland given by King John to Robert de Veteripont, the 28th of October in the 5th year of his reign, and the Honor of Skypton in Craven, and the lands thereunto belonging, given to Robert de Clifford, by King Edward the 2nd the 2nd day of in the 5th year of his reign; for my father was the seventeenth in descent from the first Robert de Veteripont that rightfully possessed those lands in Westmoreland, and the thirteenth in descent from the first Robert de Clifford that was rightfully possessed of those lands and honors of Skypton in Craven; in all which long time those lands descended still from father to son, except twice, that they descended to the younger brother, the elder dying without issue, which was in the 1st and in the 36th year of King Edward the 3rd, for those were antient things, as 1 Chr. 4. 22.¹

I must not forget to acknowledge that in my infancy and youth and a great part of my life I have escaped many dangers, both by fire and water, by passage in coaches, and falls from horses, by burning fevers, and excessive extremity of bleeding many times to the great hazard of my life, all which, and many cunning and wicked devises of my enemies, I have escaped and passed through miraculously, and much the better by the help of the prayers of my devout mother, who incessantly begged of God for my safety and preservation. Jam. 5. 16.²

Presently after the death of my father, I being left his sole daughter and heir, his widdow, my dear mother, out of her affectionate

¹ the 28th of October] " At Troarck in Normandie " (Harley 6177, f. 3).
²  day of ] Probably 18th of December, 5 Edw. II (1311), see Cal. Pat. Rolls Edw. II, p. 408. There were earlier grants without parliamentary authority, but these the King was compelled to recall.
³ 1 Chr. iv. 22] These also are ancient things.
⁴ Jas. v. 16] For the prayer of a righteous man availeth much, if it be fervent.
care for my good, caused me to chuse her my guardian; and then in
my name she began to sue out a livery in the Court of Wards, for
my right to all my father’s lands, by way of prevention to hinder
and interrupt the livery which my uncle of Cumberland intended
to sue out in my name, without either my consent or my mother’s.
Which caused great suits of law to arise between her and my said uncle,
which in effect continued, for one cause or other, during her life; in
which she shewed a most brave spirit, and never yeilded to any oppo­
sition whatsoever. In which business King James began to shew
himself extreamly against my mother and me. In which course
he still pursued, though his wife Queen Anne was ever inclining to
our part and very gracious and favourable unto us; for in my youth
I was much in the court with her, and in masques attended her,
though I never served her.

So about the 9th of June in 1607, in the fifth year of his reign,
to shew how much he was bent against my blessed mother and myself
in my uncle’s behalf, he then gave the reversion of all those lands in
Westmoreland and Craven out of the Crown by patent to my uncle
Francis, Earl of Cumberland, and to his heirs for ever (as appears by
the records), after they had continued in the Crown from the time they
were given by King John and King Edward the 2nd to my ancestors,
till after the death of my father, excepting some few times of attainder,
which were still restored again, the last restoration being in the first
year of King Henry the 7th. The grant of which land out of the
Crown to my said uncle and his heirs was done meerly to defeat me,
as hoping to get my hand to release it to the heirs male. But after,
by the providence of God, it turned to the best for me, for if this patent
had not been granted out of the Crown, I should not have had that
power which now I have to dispose of my lands to whomsoever I
please: Io. 5. v. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.¹

Now by reason of those great suits in law my mother and I were in
a manner forced for our own good to go together from London down
into Westmoreland; and so we came into Appleby Castle the 22d of
July in 1607, to lye there for a while, it being the first time I came
into that county or to any of my father’s lands after his death. We

¹ Io. v. 11-17] A wrong reference. Perhaps Is. v. 11-17.
lay also that summer for two or three nights in Brougham Castle in
the chamber where my father was born, and wherein afterwards my
mother dyed; and that was the first time I ever came into that castle.
And about that time I lay for three or four nights in Naworth Castle
in Cumberland, it being the first time I ever came into that country.

The 8th day of that October 1607 my dear mother and I went
out of Appleby Castle on our journey towards London, it being the
last time I was ever with her in the said castle, though I was after
with her [p. 123] in Brougham Castle in the year 1616. And in our way
through Craven, the 12th of October, my mother and I would have
gone into the Castle of Skypton to have seen it, but were not per­
mitted so to do, the doors thereof being shut against us by my uncle
of Cumberland's officers in an uncivil and disdainfull manner; to
which castle I never came after that time till the 18th of July in 1649,
as it is before mentioned. And the 13th of that October was the last
time that my mother was in her hospital at Beamsley, and the first
time of my being there; for then we lay in Mr. Clapham’s house
there, it being the last time my blessed mother ever lay in Craven or
was in that country. And from thence she and I arrived safe at
London the 23d of that October at our house at Augustine Fryers,
where I was marryed about a year and four months after to my first
lord, Richard, Earl of Dorsett.

And the 18th day of April after our return in 1608, I being then a
maid, was the great pleading in the Court of Wards concerning the
lands of mine inheritance in Westmoreland and Craven, which plead­
ing is amongst the records of my mother's time when she was a widdow.

I must confess with unexpressible thankfullness, that though through
the goodness of Almighty God and the mercies of my Saviour Christ
Jesus, Redeemer of the World, I was born a happy creature in mind,
body, and fortune, and that those two lords of mine, to whom I was
afterwards by the Divine providence marryed, were in their several
kinds worthy noblemen as any then were in this kingdom; yet was
it my misfortune to have contradictions and crosses with them both:
with my first lord about the desire he had to make me sell my rights
in the lands of my antient inheritance for mony, which I never did,
nor never would consent unto, insomuch as this matter was the cause
Lady Anne Clifford

of a long contention betwixt us, as also for his profuseness in consuming his estate, and some other extravagancies of his; and with my second lord, because my youngest daughter, the Lady Isabella Sackvill, would not be brought to marry one of his younger sons, and that I would not relinquish my interest I had in 5000 pounds, being part of her portion, out of my lands in Craven. Nor did there want diverse malicious illwillers to blow and foment the coals of dissention betwixt us, so as in both their life times, the marble pillars of Knowle in Kent and Wilton in Wiltshire were to me often times but the gay arbour of anguish. Insomuch as a wise man that knew the insides of my fortune would often say that I lived in both these my lords' great familys as the river of Roan or Rodamus runs through the lake of Geneva, without mingling any part of its streams with that lake; for I gave myself wholly to retiredness, as much as I could, in both those great families, and made good books and virtuous thoughts my [p. 124] companions, which can never discern affliction, nor be daunted when it unjustly happens. And by a happy genious I overcame all those troubles, Psalm 62,¹ the prayers of my blessed mother helping me therein. Isai. C. 5. v. 16²; Isai. C. 26. v. 20³; Psalm 57⁴; Psal. 43⁵; Psal. 71⁶; Isa. 30. 9, 10.⁷

The Course of Life of this Anne, Countess of Dorsett, etc., while she was wife and widdow to Richard Sackvill, Earl of Dorsett.

The 25 day of February in 1609, as the year begins on New-Year's day, I was marryed to my first lord, Richard Sackvill, then but Lord Buckhurst, in my mother's house and her own chamber in Augustine Fryers in London, which was part of a chappell there formerly, she

¹ Ps. lxxii.] Yet my soule keepeth silence unto God : of him commeth my salvation, etc.
² Is. v. 16] And the Lord of Hosts shall bee exalted in judgement and the Holy God shal be sanctified in justice.
³ Is. xxvi. 20] Come, my people : enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doores after thee : hide thy selfe for a very little while, until the indignation passe over.
⁴ Ps. lxii.] Have mercie upon me, O God, have mercie upon mee : for my soule trusteth in thee, etc.
⁵ Ps. xliii.] Judge me, O God, and defend my cause against the unmercifull people, etc.
⁶ Ps. lxxi.] In thee, O Lord, I trust, let mee never be ashamed, etc.
⁷ Is. xxx. 9, 10] That it is rebellious people, lying children, and children that would not heare the Lawe of the Lord. Which say unto the seers, See not, and to the prophets, Prophesie not unto us right things, but speak flattering things unto us : prophesie errours.
being then present at my marriage; and within two days after I was 
marryed dyed my said lord's father, Robert Sackvill, Earl of Dorsett, 
in Little Dorset House at Salisbury Court at London, by whose death 
my said lord and I came then to be Earl and Countess of Dorsett. 
Job. 7. 1; Eccles. 3. 1.

And the 25th of July in 1610, a year and five months after my 
said first marriage, was my cosin german Henry, Lord Clifford, 
only son of my uncle of Cumberland, married in Kensington near 
London to the Lady Frances Cecill, daughter to Robert, Earl of Salis­
bury, Lord High Treasurer of England, and then the greatest man of 
power in the kingdom. Which marriage was purposely made, that 
by that power and greatness of his the lands of mine inheritance 
might be wrested and kept by strong hand from me; which 
notwithstanding came not to pass, by the providence of God, for 
the issue male which they had between them all dyed, and they left 
one only daughter behind them, the Lady Elizabeth, who is now 
Countess of Corke.

About two years after I was marryed to my said Lord he went 
to travel into France and the Low Countries for a year, upon a pre-
ingagement to his grandmother and others of his freinds before he 
marryed me. He stayd beyond sea about a year, and came to me 
in Knowle in Kent the 8th of April 1612, and lived twelve years after 
that. And the 8th of August after his coming home in that year, and 
three years and six months after I was marryed unto him, dyed, the 
30th of August in that year 1612, my worthy cosin german the Lady 
Frances Bourghier, of a burning fever, to my great grief and sorrow, 
in my mother's house called Sutton in Kent; and she was buried in 
the church at Cheneys in Buckinghamshire. Job. 7. 1.

[p. 125] And in the time that I after lived his wife I had by him 
five children, viz. three sons and two daughters. The three sons all 
of them dyed young at Knowle in Kent, where they were born; but 
my first child the Lady Margaret, who was born in Dorsett House

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1 Job vii. 1] Is there not an appointed time to man upon earth? and are not his dayes as the dayes of an hireling? 
2 Eccles. iii. 1] See p. 33 n. 
3 wrested] MS. worsted. 
the 2d of July in 1614, is now Countess of Thanet and mother of ten children. She was born in the life time of my dear mother, who was then at London, though not present at her birth.

My youngest daughter was born at Knowle house in Kent the 6th of October in 1622, who is now Countess of Northampton and hath been mother of two children, that were sons, and one of them is dead. When my eldest daughter was near a year old, the 16th of June in 1615, was the great tryal for my lands in Craven at the Common Pleas bar in Westminster Hall, as appears in the records of my time when I was Countess of Dorsett; but my first lord and my uncle of Cumberland and his son, being all three present, agreed together to put it to the arbitration of the four chief judges then in England; which though it never came to be effected, because my mother and I absolutely refused to consent to it, yet was it the ground of that award, which King James a little after did make to my prejudice for all the lands of mine inheritance, and the cause of many griefs, sorrows and discontents. Ps. 40. 15, 16, 17.

And by reason of that intended arbitration of the four judges I went to Brougham Castle in Westmoreland to my dear mother, to ask her consent therein, but she would never be brought to submit or agree to it, being a woman of a high and great spirit, in which denial she directed for my good, as Psal. 32. 8; Isai. 30. 21, 28; Isai. 42. 3.

And the 2d of that April 1616 I took my last leave of my dear and blessed mother with many tears and much sorrow to us both; some quarter of a mile from Brougham Castle in the open air; after which time she and I never saw one another; for then I went away out

1 Ps. xl. 15-17] Let them bee destroyed for a reward of their shame which say unto me, Aha, aha. Let all them that seeke thee rejoice and be glad in thee, and let them that love thy salvation say alway, The Lord be praised. Though I be poore and needie, the Lord thinketh on me: thou art mine helper and my deliverer: my God, make no tarying.

2 Ps. xxxii. 8] MS. xxxviii. 8. Lord Bath's MS. gives the right reference. I will instruct thee, and teach thee in the way that thou shalt go, and I will guide thee with mine eye.

3 Is. xxx. 21] And thine eares shall heare a word behind thee saying, this is the way, walke ye in it, when thou turnest to the right hand and when thou turnest to the left. xxx. 28. More probably verse 18, For the Lord is the God of judgment. Blessed are all they that waite for him.

4 Is. xlii. 3] The verse-reference is very doubtful. Perhaps 21, The Lord is willing for his righteousnesse sake, that he may magnifie the law and exalt it.

5 ¼-mile from Brougham Castle] At the spot marked by the Countess's pillar, see p. 149.
of Westmoreland towards London and so to Knowle house in Kent, whither I came the 11th day of that month to my first and then only child, the Lady Margaret, and her father, where I then lay till after my mother's death.

And the month following, the 24th day, that blessed mother of mine dyed, to my unspeakable grief, in that castle of hers of Brougham aforesaid in Westmoreland, in the same chamber wherein my father was born, myself, at the time of her death, being at Knowle House in Kent. And a little after her death I went down into Westmoreland again, and was present at her burial in Appleby church the 11th of July following; the remembrance of whose sweet and excellent virtues hath been the chief companions of my thoughts ever since she departed out of this world, Rev. xiv. 13.1 And a while after her death, viz. the 22d of August 1616, my said lord came to me to Brougham Castle in Westmoreland for a fortnight or three weeks, and that was the only time that he was in any part of the lands of mine inheritance.

[p. 126] And from thence for four or five nights my lord and I went to Naworth Castle, his uncle the Lord William Howard's house in Cumberland, it being the first and last time that ever he was in that county. The 13th of September following my said lord went from Brougham Castle from me to York, where he lay for four or five nights, and where, my said lord, my uncle of Cumberland and his son being present, the case was pleaded for my lands before Edmond, Lord Sheffield, then Lord President of the North, and afterwards Earl of Mulgrave, on the 19th of September; which pleading is extant in the records of my time, the said lord of mine coming well to London the 26th of that month.

And about the 9th of December following, some three months after, I myself went from Brougham Castle to York and from thence to London. And so the possession of that castle, which was only kept for me in Westmoreland, was wholly delivered up to the use of my uncle of Cumberland and his son again, the 29th of March in 1617; which they kept from me till their deaths, the latter of whom dyed not till the 11th of December 1643 in the city of York.

1 Rev. xiv. 13] The dead which die in the Lord are fully blessed, etc.
The 18 and 20 of January 1617, as the year begins on New Year's Day, I was brought before King James in Whitehall to give my consent to the award, which he then intended to make, and did afterwards perform, concerning all the lands of mine inheritance; which I utterly refused, and was thereby afterwards brought to many and great troubles.

But notwithstanding my refusal, the 14th of March following, at which time the said King James took his journey towards Scotland, did my said lord sign and seal that award in Great Dorsett House, by which he resigned to Francis, Earl of Cumberland and Henry, Lord Clifford, his son, and to their heirs male, all his right in the lands of mine inheritance; which brought many troubles upon me, the most part of the time after that I lived his wife; but notwithstanding those great and innumerable difficulties and oppositions God protected and inabled me to pass through them all. Ps. 32. 8; Isa. 30. 21; Jer. 42. 3; Ps. 71.

And for the most part, while I was his wife, I lived either in his houses at Knowle in Kent, or at Bowlebrook in Sussex, or in Great Dorset House or in Little Dorsett House in London; but Great Dorsett House came not to be his till the decease of his good grandmother, Cicily Baker, Countess Dowager of Dorsett, who was above eighty years of age when she dyed there, whose jointure-house it was. She dyed the 1st of October 1615. She was a woman of great piety and goodness. And the 22nd of September in 1618 dyed his mother-in-law, Anne Spencer, Countess Dowager of Dorsett, who had been first married to Wm. Stanley, Lord Mounteagle, and secondly to Henry, Lord Compton, before she married his father. She was a lady of great wit and spirit.

On the 10th day of July 1623 did my said lord, in Great Dorsett House, he being then very sickly, make over to me my jointure of those lands in Sussex, part whereof I now enjoy, and part thereof

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1 Ps. xxxii. 8] See p. 42 n.
3 Jer. xlii. 3] That the Lord thy God may shewe us the way wherin we may walke, and the thing hat we may doe.
4 Ps. lxxi.] See p. 40 n.
5 Bowlebrook] Bolebrook, near Hartfield.
I have assigned and made over to my two daughters. And two days after the jointure was thus made dyed William Bourchier, Earl of Bath, in his house at Tawstock in Devonshire, by whose decease his son Edward, then his only child, and my cosin german, came to be Earl of Bath, and lived so thirteen years and eight months, and dyed without issue male, leaving only three daughters behind him.

Though I was happy in many respects being his wife, yet was I most unhappy in having the malitious hatred of his brother, then Sir Edward Sackvill, towards me, who after came to be Earl of Dorsett, by my said Lord's decease without heirs male; and by the cunningness of his witt he [p. 127] was a great practiser against me, from the time that I married his brother till his own death; which happened not till the 17th of July 1652, for he outlived his brother twenty-eight years and almost four months. And I then lay at Skypton Castle in Craven, at the time of his death; but I, whose destiny was guided by a mercyfull and divine Providence, escaped the subtily of all his practices, and the evils which he plotted against me. Ps. 35; Ps. 37; Ps. 140; Ps. 3. v. 10.

My first lord, Richard Sackvill, Earl of Dorsett, dyed at Great Dorsett House at London the 28th day of March, being Easter Sunday, in 1624, about 12 a clock at noon, and was buried unopened, the 7th of April following, in the vault at Witterham church in Sussex, by his son Buckhurst, my child, and many others of the Sackvills, his ancestors, and their wives. He was then just thirty-five years old at his death, and I about ten months younger; but I was not with him when he dyed, being then very sick and ill myself at Knowle House in Kent, where I and my two daughters then lay. Job 7. 17; Eccles. c. 3; c. 8. v. 6.

1 Tawstock] MS. Temistock.
2 Ps. xxxv.] Plead thou my cause, O Lord, etc.
3 Ps. xxxvii.] Fret not thy selfe because of the wicked men, etc.
4 Ps. cxxl.] Deliver mee, O Lord, from the evill man, etc.
5 Ps. iii. 10] A wrong reference. Omitted in Lord Bath's MS.
6 Witterham] Withyham.
7 Job. vii. 1] See p. 41 n.
8 Eccles. iii] See p. 33 n.
9 Eccles viii. 6] See p. 34 n.
Lady Anne Clifford

This first lord of mine was born the 28 day of March in 1589 in the Charter House in London, now called Sutton’s Hospital, his mother being the Lady Margaret Howard, only daughter to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded the 2nd of June 1572. This first lord of mine was in his own nature of a just mind, of a sweet disposition, and very valiant in his own person.

He had a great advantage in his breeding by the wisdom and devotion of his grandfather Thomas Sackvill, Earl of Dorsett, and Lord High Treasurer of England, who was then held one of the wisest men of that time, by which means he was so good a scholar in all manner of learning that in his youth when he lived in the University of Oxford, his said grandfather being at that time Chancellor of that University, there was none of the young nobility then students there that excelled him. He was also a good patriot to his country, and generally well beloved in it, much esteemed of by all the Parliaments that sate in his time, and so great a lover of scholars and soldiers, as that with an excessive bounty towards them, or indeed any of worth that were in distress, he did much diminish his estate, as also with excessive prodigality in house-keeping, and other noble ways at court, as tilting, masquing, and the like; Prince Henry being then alive, who was much addicted to those noble exercises, and of whom he was much beloved.

This first lord of mine built from the ground the College or Hospital of East Greensted¹ in Sussex, and endowed the same with lands for the maintenance thereof, though his father by his last will had appointed the building thereof, but lived not to see any part of it performed, he dying presently after.

This noble lord of mine dyed in his house at Great Dorsett House at London the 28th day of March 1624, as is aforesaid, leaving only two daughters behind him, which he had by me; for the sons which he had by me dyed in his life time, so as his brother Sir Edward Sackvill succeeded him in the Earldom of Dorsett, who was beyond sea at Florence in Italy at the time of his brother’s death, but came through France into England about the latter end of May following, and never went out of England after; but grew to be a great man at

¹ College or Hospital of East Greensted] Known as Sackville College, East Grinstead
the court [p. 128] both in the little time that King James lived and reigned after, and in King Charles's time, so as he was Lord Chamberlain to his Queen, and Knight of the Garter, and continued still to be a powerfull enemy against me.

I lived a widdow to this noble Richard Sackvill, Earl of Dorsett, about six years two months and four or five days over, most part of which time I lived with my two daughters either in Cheneys House in Buckinghamshire, the chief seat of my mother's father and grandfather, or in Bolbrooke house in Sussex, my chief jointure-house, or at London in several hired houses there, as in Tothill Street House in Westminster, or in St. Bartholemew's in a house there which was antiently part of the Priory; and besides for a while I and my eldest daughter lay (for a while) together in Woburne House in Bedfordshire, the August after her father's death; in which house dyed my grandmother of Bedford. I must not forget, but acknowledge with much thankfullness to God, how in May, a little after my first lord's death, at Knowle House in Kent, the month before I went from thence to live at Cheneys, I had the small pox so extreamly and violently that I was at death's door and little hope of life in me; which infection I took of my eldest child, who had it there in great extremity some twelve days after her father was buryed. Which disease did so martyr my face, that it confirmed more and more my mind never to marry again; though the Providence of God caused me after to alter that resolution.

And just a year after the death of my first lord dyed King James, I then lying at Cheneys House in Bucks with both my daughters, from whence I and my two daughters removed to Bolbrooke house in Sussex to live there for a good while; where I must not reckon it amongst the least of God's goodness and deliverances to me, that on the 6th day of May in 1626, when I had then newly received my Lady Day's rents, and had some mony in the house before, I escaped miraculously by God's providence from an attempt of my enemies to have robbed me, besides the extream fright it would have put me into, had it not been timely discovered and prevented by one who accidentally saw them enter in at the window. And it was thought
to have been plotted by a great man, then my extrem enemy; but God delivered me. Psal. 64; Psal. 124.

In August 1628 were the first claims made by way of law and advice of my counsel, after the award aforementioned, to maintain my right in the lands of mine inheritance in Craven and Westmoreland, I then lying with both my daughters in Cheneys in Buckinghamshire, which claims are entred in the records of my time.

The 21 of April in 1629, in the church of St. Bartholomew's, had I the happiness to see my eldest daughter married to John, Lord Tufton, there being present at the said marriage myself and my youngest daughter and the said Lord Tufton's father and mother and my [p. 129] worthy cousin german Francis Russell, then Earl of Bedford, who gave her in marriage, and many others.

This John, Lord Tufton, came to be Earl of Thanet about two years and two months and some fourteen days after his marriage with my daughter, by the death of his father Nicholas, Earl of Thanet; which daughter of mine hath now by her said lord ten children all living, six sons and four daughters, so as God made her a fruitful mother, according to the prayers of my blessed mother.

The Course of her Life, while she was wife and widow to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.

On the 3d day of June in 1630, after I had continued a widow six years two months and five or six days over, I was married in Cheneys Church in Buckinghamshire to my second husband, Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household, and Knight of the Garter, he being then one of the greatest subjects in the kingdom; for he came to be Earl of Pembroke but the 10th day of April before I married him by the death of his eldest brother, William, Earl of Pembroke, who deceased the said 10th day of April. And his first wife, the Lady Susan Vere, Countess of Montgomery, dyed of the small pox in the court at

1 Ps. lxiv] Heare my voyce, O God, in my prayer, etc.
2 Ps. cxxiv.] If the Lord had not bene on our side, etc.
3 Earl of Thanet] 1st of July, 1631.
Whitehall a year and four months before I was marryed to him; and my youngest daughter was present at this my second marriage, but not my eldest.

This second marriage of mine was wonderfully brought to pass by the Providence of God, for the crossing and disappointing the envy, malice and sinister practices of my enemies. Job 5. 11, 12, 13, 14.

And methinks it is remarkable that I should be this second time married in the church of Cheneys, in the vault whereof lye interred my great-grandfather and grandfather of Bedford and their wives, ancestors to my blessed mother, as also her son, the Lord Robert Clifford, and her eldest sister, Anne, Countess Dowager of Warwick, their niece, the Lady Fran. Bourchier, daughter to the Earl of Bath by their sister Elizabeth, Countess of Bath, and their nephew, Edward Russell, 3rd Earl of Bedford, who dyed without issue the 1st of May 1627.

I had by this lord of mine two sons that were born both before their time while I lived at Whitehall; in which court at London I continued to live with him for some four years and six months after I was married to him. And being still mindfull to vindicate my right and interest in the lands of my inheritance in Westmoreland and Craven, in August and September 1632 by commission under my said lord's and my hand and seal procured the like legal claims to be made, as were formerly executed in the time of my widowhood; which claims are also extant in the records of my time when I was Countess of Pembroke, they being the second claims so made in the lands of mine inheritance, and the first claims after I was secondly married. Ps. 123.

Also in August 1637, the second claims while I was Countess of Pembroke, in the life time of my second lord, were made in like manner to all the lands of mine inheritance in Westmoreland and Craven, which are also [p. 130] extant in my records; and they were

1 Job. v. 11-14 [He] setteth up on his them that be low, that the sorrowfull may be exalted to salvation. He scattereth the devises of the craftie: so that their handes cannot accomplish that which they doe enterprise. He taketh the wise in their craftinesse, and the counsell of the wicked is made foolish. They meet with darknes in the daytime, and grope at noone day, as in the night.

2 1st of May] 3rd of May according to Complete Peerage.

3 Ps. cxxiii.] I lift up mine eyes to Thee, that dwellest in the heavens, etc.
the third and last claims made thereunto, for then the Civil Wars broke
out in that extremity in the Northern parts, that no more claims
could be made there during my uncle of Cumberland and his son's
life time. Psal. 123.

The 18th of December 1634, by reason of some discontents, I
went from living at the court at Whitehall to live at Baynard's Castle
in London, where and at his two houses at Wilton and Ramsbury I
continued for the most part during the time of his life after; in which
houses of his lived then his sister-in-law Mary Talbot, Countess Dowager
of Pembroke, and most of his children, for that widdow Countess out-
lived him about a month. He had six children, five sons and one
dughter, the Countess of Carvarvon; but she and two of her brothers
dyed in the time that I lived his wife. Prov. 20. 24.1

I must not forget God's goodness and mercy to me, in sending my
eldest daughter, the Countess of Thanet, her first-born child, being a
son,2 whereof she was delivered in Bolbrook house in Sussex the 7th
of August 1631, and after that had many more children, both sons
and daughters, to my great comfort, so as now she hath ten children
alive. Gen. 9. 1.3

The 5th of June 1635 did my said Lord the Earl of Pembrooke in
Baynard's Castle make over to me my jointure of those lands of his in
the Isle of Sheppy in Kent, which he had formerly made in jointure to
his first wife, the Lady Susan Vere, Countess of Montgomery; and at
the time of the making that jointure he released his right to all my
lands in Westmoreland and £5,000 out of the lands in Craven, for a part
of my younger daughter's portion, if ever those lands should fall to
me in his life, as afterwards they did. And this agreement was chiefly
made between us by my worthy cousin german Francis, Earl of
Bedford.

The 21 of January 1641 dyed my uncle Francis, Earl of Cumberland,
when he was near eighty and two years old, in Skypeton Castle
in Craven, I lying then in Ramsbury in Wiltshire; and his only child

1 Prov. xx. 24] The steps of a man are ruled by the Lord: how can a man then understand his owne way?
2 a son] Nicholas, third Earl of Thanet.
3 Gen. ix. 1) And God blessed Noah and his sonnes, and sayd to them, Bring forth fruit, and multiply and replenish the earth.
Henry, Lord Clifford, who succeeded him in the Earldom, lived but two years ten months and some twenty days after him. Job 7. 1.¹

The 9th day of that May in 1641 dyed my worthy cosin german Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, at his house called Bedford House in the Strand, to my extream grief and sorrow, for he was a most worthy man. Eccles. cap. 3 and cap. 8. v. 6.²

And when the Civil Wars between the King and Parliament began to grow hotter and hotter in England, my said lord and I came together from Wilton the 12 of October 1642 with my younger daughter, then the Lady Isabella Sackvill; and the next day we came to London, where my said lord went to lye at his lodgings in the Cockpitt in St. James's Park, over against Whitehall, to be near the Parliament. But I and my daughter went to lye at Baynard's Castle, which was then a house full of riches, and was the more secured by my lying there; where then I continued to lye in my own chamber without removing, six years and nine months, which was the longest time that ever I continued to lye in one house in all my life, the Civill Wars being then very hot in England, so that I may well say that was then as it were a place of refuge for me to hide myself in, till those troubles were over passed. Isai. 43. 2.³

About the beginning of the year in 1643, my eldest daughter, the Countess of Thanet, went over into France, to her lord and their eldest son, who [p. 131] were there before, where she stayed some seven or eight months about Paris and Roan and those places; and in April and May 1644 she returned with her lord into England to me, and four of their younger children, leaving their eldest son, the Lord Tufton, behind them. Where she was delivered the 30 of August of her seventh child, Mr. Thomas Tufton, at her husband's house in Aldersgate Street in London, for she was great with child with him when she came back into England. And she and her lord and their eldest son were in France when my cosin Henry, Earl of Cumberland, dyed.

¹ Job vii. 1] See p. 41 n.
² Eccles. iii.] See p. 33 n.
³ Eccles. viii. 6] See p. 34 n.
⁴ Is. xliii. 2] When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee, and through the floods, that they doe not overflowe thee, etc.
The 11th of December 1643, in one of the Prebends' houses in York, died my cousin german Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland; in which place his wife and widow, my Lady Frances Cecill, Countess of Cumberland, dyed the 11th of February following; so as there was little more than two months between their deaths. Which Countess of Cumberland was cousin german to my second lord's first wife; and this Earl and Countess of Cumberland left but one child behind them, the Lady Elizabeth Clifford, now Countess of Cork. So by the death of this cousin german of mine, Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, without heirs male, the lands of mine inheritance in Craven and Westmoreland reverted unto me without question or controversy, after that his father, Francis, Earl of Cumberland, and this Earl Henry, his son, had unjustly detained from me the ancient lands in Craven, from the death of my father, and the lands in Westmoreland from the death of my mother, till this time; yet had I little or no profit from that estate for some years after, by reason of the Civil Wars.

And by his death was extinct the Earldom of Cumberland in the family of the Cliffords, which had continued from the 18th of June 1525 till his death, he being the last heir male of that house.

The 16 day of May in 1645 dyed Mary Curson, Countess of Dorset, a virtuous and good woman, in Whitehall, she that was my dear and good friend, though her husband, my brother-in-law, was ever my bitter enemy and persecutor. Job 7. 1.

About this time, and for some years before, happened a great cause of anger and falling out between my lord and me, because he desired to have one of his younger sons married with my daughter Isabella, which I could no way remedie, my daughter being herself extremely averse from that match, though he believed it was in my power to have brought it to pass, being so persuaded by some of my enemies. But at length it pleased God that on the 5th of July, being Monday, in 1647 this youngest daughter of mine, the Lady Isabella Sackvill, was married to James Compton, Earl of Northampton, in the church

1 11th of February following] 14th of February according to Complete Peerage.
2 16th day of May] Her funeral, at the public expense, was on 3rd of September, according to Complete Peerage.
3 Job vii. 1] See p. 41 n.
at Clarkenwell. But I was not then present at the marriage, for many reasons. In which church my mother and I had been parishioners for some seven years together in my childhood.

The 3d of June in 1649 I took my last leave of my second husband, the Earl of Pembroke, in his lodging in the Cockpit near Whitehall; which was the last time that he and I ever saw one another, it being then Sunday. And the same day I went from thence to my daughter Northampton’s house at Islington; which was the first time I was ever in any of her lord’s houses, nor have I been in any of them since. And methinks the destinie is remarkable, that she should be settled at Islington, so near Clarkenwell, where my mother and I lived long [p. 132] in my childhood, and that her lord’s chief house of Ashby should be so near Lillford in Northamptonshire, where both my mother and myself in our younger years had our breeding; as also that my elder daughter of Thanett should be settled at Hothfield in Kent, not far from Sutton, where my blessed mother and I lived together a good while, whilst I was a maid. So as those countries where my mother lived as a stranger and pilgrim and in some discontents are now the settled abode and habitation of both her grandchildren, as Knowle in Kent was for the most part my habitation during the time I lived wife to my first lord; and to my second lord while I was his wife, was Wilton and Ramsbury in Wiltshire the chief places of my abode, when I was in the country, not far from Devonshire where that blessed mother of mine was born; so powerfull an influence had her goodness over the destinie of her posteritie. And the 11th day of July 1649, having a little afore in that Baynard’s Castle taken my leave of my two daughters and their lords and my grandchildren, did I go out of London onwards on my journey towards Skypton; so as then I went not far from North-hall, where I had formerly lived; and so by easy journeys on that road I came to Skypton the 18th day of that month, into my castle there, it being the first time of my coming into it after the pulling down of most of the old castle, which was done some six months before by order of Parliament, because it had been a garrison in the late Civil War. And I was never till now in any part of that castle since I was nine or ten weeks old. About the 28th of that month

1 Baynard’s] MS. Bernard’s.
I went into that old decayed tower at Barden, it being the first time that I was ever in that tower, and then I continued to lye in Skipton till the 7th of the month following, which was August. And the 7th of that month of August I removed from Skipton Castle to Appleby Castle, and lay by the way at Kirkby Lonsdale. So the 8th day of that August in 1649 I came into Appleby Castle, the most antient seat of my inheritance, and lay in my own chamber there, where I used formerly to lye with my dear mother; and there I continued to lye till about the 13th of February following, this 8th of August being the first time that I came into the said Appleby Castle ever since I went out of it with my dear mother the 8th day of October in 1607. So various are the pilgrimages of this humane life, as Eccles. 3. 1. And from the death of my cosin german Henry, Earl of Cumberland, till this my coming into Appleby Castle was just five years eight months, wanting three days. Ps. 121. 1.

And the 18 of this August I went through Whinfield and into Brougham Castle for a while, in which castle and park I had not been since the 9th of December 1616, when I was then Countess of Dorsett, till this day. And the 15th day of this August I went into my decayed castles of Brough and Pendragon, and into Wharton Hall, where I had not been since August or September 1607 till then. Prov. 20. 24. In the year of our Lord God 1650, as the year begins on New Year's day, and the 23d of January following, dyed my second Lord, Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, in his [p. 133] lodgings in the Cockpitt near Whitehall at London, he being then sixty-five years three months and thirteen days old. And the news of his death was brought me down post from London to Appleby Castle the 27th of that month, being Sunday, for he dyed upon a Wednesday; and his dead body was buried in the great church at Salisbury the 9th of February following, by his brother and their father and mother. Job. 7. 1. And his eldest brother's widdow, Mary Talbot, eldest daughter and

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1 Eccles. iii. 1] See p. 33. MS. wrongly iii. 5.
2 Ps. cxxi. 1] See p. 35 n.
4 Job vii. 1] See p. 41 n.
Countess of Pembroke, 1649–1650

coheir to Gilbert Talbott, Earl of Shrewsbury, dyed the 25 day of the month following after his death in Ramsbury House in Wiltshire, and was buried a while after, by her husband, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, in the Cathedral church at Salisbury.

This second lord of mine was born a second son the 10 of October, in 1584, in his father, Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke's house at Wilton in Wiltshire, which was once a nunnery. His mother was Mary Sidney, only daughter to Sir Henry Sidney and only sister to the renowned Sir Philip Sidney. He was no scholar at all to speak of, for he was not past three or four months at the University of Oxford, being taken away from thence by his friends presently after his father's death in Queen Elizabeth's time, at the latter end of her reign, to follow the court, as judging himself fitt for that kind of life, when he was not passing fifteen or sixteen years old; yet he was of a very quick apprehension, a sharp understanding, very crafty withal, and of a discerning spirit, but extremly cholerick by nature, which was increased the more by the office of Lord Chamberlain to the King which he held many years. He was never out of England but some two months when he went into France with other lords in the year 1625 to attend Queen Mary at her first coming over into England to be married to King Charles, her husband. He was one of the greatest noblemen of his time in England in all respects, and was generally throughout the realm very well beloved. He spent most of his time at court, and was made Earl of Montgomery the 4th of May by King James in 1605, and Knight of the Garter a little after, the year after he was married to his first wife. But she dyed before he came to be Earl of Pembroke, for his elder brother, Earl William, dyed but the

1 10 of October] Complete Peerage (Addenda) says 16th of October.
2 Mary Sidney] Her well-known epitaph in Salisbury Cathedral,

"Underneath this marble hearse
Lies the subject of all verse:
Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother.
Death! ere thou hast slain another
Wise and fair and good as she,
Time shall throw a dart at thee;"

is variously attributed to Ben Jonson and to William Browne.

3 a little after] In 1608; really more than three years after his first marriage, which was in 1604.
10th of April in 1630, a little before I was married to him. This second husband of mine dyed the 23d of January 1650, as the year begins on New Year's day, and was buried the 9th of February following in the great church at Salisbury, I then lying in my castle of Appleby in Westmoreland. *Job. c. 7. v. 1.*

A little after my second lord's death, viz. on the 13 of February following, I removed from Appleby Castle in Westmoreland to my castle of Skypton in Craven, lying one night by the way at Kirkby Lonsdale. And so the 14 I came thither, and continued to lie in my said castle for a whole year together. And this was the first time I came to Skypton, where I was born, when I was the second time a widow, I being then Countess Dowager of Pembroke and Montgomery, as well as Countess Dowager of Dorsett; and I did not return from thence till the 18 of February [*p. 134*] come twelve months after. And this was the first time I lay a twelve month together in any one of my houses. And there I found by experience in a retired life that saying to be true, in Eccles. 7. 13; *Psal. 104. v. 13, 24*; and *Psal. 16. v. 5, 6.*

And this time of my staying there, I employed myself in building and reparation at Skypton, at Barden Tower, and in causing the bounds to be ridden, and my courts kept in my several manors in Craven, and in these kind of country affairs about my estate, which I found extream disorder by reason it had been so long kept from me, as from the death of my father till this time, and by occasion of the late Civil Wars in England. And this time the suits and differences in law began to grow hot betwixt my tenants in Westmoreland and some of my tenants in Craven and me; which suits with my tenants in Westmoreland are still depending, and God knows how long they may last; but the differences with my tenants in Craven were for the most part by compromise and agreement reconciled, and taken

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1 *Job. vii. 1* See p. 41 n.
2 Eccles. vii. 13 *Wisdom is good with an inheritance, and excellent to them that see the sun.*
3 *Ps. civ. 13* He watereth the mountaines from his chambers, and the earth is filled with the fruit of thy works. And v. 24. *O Lord, how manifold are thy works!* in wisdom hast thou made them all: the earth is full of thy riches.
4 *Ps. xvi. 5, 6* The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance and of my cup: thou shalt maintain my lot. The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places: yea, I have a faire heritage.
Countess Dowager of Pembroke, 1650

up. And while I now abode there, was my eldest daughter, the Countess of Thanett, delivered of her son George Tufton at Hothfield House in Kent, I accounting it a great blessing to have a grandchild of mine to bear my noble father's name. Gen. 26. 22. And she hath had two daughters since. And about the beginning of this September did my cousin Elizabeth Clifford, Countess of Cork, with her two sons and four daughters come to lie at her house of Bolton in Craven near to me at Skypton for a month. She was daughter and heir to my cousin german Henry, late Earl of Cumberland. During which time there passed many visits and civilities betwixt her and me, I dining sometimes at Bolton with her, and she sometimes at Skypton with me, notwithstanding that by reason she was heir to her father Henry, Earl of Cumberland, and I to my father George, Earl of Cumberland, there were divers differences then on foot betwixt us. But we passed them by, as Prov. c. 19, v. ii. And the 10th of that month was the first time I saw her or any of her children in the Northern parts, for then I dined at Bolton with them.

And the 26 of that month was the last time I saw that Countess of Cork, my cousin, at my castle of Skypton, for then she took her leave of me there, and went a little while after to Lonsborough and so up to London, where she and her children remained till about the beginning of September 1652, and went with her lord and six children out of England into Ireland to his great estate there. But in this year 1650 her husband, the Earl of Cork, continued to lie at Bolton for some two or three months and often saw me and my first grandchild at Skypton. For the 18 day of December did my said first grandchild, Nicholas, Lord Tufton, come thither to me, and staid there till the 20th day of March following. Then he returned up to London and from thence went beyond sea, to travel in Italy to Rome and to other places abroad. And this was the first time I saw him or any of my grandchildren at Skypton or in any part of the lands of mine inheritance. Psal. 24. v. 16. And about August this summer Francis Thorp, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and Mr.

1 Gen. xxvi. 22] Because the Lord hath now made us room, we shall encrease upon the earth.
2 Prov. xix. 11] The discretion of a man deferreth his anger: and his glory is to passe by an offence.
3 Ps. xxiv. 16] Wrong reference. Omitted in Lord Bath's MS.
Justice Warburton, the two Judges of the Assize for the Northern Circuite, did come [p. 135] to keep the Assizes at Appleby where they then lay in the Castle some three or four nights. Eccles. c. 3.1

In the year of our Lord God 1651, as the year begins on New Year’s day,2 about the 18 or 19 of February I returned back to Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, lying one night by the way at Kirkby Lonsdale; in which castle of mine I continued to lye for a whole year, without removing anywhither, and spent much in repairing my castles of Appleby and Brougham, to make them as habitable as I could; though Brougham was very ruinous and much out of repair. And in this year, the 21 of April, I helped to lay the foundation stone of the middle wall of the great tower of Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, called Caesar’s Tower, to the end it may be repaired again and made habitable if it pleaseth God (Isai. c. 58. v. 12 3), after it had stood without a roof or covering, or one chamber habitable in it, ever since about 1569, a little before the death of my grandfather of Cumberland, when the roof of it was pulled down in the great rebellion time of the North. Which tower was wholly finished and covered with lead the latter end of July 1653. And the 23 day of the said April I was present at the laying of the first foundation-stone of my hospital or almshouse here in Appleby towne, for which I purchased lands, viz. the manor of Brougham, the 4th day of February following, and the lands called St. Nicholas near Appleby the 29 day of December in 1652. Which almshouse was quite finished, and the Mother and twelve Sisters placed therein, in January and March 1653. And about this April and May in 1651 were the boundaries ridden for me in my lands here in Westmoreland, which, as I was informed, had not been done since my mother had those lands in jointure till this time. Prov. 27. v. 28.4

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1 Eccles. iii.] Presumably the reference is as usual to v. 1 (see p. 33, etc.) rather than vv. 16, 17. And moreover I have seen under the sunne the place of judgement, where was wickednesse, and the place of justice, where was iniquitie. I thought in mine heart, God will judge the just and the wicked, etc.

2 New Year’s day] MS. repeats “the next year 1651.”

3 Is. lviii. 12] And they shall be of thee, that shall builde the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the foundations for many generations, and thou shalt be called the repairer of the breach, and the restorer of the pathes to dwell in. The Countess inscribed this verse on Brougham and Skipton Castles and on Barden Tower.

4 Prov. xxvii. 28] Probably xxviii. 27. Hee that giveth unto poore shall not lacke: but he that hideth his eyes shall have many curses. The reference is not in Lord Bath’s MS.
And this summer Major-General Thomas Harrison came hither with his forces, for then the war was hot in Scotland, so as then many places in Westmoreland and especially my castle of Appleby was full of soldiers, who lay there a great part of that summer. But I thank God I received no harm or damage by them, nor by the King and his party, who that August came into England, and within six or seven miles of Appleby Castle, though they came not to it. And that Christmas I kept here in Appleby Castle, as I had done the Christmas before at Skypoton and in this settled abode of mine, in these three antient houses of mine inheritance, Appleby Castle and Brougham Castle in Westmoreland, and Skypoton Castle or House in Craven, I do more and more fall in love with the contentments and innocent pleasures of a country life; which humor of mind I do wish with all my heart, if it be the will of Almighty God, may be conferred on my posterity that are to succeed me in those places, for a wise body ought to make their own home the places of self-fruition, and the comfortablist part of their life. But this must be left to a succeeding Providence, for none can know what shall come after them. But to invite them to it that saying in the 16 Psalm, v. 5, 6, 7, 8,¹ may be fitly applied, *The lot is fallen into me in a pleasant place, I have a fair heritage.* And I may [p. 136] truly say that verse:—

From many noble progenitors I hold
Transmitted lands, castles and honors which they sway’d of old.

No Assizes kept this year at Appleby, or any other places in the Northern Circuite by reason of the troubles in those parts.

The 29 of December in this year did I sign and seal a patent to Mr. Thomas Gabetis * to be my deputy-sheriff of the County of Westmoreland; for the execution of which office, he had the Counsell of State’s order for his approbation bearing date the 21 of November before.

In the year of our Lord God 1652, the 24 of February, as the year begins on New Year’s day, did I remove from this Appleby Castle,

¹ Ps. xvi. 5–8] She quotes inaccurately here, mixing the Prayer-Book and Bible versions.
² Gabetis] MS. Gabesis.
lying one night by the way at Kirby Lonsdale; and the next day, being the 25th, I came to Skypton Castle, after I had lain in the said Castle in Westmoreland a year and four days over.

And when I was returned to Skypton I continued to lye in my own chamber there till the 29 of November following, when I returned to Appleby again; so as I stayed this time at Skypton nine months and odd days.

The 19 of this May did my grandchild Mr. John Tufton, second son to my eldest daughter and her lord, the Earl of Thanett, come down hither to me, which was the first time I saw him at Skypton; and here in Craven and in Westmoreland he continued to lye till the 23 day of March in 1653, on which day he went from Appleby Castle into the South to see his father and mother, and so to Eaton College, there to study for some time and to live as a scholar.

The 17th of this July, being Saturday, dyed Edward Sackvill, Earl of Dorsett, in Great Dorsett House in London, and he was buried within a while after in the vault in Withram Church in Sussex, by his wife and his eldest brother, my first lord, and many of their ancestors; of whose death Mr. Christopher Marsh brought me word to Skypton Castle the 24 day of that month, when he then came to lye there in my family till the 30 day of September following. Which Edward, Earl of Dorsett, was the most bitter and earnest enemy to me that ever I had; but Almighty God delivered me most miraculously from all his most crafty devices. Deut. 23. v. 5. For without the mercifull power of that God it had been impossible for me to have escaped them. Ps. 18. v. 4, 43, 47, 48. And now on this 24 day of July did Mr. George Sedgewick come hither from London to me to serve me as my secretary and one of my chief officers.

On the 2d of August this year was born the Lady Mary Tufton, my grandchild, in her father's, the Earl of Thanett's, house of Hothfield in Kent, she being the 11th child to her mother, so as I accounted

1 Withram] Withyham.
2 Deut. xxiii, 5] MS. xxiii, 3. The Lord thy God turned the curse to a blessing unto thee, etc. 
3 Ps. xviii. 4] The sorrowes of death compassed me, and the floods of wickednesse made me afraid. (v. 43) Thou hast delivered me from the contentions of the people, etc. (vv. 47, 48) It is God that giveth me power to avenge me and subdueth the people under me. O my deliverer from mine enemies, even thou has set me up from them that rose against mee: thou hast delivered me from the cruell man.
myself happy to have a grandchild of mine of that blessed name. Luke i. v. 48.¹

And about the 8th day of September did my cosin the Countess of Cork with her children go from Bristow over sea into Ireland to Lizmore and Cork, and those places in Munster, to her husband Richard, Earl of Cork, who went thither a few months before her; but in the year 1656 she came with her two sons and daughter Elizabeth into England for a while, and left her two sons at Queen’s College in the university of Oxford to study [p. 137] there for a time, herself and her daughter Elizabeth going over sea into Ireland again in October in the same year to her husband, the Earl of Cork.

The 6 of November was my cause in Chancery between me and my tenants in Westmoreland dismissed out of the court, and I was left to my remedy at Common Law, to which busyness God send some good conclusion, for it hath been both chargeable and troublesome unto me. And in August this year, while I lay in Skypton Castle in Craven, did Judge Puleston and Serjt. Parker come to Appleby Castle in their Northern Circuite, where they lay for four or five nights. Eccles. c. 3.²

And the 29 of this month I' with my grandchild Mr. John Tufton and my family came from Skypton, lying one night by the way at Kirby-Lonsdale, and so the next day we came into Appleby Castle, where this grandchild and I kept our Christmas this year. And this was the first time that any of my grandchildren were with me in Westmoreland. Ps. 123.³

The numerousness of my posterity and all other benefits whatsoever I believe were bestowed upon me for the heavenly goodness of my dear mother, whose fervent prayers were offered up with great zeal to Almighty God for me and mine, and had such a return of blessings followed them as that, though I met with some bitter and wicked enemies and many great oppositions in the world, yet were my deliverances so great, as could not befall to any that were not visibly sustained by a Divine favour from above. Ps. 41.⁴ And

¹ Luke i. 48] For behold, from henceforth shall all ages call me blessed.
² Eccles. iii] See p. 33 n.
³ Ps. cxxiii.] See p. 49, if the reference is right.
⁴ Ps. xli.] v. 1, The Lord shall deliver him in the time of trouble.
Lady Anne Clifford

in this country life of mine I find that saying of the Psalmist true, *The Earth is full of the goodness of the Lord*, Ps. 33. v. 5; Ps. 104. v. 24; Ps. 119. v. 64.

In the year of our Lord God 1653, as the year begins on New Year’s day, in the beginning of this year did I cause several courts to be kept in my name, in divers of my manors within this county. But the tenants being obstinate and refractorie, though they appeared, would not answer as they were called; and also many leases of ejectment did I cause to be sealed in this county in October to a tryal with my tenants at Common Law. God send them good success. Isai. c. 30. v. 21.

And the 30th day of this January, being my birthday, did I pass my climacterical year of 63, the year amongst physitians counted so remarkable. Ps. 123.

The 28 of this March my grandchild Mr. John Tufton went from Appleby Castle to York, from thence to London, and so to Hothfield in Kent, to see his father and mother, brothers and sisters; and within a while after to Eaton College, there to study; where he now remained from the 25 of April, for the most part, till the 5th of July in the year following, that he went to Skyperton and from thence to Oxford the 2d of August to be a student there.

And in the beginning of this year was my almshouse here at Appleby quite finished, which had been almost two years a-building, so as I now put into it twelve poor women, eleven of them being widdows, and the twelfth a maimed maid, and a Mother, a deceased minister’s widdow; some of whom I put into the said house, and the rest in January and the beginning of March following. Luke 7. v. 5; Ps. 114. v. 12, 13, 14.

The 27th of this May was my youngest daughter, the Countess of Northampton, delivered of her second child, which was also a son, in her lord’s house [p. 138] called Canbury, by Islington near London,

1 Ps. civ. 24] See p. 56 n.
2 Ps. cxxiv. 64] *The earth, O Lord, is full of thy mercy, etc.*
4 Ps. cxviii.] See p. 49 n.
5 Luke vii. 5] *For he loveth, sayd they, our nation, and he hath built us a Synagogue.*
6 Ps. cxiv. 12–14] Perhaps cxv. 12–14, *The Lord will increase his graces toward you, etc.; or cxvi. 12–14, see p. 64 n.*
who was christened there the next day after by the name of William, I lying then in my castle here at Appleby in Westmoreland. The birth of which child I account as an extraordinary great blessing, and scale of God's mercies to me and mine: Jer. c. 29. v. 6, the latter part of it; cap. 3. v. 19.* But he dyed, to my great grief and sorrow, the 18th day of December 1661 in his father the Earl of Northampton's house in Northamptonshire called Castle Ashby. The 15 of June following did her husband, James Compton, Earl of Northampton, come from his journey from London over Stainmore to my castle of Appleby to me; where he lay in the Baron's Chamber for the most part till the 29 of the same month, excepting two nights that he went to Carlisle and Naworth Castle and those parts. And the 15 of this month was the first time that I saw him or any son-in-law of mine here in Westmoreland, or in any parts of mine inheritance. And the 29 day of this month, when he went from hence, he went into my house or castle of Skypton and into my decayed tower of Barden, into my lordship of Sillesden, and the most remarkable places of my inheritance in Craven. And the 2d day of the month following, he went away from thence towards his house at Islington by London, and came thither to his wife about ten days after. Eccles. c. 8. v. 6.4

The 25 day of this June dyed at her house at Rainham in Kent Frances Cecill, Countess Dowager of Thanet, daughter to Thomas, Earl of Exeter, who was mother to my son-in-law the Earl of Thanet. And she was buryed a little after at Rainham church in Kent, by her husband, Nicholas, Earl of Thanet, and her grandchild and mine, the Lady Anne Tufton. Job. 7. v. 1; Eccles. c. 3; c. 8. v. 6.

The 18 of July was my grandchild the Lady Margaret Tufton married in her father's house in Aldersgate Street in London to Mr. George Coventry, eldest son to Thomas, Lord Coventry, whose father Thomas, Lord Coventry, was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England. And she went from thence about ten days after marriage, with her husband and his father, down into the country to their house at Croome

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1 Jer. xxix. 6] See p. 29 n.
2 Jer. iii. 19] How did I take thee for children, and give thee a pleasant land, etc.
3 Sillesden] Silsden, south-east of Skipton.
4 Eccles. viii. 6] See p. 34 n.
5 by] Margin, "i.e. near."
Lady Anne Clifford

in Worcestershire, to live there with them; which marriage I accounted as a great blessing of God Almighty to me and mine. Ps. 116. v. 12, 13, 14.¹

About the latter end also of this July was the great tower here at Appleby, called Cæsar's Tower, cover'd with lead, which had lain open and uncovered as a ruinous place ever since the year of our Lord God 1569, being a year before my grandfather of Cumberland dyed, till this time; the middle wall of which tower, and repairing of it, I began in April in the year 1651, and finished now. Isai. c. 56. v. 12; Ez. 36. v. 33, 36.²

And in this year, about the beginning of March, was my new stables begun to be built, without the castle, and adjoining to the barn built there about two years since by my directions, where there never was any building before. Pro. c. 20. v. 24.

The 17 day of August did Judge Puleston and Judge Parker come hither, and lay in Appleby Castle for five nights, and kept the Assizes here in the Moot Hall; so as on the 20 day the cause between me and my Westmoreland [p. 139] tenants came before Judge Parker, but was dismissed by reason of a general exception taken against most of the jurors. And the 22d day these Judges went away from hence towards Lancaster. This was the first time that I lay in Appleby Castle when there was an Assize held there. Prov. c. 20. v. 24.³

And about the time of the keeping of these Assizes did my cosin Philip, Lord Wharton, with his now second wife and his eldest daughter by his first wife, and his brother Sir Thomas Wharton, and his wife and their mother the Lady Philadelphis Wharton the widow, come to lye for a few nights in Wharton Hall in Westmoreland; so as I went to them in Wharton, and they came hither to me to Appleby. And this was the first time I saw any of them here in Westmoreland.

¹ Ps. cxvi. 12-14] What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits toward me? I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord. I will pay my vows unto the Lord, even now in the presence of all his people.

² Is. lvi. 12] Read lviii. 12, see p. 58 n.

³ Ezek. xxxvi. 33] What time as I shall have cleansed you from all your iniquities, I will cause you to dwell in the cities, and the desolate places shall be builded. And v. 36, Then the residue of the heathen that are left round about you shall know that I the Lord build the ruinous places and plant the desolate places, etc.

⁴ Prov. xx. 24] One of the Countess's favourite quotations (see pp. 50, 54, etc.); but the reference here is perhaps astray, see next paragraph.
The 1st day of September following did my son-in-law the Earl of Thanet, and my daughter his wife, and their eldest son Nicholas, Lord Tufton, come from London over Stainmore hither to Appleby Castle to me, where they continued to lye eleven nights together, my daughter and her lord in the chamber under the Drawing Room, and my Lord Tufton in the Baron's Chamber; this being the first time that this first child of mine, or her lord, or any of my own children came to me into Westmoreland or into any part of the lands of mine inheritance. Ps. 116. v. 12, 13, 14 ; Ps. 45. v. 16.

And the 7 day of this month I went with them into Brougham Castle and into Whinfield, it being the first time they were ever in these places; so as now I had the happiness to see this first child of mine and her first child, her eldest son, in the chamber where my father was born and my blessed mother dyed. Ps. 16. v. 5, 6, 7.

And the 12 day of this September my daughter of Thanet and her lord and their eldest son went away from me out of Appleby Castle in Westmoreland into Worcestershire, passing through Lancaster and those parts, and so through the city of Worcester unto their daughter at the Lord Coventry’s house at Croome in that county; so as they came thither the 17 day of this month, and lay there 9 nights, as they were in their journey towards London and their house at Hothfield in Kent; this being the first time that any child of mine came into Worcestershire, or so near the river of Severne. Eccles. 8. v. 6.

The 9th day of November following, being Wednesday, came my cause between me and my Westmoreland tenants to [be] heard at the Common Pleas Bar at Westminster before three of the judges of that court, viz. Puleston, Atkins, and Warburton, in the case of Skaife of Stainmore, which was given against me by the jury against evidence, direction of court, and the judgement of all that heard the same debated. Ps. 7. v. 9.

1 Ps. cxvi. 12-14] See p. 64 n.
2 Ps. xliv. 16] Instead of thy fathers shall thy children be: thou shalt make them princes through all the earth.
3 Ps. xvi. 5-7] See pp. 56 n., 59 n.
5 Ps. vii. 9] Oh let the malice of the wicked come to an end: but guide thou the just: for the righteous God trieth the hearts and reins.
The 9th day of December I removed from Appleby Castle into Brougham Castle in Westmoreland, where I continued to lye in the chamber where my father was born, and my blessed mother dyed, till the 11th of April following, that I removed from thence to Skypton. And I had not layn in this Brougham Castle in thirty-seven years till now; for the 9th of December, 1616, when I was then marryed to Richard Earl of Dorsett, I went out of [p. 140] it, up towards London to him, and never lay in it after, till this night; in which long time I passed through many strange and hard fortunes in the sea of this world; so as I may well apply that saying, Ps. 107 1 and Ps. 109. v. 21.

And the repairing of this Brougham Castle, which had layn as it were ruinous and desolate ever since King James his lying in it in 1617, till I made it lately habitable, caused me now to apply to my self that saying in Isai. c. 58. v. 12; Ez. 36. v. 28, 33, and 36; as also in my repairs of the great tower called Cæsar’s Tower at Appleby. And in this year also was built and finished, at my own charge, a new water-corn-mill, which was begun to be erected there the year before, within my mannor of Sillesden in Craven, in High Holden, not far from the place where the windmill formerly stood, that was built there by my ancestors. Ps. 121.

In the year of 1654, the 18th of March, as the year begins on New Year’s day, dyed in one of the new built houses in Queens Street Mary Beaumont, Countess Dowager of Northampton, mother to my son-in-law James Compton, Earl of Northampton. And she was buryed a while after in Compton church in Warwickshire. Job c. 7. v. I.

And the 11th of April I removed from Brougham Castle in Westmoreland and lay one night by the way at Kirby Lonsdale, and came the next day, being the 12th, to Skypton to lye here again in it, after I had layn in Westmoreland, without removing out of that county,

1 Ps. cvii.] Praise the Lord because hee is good; etc.
2 Ps. cix. 21] But thou, O Lord my God, deale with mee according unto thy Name: deliver me, for thy name is good.
4 Ezek. xxxvi.] So Lord Bath’s MS. The Harley MS. has xvi.: see p. 64 n.
5 Ps. cxxi.] See p. 35 n.
6 Job vii. 1] See p. 41 n.
for a year and four months. And so I now continued to lye here in
the Round Room, where I used to lye, till the 2d day of August follow­
ing, that I came back again into Westmoreland. Pro. c. 20. v. 24.¹

The 26 day of May did my daughter of Northampton, and her lord
and their little son, the Lord William Compton, come hither to me to
Skypton; where they continued to lye for a while in this house or
castle of mine, my daughter and her lord in the Round Chamber above
mine, and the little lord in the chamber next to the old castle. So
this 26 day was the first time that ever I saw my daughter of North­
ampton or her lord or their child here at Skypton, and the first time
that ever I saw this younger daughter of mine or any child of hers in
any of the lands of mine inheritance. Which gave me occasion to
apply to myself that saying of Israel unto Joseph, Gen. 48. v. II²;

And he wanted but a day of a year old when I first saw this grand­
child of mine; and his father's second brother, Sir Charles Compton,
came hither now with them. Isai. c. 21. v. 16.³

And the 5th of July following I went with my daughter of North­
ampton and her lord into my mother's almshouse at Beamsley, and
into my Lady of Cork's house at Bolton, though she herself was then
in Ireland, and into my decayed tower at Barden; it being the first
time that ever I was in any of these places with any child of mine
own. Ps. 116. v. 12, 13, 14.⁴

And the 8th day of this month was my grandchild the little Lord
Compton carried away from hence by his nurse that gave him suck,
who was born in Scotland, to Ottley, where he lay this one night, and
where the next day his father and mother overtook him. Ps. 20. v. 24.⁵

For the 9th day of this month my youngest daughter and her lord
and his brother Sir Charles Compton went away from Skypton Castle
to Ottley, and so took the child away with them to York, for there
they lay one night in their [p. 141] journey homewards. And they

¹ Prov. xx. 24] See p. 50 n.
² Gen. xlviii. 11] I had no thought to have seene thy face: yet loe, God hath shewed me also thy
seeede.
³ Is. xxi. 16] Probably a wrong reference.
⁴ Ps. cxvi. 12–14] See p. 64 n.
⁵ Ps. xx. 24] This reference should be to Proverbs, see above, note 1.
came well, I thank God, the 17th day to their house of Castle Ashby in Northamptonshire. Eccl. 8. v. 6.¹

The 22d of this month was my daughter of Thanet delivered of the Lady Anne Tufton, her sixth daughter and twelfth child, and second of that name, at Hothfield House in Kent. And the 5th of July following did her son my grandchild, John Tufton, come from Eaton College, from studying there, to Skipton to me; for a little while, from whence he went immediately up to Oxford, and was settled there in Queen's College the 2d of August following. Isai. 58. v. 12.²

The 2d day of this August I and my family removed from my house and castle of Skipton in Craven unto Kirby Lonsdale, where I lay in the inne there all night. And the next day, being the 3d, I came into Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, after I had layn there in Skipton Castle from the 12th day of April last till now. And I continued to lye in Appleby Castle till the 25th of this month, that I removed into Brougham Castle. Eccl. 8. v. 6; Ps. 125.³

And while I now lay in Appleby Castle did the two Judges, Hugh Windham and Richard Newdigate, come hither in their circuite, where they now lay five nights together, Judge Newdigate in the Baron's chamber, and Judge Windham in the great chamber called Caesar's Tower; this being the first time that any of the Judges or any persons of note or quality lay there since I lately repaired to it to my exceeding great cost and charge. Eccl. 8. v. 6.

And the 12th day, while these Judges now lay there, was my cause between me and my Westmoreland tenants heard in the Moothall in Appleby before Judge Newdigate, where it was conceived I had a reasonable good success, having obtained a special verdict against them; though my tenants still persisted in their willfull refractoriness and obstinacy against me. Job 5. v. 12, 13, 14, 15.⁴

The 25 day of this month, being Fryday, I removed from Appleby Castle with my family into my castle of Brougham in Westmoreland; where I continued to lye till the 8th day of January following, when

¹ Eccles. viii. 6] See p. 34 n.
³ Ps. cxxv.] They that trust in the Lord shall be as Mount Zion, etc.
⁴ Job v. 12–15] He scattereth the devises of the craftie, etc.
I removed from thence back again to Appleby Castle, I having time now in this private life of mine at Brougham to contemplate the great mercies of God in delivering me from so many evils as I had passed over, and crowning me with his blessings in this my old age, to live happily and peaceably in these antient places of my inheritance. Isai. 26. v. 8, 9.

And whilst I now lay here at Brougham in my own chamber, where my father was born and my mother dyed, I had the joyful news, how that on the 2d day of this September being Saturday, my grandchild the Lady Margaret Coventry, wife to Mr. Geo. Coventry, was delivered of her first child, which was a son, in her father-in-law, the lord Coventry’s house of Croome in Worcestershire. Which child was christened there the 17th day following, being Sunday, by the name of John, this being the first child, that made me a great-grandmother, which I account as a great blessing of God. Ps. 116. v. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

And my daughter of Thanet was there at the birth and christening of this first grandchild of hers, so as he sucked the milk of her breast many times, she having there with her her now youngest child, the Lady Anne Tufton, being about nine weeks old. But my grandchild the Lady Margaret Coventry, after my daughter of Thanet’s departure from Croome, gave this child of hers suck herself, as her mother had done to most of her children. Jer. 19. v. 6, the latter part of it; cap. 30. 19.

In the year of our Lord 1655, as the year begins on New Year’s day, I removed from Brougham Castle with my family to my castle [p. 142] of Appleby in Westmoreland the 8th day of January, and lay in it till the 18th of September following; and then I removed to Skipton. Eccl. c. 8. v. 6.

1 Is. xxvi. 8, 9] Also we, O Lord, have waited for thee in the way of thy judgements: the desire of our soule is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee. With my soule have I desired thee in the night, and with my spirit within me will I seeke thee in the morning: for seeing thy judgements are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world shal learne righteousness.

2 Ps. cxvi. 11-16] See p. 64 n. for vv. 12-14. Verse 11 (I saide in my feare all men are liers) seems less appropriate, and so does v. 15.

3 Jer. xix. 6] Probably xxix. 6 is meant, see p. 29 n.

4 Jer. xxx. 19] And out of them shall proceed thanksgiving, and the voyce of them that are joyous, and I will multiply them, and they shall not be fewe: I wil also glorifie them, and they shall not be diminished.

5 Eccles. viii. 6] See p. 34 n.
In which time, on the 10 day of August, did the two Judges of Assize, the Lord Chief Baron Steele and Serjeant John Parker, come hither to Appleby town in their circuit, and lay here in Appleby Castle six nights together, and kept the Assizes in the town, I lying then with my family in Appleby Castle. Eccles. cap. 3; Prov. 20. v. 24.

The 18 day of September following I removed again with my family out of Appleby Castle in Westmoreland towards Skipton Castle in Craven, lying all night by the way at Kirby Lonsdale, and came safe thither the 19th; I having not been in this castle of Skipton since the 2d of August till now. So I lay then in my said castle of Skipton till the 1st day of April next following, which was about six months and ten days over; at which time I removed the said 1st of April 1656 out of my said castle of Skipton towards Brougham Castle in Westmoreland, to lye there in it for a while, lying all night by the way in the inne at Kirby Lonsdale; so as I continued to lye in my said castle of Brougham till the 2d of October following, at which time I with my family removed to Appleby Castle in Westmoreland. Eccles. c. 3; Psal. 123.

About the 10 day of this March in this year 1655, as the year begins on New Year’s day, while I lay in Appleby Castle, did I cause a great part of Appleby church to be taken down, it being very ruinous and in danger of falling of itself; and so I caused a vault to be made in the North East corner of the church for myself to be buried in, if it please God. And the repairing of the said church cost me some six or seven hundred pounds, being finished the year following. Eccles. c. 3; Psal. 116. v. 12, 13, 14.

And about the 20 of this month was my first grandchild, the Lord Nicholas Tufton, sent as a prisoner into the Tower of London by command of the Lord Protector and his Counsel, upon suspicion that he had a hand in the late plott, so as this grandchild of mine continued to lye in it as a prisoner nine months and four days. For the 24 of December following he was inlarged out of his imprisonment in the

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1 Eccles. iii.] See p. 33 n.
3 April] MS. August.
4 Ps. cxxiii.] See p. 49 n.
5 Ps. cxvi. 12–14] See p. 64 n.
6 the late plott] That of the "Sealed Knott."
said Tower in London and went home to his father and mother again; this being the first time of his imprisonment in that Tower. Notwithstanding he was committed again to the same Tower as a prisoner the 11 or 12 of September following. Ps. 105. v. 19.1

The 16 day of this April was my grandchild, the Lady Frances Tufton, sent from her father and mother, from their house in Aldersgate Street in London, over sea into Utrecht in Holland, to be cured of the ricketts, which she had in great extremity; where she remained till about the 8 or 9 of May in 1657, when she and her brother John Tufton, with George Sedgewick his governor and others in their company, came back to London to their father and mother. Eccles. c. 8. v. 6.2

And the 14 of this July, when I now lay in this Appleby Castle, was my daughter of Northampton delivered of her third child, the Lady Anne Compton, who was her first daughter, in her lord’s house in Canbury, near Islington by [p. 143] London. Jer. c. 29. v. 6 3; c. 30, v. 19.4 Which Lady Anne Compton dyed in her father’s house in Lincoln’s Inne Fields at London the 15 day of December 1660. And this summer by my appointment was the wall of the Little Park at Appleby made new and higher round about, save only towards the water-side. Ps. 90. v. 17.6

This summer also, though I lay in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, yet by my appointment and at my own charge was the steeple of Skypton church in the East and North part of it, which had been pulled down in the time of the late Civil Wars, built up again, repaired and leaded all over, and some part of the church itself to be also repaired, with a tomb to be erected and set up in it in memory of my noble father. Eccles. 3 4; Ps. 116. v. 12, 13, 14, 15.7

And about the 1st of this October 1655, when I lay now in my house here at Skypton, did I begin to make the rubbish be carryed out of the old castle at Skypton, which had lain in it since it was thrown down and demolished in December 1648. And the January following, and in the year 1659, the said old castle was very well finished

1 Ps. cv. 19] Untill his appoynted time came, and the counsell of the Lord had tried him.
2 Eccles. viii. 6] See p. 34 n.  
3 Jer. xxix. 6] See p. 29 n.
5 Ps. xc. 17] Direct thou the worke of our hands upon us, etc. MS. xix. 17.
6 Eccles. iii.] See p. 33 n.  
7 Ps. cxvi. 12-15] See pp. 64 n., 69 n.
and new built up; though I came not then to lye in it, by reason of the smell and unwholesomness of the new walls. Mat. c. 36. 23,1 the latter part of it; Isai. c. 58. v. 12.2

In the year 1656, as the year begins on New Year’s day, about the 13 of January, did my grandchild John Tufton, after he had continued about a month with me at my house or castle of Skypoton in Craven, go away from thence from me back to Queen’s College at Oxford, to lye in the University as a student till the 6th of May following; at which time he went quite away from living as a student there towards London to his father and mother and most of their children, whither he came well to them the next day unto their house at Aldersgate Street there. And from thence, about the 14 of June following, he went over out of England into the Low Countries with George Sedgwick, whom I had appointed to be his governor; so as they stayed now in Holland and those provinces till the beginning of May following in 1657, having spent most of that time in the city of Utrecht; and came over safe into England and arrived at London the 9th of May 1657, from whence he came hither to me to Skypoton Castle the 12 of June following, and with him George Sedgwick his governor and Alexander Whitehard3 my grandchild’s man, to live there with me, as they had done formerly. And my grandchild the Lady Frances Tufton came then also over with her brother John Tufton from Utrecht in the Low Countries into England to her father and mother, after that she had remained there at Utrecht, all the while her brother John staid there, and a good while before, for the cure of the rickets, which she had in extremity. Eccles. c. 3.4

The 1st day of April I with my family removed out of my house or castle of Skypoton in Craven into the inne at Kirby Lonsdale in Westmoreland, from whence the next day I continued my journey to my castle of Brougham in the said county; where by the way I went into Mr. Dalston’s house in Melkinsthrop,5 and stayed there a while; which was the first and last time that ever I was in that house.

1 Matt. xxxvi. 36] A wrong reference; probably Ezek. xxxvi. 36, see p. 64 n.
3 Whitehard] Lord Bath’s MS. reads Witkars (?). Probably Whitaker or Whitacre, see below, p. 79.
4 Eccles. iii.] See p. 33 n.
5 Melkinsthrop] Melkenthorpe.
And so that evening from thence I came well into my said castle of Brougham, where I lay in the chamber which my noble father was born in, and in which my blessed mother dyed, for some six months, viz. April, May, June, July, August and September; which was the first time that I lay those first five months altogether in that castle, though I have formerly lain in it in September and the rest of the months. And the 2d of October following I removed with my family out of the castle of [p. 144] Brougham into my castle of Appleby in Westmoreland. Eccles. c. 8. v. 6; Psal. 121.

And the 16 day of May was the cause between me and my Westmoreland tenants heard at the Common Pleas Bar in Westminster Hall before four of the chief Judges there, viz. my cosin Oliver St. John, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Judge Atkins, Judge Hugh Windham, and Justice Matthew Hales; where a jury appeared, being sworn, and my cause was openly pleaded by Serjeant Maynard, Serjeant Newdigate and Serjeant Barnard, who were of Counsell for me, and Serjeant Earl and Serjeant Ewers, who were of Counsell for my said tenants. At which time they put me upon all manner of proofs, being plaintiffs in the cause, though they were made forth by my witnesses very fully, to the satisfaction of the court; so that the juries gave in a verdict for me against my said tenants. And next day, being the 17th of that month, another jury appeared for the second tryal. But the same went by default of the tenants, who only appeared but would not plead at all, so that the jury did not go from the bar but immediately gave in another verdict on my behalf. And the court thereupon awarded me costs in both the said causes to the value of 250 pounds, and two verdicts exemplified under the seal of the court. Ps. 116. v. 12, 13, 14.

The 2d day of this July dyed betimes in the morning in Baynard’s Castle, to my great grief, my chief officer for my estate in Sussex and dear freind Mr. Christopher Marsh, who was buried the same night in the church there called St. Bennet by Paul’s Wharf, my daughter Thanett and her eldest son, the Lord Nicholas Tufton, being at his

1 Eccles, viii. 6] See p. 34 n.
2 Ps. cxxi.] See p. 35 n.
3 Ps. cxvi. 12-14] See p. 64 n.
burial, he being near eighty years old at his death. Job 7. v. 5. But the day after, being the 3d of this month, did my daughter of Thanett, with her four youngest children, namely Ciceley, George, Mary and Anne, begin their journey in the coach out of London towne towards the North; who came safe and well to me with her children, for which I thank God, to Brougham Castle in Westmoreland the 11th of that month. And Richard Clapham came along with them, who first of all told me the said news of Mr. Marsh's death. And this was the first time I saw three of my grandchildren, to wit, George, Mary and Anne Tufton, as also the first time I saw my grandchild the Lady Cicely in the North, though I have seen her before in London. Job 7. v. 1; Eccl. c. 3.

So they continued with me in my said castle for seventeen nights together, during which time my daughter Thanet with my grandchild the Lady Cicely and her brother George went for a while in their coach into Edenell Hall in Cumberland and into Lowther Hall in Westmoreland. And whilst they were with me did Charles Stanley, Earl of Derby, come to Brougham Castle to visit me, and lay there some three or four nights, being the first time that he was ever in that castle, where his great-grandmother, my father's sister by the half blood, was born.

And the 28 of this July did my daughter of Thanett with four of her children, Cicely, George, Mary and Anne, go out of my castle of Brougham from me, where I took my leave of them in the open air in the court there, and so through Whinfell Park into my castle of Appleby in the said county, where they lay in it one night. And so they went the next day after from thence out of Westmoreland over Stainmore onwards on their journey [p. 145] towards London; whither they came safe and well the 5th day of the month following into their house in Aldersgate Street, where they continued to lye for some eight nights together. And when they were past, on the 13 of the same month, they went from thence into the inne at Rochester in Kent, where they lay that night. And the next day they went

1 Job vii. 5] Perhaps vii. 1 (a favourite quotation, see p. 41 n., etc.), rather than the gruesome v. 5 is meant.
2 Eccles. iii.] See p. 33 n.
3 Job. vii. 1] See last note.
4 Edenell hall] Edenhall.
5 Whinfell] MS. Which-fell.
into Hothfield House in the same county to my lord of Thanet and three of his sons, my grandchildren, Richard, Thomas and Sackvill. Which safe coming home of theirs from me out of those Northern parts I praise God [for] with my heart. Jer. 29. v. 6, the latter part of it.

And I had not seen my daughter of Thanett since the 12th of September in 1653, when she went then from Appleby Castle from me, till this 11th day of July, that she came to me to Brougham Castle. Jer. 30. v. 19.

And the 29th of August in 1656, when I lay at Brougham Castle, did the two Judges for the Northern Circuite, Jo. Parker Esq., Serjeant at Law, and then one of the Barons of the Exchequer, who lived near Rochester in Kent, and Erasmus Earl Esq., Serjeant at Law, who lives in Norfolk, come into Appleby Castle in Westmoreland to keep the Assizes in the said towne for the said county; where in the castle they continued to lye for five nights together at my charges, Parker in the Baron's Chamber and Earl in Caesar's Tower. And the 3d day of the month following they went away from thence to Kendall, and so forward on their circuite.

And during the time they kept the Assizes at Appleby did my cosin Philip, Lord Wharton, lye for some three or four nights together in the chamber of the said castle where I used to lye myself, he having some busyness at the Assizes. And the same 3d day did my cosin the Lord Wharton come to Brougham Castle to me for a while; it being the first time that ever he was with me in the said castle, wherein his uncle George Wharton was born, though I had seen him before in Appleby Castle in 1653. Eccles. c. 3.

And the 11th day of this September, by the command of my Lord Protector and his Counsell, was my first grandchild the Lord Nicholas Tufton the second time put up as a prisoner in the Tower of London, where he lay under restraint till the 25th day of June 1658, that he was released of his said imprisonment. Ps. 105. v. 19.

The 28 of July was my grandchild the Lady Margaret Coventry delivered of her second child, Mrs. Anne Coventry, who dyed the next day.
And the 2d day of October did I and my family remove out of Brougham Castle in Westmoreland to my castle of Appleby in the same county, where I then continued to lye for about six months, to witt till the 14 of April following, where I removed from thence in two days into my castle of Skypton in Craven. Eccles. c. 8. v. 6.

And about Midsummer this year did my cosin Elizabeth Clifford, Countess of Cork, come from her husband Richard, Earl of Cork, out of Ireland, with their two sons and their daughter Elizabeth, for a while into England, whither neither she nor any of her children had been since about September in 1652 till now. And now about the beginning of this October she and her daughter Elizabeth went again out of England over sea into Ireland, to her husband the Earl of Cork; but this Countess now left behind her in England her two sons, Charles Lord Dungarvan, and his brother Richard Boyle, at the University of Oxford, to lye there as a student in Queen's College for a time. Eccl. c. 3.

And on the 12 day of November the cause between me and my Westmoreland tenants was heard in Westminster Hall before the four Judges of the Common Pleas, Oliver, Lord St. John, Lord Chief Justice, Judge Atkins, Judge Windham, and Judge Hales; in which cause James Walker was defendant against me on the tenants' behalf. The jurors all appearing, being sworn and impannelled, and the cause called, the defendant appeared not, nor any for him, so as he was nonsuited with 100 pounds costs recovered against him, and the land adjudged to be mine and not the tenants'; which since I leased out to another for twenty-one years. Prov. 20. v. 24.

And the 16 day of this December, whilst I lay in Appleby Castle, was my daughter of Northampton delivered of her second daughter and fourth child, the Lady Isabella Compton, in her lord's house at Castle Ashby in Northamptonshire; which Lady Isabella dyed the 3d day of March in 1657 in the late Countess Dowager of Rivers's house in Queen Street in London, where her father and mother then lay, she being a year and about three months old, and [was] buryed

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1 Eccles. viii. 6] See p. 34 n. 9 Eccles. iii.] See p. 33 n.
3 Prov. 20. v. 24] See p. 50 n.
4 Rivers] MS. Ewers, corrected in margin.
in the vault at Compton church in Warwickshire, I then lying in Appleby castle. Job 7. v. i.1

In the year of Our Lord 1657, as the year begins on New Year's day, the 3d of February did Mr. Thomas Gabetis, my deputy sheriff for the county of Westmoreland, and Mr. John Turner, Mr. Thomas Johnson, John Darby and Thomas Carleton, head bailiff for the Westward, enter into James Walker's house in Nether Brough, commonly called Kirk-brough in the said county, where they fairly and gently dispossessed the said James Walker's wife and her family of the said house and lands thereunto belonging, the said Sheriff by virtue of a writ issued out of the Common Pleas at Westminster delivering the same to the said John Darby, my servant, who was the lessee upon the ejectment, for my use. And within a while after I did lease out the said James Walker's house and tenement to John Salkeld of Brough for twenty-one years at a yearly rack-rent, the same being held before at a fineable rent, as other the lands and tenements in the county of Westmoreland are held of me. And by that means I altered the tenure of that land, which was the principal thing I aimed at in my suits in law with my Westmoreland tenants, as being a greater benefit and advantage to me and my posterity and to all the landlords and tenants in that county. Isai. 30. v. 21 2; Jer. 42. v. 3 3; Ps. 34, v. 8.4

About the 30th5 of January, in her house called Chiswick near London, dyed that Catherine Bridges, Countess Dowager of Bedford, who was wife to my cousin german Francis, Earl of Bedford, and was married to him two days after I was married to my first lord; and her dead body was buried in the church at Cheneys in Buckinghamshire, I then lying in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland. Job 7. v. i.1

And the 14 day of April did I remove with my family out of my castle of Appleby in Westmoreland towards Skypton in Craven, whither I came safe and well the next day, being the 15th day, having

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1 Job vii. 1] See p. 41 n.
3 Jer. xlii. 3] That the Lord thy God may shew us the way wherein we may walke, and the thing that we may doe.
4 Ps. xxxiv. 8] Taste ye and see, how gracious the Lord is: blessed is the man that trusteth in him.
5 About the 30th] 29th of January, according to the Complete Peerage.
lain by the way all night at Kirby Lonsdale in the inne there, as I
usually do in my journey between Westmoreland and Craven, and
continued to lye in my said castle of Skipton till the 17 [7] day of
October following, that I removed from thence towards Appleby
Castle in Westmoreland again. Eccles. 8. v. 6.¹

About the 25 or 26 of April aforesaid did Gabriel Vincent, now
steward of my house, and gentleman of my horse, by my directions
[p. 147] set the masons and carpenters on work in the further repairing
of Skipton Castle; which he performed, so as that the Michaelmas
following, or but a few days after, there were thirteen rooms finished,
seven whereof were upper rooms, in one of which I was born and my
uncle of Cumberland dyed, and the rest lower rooms, also a little
closet built on the North Wall, the Coining House new repaired and
slated, and the Conduit Court cleansed of all the rubbish that was
thrown in at the demollishing of the castle; which rooms were all
covered over with slate about Michaelmas, also with gutters of lead
about the rooms that are covered with slate, for I was not provided
to cover it all with lead. Eze. 36. v. 33, 36; Isai. 58. v. 12.²

And this April about the 23rd day was another tryal between me
and my Westmoreland tenants at the Common Pleas Bar in West­
minster Hall, before my cosin, Oliver, Lord St. John, Lord Chief
Justice, Judge Atkins, Judge Windham, and Judge Hales, where
the verdict passed for me and was so recorded in court; this being
the fourth trial I have had, and the fourth verdict I have had against
my said tenants at the said Common Pleas Bar in Westminster. Ps.
116. v. 11, 12, 13.³

And this summer while I lay in my house or castle of Skipton
in Craven, about this time was the tomb quite finished which I caused
to be erected and set up for myself in the North East corner of Appleby
church here in Westmoreland, over the vault there which by my
directions had been made in 1655, when I repaired the said church,
in which vault I intended to be buryed myself. Ps. 123.⁴

¹ Eccles. viii. 6] See p. 34 n.
² Ezek. xxxvi. 33] Thus saith the Lord God, What time as I shall have cleansed you from all your
iniquities, I will cause you to dwell in the cities, and the desolate places shall be builded. And v. 36
(see p. 64 n.).
³ Is. liii. 12] See p. 58 n. ⁴ Ps. cxvi. 11-13] See p. 64 n. ⁵ Ps. cxxiii.] See p. 49 n.
And about the 9th day of May following did my grandchild, Mr. John Tufton, and his governor, Mr. George Sedgwick and his man Alexander Whitacre come over sea in a Dutch man of war, out of the Low Countries, with my grandchild the Lady Frances Tufton, his sister and her woman, with others in their company, and arrived the said 9th day safe at London. Ps. 121.1.

And the 9th [?19th] day of June did my daughter of Northampton and the Earl her husband, with their eldest son William, Lord Compton, and his uncle Mr. Henry Compton, the said Earle's youngest brother, come to me and my grandchild John Tufton from their house at Castle Ashby in Northamptonshire to my house or castle of Skipton in Craven, where they now lye for eleven nights; this being the first time that young Mr. Henry Compton was ever there, but my Lord of Northampton, my daughter his wife, and their son the Lord William Compton had been once there with me about three years before. And this 19th day was the first time that my said daughter, her lord or any of their children ever saw any of her sister, my daughter of Thanet's children in any part of my inheritance in the North.

And the 4th day of this next month my daughter of Northampton and her husband and their eldest son, the Lord Compton, and Mr. Henry Compton, my Lord of Northampton's brother, came safe to their house at Castle Ashby in Northamptonshire to my two grandchildren Lady Anne and Lady Isabella Compton, their two daughters, to lye there again with them in the said castle. Ps. 20. v. 24.

And in August this year did Baron Parker and Unton Crook, Serjeant at Law, the two Judges of Assize for the Northern Circuite, come to Appleby [p. 148] Castle to keep the Assizes there, where they lay some five nights, I lying then with my family at Skipton Castle in Craven. Eccles. c. 3.

The 14 day of September was my grandchild the Lady Margaret Coventry delivered of a daughter in her father the Earl of Thanet's house at Hothfield in Kent, which was christened the day after by the

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1 Ps. cxxi.] See p. 35 n.
2 Ps. xx. 24.] Probably Prov. xx. 24, see p. 50 n.
3 Unton Crook] MS. Muton Crook. He was a son of John Croke, a Justice of King's Bench from 1607 to 1620, and nephew of Sir George Croke, also a Justice of King's Bench 1628–40.
4 Eccles. iii.] See p. 33 n.
name of Margaret, it being her second daughter, but third child; for her second son and eldest daughter are dead [sic],\(^1\) and this was the first time she was delivered of any of her children in the said house, wherein herself was born, and wherein her father and mother and their younger children and her own eldest son John Coventry now lay, [I] lying now in my house or castle of Skypnton in Craven. Jer. 29. v. 6,\(^1\) the latter part of it.

The 1st of October did Mr. John Turner with his wife Elizabeth Turner, who was at Nicholls and had served me from her childhood till now, to wit since the latter end of May 1629, and their daughter Elizabeth go quite away from my house or castle of Skypnton, and from further serving me, onwards on their journey towards London; whither they came safe and well the 15th day following to Baynard's Castle, having layn three or four nights by the way in their house in Oxfordshire. But notwithstanding, her husband is to continue my officer for the receiving of my jointure-rents in the Isle of Sheppeys in Kent, as long as he shall please. Eccles. 8. v. 6.\(^2\)

And the 7th day of the said October did I and my family with my grandchild John Tufton remove out of my house or castle of Skypnton in Craven towards Appleby Castle in Westmoreland; whither I came safe and well the day following, being the 8th day, having layn one night, as usualy I do, at Kirby Lonsdale by the way in the inne there. And so I now lay in this Appleby Castle till the 23d day of Aprill following, that I removed from thence with my family to my castle of Brougham in Westmoreland. But while I now lay in Appleby Castle I had news of the sad loss and death of the Lady Isabella Compton, second daughter to my daughter of Northampton and her lord, which Lady Isabella dyed the 3d day of March in the late Countess Dowager of Rivers' house in Queen Street in London, where her father and mother now lay, she being a year and about three months old at her death, and was buryed in the vault of Compton Church in Warwickshire. Prov. 20. v. 24 \(^4\); Job 7. v. 1.\(^5\)

In the year of our Lord God 1658, as the year begins on New Year's

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\(^1\) second son, etc.] This and the reading of Lord Bath's MS., "second son and eldest son," are both nonsense. Probably we should read "second child and eldest daughter is dead." See p. 75.

\(^2\) Jer. xxix. 6] See p. 29 n.

\(^3\) Eccles. viii. 6] See p. 34 n.


\(^5\) Job. vii. 1] See p. 41 n.
day, and the 23d day of April, after I had lain in Appleby Castle from the 8th day of October last till this time, did I remove with my grandchild Mr. John Tufton and my family into my castle of Brougham in Westmorland, where I now lay till the 30th day of October following, that I removed from thence with my family to Appleby Castle again. Isai. 26. v. 8, 9.

And the 17 day of February, while I lay at Appleby Castle before my now coming to Brougham, did I send my grandchild Mr. John Tufton with his two men to Croome house in Worcestershire to see his sister Coventry, her husband and children and her father-in-law, the Lord Coventry; where he lay for a few nights with them, and returned to me back again to Appleby Castle the 29th day of March following. So he went thither [p. 149] by Lancaster, Preston, Manchester, Chester, Flint Castle, Denby, and other parts of North Wales and South Wales, and came back again by Warwick, Coventry and Lichfield and those parts; this being the first time he was ever in those places in Wales. Eccl. c. 3.

The 16 day of June this summer did my said grandchild Mr. John Tufton go for one night to Corby Castle in Cumberland to my cousin Sir Francis Howard’s house, where he lay that one night and returned back again the next day to me at Brougham Castle. Eccles. 8. v. 6.

The 25 day of this June was my first grandchild Nicholas, Lord Tufton, released of his restraint and imprisonment in the Tower of London, where he had layn the second time as a prisoner ever since the 11th of September 1656. Ps. 105. v. 1, 19.

And the same 25th day of June, after I had taken my leave of him the night before, did my grandchild Mr. John Tufton go away from me from Brougham Castle towards London to his father and mother, whither he came well to them, to their house in Aldersgate Street, the 1st day of the month following, and lay there till the 10th day of August, that he went over sea into the Low Countrys with his sister, the Lady Frances Tufton, where they remained about two months, and returned again together into England the 7th of October following.

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1 Is. xxvi. 8, 9] See p. 69 n.
2 Denby] Denbigh.
3 Eccles. iii.] See p. 33 n.
4 Eccles. viii. 6] See p. 34 n.
5 Ps. cv. 1] Praise the Lord, and call upon his name: declare his works among the people. And v 19 (see p. 71 n.).
Lady Anne Clifford

And this summer did I cause great repairs to be made upon the old walls of Skipton Castle in Craven, as also at Barden Tower; my steward Gabriel Vincent lying in both these places a great part of the summer to take order about the said repairs; so as most of the stone work of this ancient decayed castle and tower of mine was finished, I thank God, to my good liking and content, the beginning of the next summer in 1659. Ezek. 36. v. 33, 36; Isai. 58. v. 12.

And the beginning of this spring did I cause Bongate Church, near Appleby, to be pulled down and new built up again at my own charge; and it was wholly finished about the latter end of April in 1659, for which God be praised. Ps. 116. v. 11, 12, 13.

This summer, on the 19, 20 and 21 of August, was the Assize kept at Appleby by John Parker, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and Richard Newdigate, one of the Judges of the Upper Bench, where they now lay three nights in Appleby Castle, Judge Parker in the Baron’s Chamber, and Judge Newdigate in the great tower; and by the way as they came from Carlisle they both of them came to see me at Brougham Castle and dined there with me. Eccles. c. 3.

And at these Assizes my cosin Philip, Lord Wharton, and his brother, Sir Thomas Wharton, lay both in Appleby Castle, where my Lord Wharton had some tryals; and after both he and his brother came two or three times to Brougham Castle, where I now lay, to see me, this being the first time I saw my said cosin the Lord Wharton after the death of his second wife. And he and his brother went both of them out of Westmoreland a while after. Eccles. c. 8. v. 6.

And the 28 of this August did my daughter the Countess of Thanet come hither to me to Brougham Castle from London, with three of her younger sons, Richard, Thomas, and Sackvill; this being the first time I ever saw these three sons of hers here in Westmoreland, or in any other part of the lands of my inheritance, and the third time of her coming into this county to me. And I saw her not since the 28 of July in 1656 till this 28th of this month, that she now came hither to me; where she and her three sons now lay nine nights

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1 Ezek. xxxvi. 33, 36] See p. 64 n.
3 Ps. cxvii. 11-13] See p. 64 n.
4 Eccles. iii.] See p. 33 n.
5 Eccles. viii. 6] See p. 34 n.
Countess Dowager of Pembroke, 1658

together. So as I have now seen nine of my daughter's children here in Westmoreland, which I account as a great blessing and singular goodness of God towards me; where they lay that night, and they went away from me the 6th day of September following through Whinfell to Appleby Castle, where they lay that night, and the next day went over Stainmore towards London, whither they got well to their house in Aldersgate Street the 14th day of the same month. And the 17th day they went down to their house at Rainham in Kent, and there they lay all night, from whence they got well to Hothfield the next day, to the Lord of Thanet, my son-in-law, and to his eldest son, my Lord Tufton, and four other of his youngest children; who are all of them his wife's my eldest daughter's children also, for which God be praised. Gen. i. v. 28; Gen. 26. v. 22, the latter part of it.

This summer by some few mischievous people, secretly in the night, was there broken off and taken down from the tree near the part of Whinfell Park which for that cause was called the Hartshorn Tree, one of those hart's horns, which, as is mentioned in the summaries of my ancestor's, Robert, Lord Clifford's, life, were set up in the year 1333 at a general hunting, when Edward Baliol, then King of Scotts, came into England by permission of King Edward the 3d, and lay for a while in the said Robert Lord Clifford's castles in Westmoreland; where the said King hunted a great stag, which was killed near the said oak tree. In memory whereof the horns were nailed up to it, growing as it were naturally in the tree, and have remained there ever since, till that in the year 1648 one of those horns were broken down by some of the army, and the other was broken down,

1 Gen. i. 28] And God blessed them, and God sayde to them, Bring forth fruit, and multiply and fill the earth and subdue it, etc.
2 Gen. xxvi. 22] Because the Lord hath now made us roume, wee shall encrease upon the earth.
3 Hartshorn Tree] See Introduction, p. xix. The Bill Hill MS. gives the story a little more fully. "There is a tradition a hound called Hercules run a stag out of Whinfeild into Scotland and so back to Whinfeild. The stag leap'd over the wall and dy'd, but the hound could not leap the wall but dy'd on the outside of the wall. And upon this they made this rythm

Hercules kild hart in greas
And hart in greas kild Hercules.

The horns of which stag was after nayl'd upon the aforesaid tree, and in time the horns by the growth of the tree were almost cover'd. There are now a pair of buck horns nayl'd to the same tree for a memoriall of the said tradition."
as aforesaid, this year. So as now there is no part thereof remaining, the tree itself being so decayed, and the bark of it so peeled off, that it cannot last long; whereby we may see that time brings to forgetfulness many memorable things in this world, be they never so carefully preserved; for this tree with the hart's horn in it was a thing of much note in these parts. Eccles. c. 3.

And whilst I now lay in Brougham Castle did my grandchild Mr. John Tufton and the Lady Frances Tufton, his sister, come away from the City of Utrecht in the Low Countries, and took shipping at the Brill in Holland the 7th day of October, and landed the 8th day at Deale in Kent, and so came safe with their company on the 9th day following to their father's house at Hothfield. Eccles. c. 8. v. 6.

And the 30 day of this October did I and my family remove from my castle of Brougham to Appleby Castle again, after I had layn in this Brougham Castle from the 23rd day of April untill now; and I continued to lie in this Appleby Castle till the 5th day of May in 1659, at which time I removed from thence with my family to my castle of Skypoton in Craven. Ps. 121.

And in the beginning of this summer was finished by my direction the new wall about the Little Park, adjoyning to Brougham Castle, the old low wall being before pulled down. And this new wall joyns on the one side to the garden wall, and on the other side to the castle. Eccles. c. 3.

In the year of our Lord God 1659, as the year begins on New Year's day, and while I now lay in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, upon Thursday the 14 day of April, was my youngest daughter Isabella, Countess of Northampton, brought to bed of her third son, and her fifth child, in a hired house, where she and her lord and their family now lay in Lincoln's Inne Fields at London; who was christened the day after by the name of James, this being the first time that she had two sons alive together at one time. Gen. 1. v. 18.

But this grandchild of mine dyed in Canbury house by Islington.
the 1st day of August in 1662, being a good while after the death of his mother.

And the 5th day of this May, being Thursday, did I remove with my family from Appleby Castle towards Skypton in Craven, whither I came well the next day, having layn one night by the way in the inne at Kirby Lonsdale. And I had not layn in this Skypton Castle, nor been in it, since the 7th of October in 1657, when I removed thence with my family to Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, being about a year and six months. And now did I continue to lye in this Skypton Castle in the Round Chamber, where I have layn at such times as I have lived there ever since I first came to lye there in 1649, till the 9 of December following, at which time I removed from thence to Barden Tower to lye there for a while, this being the first time, since I was born, that I came to lye in this Barden Tower. Eccles. 8. v. 6.1

And the 23d day of this May my grandchild Mr. John Tufton, and his sister, the Lady Frances Tufton, with Mrs. Sybilla Baker, her gentle­woman, that had been abroad with her in the Low Countries, and Henry Hattfield, that now served my grandchild Mr. John Tufton in Alexander Whitekar's2 place, lately deceased, did come hither to me unto my house or castle of Skypton in Craven, from their journey from York and from London. And this was the first time I saw this grandchild of mine, the Lady Frances Tufton, either in Craven or in any of the lands of mine inheritance; and I had not seen her brother John since midsummer last, that he went from me from Brougham Castle towards London, till now. Isai. 49. v. 5.3

So these two grandchildren of mine lay here in Skypton Castle untill the 4th of July, that they went from hence to the Wells of Knarisbrough, where they lay for seventeen days to take the waters. And the 21 of the same month they returned back to me to Skypton again, and stayed there till the 10th of September following, when they went away from hence with two servants in my coach and six horses to York, lying there all day on Sunday; and the next day, being the 12th of the same month, they went away in a hired coach towards London, whither they came well to their mother to her house.

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1 Eccles. viii. 6] See p. 34 n. 2 Whitekar] MS. Whitehard, see pp. 72, 79.
2 Is. xlix. 5] Perhaps rather xlix. 15, Can a woman forget her child, etc.
in Aldersgate Street the 17th day of this month. And three days after, Lady Frances went down to her sister, Lady Margaret Coventry, to Croome in Worcestershire; whither she came well the 24 day of the said September. Prov. 20. v. 24.¹

And the beginning of this summer, a little before my coming out of Westmoreland, did I cause the church of Nine Kirks to be pulled down and new built up again in the same place, larger and bigger than it was before; which was finished the latter end of this summer, though myself and my family were then at my castle of Skypton in Craven. And this church of Nine Kirks would in all likelyhood have fallen down, it was so ruinous, if it had not been new repaired by me. Ps. 116. v. 12, 13.²

[p. 152] And this April, after I had first been there myself to direct the building of it, did I cause my old decayed castle of Brough to be repaired, and also the old tower called the Roman Tower in the said castle, and a courthouse for keeping of my courts, in which [are] some twelve or fourteen rooms, to be built in it upon the old foundation.

The 21st of August this summer, by reason of the troubles now on foot in these Northern parts, though it were Sunday, yet did the two Judges of Assize for the Northern Circuite, Francis Thorp and John Parker, come that night from Carlisle to my castle of Appleby in Westmoreland, where they continued to lye till Fryday morning following. From thence they then went to Kendal that night, and the next day to Lancaster, to keep the Assizes there also. And notwithstanding these Judges now lay here, yet was there then a garrison of soldiers in the castle. Eccles. 8. v. 6.³

And the 27 of this August, being Saturday, was my grandchild, the Lady Margaret Coventry, delivered of a son, which was her fifth child, and is now her second son, in her father-in-law, the Lord Coventries, house at Croome in Worcestershire, I then lying at Skypton Castle in Craven, as also did her brother, John Tufton, and her sister, Lady Frances Tufton; this being the first time that my said grandchild, the Lady Margaret Coventry, had the blessing and happiness to

¹ Prov. xx. 24] See p. 50 n.
² Ps. cxvi. 12, 13] See p. 64 n.
³ Eccles. viii. 6] See p. 34 n.
⁴ Lady Anne does not mention the fourth child: see p. 80.
Countess Dowager of Pembroke, 1659

have two sons alive together at one time. Gen. i. v. 28; c. 26. v. 22. Which son Thomas dyed at Croome, where he was born, the 17th of June 1660. And about the 4th of this August was my son-in-law, the Earl of Northampton, committed close prisoner to the Tower of London upon some suspicion that he was ingaged in the late insurrection in England, my daughter his wife being also there in his lodgings, where he continued prisoner till the 2d of November following, that he was released of the said imprisonment in the Tower, and went to live with my daughter his wife in that house in Lincolns Inne Fields where they lived before. Eccles. 3; Deut. 23. v. 5.

And this summer my eldest grandchild Nicholas, Lord Tufton, went from his father and mother, and having layn for some time at the Wells at Epsome in Surry, he went over secretly into France. Eccles. 8. v. 6. From whence, in the winter following, he came over again to his father and mother, his brother and sisters.

And this summer, though I found the castle of Skypont for the most part well finished, and better than I expected it could have been, yet I could not lye in it, partly by reason of the smell and unwholesomeness of the new walls, and partly by reason of the garrison of foot-soldiers which was put in there about the 4th of August under the command of Ensign Robert Fenner, for the securing thereof, by reason of the troubles now in England. Eccles. c. 3; c. 8. v. 6; Prov. 20. v. 24.

And about the said 4th of August was there also a garrison of foot-soldiers put into Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, into the great tower there called Caesar’s Tower, which I lately repaired. But after they had layn a while there they went away and quitted it; and after they were gone, others came in their room, but stayed not long; as likewise into [p. 153] Brougham Castle for a while; both which castles these soldiers not long after quitted and went away. Deut. 23. v. 5.

And the 9th of this December, after I had layn in this house or

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1 Gen. i. 28; xxvi. 22] See p. 83.  
2 Eccles. iii.] See p. 33 n.  
3 Deut. xxiii. 5] Nevertheless, the Lord thy God would not hearken unto Balaam, but the Lord thy God turned the curse to a blessing unto thee, because the Lord thy God loved thee.  
4 Eccles. viii. 6] See p. 34 n.  
5 Prov. xx. 24] See p. 50 n.  
6 Deut. xxiii. 5] See p. 60 n.
castle of mine of Skypoton ever since the 6th of May last, did I remove from thence with my family to Barden Tower to lye in it for a time; which was the first time that I did ever lye in this Barden Tower, having lately repaired it to my great cost and charges, when it was then a most ruinated, decayed place. For my mother had never layn in it since she was with child with me, nor my father in a good while before, neither did my uncle of Cumberland, or my cosin his son ever lye in it, after they came to this estate in Craven. And I lay now in this Barden Tower till the 8th day of October following, that I removed thence with my family towards Appleby Castle in Westmoreland.

So this year I had the blessing to have two male children born into the world of the generation of my body, the one James Compton, now youngest son to my daughter of Northampton, and the other Thomas Coventry, now youngest son to my grandchild the Lady Margaret Coventry. Ps. 116. v. 12, 13.¹

But this Thomas Coventry dyed at Croome in Worcestershire, where he was born, the 17th day of June in 1660. And this James, Lord Compton, dyed at Canbury near Islington the 1st day of August 1662, after the death of his mother, so as they both dyed in their infancy.

January in 1660,² as the year begins on New Year's day, and the 25th day of April this year, a new Parliament began to sit at Westminster wherein were chosen, most part by my means, Knights of the Shire for Westmoreland my two cosins, Sir Thomas Wharton, and Sir John Lowther of Lowther, Knight and Baronet, and for Burgesses of the Burrough of Appleby my cosin Sir Henry Cholmely and Christopher Clapham, Esq. Which Parliament proved to be a happy Parliament by calling in our rightfull prince King Charles the 2d into England, wherein also generally George Monk, the General of the Army in Scotland, was a great and happy instrument; his Majesty, with his two brothers the Duke of York and Gloster, coming out of the Low Countries by sea into England about the 25th day of May, and landed at Dover in Kent, and so went by land to Canterbury

¹ Ps. cxvi. 12, 13] See p. 64 n.
² 1660] It is not quite clear whether the scribe has omitted to copy something, or whether the words "January . . . New Year's day" were written in the original as a heading for an entry which was never made.
and Rochester, and the 29th day following, being his Majesty's birth-
day, he made his triumphant entry through the City of London to
Whitehall to lye there again. But this great joy was clouded with
sorrow for the death of his younger brother Henry, Duke of Gloster,
who died the 14th day of September following of the smallpox, at
Whitehall in the Prince's lodging there, and was buried a while after
in King Henry the 7th his chappel, at the Abby church in West-
minster, amongst many of his ancestors. And his eldest sister Mary,
Princess of Orange, dyed at Whitehall the 24th day of December
following, and was buried by him in the said Henry the 7th his chappel:
she that was widdow to William; last Prince of Orange.

And in April and May this year did the masons begin to build up
again and repair my church of Brough in Westmoreland, a good part
whereof had been repaired the last summer, and the remainder thereof
now this summer being taken in hand, after it had layn ruinous [p.
154] ever since the year 1521, that it was burned down in Henry,
Lord Clifford's time, about two years and a little more before his
death, he dying in the 15th of Henry the 8th. And this Brough
Castle and the Roman tower in it was so well repaired by me that
in the 16 of September in the next year I lay there for three nights
together, which none of my ancestors had done in 140 years before
till now.

And in June this year by my directions was also my old decayed
castle of Pendragon in Mallerstang in the said county of Westmoreland
begun to be repaired, which had lain waste (as apear by many
records in Skypoton Castle, before the late Civil Wars) ever since the
15th of Edward the 3d, when the Scotts did then burn down the
timber of it and demollished it, with their often inroads and incursions
into England, there being in his time sharp and bitter wars between
the two nations. And it was so well repaired by me that on the
14th of October in the year following I lay there for three nights
together, which none of my ancestors had done since Idonea de
Veteripont lay in it, who dyed the 8th of Edward the 3d without issue.

The 17th day of June, being Trinity Sunday, dyed little Thomas
Coventry, second son to my grandchild, the Lady Margaret Coventry,
in his grandfather, the Lord Thomas Coventries house at Croome in
Worcestershire, where this child, to whom I was great-grandmother, was born into the world (but the 27 of August before); and his dead body was buryed in the church there. Whose death I esteemed as a loss and cross to us all. And then did his little sister Margaret and their father lye in the said Croom House in Worcestershire; but his mother and his elder brother lay then in Thanet House in Aldersgate Street, London, with her father and mother.

The 10 day of March in this year, a little before the King came into England, dyed my virtuous and good cosin german, Margaret Wharton, then the widdow Lady Wotton, in her house at Canterbury, formerly a part of the Priory there; she that was born in Skipton Castle in Craven in July 1581, and she was buried a while after, near to her husband, Edward, Lord Wotton, in the church of Bockton in Kent; and when she dyed did I lye in Barden Tower in Craven.

The 27th day of July in this year 1660 did my youngest daughter Isabella, Countess of Northampton, with her two eldest children, William, Lord Compton, and Lady Anne Compton, come hither to me into Barden Tower in Yorkshire from their journey from Edlington in Wiltshire and Compton in Warwickshire; where they now lay in this Barden Tower with me ten nights together in the four rooms in the West side of the Great Chamber, this being the first time that I ever saw the Lady Anne Compton, or any of my said daughter of Northampton’s daughters. And while they were here did my daughter of Northampton, with these two children of hers, go the 31st day of this month into Skipton Castle in Craven for a while to see it; this being the first time she ever saw it since I last repaired the decayed part of it, and the first time her daughter, the Lady Anne, was ever in this Skipton Castle. Neither had my said daughter, or her eldest son, the Lord Compton, been in it since the 30 day of June 1657 till now.

And on the 6th day of August following my said daughter of Northampton and her two eldest children and servants went away from hence towards her lord’s house of Compton in Warwickshire, whither they came safe [p. 155] and well about five or six days after with

1 Bockton] Boughton Malherbes.  
their whole company, my lord of Northampton himself meeting them there from London. And this 6th day of August was the last time I ever saw these two grandchildren of mine, William, Lord Compton, and Lady Anne Compton, his sister, for she dyed the 14th of December following, and he dyed on the 14 of September 1661, just nine months after his sister's death, to my unspeakable grief and sorrow; and it was likewise the last time I saw their mother, my youngest daughter.

The 5th day of September, being Wednesday, did the King's two Judges of Assize for the Northern Circuite, viz. Sir Thomas Twisden and Sir Robert Bernard, come into my castle of Appleby in Westmoreland, where they now lay five nights together, Judge Twisden in the Baron's Chamber, and Judge Bernard in the chief chamber in Cæsar's Tower; and when they were past, the 10th of the same month, they went away from thence forward on their circuit. And this was the first time that Thomas Twisden was ever in Appleby Castle or any part of mine inheritance, whose grandfather was that Sir Thomas Heneage \(^1\) that was Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth and in great favour with her the most part of her reign; and my father and mother loved that Vice-Chamberlain extreamly, and he them.

Towards the latter end of this summer my mill about a mile from Barden Tower in Yorkshire, called Hough Mill, I caused to be pulled down, and new built up again with stone and wood at my own charge. It was so ruinous as it was like to fall down, having not been repaired in many years before till now.

The 2d day of this October in 1660 did Richard, Earl of Cork, and his two sons, my cosins, Charles, Lord Dungarvan and Mr. Richard Boyle, come hither to me into this Barden Tower and dined with me; but went back again the same day into their house at Bolton, some two miles hence, where they now lay for a little time. And I had seen none of them since about last summer was about ten years, when they then were at Skypnton Castle with me sometimes, and I with them at Bolton, till this day that they came hither to me again. And the 8th of October in this year did I and my family remove out of my tower of Barden in Craven towards Appleby Castle in Westmoreland

\(^1\) Heneage] MS. Hennige.
and lay three nights by the way, viz. the first night at Pately Bridge, the second night at Street House not far from Bedall, and the third night at Bowes, and so over Stainmore to Appleby Castle, and came safe and well thither the 11th day following, after I had layn in that tower of Barden ever since the 9th day of December in 1659 till now. And by the way in this my journey from Barden to Appleby castle I went hard by Snape, an house of the Earl of Exeter's; and I had not been at Bowes, nor over Stainmore, nor in those ways since the 9th day of December 1616, when I then went up from Brougham Castle in Westmoreland to London, to my first lord, Richard, Earl of Dorsett, and the Lady Margaret Sackvill, my then only child, till the 11th day of this October, that I came to lye in this Appleby Castle again, where I had not layn since about the 5th day of May in 1659 till now. And I had not layn three nights together out of some of my houses in Craven or in Westmoreland since the year 1649, when I then came from London into the North, till this time, that I lay out three nights as I was in my journey from Barden Tower to Appleby Castle. [p. 156] For heretofore I used but to lye out one night in my removes between Craven and Westmoreland, since my said coming down, and that was at Kirby Lonsdale.

And when I now came to lye at Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, I continued to lye in it till the 29 of October in 1661, excepting six nights, three whereof I lay in Brough Castle, and the other three in Pendragon Castle in that county. And the 29 day of October in 1661 I removed with my family from Appleby Castle into my castle of Brougham in the same county. And the 15th of this December, being Saturday, while I then lay in this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, dyed my grandchild the Lady Anne Compton, eldest daughter to my daughter of Northampton and her lord, in her father's house in Lincoln's Inne Fields at London, when she was five years and about five months old, to my great grief and sorrow, for she was a child that promised much goodness. And the 6th day of August before, she went away from me from Barden Tower in Craven with her eldest brother, the Lord Compton, and their mother towards London, it being the last time I ever saw this grandchild of mine, the Lady Anne Compton. And she was buried in the
Countess Dowager of Pembroke, 1660–1661

vault of Compton church in Warwickshire, by her father's ancestors. About the 2d of November this year did Queen Mary, Queen Dowager of England, daughter to King Henry the 4th of France, widdow to our late King, and mother to our now King Charles the 2d, come over seas out of France into England, with her youngest daughter the Princess Henrietta. And she now lay in her own lodgings there about some two months; for on the 2d day of January following, she went away from thence with her said youngest daughter to Portsmouth, and so over seas into France again. And this Queen had not been in England since July in 1644 till now. And a little after their coming again into France was the said Princess Henrietta married to her cosin german the Duke of Orleans and Anjou, he that is second and only brother to the now King Louis of France.

About the 7th day of December did three of my daughter Thanet's younger sons, to wit John, Richard and Thomas Tufton, go from their father and mother and their eldest brother and their two youngest brothers and their four younger sisters out of Thanet House in Aldergate Street, and out of London towne; and so after a short stay at their father's house at Hothfield in Kent, they went to Dover, and from thence in the packet-boat to Callis in France, and from thence to Paris, and so to Orleans, and from thence to Blois, where they intend to live for a time; this being the first time that my daughter of Thanet's said two sons, Richard and Thomas, were ever beyond the seas, but their brother John had been twice before this beyond the seas in the Low Countries, though never before in France. And they all three came over well into England again about the beginning of March in 1663 (as the year begins on New Year's day).

In the year of our Lord God 1661, as the year begins on New Year's day, the 14 day of March in this year, my daughter of Northampton was delivered of her third daughter and sixth child, the Lady Alethia Compton, in her lord's house at Lincoln's Inn Fields at London; which child was christened about two days after, I then lying in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland. And the 14 day of October following dyed her mother, my daughter [p. 157] of Northampton, in the said house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, after she had but a while before come from Castle Ashby in Northamptonshire, from her last seeing her
eldest son William, Lord Compton, whom she left there behind her, and from Woburne, the Earl of Bedford’s house in Bedfordshire, up thither to London to take physick. And about the 21 day of May was the old decayed mill at Brough pulled down, and is to be new built again by my directions; which was done so well and in so good a manner, that I was in it myself, and liked it very well, on the 16 day of September, when I went to lye in Brough Castle. The 23d of April in this year, I then lying in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, was our King Charles the 2d crowned King of England in the Abby Church at Westminster with great solemnity, for which God be praised.

And the 17th of May this year did Elizabeth, the widow Queen of Bohemia, come over seas out of the Low Countries into England to the City of London to her two nephews, Charles the 2d, our King of England, and James, Duke of York, after she had been now out of England forty-eight years and a month over. And she now continued to lye at London, for the most part in the Lord Craven’s house in Drury Lane, till the 13th of February following, that she dyed in the new-built house called Leycester House in the fields not far from Charing Cross, to which house she removed about a month before her death; and none of her children were with her when she dyed but her son Prince Rupert, who was then in England and present at her death. Job c. 7. v. 1.

And the 9th day of August this year did my daughter of Thanet come hither to me over Stainmore into this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, from her journey from London, with her three youngest daughters, Lady Cicely, Lady Mary and Lady Anne Tufton, to my great joy and comfort; where she and her daughter Lady Cicely now lay together in the Baron’s Chamber, and her two younger daughters in the next chamber to it, for eleven nights together; in which time they went with me the 11th day of this month into Appleby church, and the 18th of it into Bongate church. And on the 20th day they went away from me from this Appleby Castle, after I had taken my leave of them in my own chamber, onwards on the journey towards London over Stainmore. And by the way they went for a while into my castle of Brough in Westmoreland, to see the new building there;

1 Job vii. 1] See p. 41 n.
which was the first time that any of my posterity came into that castle since it was lately repaired by me.

And I had not seen this eldest daughter of mine since the 6th of September in 1658, when she went away with three of her younger sons from my castle of Brougham in Westmoreland towards London till now; and I had not seen these three youngest daughters of hers since the 28th of July in 1656 till this time. And this is the fourth time my daughter of Thanet hath come into Westmoreland to me. And the 6th day of July was my grandchild the Lady Margaret Coventry delivered of her third son and fifth child, Mr. William Coventry, who dyed the 14th of July 1662.

And the 25th day of August this year, being Saturday, did Sir Christopher Turner, one of the Barons of his Majesties Court of Exchequer, and Sir Robert Bernard, Knight and Serjeant at Law, his Majesties Justices of Assize for the Northern Circuite, come from Carlisle hither to Appleby Castle, where they now lay five nights together, Judge Turner in the Baron’s Chamber, and Judge Bernard in the best room in Cæsar’s Tower. And on Thursday following, the 29th day, about 9 a clock, they went away [p. 158] from hence towards Lancaster to keep the Assizes there also, lying at Kendal that night by the way. And I now lay here in this Appleby Castle while these Judges stayed here, which I had not done since August in 1653 till now.

The 10th day of September this year I went down to my almshouse here at Appleby, the King’s letters patents under the Great Seal of England for making the said almshouse a corporation being a perpetuity granted to me for the foundation thereof, dated at Westminster the 2d day of the last month, in the 13th year of his Majesties reign; which was now layd up in the chest or trunk in the Mother’s chamber there, under lock and key, to be kept among the rest of the writings and evidences concerning the foundation of the said almshouse and the lands of St. Nicholas Appleby and the mannor of Brougham, which I purchased for the maintenance thereof.

On Saturday the 18th 1 day of this September, about 2 a clock in

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1 On Saturday the 18th] This paragraph is out of chronological order and the substance of it is repeated two paragraphs later.
the afternoon, to my great grief, dyed my most dear grandchild William, Lord Compton, in his father’s house at Castle-Ashby in Northamptonshire, when he was eight years, eight months and about eighteen days old, he being a child of great hopes and perfection both of body and mind. And his brother and his sister and their father lay then there with him; but his mother was then at London, under the physician’s hands, and lay in her lord’s house there in Lincoln’s Inn Fields; I then lying in the Roman Tower at Brough Castle in Westmoreland, and stirred not out of it till that day. And this sad news was brought me by a letter from his father the 27th day of the said September to Appleby Castle, where I then lay.

And the 16th day of this month did I remove out of Appleby Castle into Brough Castle in Westmoreland, where I now lay for three nights together, the first night in the half-round tower called Clifford’s Tower, and the other two nights in the second room of the great tower called the Roman Tower, both which towers and castle there were repaired by me lately to my exceeding great costs and charges, after they had layn desolate ever since the timber thereof was casually burnt in the year 1521, some two years and a little more before the death of that Henry, Lord Clifford, my ancestor, who was father to Henry, Lord Clifford, first Earl of Cumberland; so as none of my ancestors have layn in it, since it was so consumed by fire, till I now lay in it myself. And I had not been in it since about the 14 or 15 of April in 1659, when it was then a repairing, till this time that I now lay in it.

And the 18th day of this month, about 4 a clock in the afternoon, whilst I lay in the great tower at Brough Castle in Westmoreland, called the Roman Tower, dyed my dear grandchild William, Lord Compton, in his father’s house at Castle Ashby in Northamptonshire. And his dead body was opened and afterwards buried in the vault in Compton church in Warwickshire, where his sisters, Anne and Isabella, and many of their father’s ancestors, the Comptons, and their wives lye also interred.

And the 14 of October in this year, about 8 a clock in the morning, dyed his mother, my youngest daughter, Isabella, Countess of Northampton, in her lord’s house at Lincoln’s Inn Fields at London, when

1 his] MS. this,
she was thirty-nine years old, and some thirteen days over, her two
children, that are now only left alive, to wit James, Lord Compton,
and Lady Alithea Compton, and their [p. 159] father, the Earl of
Northampton, lying then at that house; and then did I lye in my own
chamber in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, from whence I removed
the same day, some two or three hours after, into Pendragon Castle
in Westmoreland, to lye there for three nights. But I did not hear
the sad news of her death till after I came from thence into Appleby
Castle again.

Also the same 14th day of this October, about 9 a clock in the
morning, after she was dead, though I knew it not, did I remove out
of Appleby Castle in Westmoreland into Pendragon Castle in the same
county, where I now lay, in the second story that looks East and South,
for three nights together; and when they were past I came from
thence into this Appleby Castle again, to lye in it as before, this being
the first time I lay in the said Pendragon Castle since it was lately
repaired and made habitable by me to my great costs and charges,
after it had layn desolate ever since about the 15th year \footnote{1 about the 15th year] Probably this is the raid of Midsummer 1340 mentioned in some MSS.
of Murimuth's chronicle (Rolls ser. ed., p. 109 n.).} of Edward 3d
in 1341, which is 320 years ago. For then, as by old records and
chronicles it appears, the Scotts made an inroad into the West of
England, totally destroying it, and pulling down all the timber and a
great part of the stone building of it; but before that it was the chief
and beloved habitation of Idonea,\footnote{2 Idonea] wife, first, of Roger de Leyburne, afterwards of John de Cromwell. See \textit{Cal. In-
quissions}, vii. p. 392.} the younger daughter and coheir of Robert de Veteripont, my ancestor, she dying without issue, as
appears by inquisitions taken after her death, in the eighth year of
Edward the 3d; and then all her inheritance in Westmoreland came
to her elder sister, Isabella's grandchild, Robert, Lord Clifford, and his
posterity, to whom I am heir by a lineal descent.

And after I came from Pendragon Castle in Westmoreland I lay
now in Appleby Castle some twelve nights before I removed from
thence to Brougham Castle in the same county, whither I and my
family came safe the 29th day of this October, to lye there in it for a
time, in the same chamber wherein my noble father was born and my
blessed mother dyed, after I had layn in Appleby Castle ever since the 11th of this October was a twelve-month, excepting only six nights, three whereof I lay in Brough Castle and the other three in Pendragon Castle in the said county, as is before mentioned.

And the 27th of this October, whilst I lay in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, dyed Thomas, Lord Coventry, at his house in Lincoln’s Inn Fields at London, of the gangrene that was in several of his toes; he whose eldest son George, Lord Coventry, did marry about eight years, three months, and some days over, my grandchild, the Lady Margaret Tufton, then and now eldest daughter to my daughter of Thanet and her lord.

And I now continued to lie in the said chamber in Brougham Castle in Westmoreland for nine months and two days [p. 160] over, viz. till the 1st day of August following, that I removed from thence into my said Castle of Appleby again, to lie in it for a little time. And during the time of my lying in Brougham Castle I received the Sacrament thrice, once at Christmas in the chappell at Brougham Castle, once at Nine Kirks on Easter Sunday, and next at Brougham chappell the 27th of July, which chappell I have lately built; and this was the first time since the death of my mother that I ever received the blessed Sacrament in this Brougham chappell, and I seldom else went out of my chamber, or upon the leads of the castle as I used to do, but only into the Painted Chamber to hear prayers.

In the year of our Lord God 1662, as the year begins on New Year’s day, on the 13th day of February this year, died Elizabeth, Queen Dowager of Bohemia, she that was aunt to our King Charles the 2d and James, Duke of York, and she dyed in Leicester House in the fields near Charing Cross at London, and was buryed in Henry the 7ths chappell in the Abby church at Westminster, near to her father and mother and her nephew Henry, Duke of Glocester, and the Princess Elizabeth, his sister, after she had now lived in England since about the 17th day of May last. And she dyed the eve of that day was forty-

1 over] “since” or some such word seems to have dropped out.
2 then] MS. there.
3 her lord] After this paragraph some ten lines repeated in the MS. from the preceding paragraph are omitted.
nine years, that she was married to Frederick, Prince Elector Palatine, her husband; I now lying in Brougham Castle in Westmoreland when she dyed.

And the 22d day of March in this year I had a swounding fit, whereby I was in great danger of death, but it pleased God to restore me to life and health again in a very short space.

And the 30th day of this month, being Easter Sunday, I received the blessed Sacrament in the church called Nine Kirks, this being the first time I came into it after I had repaired and new built the said church.

The 12th day of April in this year my son-in-law James, Earl of Northampton, came hither to me from his journey from Castle Ashby in Northamptonshire and the Southern parts, by Skipton, where he had not been since the latter end of June 1657, when he was then there with his wife and his eldest son William, Lord Compton. And he went into the castle to see the rooms there in it, and in his journey from Skipton he lay at Ingleton by the way, and the same 12th day came hither to me into this Brougham Castle in Westmoreland with his cousin, Mr. John Mordaunt, son to Mr. James Mordaunt, a younger brother to the last Earl of Peterburgh; and they stayed here with me at Brougham Castle seven nights together, his Lordship lying in the Baron's Chamber, and his cousin Mordaunt in Graystock Chamber. And when those seven nights were past they went away from hence to Carlisle, and so to Edinburgh in Scotland and other places there, where they lay a good while, but returned back by Carlisle hither the 11th day of May following, though it were Sunday. And then they lay here in the same chambers in this Brougham Castle for eight nights together; and this was the first time that my Lord of Northampton did ever lie in this Brougham. And he went the 13th day of April, being Sunday, in the afternoon into the chappell at Brougham to hear the sermon there, that being the first time he was ever in that chappell. And the 18th of May following he went into the church at Nine Kirks in the forenoon to the sermon there; that being also the first [p. 161] time he was ever in the church of Nine Kirks. And the 19th day of May they went away from me from Brougham Castle to Kirby Lonsdale, where they lay
the 19th day at night; and the next night they lay at Barden Tower in Craven, this being the first time that either my Lord Northampton or his cousin Mordaunt ever lay in that Barden Tower. From whence on the 21st day they went onwards on their journey southwards. And he came well into his house at Castle Ashby in Northamptonshire a while after. And the 30th day of this month he came well to his house at Lincoln's Inne Fields in London, to his two children, James, Lord Compton, and the Lady Alithea Compton, his sister.

Our young Queen Katherine, the Infanta of Portugal, daughter to the late King and sister to this King of Portugal, after she had taken her leave of the Queen Dowager, her mother, the King of Portugal, her brother, and her younger sisters aboard one of our King's great ships riding near Lisbon, took her voyage and landed safely about the 14th of May at Portsmouth in Hampshire, after she had layn upon the seas in her journey from Lisbon ever since the 23rd of April till now. And our King Charles the 2d came to her to Portsmouth about the 20th day of this month and married her there in a publick manner the next day, being the 21st; and so from thence he and she went the 28th day to Winchester, and so by Farnham Castle to Hampton Court, whither they came to lye the 29th of this May. And thither my daughter of Thanet and Lady Frances her daughter went to see this new Queen the 4th of June following; I then lying in Brougham Castle in Westmoreland.

This summer did I cause a new brewhouse and bakehouse to be built up in the court within the walls of Brougham Castle in Westmoreland; whereof one side was built on the old wall towards the North, and the other side on the old wall towards the West. And now also did I cause the old brewhouse and bakehouse to be taken down, and the ground to be levelled; which old brewhouse and bakehouse stood nearer to the Tower of League; so as this removing of it made the court longer and handsomer than it was before.

And this summer did I cause a kitchen, a stable, a bakehouse and a brewhouse to be built in the court of my castle of Brough in Westmoreland, within the walls that were lately built there by me, the kitchen, bakehouse and brewhouse being on the North side, and the stable on the South side thereof.
Also this summer did I cause a wall of lyme and stone to be built, round about the piece of ground which I had taken in, about Pendragon Castle in Westmoreland, being ten quarters in height and about 90 roods in compass, with two gates to let in horses or coaches. And within the said wall I caused to be built a stable and coachhouse, a brewhouse, bakehouse and washhouse and a little chamber over the gates, that is arched. And on the 1st day of August this year, being Lammas Day, I removed with my family from Brougham Castle in Westmoreland to my castle of Appleby in the said county, after I had layn in Brougham Castle ever since the 29th day of October till this time, being nine months and two days over. And in this remove of mine I went through Whinfell Park, where I had not been during the time of my last lying at Brougham Castle till now. So I now lay in this Appleby Castle till the 15th of September following, that I removed from thence [p. 162] with my family to Brougham Castle in the said county, and so to Pendragon Castle, and so to Barden Tower in Yorkshire; whither I came the 26th of the same September to lye there in it. And the same first day of August,1 while I lay in this Brougham Castle, before my remove from thence to Appleby Castle, about 7 a clock in the morning, dyed my dear grandchild James, Lord Compton, in his father's house at Canbury by Islington near London; he being then the only surviving son of his mother, being about three years and three months old and sixteen days over at his death. And he was buryed the 8th of this month at night at the church at Compton in Warwickshire, his dead body being first opened, and his lungs found much annoyed with glandells and sticking to his ribs; his sister the Lady Alithea Compton being then also at Canbury house at his death, she being the only surviving child of her mother. But his father, my Lord of Northampton, was then either in Northamptonshire or in Warwickshire.

And the 14th day of the month before dyed that William Coventry who was third son to my grandchild the Lady Margaret Coventry, in her husband, the Lord Coventries house at Croome at Worcestershire, being about a year old, and was buried the night after in the

1 first day of August] This date is given repeatedly in this MS. The Bill Hill MS. (followed by the Complete Peerage) gives 5th of August, perhaps by a抄yst's mistake.
church there at Croome, I then lying in Brougham Castle in Westmoreland. And the news of his death came first of all to me to Appleby Castle in Westmoreland the 5th of this month, by a letter from my daughter of Thanett, the same day that I heard of my Lord James Compton's death.

And the 16 day of this August did Sir Christopher Turner, Knight, one of the Barons of his Majesty's Exchequer and Judge of the Assize for this Northern Circuite, come hither to Appleby Castle from Carlisle. And he lay here six nights together, in the Baron's Chamber. And the Tuesday following, being the 22d day, about 10 a clock, he went away from hence from me and us here out of Appleby Castle to Kendal, and so to Lancaster to keep the Assizes there also; and I now lay here myself in this Appleby Castle, while this Judge stayed here. And now this Baron Turner was the only Judge of Assize for this Northern Circuite, though heretofore two Judges used always to come the circuite hither.

The 28 of July in this year, a little before I removed from Brougham Castle, did our Queen Mary, the Frenchwoman, mother to our now King Charles, land at Greenwich in Kent, being newly come from her journey from Callis in France in a great ship over the seas, and so up the River of Thames thither; where she lay for a little while, and afterwards continued her journey from thence up the said River of Thames in her ship to London, to her two sons, the King and the Duke of York, and their wives; I then lying in Brougham Castle in Westmoreland. And this Queen had not been in England since about the latter end of January 1661, when she took ship at Portsmouth with her youngest daughter, the Princess Henrietta, and so went out of England over seas into France, till this time. And she stayd in England from the said 28th day of July [till] the [24th] day of [June]¹ in 1665, that she went over again then into France. And on the 15th day of September following did I remove with my family out of Appleby Castle in Westmoreland into my castle of Brough in the same county, where I now lay three nights together, one night in the highest [p. 163] room in Clifford's Tower, and two other nights in the great tower, called the Roman Tower, as I did the last time I lay there

¹ 24th day of June, 1665] The dates are blank in the MS.
Countess Dowager of Pembroke, 1662

before. And from thence out of that Brough Castle, I removed the 18th day of the same month, going through Kirby Stephen and Wharton Park near Wharton Hall into Pendragon Castle in Westmoreland, where I lay for six nights in the chamber within the Great Chamber, the windows whereof look towards the West and the South, though the three nights that I lay there before I lay in the chamber that is now the Great Chamber there. And from this Pendragon Castle I removed the 24th day of this month and went through Ravenston-dale into Mr. John Otway the lawyer's house at Ingmer by Sedbergh in Yorkshire, where I lay in it that one night. And I was not out of Westmoreland since the 11th of October 1660 till now. And the 25th day, from Mr. Otway's house, I went near Kirby Lonsdale, within sight of it, and so by Cowen Bridge, Ingleton, Clapham and those ways I had formerly gone, into the inne at Settle, where I lay that night; and never lay there before. And the next day, being the 26th day, I came over the Moor by Mawlam Water Tarne, where I had not been in nine or ten years before, and so into my house called Barden Tower, and lay in the same room where I used to lye; and continued to lye in it till the 6th day of May following in 1663, when I removed from thence with my family into Skyrton Castle; when I then began to lye in the chamber wherein I was born into the world, in that part of the castle which was lately repaired by me. And I had not been in this Skyrton Castle since the 9th of December 1659, that I removed from thence into Barden Tower; it being a strange and miraculous providence of God, that I should at this great age of 73 years come to lye again in the same chamber where I had not layn since I was a child of eight weeks old. Prov. 20. v. 24.

And some five or six weeks before my coming out of Westmoreland did my cosin Elizabeth Clifford, Countess of Cork, and her husband, Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, with their five youngest children, viz. two sons and three daughters, go from their house at White Fryars at London, wherein Elizabeth, Countess of Kent, formerly dyed, onwards on their journey towards Bristoll and those parts, and so into Wales; where at Millford Haven in Pembrokeshire they all went into a ship

1 Mawlam Water] Malham Tarn, four miles North-East of Settle.
Lady Anne Clifford on the seas, wherein they passed over into Ireland, either to Cork, Youghall or to Lismoore, where they have houses, and arrived safe there within a while after, after they had resided in England for the most part of two years and six months, excepting a little while that my Lord of Cork and his two sons went over into Ireland, either the last summer or the summer before, but they came quickly into England again. And now that they all went into Ireland did this Earl of Cork’s eldest son’s wife, she that was the Lady Anne Seymour, and youngest daughter to the widow Duchess of Somersett and her deceased husband the Duke, go over also into Ireland with her husband, this Charles Boyle, Lord Dungarvan, by whom she hath had one child already, a daughter, which she left behind her at London [p. 164] with her mother, it being not a year old. And it was the first time that ever this Lady Dungarvan came into Ireland or went beyond the seas. And her sister Mary is now beyond seas in Turky at Constantinople. And they came into England again in the year 1663, and so to their house in White Fryers, where and in other places in England they continued till their second daughter Elizabeth came to be married, the 11th of Aprill in that year,1 to my eldest grandson Nicholas, Lord Tufton, who by the death of his father the 7th of May following came to be Earl of Thanett. And a little after this marriage, in July following, they all came down into the North to their house at Lonsborrow in Yorkshire; from whence, after a while, my Lord of Cork and his lady, with most of their children, came to Bolton Abbey in Craven to lye there for a time. And in that time they went also into my castle of Skipton and tower of Barden for a while to see them. And about that time did their said second daughter and her lord, my grandson, the Earl of Thanett, come hither into this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland to me for a few nights.

In the year of our Lord God 1663, as the year begins on New Year’s day, the 2d day of Aprill in this year, did my grandchild Mr. John Tufton come from his journey from London hither into this Barden Tower to me, where I now kissed him with much joy a little before supper. And he now told me how he set forwards on his journey from London hitherwards from his mother and two of his

1 11th of Aprill in that year] Really in 1664.
sisters, Lady Frances and Lady Cicely, the 26 day of March last. For he and they came up thither from Hothfield in Kent, from my Lord of Thanett, the 16th of the same month, whither his mother and two sisters returned back again the 27th day. And when he now came hither to me he began to lye in the best room in this Barden Tower, at the end of the Great Chamber, where my daughter of Northampton lay when she was last here; and his man John Geatley, who is newly come to him, in the room within it. And I had not seen any grandchild of mine, since the death of my daughter of Northampton and three of her children, till now that I saw this John Tufton. And this was the first time that any of my daughter of Thanett’s children ever lay in this Barden Tower. And this grandchild of mine was the more wellcome to me, in regard he had escaped death very narrowly by a dangerous sickness he had in France the last year, which caused me to have in a thankfull remembrance God’s great mercies to me and mine. Ps. 23. v. 4, 5 1; Ps. 116. v. 12, 13. 2

And the 6th day of May in this year, being Wednesday, did I, with my grandchild Mr. John Tufton and my whole family, remove from Barden Tower in Craven, after I had now layn in it ever since the 26 of September last till now, and came the nearest way through the Haw Park 3 to Skipton Castle, into the new-repaired old buildings there, to lye now for a time in the chamber there wherein myself was borne; for though that and the chief parts of the castle were pulled down by the command of Cromwell about the end of December 1648, yet did I cause it to be rebuilt in the years 1657, 1658, and 1659. And I was not in this Skipton Castle since the 9th of December 1659, when I went out of it last, to lye first of all in Barden Tower, till this time that I now came to lye in it again. And though I was near the said castle of Skipton and the walls of it with my blessed mother about [p. 165] the 12 of October 1607, when we were then in our journey out of Westmoreland towards London, yet did I not come to lye in this old

1 Ps. xxiii. 4, 5 Yea, though I should walk throug the valley of the shadow of death, I will feare no evil: for thou art with me: thy rod and thy staffe, they comfort me. Thou doest prepare a table before mee in the sight of mine adversaries: thou doest anoint my head with oyle, and my cup runneth over.

2 Ps. cxvi. 12, 13 See p. 64 n.

3 Haw Park] The Haw Park is about two miles North-East of Skipton.
part of the Castle wherein I was born, since I was carryed out of it, when I was about eight weeks old, with my father and mother and my brother Robert, Lord Clifford, from thence towards London, till this 6th day of May. And it is to be accounted a great and wonderfull providence of God, that now in the 73d year of my age, I should come to lye again in that chamber, wherein I was born into the world.

And the 25th of January in this year, as the same begins on New Year’s day, dyed that Mr. John Turner, the receiver of my jointure-rents, who was husband to Mrs. Elizabeth Turner that was at Nicholls and had served me so many years; and he dyed at his house at Ramsbury in Wiltshire. And the 22d day of May in this year did my grandchild Mr. John Tufton go away from hence from me and us here out of this Skypnton Castle, over Cotter¹ and those ways to Pendragon Castle in Westmoreland; this being the first time that either he or any grandchild of mine every lay in that castle of mine, which was lately repaired by me. And from thence he went into Appleby Castle, and lay there two nights; and the next day he went to Brough Castle, where he lay one night; this being the first time that he or any grandchild of mine lay in that Brough Castle, for I repaired it but lately. And from thence, the day after, he went through Whinfell Park into Brougham Castle, where he lay one night. And while he was now in Westmoreland he went also into Lowther Hall, Acron-bank and other places, and was at the horse-race on Langanby Moore²; and came home well again to me, I thank God, the 29th day of the month following. And he had not been in Westmoreland since the 25 day of June 1658, that he went thence from Brougham Castle towards London, till now.

The 26 day of July in this year did Mrs. Elizabeth Turner, the widdow that served me so many years, come from her journey from London and from York hither to Skypton Castle into the chamber wherein I was born into the world; so as she lay here eighteen nights, the first seven or eight nights in the best chamber in the great half-round tower, and the rest in the chamber called Mrs. Widdrington’s Chamber below. And I had not seen her since the 8th of May in 1660,

¹ Cotter] The pass from the head of Wensleydale (by the Moorcock Inn) to Mallerstang and the vale of Eden.
² Langanby Moore] Langwathby, near Edenhall and four miles North-East of Penrith.
that she and her husband Mr. John Turner and their daughter went away then from me from Barden Tower in Craven towards London, till now; and I never saw her husband since then, for he dyed in his house at Ramsbury in Wiltshire the 25 day of January last. And there came now hither with her Mr. William Edge, the receiver of my Sussex jointure-rents, and he lay here in the Withdrawing Chamber, next the gallery, the time of his staying here; saving six nights that he went to Manchester in Lancashire amongst his freinds and kindred. And the 11th day of August following he and Mrs. Turner went from hence from me and my daughter of Thanett and us here, onwards on their journey towards London.

And the 3d day of August this summer, being Monday, did my daughter, the Countess of Thanett, with four of her younger sons, Richard, Thomas, Sackvill and George Tufton, and her daughter, Lady Frances Tufton, come hither from their journey [p. 166] from York and from London, hither into Skypoton Castle in Craven to me, about 8 a clock at night, into the chamber where I then lay, and where I was born into the world. And I then kissed them all with much joy and comfort; it being the first time that I saw my daughter of Thanett or these four younger sons of hers in Skypoton Castle or in Craven, for it was the first time that my daughter of Thanett or these her four younger sons ever came into Craven.

Neither did I see her daughter, Lady Frances Tufton, since she went away from me from Skypoton Castle the 10th day of September in 1659, till now; nor had I seen my three grandsons, Richard, Thomas and Sackvill Tufton, since they went away with their mother, my daughter of Thanett, from Brougham Castle in Westmoreland from me the 6th day of September 1658, till now. Nor had I seen my said youngest grandchild George Tufton since the 28th day of July 1656, when he then went away from me from the said Brougham Castle, with his mother and his three youngest sisters, towards London. And I had not seen my daughter of Thanett herself since she went from me from Appleby Castle in Westmoreland towards London, with her three youngest daughters, Lady Cicely, Lady Mary and Lady Anne Tufton, on the 20th day of August 1661, till now. So as this journey of hers now this August from London to Skypoton Castle to me was the fifth
journey that she had taken into the North to see me; for she had been four several times with me in Westmoreland before. And my daughter of Thanett and these four younger sons of hers and her daughter Lady Frances continued to lye with me in the said Skypnton Castle, herself and her daughter Frances lying in the second best room in the chief round tower in the old building in Skypnton Castle lately repaired by me, and her two youngest sons, Sackvill and George, lying in the upper great round room at the end of the gallery, and their brother Thomas in the Round Tower below it, where I formerly used to lye myself, and their brother Richard lying with his brother John Tufton in the great room over the gate-house, all the time, save one night that he lay in the Drawing Room next the gallery; for their brother John Tufton met his mother and four brothers and sister at York, and came hither to Skypnton Castle with them, and continued to lye in it as formerly all the while they stayed here.

And the ioth day of this August my daughter of Thanett and these four younger sons of hers and her daughter, Lady Frances, went from Skypnton Castle into Barden Tower to see it, which was the first time that she or her four younger sons ever came into this Barden Tower. But they came all back again to me the same night to Skypnton Castle. And so, after they had layn here twelve nights, on the 15th day of the said August about io a clock, after I had first kissed her and then her children in the chamber wherein I was born, they went away from me out of this Skypnton Castle onwards on their journey towards London. And my grandchild, her son, John Tufton, went also with his mother and brother[s] and sister, the first day's journey, to Wetherby, but returned back again to me to Skypnton Castle the 17th day of that August at night. And the 22nd of the said August my daughter of Thanett and these four younger sons of hers with her daughter, Lady Frances Tufton, came all well to Thanett [p. 167] House in Aldersgate Street at London; where they all lay for two nights together, because the next day was Sunday. And on the 24th day they went away from thence down into the country towards Hothfield House in Kent, whither they came well the next day, being the 25th day, to my Lord of Thanett and his three youngest daughters.

1 four] MS. three.
The 29th day of this August did Sir Thomas Twisden and Sir Christopher Turner, the King's two Judges of Assize appointed this year for their Northern Circuite, come from their journey from Carlisle into my castle of Appleby in Westmoreland, where they lay for four nights together, Judge Twisden in the Baron's Chamber, and Judge Turner in one of the best chambers in Caesar's Tower, in which time they kept the Assizes in the Moothall in Appleby towne. And the 2nd of September following, being Wednesday, they went away from thence to Kendall in the same county, where they lay that night, and the next day to Lancaster, where they finished their circuite.

And the 7th day of this September in this year did my grandchild Mr. John Tufton ride away from this Skypton Castle from me and us here, and his man John Gately, towards London, and so into Kent to his father and mother and many of their children. And I did not see him again till after his father's death, which was on the 7th day of May 1664; for he came not to me till the 8th of July next following, that he came from his journey from thence and from London hither to Appleby Castle in Westmoreland to me.

And the 30th of this September, a little before my removal from Skypton Castle, did my cousin Philip, Lord Wharton, and three of his daughters by his second wife, viz. Anne, my goddaughter, and Margaret and Mary Wharton, come from his house called Heleigh House¹ in Yorkshire to Skypton Castle aforesaid to me, where they lay two nights together, and then went home again to Heleigh Mannor aforesaid.

And the 6th day of this October 1663, after I had layn in Skypton Castle, in the chamber there wherein I was born, just five months from my coming from Barden Tower, did I remove from thence onwards on my journey towards Westmoreland; so as I went to Mr. Cuthbert Wade's house at Kilnsey² and lay there that night, and so the next day from thence through Kettlewell Dale, up Buckden Rakes, and over the Stake³ into Wensdale to my cousin Mr. Thomas Metcalf's house at Nappa⁴ where I lay also that night. And the next day,

¹ Heleigh] Healaugh, two miles west of Reeth in Swaledale.
² Kilnsey] Near the head of Wharfedale.
³ the Stake] The pass, 1,800 feet high, leading into Upper Wensleydale.
⁴ Nappa] Two miles east of Askrigg.
being the 8th day, I went over Cotter, which I lately repaired, and came into this Pendragon Castle to lye in it againe. And this was the first time I was ever in Kettlewell Dale, or went over Buckden Rakes, or the Stake, or Cotter, or any of those dangerous places; wherein yet God was pleased to preserve me in that journey. And I was not in Westmoreland since the 25 day of October in 1662 till now. So I kept this Christmas here in this Pendragon Castle this year. And this was the first time that I ever kept Christmas in it, or any of my ancestors before me, for 300 years before and more; and I now lay in it till the 27th day of January, that I removed from thence with my family into Appleby Castle in Westmoreland. And while I lay in Pendragon Castle was my son-in-law John Tufton, Earl of Thanett, committed prisoner [p. 168] to the Fleet at London, the 21 of December, about the busyness of Sackvill College in Sussex; in which imprisonment he continued to lye till the 21 of January next after, that he was released from thence and came home again to his house in Aldersgate Street to my daughter his wife and some of their children.

In the year of our Lord God 1664, as the year begins on New Year’s day, the 21 day of January in this year, about 10 a clock in the forenoon, did I go out of Pendragon Castle in Westmoreland, in my coach drawn with six horses, and most of my family with me on horse back, into Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, after I had layn in the said Pendragon Castle ever since the 8th of October last, that I came to it with my family from my journey from Skypton Castle in Craven till now. And now I began to lye in the same chamber in Appleby Castle where I used formerly to lye, and where I had not been since the 18th of October in 1662 till now; and in which I now continued to lye till the 16 of September following, that I removed from thence into Brough Castle in the same county, where I lay for eight nights together, viz. till the 24 of that September; and then I returned back from thence to this Appleby Castle again. And before I came away from Pendragon Castle did I upon the 12 day of this January purchase of Reginald Cock of Coutley,1 near Sedbergh in Yorkshire, lands to the value of £11 per annum, for which I paid £220; which lands I gave for the maintenance of a person qualified to read prayers and the homilies

1 Coutley] Cauley, about five miles North-East of Sedbergh.
of the Church of England, and to teach the children of the dale to write and read English, in Mallerstang Chappell for ever; and I did put into officiate in the said chappell of Mallerstang Rowland Wright, who had been at the said chappell some three or four years before to teach scholars there. And the 17th day of this month, being Thursday, in the evening, did Sir Thomas Twisden, one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster, and Sir Christopher Turner, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, come hither from Kendall, and so from Lancaster the day before, into this Appleby Castle; where they lay for five nights together, Judge Twisden in the Baron's Chamber and Judge Turner in the best room in Cæsar's Tower, sitting here by special commission from the King upon the trials of divers of the traitors in this country, that were engaged in the late plot and rising against his Majesty; so as three of them were hang'd, drawn and quartered here at Appleby. For otherwise, except upon such an occasion, the Assizes are but kept once a year for this county. And the 22d day these Judges went from hence on their journey towards York, to keep the Assizes there also. And I lay in my own chamber in this Appleby Castle all the time that the Judges were now there. The 11th day of April, being Easter Monday, was my first grandchild, Nicholas, Lord Tufton, marryed in a chamber in Clifford's Inne in London towne to the Lady Elizabeth Boyle, my cosin and goddaughter, second daughter to Richard, Earl of Cork, by his wife my cosin Elizabeth Clifford, Countess of Cork. And my said first grandchild and the said Lady Elizabeth Boyle were marryed together by one Mr. Byfield, who is Chaplain to her said father; I then lying in my own chamber in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland. And this new-married couple begun first of all to lye together in that house at Whitefryers at London, which was once part of the Priory [p. 169] there, where her father and mother and most of their family now lyes.

And the 7th day of May, being Saturday, about 3 a clock in the morning, dyed my son-in-law John Tufton, Earl of Thanett, in his house called Thanett House in Aldersgate Street at London, in those lodgings that look towards the street, which he had built about twenty years since with free-stone very magnificently. And my first child, his wife, the Lady Margaret, Countess of Thanett, and their five
youngest sons and four youngest daughters lay in that house of his when he dyed; and he was fifty-five years old the 15th day of December last before his death. And the 11th day of this month was the dead body of my son-in-law John Tufton, Earl of Thanett, carryed out of his house in Aldersgate Street, where he dyed the 7th of that month, and so over London Bridge down into the country into the church of Rainham in Kent, and was buried unopened in the vault there, by his father and mother and his second child, my grandchild, the Lady Anne Tufton; his brother and his five younger sons and his daughters, Lady Frances and Lady Cicely Tufton, being there present at his burial, but his eldest son was not; I lying in my own chamber in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, both when he dyed and when he was buryed. And the 8th day of July following did his second son, my grandchild, John Tufton, come from his journey from Thanett House in Aldersgate Street in London towne, from his mother and some of his brothers and sisters, hither to Appleby Castle in Westmoreland to me, to my great joy and comfort; I having not seen him since the death of his father, my son-in-law, John, Earl of Thanett, nor in eight months before, till now. For the 7th day of September last, in 1663, this grandchild of mine went from Skypton from me onwards on his journey towards London. And now in this journey of his from thence hither he lay two nights by the way, viz. the 5th and 6th of this month, in the highest chamber in the great round tower at Skypton Castle over that Round Chamber at the end of the Long Gallery there, where I formerly used to lye. And the 7th day at night he lay in the inne at Kirby Lonsdale, from whence the next day as aforesaid he came hither to Appleby Castle, where he now continued to lye till the 20 of the month following, that he went with his mother and his three youngest sisters from hence to Brougham Castle and lay there with them four nights, viz. till the 24th of the same month, that he came back again hither with them to this Appleby Castle. From whence, after he had layn two nights more in it, on the 26th day he went away from me and from his mother and sisters up towards London, about four days before they went. And he came well to Thanett House in Aldersgate Street there the 2d day of the month following.

The 29th of this month did my grandchild Nicholas Tufton, Earl
of Thanett, and his wife, my cosin and goddaughter, the young Countess of Thanett, come hither to me, and to his brother John Tufton, into my chamber in this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, about 7 a clock in the evening; where I kissed them both with much joy and comfort; it being the first time I saw any grandchild of mine, that was an Earl. Neither had I seen him since I saw him in the court of this Appleby Castle, when he went away from hence with [p. 170] his father and mother towards Croome in Worcestershire, and from thence up to London, in 1653, till this day. And it was the first time this new-married wife of his ever came into Westmoreland; neither had I seen her since I saw her and her father and mother, the Earl and Countess of Cork, and her brother and sisters in Craven in 1650, when they were then with me at Skypton Castle, and I with them at Bolton Abbey, till this time. And this Earl, my grandchild, and his wife came now hither to me from Lonsborrow, York, and Topcliffe, and came to-day over Stainmore hither, lying the night before at the poor inn at Bowze.¹ And by the way hither from Bowze they went into Brough Castle for a while to see it. And now my said grandchild, the Earl of Thanett, and the Countess his wife continued to lye in this Appleby Castle for eleven nights together in the Baron's Chamber; and whilst they now lay here they went into Brougham Castle for a good while, and into Eden Hall, Lowther Hall and Acronbank; and he and his brother John Tufton went into Pendragon Castle to see it, but his wife did not go with them, she being a little indisposed that day. And upon the 9th of August following, after I had then kissed them in my chamber in Appleby Castle, did this Earl of Thanett and the Countess his wife with their company go away again from hence out of Westmoreland over Stainmore into the inn at Cataract² Bridge towards York and Launsburgh, but my grandchild John Tufton returned back again to me at Appleby Castle after he had brought his brothers and sisters onwards on their journey as far as Brough.

And some two days after, my said grandchild and his wife mett my Lord of Cork and his wife about York, and went with them to their house at Launsburgh, for they were lately come from Bolton Abby and out of Craven thither again.

¹ Bowze] Bowes. ² Cataract] Catterick, South-East of Richmond.
The 16 day of August in this year, about 7 a clock in the evening, did my daughter Margaret, Countess Dowager of Thanett, with her three youngest daughters, Lady Cicely, Lady Mary and Lady Anne Tufton, and their company come from their journey from London over Stainmore and those ways hither to me and my family, into this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, where I now kissed them with much joy and comfort; it being the first time I saw this daughter of mine, or any of her daughters, since she was a widow by the death of her lord, the Earl of Thanett, who dyed the 7th day of May last, or in some time before. For I had not seen her since the 15th of August last in 1663, that she went away from me from Skipton Castle in Craven with her four youngest sons, Richard, Thomas, Sackvill and George Tufton, and her daughter, Lady Francis [sic] Tufton, up towards London, till now. Nor had I seen these youngest daughters of hers since the 20 day of August in 1661, that they went from me from this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland up towards London with my said daughter their mother, who had been then here to see me with them, till now. And now they continued to lye in the Baron's Chamber here for four nights together. And the 20 day, by reason of the two Judges coming hither to keep the Assizes, they went from hence with my grandchild John Tufton into Brougham Castle in this county, where they lay for four nights more, during the time of the Assizes, my daughter of Thanett and her youngest daughter Lady Anne lying in the chamber there wherein I used formerly to lye, wherein my noble father was born and my blessed mother dyed; which was the first time [p. 171] that she, or any of her children, ever lay in that chamber; and Lady Cicely and Lady Mary lying in the middle chamber of the greatest tower there; and their brother John Tufton lying in the Baron's Chamber there. And my daughter of Thanett had not been in Brougham Castle since the 6th of September 1658, that she went from thence from me with her sons, Richard, Thomas and Sackvill Tufton, up towards London, till now this 20 of August. Nor had her said youngest daughters been in that Castle since the 28th day of July 1656, that they went from thence with their mother, my said daughter, up towards London, untill now. And this was the first time that any of them lay in that castle, when I lay not there myself. But on the 24 of this August, when those four nights
were past, they and their company came from thence back again into this Appleby Castle; where they lay for six nights more, all save my said grandchild John Tufton, who lay but two nights in this castle, for the 26th day he began his journey from hence up towards London as aforesaid. And upon the 30 day of the same August my daughter of Thanett and her said three youngest daughters and their company, after I had first kissed them at taking my leave of them, went away from me out of this Appleby Castle, about 8 or 9 a clock in the morning, onwards on their journey towards London again; whither they came safe and well the 8th day of the month following to Thanett house in Aldersgate Street in London, to lye there in it for a time.

And the 20 day of this August, being Saturday, in the morning, did the two Judges of Assize for this Northern Circuite, Sir Thomas Twisden and Sir Christopher Turner, come hither from Carlisle and Newcastle and those parts, to keep the Assizes here at Appleby for this county as usually; and they lay here in this Appleby Castle for four nights together, Judge Twisden in the Baron’s Chamber, and Judge Turner in the best room in Cæsar’s Tower; in which time they kept the Assizes in the Moothall in Appleby towne, where Robert Atkinson, one of my tenants in Mallerstang, and that had been my great enemy, was condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered as a traitor to the King, for having had a hand in the late plott and conspiracy; so as he was executed accordingly the 1st of the month following. And the 24th of this August, being Wednesday, they went away from hence to Kendal in this county, where they lay that night; and the next day to Lancaster to keep the Assizes there also, and to finish their circuite; I lying in my own chamber in this Appleby Castle all the time of these Assizes.

The 16 day of September in this year, after I had layn in my chamber in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland ever since the 27th of January last, that I came to it from Pendragon Castle, did I remove with some of my family out of my said castle of Appleby into my castle of Brough in the same county; where I lay for eight nights together, viz. the first four nights in the uppermost chamber in that they call [p. 172] the Cliffords’ Tower there, and the other four in the middle chamber of the great Roman Tower there. And when they were past, on the
24th of the same month, I returned back into my castle of Appleby again, into my chamber in it, where I continued to lye for thirty-one nights. And when they were past, on Tuesday the 25th of the month following, I removed from Appleby Castle into Brougham Castle in the same county. And I had not been in Brough Castle aforesaid since the 18th of September in 1662 till this 16th day.

The 8th day of July in this year, after they had taken their leaves of their mother and most of their younger brothers and sisters a day or two before at Thanet House in Aldersgate Street in London towne, did my two grandchildren, Mr. Sackvill Tufton and Mr. George Tufton, embark themselves at Dover in Kent; and so sealed over the seas into France, whither they came safe and well to Paris within a while after; this being the first time these two grandchildren of mine were ever beyond the seas or out of England. And Sir Thomas Billingsley, who had served their grandfather of Dorsett, went along with them as their governor. And after a short stay at Paris they went away from thence to Sedan.

The 25th day of October in this year, being Thursday, after I had layn in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland ever since the 27 of January last past, that I came to it from Pendragon Castle, excepting only eight nights that I lay in Brough Castle, viz. from the 16 of last month till the 24th of the same, did I this 25th day of October (as aforesaid) remove with my family out of my said castle of Appleby into my castle of Brougham in the same county, where I had not layn since the 1st of August 1662 till now, and where I now continued to lye, in the chamber wherein my noble father was born and my blessed mother dyed, till the 1st day of August in the year following, that I removed from thence with my family into Appleby Castle to lye there in it for a time; so as I now continued to lye in this Brougham Castle for nine months together and seven days over.

In the year of our Lord God 1665, as the year begins on New Year's day, the 23rd day of February in this year, between 11 and 12 a clock in the forenoon, was my grandchild the Lady Frances Tufton, now second daughter to my daughter of Thanett and her deceased lord, married in the chappell in Thanett House in Aldersgate Street at London by Mr. Hinde, my daughter of Thanett's chaplain, to Mr.
Henry Drax; which grandchild of mine had been once or twice in the Low Countries for the cure of the rickets, but, thanks be to God, she came now to be well married. And after she and her said husband had layn in Thanett House in Aldersgate Street some eight or nine nights, they went away from thence into her husband’s house in Lincoln’s Inne Fields, to live there in it for a while; and afterwards they went into his house at Hackney, some three or four miles from London, to live there in it; I being at the time of her marriage in Brougham Castle in [p. 173] Westmoreland, in the chamber there wherein my father was born and my blessed mother dyed. And she dyed in labour of her first child, to my great grief, the 22d of November following at Buckwell¹ in Kent; the child dying in her a little before. And she and it were buryed together in Rainham church in Kent the 15th day of December after that.

About the 29th of June in this year, being St. Peter’s day, did our Queen Mary, the Frenchwoman, Queen Dowager and mother to our King Charles the 2d, go out of Somerset House, and out of London towne, cross over the River of Thames to Lambeth, and so by easy days’ journeys to Dover in Kent, her two sons, our King Charles and James, Duke of York, Prince Rupert, the Duke of Monmouth and many others of the nobility bringing her onwards on her journey as far as Dover aforesaid; where they then all took their leaves of her, as she was on shipboard on the seas. From whence she crost the seas in one of the King’s ships and landed safely at Callis; and from thence went to Paris in France, the beginning of July following. And this Queen Mary had stayed in England ever since the 28th of July in 1662, that she then came out of France into England, this being the eleventh or twelfth time that she hath passed and repassed the seas to and fro between England and beyond the seas. So as from her first coming into England to this going over of hers now into France was just forty years the 12th of this month of June. And some few days before her going from London this Queen Dowager took her leave of Queen Katherine, her son our King’s wife, at Hampton Court.

And in this year 1665 and the beginning of the year following

¹ Buckwell] In Boughton Aluph, near Hothfield.
there was a great plague in the city and suburbs of London, whereof there dyed for several weeks together 8,000 a week, the like whereof was never known in London before.

The 1st day of August in this year, after I had layn nine months and seven days over in Brougham Castle in Westmoreland, in the chamber where my noble father was born and my blessed mother dyed, did I remove with my family out of the said Brougham Castle into my castle of Appleby in Westmoreland; and I came by the way thither through some part of Whinfell Park, where I had not been since this day three years till now; and I continued to lye in this Appleby Castle till the 10th day of November following, that I removed hence with my family to Brough Castle in the same county.

And the 1st day of August also did my daughter of Thanett and her three youngest daughters, Cicely, Mary and Anne, with her family remove out of their hired house at Epsome in Surry, where they drunk the waters, into Bolbrook house in Sussex, her house of inheritance by her father, where they continued to lye; and this was the first time my daughter of Thanett came to lye in that Bolbrook House, after she was a widow, or in a good many years before, and the first time her three youngest daughters were ever in it. And her eldest son, the Earl of Thanett, and his lady and her other three sons that are now in England and her daughter, Lady Frances Drax, and her husband came hither to see her for a time in the said [p. 174] Bolbrook House, where she had been delivered of her said first son, the Earl of Thanett.

The 19th of August did Sir Richard Rainsford, one of the Barons of his Majesties Exchequer and now Judge of Assize for this Northern Circuite, come hither from Carlisle to keep the Assizes here at Appleby, where he continued now to lye in the Baron’s Chamber for five nights together, viz. till the 24th of this month, that he went from hence to Kendal, and the next day to Lancaster, to keep the Assizes there also, and to finish his circuite. And my cosin Sir Philip Musgrave and his son Christopher and my cosin Sir John Lowther of Lowther lay here also most part of the Assizes. And whilst the Assizes were kept here, did my cosin Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle, and young Mr. Fenwick, that married his eldest daughter, came here to me into
this Appleby Castle the 21 of this month, and lay here that night in the Great Tower, as they were in their journey to York to attend the Duke of York there; which was the first time I saw my said cosin the Earl of Carlisle since he was Ambassador for our King in Muscovy, Sweden and Denmark, or in some five or six years till now.

The 10th day of November in this year, being Fryday, after I had layn in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland ever since the 1st of August last, being three months and some nine days\(^1\) over, in the chamber in it where I formerly used to lye, and wherein I have layn long since with my blessed mother when I was a maid, did I remove from thence with my family out of the said Appleby Castle into my castle of Brough in the same county, where I had not been since the 24th of September in the last year 1664, till this day; and where I now begun to lye, in the highest round chamber in Clifford's Tower, till the 19th of Aprill following, that I removed from thence with my family into Pendragon Castle in the same county. And during the time I lay in this Brough Castle I did keep my Christmas in it, which was the first Christmas I ever kept in the said castle, nor had any of my ancestors done it since the year 1521, it being then burned down, when Henry, Lord Clifford, my father's great-grandfather, then lay in the said castle, about two years and somewhat more before the said Henry Lord Clifford's death.

The 22d day of November in this year, about 1 a clock in the afternoon, to my unspeakable grief, dyed my dear grandchild, the Lady Frances Drax, who was my daughter of Thanett's third daughter but sixth child, and was born in her father's house called Thanett House in Aldersgate Street in London towne the 23rd of March in 1642, as the year begins on New Year's day, I then lying in a hired house in the city of Bath in Summersetshire; and she was married in the same Thanett House the 23rd of February last to Mr. Henry Drax; and she dyed as aforesaid this 22d of November in a hired house of her husband's at Buckwell in Kent, near Hothfield, being then in labour of her first child, which was a son, of whom she could not be delivered, for the child was dead within her a few hours before her own death. And whilst she was in labour did my daughter of

\(^{1}\) nine days] MS. months.
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Thanett begin her [p. 175] journey from Bolbrook in Sussex towards Buckwell aforesaid to her; but hearing of her death before she came thither, she returned immediately back to Bolbrook again, where she lay when her said daughter was buryed, which was on the 15th of December, being the month next following. And her child was buried then together with her in the vault of Rainham church in Kent, by her father and grandfather, there being present at their burial several of her brothers and sisters, as namely, the Earl of Thanett and his lady, Mr. John Tufton, Mr. Richard Tufton, Mr. Thomas Tufton, and Lady Cicely Tufton, and also many of their neighbours and relations. And both when she dyed and was buryed did I lye in my own chamber in Clifford’s Tower in Brough Castle in Westmoreland, where I heard first of all the sad news of her death the 6th day of the said December.

In the year of our Lord God 1666, as the year begins on New Year’s day, the 2d of January in this year, about 6 or 7 a clock in the morning, did there a great fire happen in the highest chamber but one of the great Roman Tower here in this Brough Castle in Westmoreland, which burned a bed and the curtains and valance and all the furniture belonging to it, and a tapestry hanging that hung behind the bed; but before it got any further hold, it was by God’s mercifull providence discovered and quenched, so as the tower itself received no harm; and I then lay in my own chamber in Clifford’s Tower in the said castle.

The 19th of Aprill in this year did I remove with my family out of Brough Castle in Westmoreland, and so went through Wharton Park, near to Wharton Hall, into my castle of Pendragon in the same county, after I had layn in the said Brough Castle, in the uppermost room in Clifford’s Tower there, ever since the 10th day of November last till now, being five months and some nine days over. And at the time of my now being in Brough Castle died my dear grandchild the Lady Frances Drax, the 22nd of November, in a hired house of her husband’s at Buckwell in Kent, near Hothfield, as is above mentioned. And the said 19th day in the morning, before I came away from the said Brough Castle did I go for a while into the great Roman Tower

there, into the best room in it, where I used sometime to lye, and into
the lower room where Gabriel Vincent dyed the 12th of February before,
to my great grief and sorrow. And I had not been in the great Roman
Tower since the 24 of September 1664, when I had then layn in it for
four nights, and removed thence to Appleby Castle, till now, that I
came into it again for a while. And I had not been in this Pendragon
Castle since the 27 of January 1664, as the year begins on New
Year's day, till this 19 of April, that I now came into it again;
and where I continued to lye, in my own chamber there that looks to
the South and West, till the 6th day of August following, that I removed
from thence with my family towards Skipton Castle in Craven. And
a little before my coming away from Brough Castle, in the latter
end of March or beginning of April, did my two grandchildren, Mr.
Sackvill Tufton and his brother Mr. George Tufton, with their governor
Sir Thomas Billingsley, go from Sedan in France into Upper Germany
[p. 176] to the Prince Elector Palatine's Court at Heidelberg. And
the reason of their so sudden departure out of France into Germany
was because of the wars that are now between England and France.
And in that time that they remained at Heidelberg was my said
grandchild George Tufton sorely shott and wounded in the wars there.

And the 6th day of this August, after I had layn in Pendragon
Castle ever since the 19 of April before, did I remove out of the
said Pendragon Castle, and went into the chappell of Mallerstang by the
way for a while, it being the first time I was ever in that chappell;
and so over Cotter and those dangerous ways into one Mr. John
Coleby's house near Bainbridge in Wensedale,1 where I lay that night,
with my woman servants and some three of my men servants, my other
servants lying at Askrig and Bainbridge. And this was the first
time I ever lay in the said house. And the next day, being the 7th
of August, I went over the Stake and down Buckden2 Rackes and so
into Mr. Cuthbert Wade's house at Kilnsey, where I then lay in it
that one night, having layn in it one night before, in my former remove
from Skipton Castle to Pendragon Castle in Westmoreland. And
from thence that next day, being the 8th of this month, I came safe
and well into my castle of Skipton in Craven, and so into my own

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chamber in it, wherein I was born into the world, and where now I continued to lye for five months and two days, that is to say, from the 8th of August till the 10th of January following, that I then removed with my family to Barden Tower in Craven to lye in it for a time.

And I had not been in those ways over Cotter and the Stake since the 6, 7, and 8 days of October in 1663 till now; neither was I in Skipton Castle since the said 6th of October in 1663 till now.

The 27th day of this August, being Monday, did my daughter Margaret, now Countess Dowager of Thanett, with her three youngest daughters, Lady Cicely, Lady Mary, and Lady Anne Tufton, come hither to me from their journey from London, and to day from the inne at Wetherby, into this Skipton Castle, a little before supper; where I kissed them all with much joy and contentment in the chamber here wherein I was born into the world, I having not seen any of them since the 20th day of August 1664, when they went away from me in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland back towards London, untill now. And now they continued to lye here in this castle for twelve nights together, my daughter and her daughter Cicely in the Middle Round Room, at the end of the Long Gallery here, where formerly I used to lye my self, and Lady Mary and Lady Anne in the room above it; which was the first time my daughter of Thanett or these three daughters of hers ever lay in that Round Tower, though her daughter Lady Frances Tufton, since deceased, had layn in it when she was here. And this is the seventh time that my said daughter hath come into the North to see me, whereof she hath been five times with me in Westmoreland, and this is the second time she hath been with me here at Skipton; but it is the first time these three youngest daughters of hers were ever here, though they had been with me before in Westmoreland, both at Brougham Castle and Appleby Castle. And the 31st of this month, during their stay here, these three young ladys, my grandchildren, with their three [p. 177] women, Mrs. Jane Paulett, Mrs. Bridget Billingsley, and Katherine Preston, went in my daughter their mother's coach with six horses out of this Skipton Castle into my tower of Barden, where they dined, and from thence into Mr. Sheffield Clapham's house at Beamsley, where they stayed a while, and from thence into my blessed mother's
almshouse there at Beamsley, and returned back again into this Skypton Castle a little before supper-time; this being the first time that any of my said three grandchildren were ever in Barden Tower, or in Beamsley Hall, or in the almshouse at Beamsley, which was founded by my blessed mother. So when these twelve nights were past my daughter of Thanett and her said three daughters and their company went away from hence from me, after I had first kissed them at taking my leave of them, and so from this Skypton Castle the 8th day of September following, about 9 a clock in the morning, onwards on their journey towards London again.

And the 1st day of June in this year, whilst I lay in Pendragon Castle with my family, did Mr. William Russell, second son to my cosin the now Earl of Bedford, and his wife come from their journey from their house called Woburne in Bedfordshire thither to Pendragon Castle to me; where he lay that one night, and the next day he continued his journey into Scotland, calling by the way at Naworth Castle in Cumberland to see my cosin the Earl of Carlisle and his lady, that is his cosin. And this was the first time that ever my said cosin Russell was in Westmoreland or in any part of my inheritance, or so far Northward. And about the latter end of that month or the next after he came well home again to his father and mother to their said house at Woburne in Bedfordshire.

And whilst my daughter of Thanett and her said three youngest daughters were with me here at Skypton Castle did the two Judges of Assize for the Northern Circuite, Sir Christopher Turner and Sir Richard Rainsford, two of the Barons of his Majesties Exchequer, come into Appleby Castle in Westmoreland the 1st day of this September in the evening, being Saturday, where they lay now for four nights together, Judge Turner in the Baron’s Chamber, and Judge Rainsford in the best room in Cæsar’s Tower. And after those four nights were past, and that they had ended the Assizes there at Appleby, those two Judges went away from thence on Wednesday following, being the 5th of that month, about 2 a clock, towards Kendal, where they lay that night, and the next day to Lancaster, to keep the Assizes there also and to end the circuite.

The 2d day of this September, being Sunday, about 2 a clock in the
morning, whilst my daughter of Thanett and her three youngest daughters lay here in Skipton Castle with me, and whilst the said two Judges of Assize for this Northern Circuite lay in my castle of Appleby in Westmoreland to keep the Assizes in the town there, did there a great fire break out in several places and houses within the walls of the City of London, which continued raging there for about four days together, before it could be quenched, and in that time consumed and burnt down not only Baynard's Castle but also Great Dorset House and Little Dorsett House, which Little Dorsett House was once my jointure-house, and in all which three places I had spent much of my time when I was wife to my first and second husbands. And eighty parish churches with most part of all their parishes were consumed, whereof the great cathedral church of St. Paul's was one, which had been one of the statelyest and antientest fabricks, when it was standing, in all Christendom; but in all this great dissolution Thanett House in Aldersgate Street, my daughter of Thanett's jointure-house, was then preserved.

[p. 178] In the year of our Lord God 1667, as the year begins on New Year's day, the 10th day of January in this year, after I had layn in Skipton Castle, in that chamber within the old walls of it wherein I was born into the world, ever since the 8th of August last, did I remove from thence with my family, and so went through the Haw Park, and by Skibden¹ and Halton and those ways, I in my horse-litter, and some of my chief women in my coach, into my house or tower of Barden in Craven, where I had not been since the 6th day of May in 1663 till now, and where I now continued to lye, in the same chamber I formerly used to lye in, till the 29th day of July following, that I removed from thence with my family towards Pendragon and Appleby Castle in Westmoreland. And so this last Christmas did I lye, all the time of it, in my own chamber within the walls of Skipton Castle wherein I was born into the world; which was the first Christmas I ever kept in that chamber since I was born, though I had layn for several Christmasses, since I was last a widow by the death of my lord the Earl of Pembroke, in the other part of that castle, which was built by my great-grandmother of Cumberland, viz. in the Middle

¹ Skibden] Skibeden, a hamlet between the Haw Park and Halton.
Countess Dowager of Pembroke, 1666-1667

Chamber in the Great Round Tower, at the East end of the Long Gallery there.

And about the beginning of this June in this year 1667 did my cousin Elizabeth Clifford, Countess of Burlington and Cork, and the Earl her husband, and their eldest and now only son, and their youngest daughter save one, the Lady Anne Boyle, come from their house called Barkshire House at St. James's at London down to their house at Lansbarrow in Yorkshire, to lie there in it for a time.

And about the 19th day of the same month of June did the said Richard, Earl of Burlington and Cork, go from his said house at Lonsborrow, from his wife and his daughter Anne, and two of his son's children, either to Chester, or to Liverpoole in Lancashire, from whence he crossed the seas in a ship to Dublin in Ireland. And about the [blank] day of this June did my grandchild Nicholas, Earl of Thanett, and his wife come from their house at Hothfield in Kent to Gravesend in the same county, and from thence by water in a bark up to London, where they lay two or three nights in a lodging there; and then he went down again to his said house at Hothfield, but his wife came down from London to Lonsborrow House in Yorkshire, to her mother and sister Anne and two of her eldest brother's children, for a time.

And the 29th day of this June, at night, the said young Countess of Thanett came from Lonsborrow House in Yorkshire and from York to me to Barden Tower in Craven in that county, where she stay'd with me for four nights together, she and her two women lying in the two low rooms at the West end of the Great Chamber there, which are over the kitchen. And when those four nights were passed she and her company went away from thence from me and my family back to Lonsborrow again. And from thence about Michaelmas following she went with her mother, the Countess of Cork and Burlington, up to London to her father, where after a short stay at Barkshire House with her mother the said young Countess of Thanett went down to Hothfield House in Kent to her lord.

And the 29th of July in this year, after I had layn in my house or tower of Barden in Craven ever since the 10th day of January last, being six months and some nineteen days over, did I remove from thence with my family towards my castle of Pendragon in West-
moreland; so as that day I went into one John Symondson's house at Sterbotten 1 in Craven, where I lay that one night, which was the first time I ever lay there; and from thence the next day, being the 30th day, I [p. 179] went up Buckden Rakes, and over the Stake, and so out of Craven, into Mr. John Colbi's house in Wensedale where I lay that one night, which was the second time I had layn there; and from thence the next day, being the 31st day, I went up Cotter Hill, and over Hellgill Bridge, and by Mallerstang chappell and those ways, into my said castle of Pendragon, where I had not been since the 6th of August last in 1666 untill now, and where I now continued to lye, in the chamber within the Great Chamber there, the windows whereof are towards the South and West, but for eight nights together. And when they were past, upon the 8th day of August in this year, I removed from my said Castle of Pendragon with my family into my castle of Appleby in the same county, where I had not been since the 10th day of November in the year 1665 till now, and where I now continued to lye in the same chamber I used to lye in till the [1]8th day of October following, that I removed from thence to Pendragon and so to Appleby. I rid all the way in my horse-litter.

And the 24th day of August, being Saturday, in the evening, did the two Judges of Assize for this Northern Circuite namely Sir Christopher Turner and Sir Richard Rainsford, two of the Barons of his Majesties Exchequer, come from the city of Carlisle in Cumberland, from holding the Assizes there, hither into this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, where I and my family now lay, and where they now lay for four nights together, Judge Turner in the best room in Cæsar's Tower, and Judge Rainsford in the Baron's Chamber. And after these four nights were past, the Assizes here at Appleby being ended, they went away from thence from me on Wednesday the 28th of this month, about 11 a clock, towards Kendal, where they lay that night; and the next day they went to Lancaster, to keep the Assizes there also and to end their circuite. And these two Judges have come this circuite several times before. And my cosins Sir Philip Musgrave of Eden Hall in Cumberland and Sir John Lowther of Lowther in this county lay here also most part of the Assizes as usual.

1 Sterbotten] Starbotten in Wharfedale.
And presently after these Assizes ended was peace proclaimed at Appleby, as elsewhere throughout the Kingdom, which had been concluded of but the last month at Breda, between our King Charles the 2d, by his Ambassador Denzill, Lord Holles, and Mr. Henry Coventry, on the one part, and the States of the United Provinces and the two Kings of France and Denmark on the other part, to the general good of Christendom and to the joy and satisfaction of our King and all his good subjects, after there had been hot wars between them by sea for almost three years last past.

And the 18th day of October in this year, after I had layn in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, in the chamber there wherein I used to lye, ever since the 8th day of August last, being two months and some ten days over, did I remove from thence in my horse-litter, with my family, going along the usual high road and not through Whinfell Park, into Brougham Castle in the same county; in which castle of Brougham I had not been since the 1st day of August in 1665 till now, and where I now continued to lye as I used to do, in the same chamber wherein my noble father was born and my blessed mother dyed, till the 26 day of June next following, that I removed from thence back again into Appleby Castle aforesaid, to lye there in it for a time.

In the year of our Lord God 1668, as the year begins on New Year’s day, the 12th of February in this year, I then lying in Brougham Castle in Westmoreland, I first of all came to know that my grandchild, the Lady Cicely Tufton, my daughter [p. 180] of Thanett’s fourth daughter and seventh child, was married to Mr. Christopher Hatton, eldest son to Christopher, Lord Hatton of Kirkby in Northamptonshire, privately, the 12th day of February in the last [year] 1667,¹ as the same begins on New Year’s day, I then lying in Barden Tower in Craven, and that they were married together by Dr. Evans, one of the Duchess of York’s chaplains, in Sir Charles Littleton’s house in the Mews, he that is chaplain to the King, none but he and his lady being present at the marriage.

And on the 2d day of March in this year, when I then also lay in Brougham Castle in Westmoreland, my grandchild Mr. Thomas Tufton

¹ 1667] The Complete Peerage gives 12th of February, 1667–8, the date on which the Countess says she heard of it, as the date of the marriage, probably wrongly.
Lady Anne Clifford

was chosen Burgess of the town of Appleby, to serve in the House of Commons in Parliament then assembled and sitting in Parliament at Westminster, in the place of Mr. John Lowther, eldest son to my cousin Sir John Lowther of Lowther, which Mr. John Lowther dyed but a while before at London, so as this Thomas Tufton, my grandchild, began first of all to sit in the said House of Commons at Westminster as a member thereof the 10th day of March instant, which Parliament had begun to sit again the 14th day of February before; he being the first grandchild of mine that ever sate in the House of Commons in the Parliament at Westminster.

The 11th day of May in this year did my old servant Mrs. Elizabeth Gilmoore, whose first husband was Mr. John Turner, come from her son-in-law Mr. Killawayes house at Week in Wiltshire to an inne at Redding in Barkshire, and from thence the next day to London, where she stayed till the 5th day of the month following; in which time her second husband Mr. John Gilmore with their maid and a man called John Walter and one Thomas Kingston came up thither to her. And from thence the same 5th day of June they came down together in a hired coach towards York, whither they got well the 9th day; and then and there my servants George Goodgion and John Hall by my appointment met them with some of my horses, to bring them from thence hither to Brougham Castle; and accordingly they sett forth from York the 11th day and came that night to Greta Bridge, and the next day over Stainmore and by Brough Castle into my castle of Appleby, where they lay all night, Mrs. Gilmore and her husband lying in the Baron's Chamber there. And from thence the 13th of this June they came by Julian Bower, where they alighted to see all the rooms and places about it, and so through Whinfell Park to this Brougham Castle, to me, where I kissed Mrs. Gillmore, I having not seen her since the 11th day of August in 1663, when she had been for a while at Skipton Castle with me, till now this 13th of June. The 26th day of June in this year, after I had layn in Brougham Castle in Westmoreland, in the chamber there wherein my noble father was born and my blessed mother dyed, ever since the 18th of October last, being eight months and some eight days over, did I remove from thence in my horse-litter, my women riding in my coach drawn with six horses, and
my men-servants on horse back, through Whinfell Park, and by the Hartshorn Tree, and by the house called Julian Bower in my said park to see it, though I did not alight to go into it, and so from thence through Temple Sowerby, Kirby Thure,¹ and Crackenthorpe, and over Appleby bridge, into my castle of Appleby in the same county, where I now began to lye in the same chamber where I formerly used to lye, and now lay in it till the [19th of October 1669].²

The 21st day of July in this year did my daughter the Countess Dowager of Thanet with her [p. 181] two youngest daughters, Lady Mary and Lady Anne Tufton, go out of Thanet House in Aldersgate Street (leaving there behind them Mr. Sackvill Tufton, her youngest son save one, and her daughter Lady Cicely Tufton and her husband) and so out of London towne into the country towards Croom House in Worcestershire, and having layn two nights by the way, the first at Wickham³ in Buckinghamshire, and the second at Austone⁴ in [blank], they came safe and well thither to Croom, the 23d of that month, to her daughter, the Lady Margaret Coventry, and her lord and their two children; where they stayed with them for seven nights together, viz. till the 30th of the same month, and then returned from thence back towards the said Thanett House at London again, whither they came well the 1st of August following, having layn two nights by the way, the first at Stow in the Wold in Glocestershire, from whence going by Oxford, to see the most remarkable things there, and the next night at Tessworth⁵ in [Oxfordshire]. And her daughter the Lady Margaret Coventry, with her daughter Margaret, came up thither with them that journey from Croom, leaving behind them my Lord Coventry and his eldest and now only son.

And on Tuesday the 31st of this July did my eldest grandchild Nicholas Tufton, Earl of Thanett, come hither into this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, late in the evening, so as I saw him not till the next day in the morning, that he came up to me into my chamber, where I then kissed him with much joy and comfort; I having not seen him since the 9th of August in 1664, when he had been here with me

¹ Kirby Thure] Kirkby Thore,
² ] Date left blank in MS.
³ Wickham] ? High Wycombe,
⁴ Austone] Perhaps Alstone in Glocestershire,
⁵ Tessworth] Tetsworth.
with his wife my cosin and god-daughter, and that they then took
their leaves of me in this same chamber of mine, and went towards her
father the Earl of Burlington and Cork's house at Lonsborrow in
Yorkshire, and so to their own house at Hothfield in Kent, untill now.
And now this Earl, my grandchild, came from his journey from the
said Hothfield House, and by the way from the Lord Viscount
Dunbar's house in Holderness, and from Scarborough Wells and Bolton
in Yorkshire, and to day from the inne at Kirby Lonsdale in West­
moreland, hither to me into this Appleby Castle, as aforesaid, where
he now continued to lye in the Baron's Chamber for seven nights to­
gether. And when they were past, on the Fryday following, being
the 7th of August, betimes in the morning, before I saw him, he,
having taken his leave of me the night before in my chamber, went
away from hence with his company by the same way that he came,
onwards on his journey back towards his said house at Hothfield, to
his wife.

And the 8th of this August, being Saturday, in the evening, did
the two Judges of Assize for this Northern Circuite, namely Sir Chris­
topher Turner and Sir Richard Rainsford, two of the Barons of his
Majesties Exchequer, come from the city of Carlisle in Cumberland,
from holding the Assizes there, hither into this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, where I and my family now lye, and where they now
lay for four nights together, Judge Turner in the best room in Cæsar's
Tower, and Judge Rainsford in the Baron's Chamber; and when they
were past, the Assizes here at Appleby being ended, they went away
from hence from me on Wednesday the 12 of this month to Kendall,
where they lay that night, and the next day they went to Lancaster,
to keep the Assizes there also and to [p. 182] finish their circuite.
And my cosins Sir Philip Musgrave of Edenhall in Cumberland and
Sir John Lowther of Lowther in Westmoreland lay here also in this
castle most part of the time of these Assizes as usual.

And on Monday the 21st of September in the afternoon did my
grandchild Mr. Thomas Tufton, the fourth son and seventh child to
my daughter the Countess Dowager of Thanett, and now one of the
Burgesses in Parliament for this corporation of Appleby, come hither
into this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, and so up into my chamber
to me, where I kissed him with much joy and comfort, I having not
seen him since the 15 of August in 1663, when he, with his mother and
some of his brothers and his sister Lady Frances, went from Skypton
Castle from me up towards London, untill now. And now this grand-
child of mine came from his journey out of Kent, and so by London,
York and Rippon, and to day from the inne at Bowze in Richmondshire,
hither into this Appleby Castle as aforesaid, where he now lay in the
Baron's Chamber for ten nights together; during which time he went
to visit several of the gentry my neighbours and friends in this countrey:
as on the 23d of September to Acronne Bank to Mr. John Dalston's his
fellow Burgess, and to my house at Julyan Bower in Whinfield Park;
and the 24th day to Edenhall in Cumberland, to my cosin Sir Philip
Musgrave; and the 25th day by the Sheriffe Mr. Thomas Gabetis'
house at Crosby, to Lowther Hall, to my cosin Sir John Lowther, and
so to my castle of Brougham, to see it; and the 26 day to Howgill
Castle to the widdow Lady Sandford, and Sir Richard Sandford her
eldest son and the rest of her children; and the 28th day, being
Monday, to my Castle[s] of Pendragon and Brough, to see them; at
none of which houses and places above mentioned he had ever been in
before, except at Brougham Castle where he had been once with me
for a time in August and September 1658 with his mother and some
other of her children. And when these ten nights were over, on
Thursday the rst of this October, in the morning, before I saw him,
having taken his leave of me the night before, went away again from
hence by Brough and over Stainmore into the inne at Bowze aforesaid,
where he lay one night, and so continued his journey upwards to
London.

And the 9th of October this year, being Fryday, about 4 a clock
in the morning, in Thanett House in Aldersgate Street, London, where
her husband Mr. Christopher Hatton and her mother, my daughter of
Thanett, and most of her younger children then lay, was my grandchild
the Lady Cicely Hatton delivered of her first child, which was a daughter,
and was christened the 18th of that month, being Sunday, by the
name of Anne, myself, by deputy, and my daughter the Countess
Dowager of Thanett being the two godmothers, and Christopher, Lord
Hatton of Kirkby, grandfather to the said child, being the godfather;
Lady Anne Clifford

and I lay all this Christmas in this year in my own chamber in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, where I used to lye.

In the year of our Lord God 1669, as the year begins on New Year's day, the 22d of March in this year, the Prince of Tuscany, who is eldest son to Cosmo [sic] de Medicis, the Great Duke of Florence in Italy, and some years since married the then Duke of Orleans's daughter by his second wife, by whom he hath already had some children, came from his voyage from Corunna, and from his visits of several princes in Christendom at their several courts, hither into England, landing then at Plymouth in Devonshire; from whence the 27th of the same month he went to Exeter, and so by continued days' journeys to Salisbury in Wiltshire, where, whilst he lay, he was magnificently entertained the 2d of that month following by the now [p. 183] Earl of Pembroke at his house at Wilton in that county. And the 5th of the same month he arrived safe at London, and came to the court at Whitehall to the King and Queen and the Duke of York, where he lay for some time in the house called the Pell Mell near St. James's, and then went to see the two Universitys of Oxford and Cambridge and other remarkable places in this Kingdom. And on Friday the 4th of June following, having before taken his leave of our said King and the rest, he came to Harwich, where he imbarked for Holland.

And the 29th day of May in this year did my daughter the Countess Dowager of Thanett and her son Sackvill Tufton and her two youngest daughters, Lady Mary and Lady Anne Tufton, go from Thanett House in Aldersgate Street in London town, from her daughter Lady Cicely Hatton and her husband and their little daughter Anne, down into the countrey to Bolbrook House in Sussex, where they continued to lye till the 8th of the month following, and then returned back again to her said house in Aldersgate Street to lye in it as before. And on Friday the 4th of June this year did our Queen Catherine, wife to our now King Charles the 2d, in her lodging in the court at Whitehall near Westminster and London, miscarry of a child which she had gone about nine weeks withall, to her great grief, this being the second or third child that she hath miscarried of.

The 5th of this June did my cosin and godson, Mr. Edward Russell, third son to the now Earl of Bedford, come from his journey from his
Countess Dowager of Pembroke, 1668–1669 133

said father’s house at Woburne in Bedfordshire, from him and his lady and some of their other children and their family, hither into this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, late in the evening, so as I saw him not till the next morning, that he came up into my chamber to me, where I kissed him; it being the first time I ever saw him in any part of the lands of my inheritance, or that ever he was so far Northwards, though his elder brother William, the second son, had been with me before in Pendragon Castle in this county in June 1666. And this Mr. Edward Russell now lay here in the Baron’s Chamber for ten nights together, in which time he went to see my castles of Brough, Brougham and Pendragon, and other the chief places of this county. And on Thursday the 15th of this month, in the morning, after he had taken his leave of me, he went away from hence by Brough, and over Stainmore and those ways (though in his journey hither he came by Lancaster and Kendal), and so went now onwards on his journey home towards the said Woburne House in Bedfordshire; whither the said Mr. Edward Russell came safe to his father and mother and some other of their children about the [blank]. And the 7th of this June, whilst my said cosin and godson Mr. Edward Russell was here, did my grandchild Mr. John Tufton and Mr. Richard Tufton, second and third sons to my daughter the Countess Dowager of Thanett, come hither into this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland to me, where I then in my own chamber kissed them both with much contentment; I having not seen my said grandchild John since the 26th of August 1664, when he went away from hence from me, and from his mother and three youngest sisters, who were then also here with me, onwards on his journey towards London, until now. Nor had I seen his brother Richard since the 15th of August 1663, which was almost nine months before his father dyed, when he went away from Skipton Castle in Craven, from me, with his mother and some of his brothers and his sister, Lady Frances, up towards London, until now. And now these two grandchildren of mine came from their journey from Great Chart, near their eldest brother the Earl of [p. 184] Thanett’s house at Hothfield in Kent, and from London, after some six weeks stay there, and to day from Bowze and over Stainmore, and by Brough and those ways, hither into this Appleby Castle as aforesaid; where they now
lay together in the Green Chamber, which is under the Withdrawing Room, for seven nights together; in which time they went with my said cosin Russell to my castle[s] of Brougham, Brough, and Pendragon, to shew him them, and some other remarkable houses and places in this county. And when those seven nights were past, on Monday the 14th of this month, in the morning, after they had taken their leaves of me and my said cosin Russell, who stayed with me a day longer, they went away from hence, by the same ways they came, on their journey towards London; and this was the first time that ever my grandchild Mr. Richard Tufton was in Pendragon Castle as aforesaid; whither he went with his brother and Mr. Edward Russell the 11th of this June. And the 11th of this June, whilst my said two grandchildren and my cosin and godson Mr. Edward Russell were here, there came hither to me to Appleby Castle, from his own house at Edlington, in Yorkshire, over Stainmore and those ways, my cosin Sir Thomas Wharton, who is second and only brother to the now Lord Wharton; and so this Sir Thomas now lay with us for two or three nights in Cæsar's Tower here, which was the first time he ever lay in this tower; and about the 16th of this June he went away again.

And the 20 or 21 day of May in this year did my grandchild George Tufton, youngest son to my daughter Margaret, Countess Dowager of Thanett, take his leave of her and some of his brothers and sisters at Thanett House in Aldersgate Street in London towne, and go from thence to Dover in Kent. And after some few days stay there for a fair wind he took shipping for France; in which ship he went well and safe to Rochell in France, where he arrived and landed safely about the [blank]. And from thence he went to Bourdeaux, and so to the baths called the Mudds in France. And about the beginning of September following he came from the hott baths in France upon the frontiers of Spain, took ship at Rochel, and landed the 19 day at Dover in Kent; and so came safe to his brother Mr. John Tufton's house in Kent, and from thence to his eldest brother's, the Earl of Thanett's house at Hothfield in that county, and so to Bolbrook

1 Edlington] Between Doncaster and Rotherham.
2 the Mudds] Not identified. Either Barbotan or Dax seems possible.
Countess Dowager of Pembroke, 1669

House in Sussex to his mother and his two youngest sisters, to stay there with them for some while; but my said grandchild [had] little or no benefit by the said baths.

The 3d of August in this year, being Tuesday, about 6 a clock in the evening, did my daughter Margaret, Countess Dowager of Thanett, with Mr. Sackvill Tufton, her youngest son save one, and her two youngest daughters, Lady Mary and Lady Anne Tufton, and their company come from their journey, from my said daughter’s house called Thanett House in Aldersgate Street at London, and this day came over Stainmore and those ways, hither into this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, and so up into my chamber to me, where I now kissed them with much joy and comfort; I having not seen this daughter of mine nor her said two youngest daughters since the 8th of September 1666, when they, with Lady Cicely, another of her daughters, went away from me from Skypton Castle in Craven, where I then lay, back towards London, untill now. Nor had I seen her son Sackvill Tufton since the 15th of August in 1663, when he with my said daughter his [p. 185] mother and three of his brothers, namely Richard, Thomas and George, and his sister Lady Frances, since deceased, went away from me from Skypton Castle aforesaid, where I then also lay, back towards London again, untill now. And now they continued to lye here, my daughter with her youngest daughter Lady Anne in the Baron’s Chamber, and Lady Mary with her woman in the Sheriff’s Chamber, and Sackvill Tufton in the best room in Cæsar’s Tower here, for ten nights together; in which time, viz. on Monday the 9th of this August, they went in my coach to my castle of Pendragon in this county, to see it; which was the first time my daughter or any of these her three children were ever in it, though most of her other children had been in it before. And on Friday the 13th of this month, about 9 a clock in the morning, after I had kissed them at taking my leave of them, they with their company went away from hence from me to Brough, my said grandchild Mr. Sackvill Tufton going a little before to see my castle there and the Roman Tower, for he had never been in them before; and afterwards meeting his mother and sisters and their company again, they rid together over Stainmore and so onwards on their journey towards London,
whither they came safe and well to Thanett House in Aldersgate Street there the 21st of that month, and lay there in it for a time.

And the 21st of this August, being Saturday, in the morning, did the two Judges of Assize for this Northern Circuite, namely, Sir Christopher Turner, one of the Barons of his Majesties Exchequer, who hath come hither often on the same occasion, and Thomas Waller Esq., Sergeant at Law, come from the city of Carlisle, from holding the Assizes there, and so out of Cumberland over the river, near Brougham Castle, hither into this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, where I and my family now lye, and where they lay for four nights together, Judge Turner in the Baron's Chamber, and Serjeant Waller in the best room in Caesar's Tower. And when they were past, the Assizes here at Appleby being ended, they went away from hence from me, on Wednesday the 25th of this month, to Kendal, where they lay that night, and the next day they went to Lancaster to keep the Assizes there also and to finish their circuit. And my cosin Sir John Lowther of Lowther in this county lay here also in this castle most part of the Assizes as usual.

And a little before this, on the 14th of May last, did there come into this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland to me, from their journey out of Derbyshire, Sir Francis Rodes and his sister Mrs. Jane Rodes, whose mother was the widow Lady Rodes, my cosin german, she having been youngest daughter to my uncle of Cumberland. And this was the first time I ever saw any of his generation in Westmoreland; and with him there came hither to me Mr. Roger Molineux, who had been a colonell, and now also lives in Derbyshire. So these three lay here for three nights; and on the 17th of this month they went away from hence from me back again towards their own homes in Derbyshire.

And the 26 of August in this year, being Tuesday, about noon, did my grandchild the Lady Margaret Coventry, and her two children now only living, [p. 186] namely Mr. John and Mrs. Margaret Coventry, and their company come from their journey from her lord's house called Croome in Worcestershire; from whence they set forth on Thursday the 19th instant, and came by Nottingham, Doncaster, and over Stainmore and this day from Brough in Westmoreland hither into this Appleby Castle in the same county, and so up into my chamber to me, where I now kissed them with much joy and contentment;
this being the first time that ever any of them were in Westmoreland or in any part of the lands of my inheritance, as also the first time that ever I saw any to whom I am great-grandmother. And I had not seen my grandchild the Lady Margaret Coventry since she was marryed, nor in a good while before, for I had not seen her since about the beginning of July in 1649, when she was with me in Baynard’s Castle in London, a little before I came quite away from thence hither into the North to Skypont and Westmoreland, untill now. Gen. 48. 11.

And now they continued to lye here, my said grandchild the Lady Margaret Coventry in the Baron’s Chamber, and her daughter Mrs. Margaret with her mother’s gentlewoman in the Sheriff’s Chamber [next] to it, and Mr. John Coventry in the Green Chamber, which is under the Withdrawing Room, for eight nights together; in which time, viz. on Monday the 30th of this August, they went in their coach from hence to Julyan Bower in Whinfell Park to see it, and from thence by the Three Brother Tree in that park to Lowther Hall, to my cosin Sir John Lowther and his lady, where they dined. And from thence after dinner they went into my Castle of Brougham in this county to see it, but came back again the same night hither into this Appleby Castle; from whence on Fryday the 3d of the month following, about 9 a clock in the morning, after I had kissed them as taking my leave of them, they with their company went from me, by Brough and over Stainmore and those ways, to the inne at Greta Bridge; and the next day to the city of York, to see it, where they lay two nights, the latter being Sunday. And on Monday the 6th of the same September they continued their journey from thence homewards towards her lord’s house at Croome in Worcestershire, whither they came safe and well, I thank God, to her lord and husband the 9th of the same, lying one night by the way amongst other places in the city of Coventry in Warwickshire. Jer. c. 29. v. 6; c. 30. v. 9; Ps. 116. v. 12, 13, 14.

2 Three Brother Tree] An account of this ancient oak, by William Todd, accompanies the engraving by Pranker published by Turpin in 1779. It shows Julian Bower in the background.
3 Jer. xxix. 6] See p. 29 n.
4 Jer. xxx. 9] But they shall serve the Lord their God, and David their king, whom I will raise up unto them. But perhaps xxx. 19 is meant, see p. 69.
5 Ps. cxvi. 12-14] See p. 64 n.
The 10th day of September in this year, being Friday, died Henrietta Maria, Queen Mother of England, in her house called Colombe in France, some four miles from Paris, which house she had lately caused to be built herself; who if she had lived till the 16th of November next would have been sixty years old. She came first into England and was married in July 1625 to our King Charles the 1st, who was afterwards unfortunately beheaded the 30th of January, 1649, as the year begins on New Year’s day, during which time she had many children by him, and amongst the rest our now King Charles the 2d. She was a woman of excellent perfections both of body and mind, and was youngest child to Henry of Bourbon the 4th King of France, who was treacherously [p. 187] killed when she was about five months old. And on Wednesday the 10 of November following in this year, according to the account of the Church of England, was performed the solemn funeral service for the said Queen Mother of England in the Abby Church of St. Denys in France near Paris, where her dead body was then buryed after the form and magnificence as had been formerly used at the funeral of the Queen Mother of France. Job. c. 7. v. 1; Eccles. c. 3; c. 8. v. 6.

And the 7th day of this September, being Tuesday, about 5 or 6 a clock in the evening, did my son-in-law James Compton, Earl of Northampton, with his company come from his journey from his own house at Castle Ashby in that county, from my grandchild the Lady Alethea Compton, his daughter, and from his second wife and his children by her, hither into this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland; for he set forth from Castle Ashby aforesaid on Tuesday the 31st of the last month, and lay two nights by the way, viz. the 4th and 5th of this month, the latter being Sunday, in my castle of Skypton in Craven, in the highest chamber of the great Round Tower there; in which castle he had not been since the 11th of April in 1662, as he was then in his journey to Brougham Castle in Westmoreland to me, untill now. And the 6th of this month from thence he came to Kirkby Lonsdale, and the 7th as aforesaid hither into this Appleby Castle in
Westmoreland to me, where I now kissed him in my own chamber; I having not seen him since the 19th of May in the said year 1662, when he was then but newly a widower by the death of my daughter his first wife, and when he then went from me from Brougham Castle aforesaid through Craven by Barden Tower and those ways up towards London and the Southern parts, untill now. And now he lay here for three nights in the Baron's Chamber, viz. till the 10th of this September, that he went from hence onwards on his journey towards Nidsdale in Scotland, to see his aunt the Countess of Niddesdale, where he also lay three nights, and two nights by the way at Carlisle in his going and coming, and on the 15th instant returned back hither to Appleby Castle aforesaid to me, where he lay in the Baron's chamber for five nights more. And when they were past, on Monday the 20th of this month, in the morning, before I saw him, for he took his leave of me in my chamber the night before, he went away from hence with his company, by Brough and over Stainmore and those ways, onwards on his journey towards his said house at Castle-Ashby in Northamptonshire.

And the 9th of this September, in the forenoon, whilst my Lord of Northampton was here, so as it was now their fortune to meet together here, did my second lord the Earl of Pembroke's youngest son but one, called Mr. James Herbert, with one Mr. Thomas Saunders, come from their house in Oxfordshire to me, into this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, wher I now kissed them both; it being the first time that I ever saw any of my second husband's children in Westmoreland or in any part of my inheritance. And they now lay in Caesar's Tower here for five nights together. And on Tuesday the 14th instant, betimes in the morning, before I saw them, they having taken there leaves of me the night before, went away from hence over Stainmore to the city of York, and so onwards on their [p. 188] journey towards Oxfordshire again. And about the latter end of August in this year did my daughter the Countess Dowager of Thanett's two youngest daughters, Lady Mary and Lady Anne Tufton, go from her out of her house called Thanett House in Aldersgate Street, by reason of the small pox was then so rife in that part of London, down into the country to Bolbrook House in Sussex, whither their said mother my daughter
went down to them the 6th or 7th of the month following to lye there in it with them for a time, viz. till the 16th of November following, as hereafter written, that she and they returned back to the said Thanett House again, to her daughter Lady Cicely Hatton and her husband and their little daughter Anne, to lye there in it with them as before.

And the 1st day of October this year did there come hither to me to Appleby Castle, from their house not far from Naward Castle in Cumberland, Edward, Lord Morpeth, eldest son to my cosin Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle, and his Lady, who was one of the younger daughters to Sir William Uvedale ¹ by his second wife Victoria Carey, and widdow to one of the Barkleys that was killed at sea in the late wars. So she and her husband lay that night in the Baron's Chamber, and the next day in the morning, before I saw them, they and their company went away onwards on their journey towards London.

And the 19th of this October, about 11 a clock in the forenoon, did I and my family remove out of this Appleby Castle to Brough Castle in Westmoreland. And coming out of my own chamber there I passed through the Great Chamber and went into the chappel and through the hall, took my litter at the hall door in the court, and so passing through the town of Appleby over the bridge and Sandfoord Moore, went through Warcop town into the said Brough Castle. And I had continued to lye in the said castle of Appleby in my chamber there from the 26 of June 1668 till the time of my now removal,² being a year and four months wanting some seven or eight days. And I had not layn in Brough Castle since the 19th of Aprill 1665, being three years and six months compleat; and I now began to lye again in the round tower, called the Cliffords' Tower, in the upper room next the leads, in that Brough Castle, where I did always use to lye since the repair of that castle, excepting some few nights that I lay in the Roman Tower; in which chamber of mine in Cliffords' Tower I now continued to lie for twenty-eight weeks together, viz. till the 3d of May in the year following, that I removed from this Brough Castle into my Castle of Pendragon in the same county, to lye in it for a time.

And the 16 of November this year did my daughter Margaret, Countess Dowager of Thanett, with her two youngest daughters,

Lady Mary and Lady Anne Tufton, after they had lain in Bolbrook House in Sussex ever since about the latter end of August and beginning of September before, remove from thence up to London again, to my said daughter's house called Thanett House in Aldersgate Street there, to her daughter Lady Cicely Hatton and her husband and their little daughter Anne, and to her youngest son George Tufton, who then also lay there, though he had been down at Bolbrook aforesaid with his said mother and sisters but a little before, when he was then but newly come from his journey from the hot baths in France, near the borders of Spain, which he went to make use of for his lameness, though it seems they did him but little good.

[p. 189] In the year of our Lord God 1670, as the year begins on New Year's day, the 3d of May, being Tuesday, in this year, after I had lain in Brough Castle in Westmoreland, in the highest chamber in Clifford's Tower there, ever since the 19 of October last, being six months and some eleven days over, and after I had been a while in the forenoon in the Roman Tower there to see it, did I remove from thence in my horse-litter, my woman riding in my coach drawn with six horses, and my men servants on horseback, through Brough Sowerby and Kirby Stephan, and within sight of Wharton Hall, though not through Wharton Park, I came safe and well into my Castle of Pendragon in the same county, and so up into my own chamber in it, wherein I formerly used to lie, and where I now continued to lye till the 3d day of August following, that I removed from thence into my castle of Appleby in the same county, to lie in it for a time.

The 29th day of April in this year was Cardinal Paulus Æmilius Altieri elected and proclaimed Pope at Rome by the name of Clement the 10th, after there had been a vacancy ever since the 9th of December last; which was the longest vacancy that hath been in the Papacy since the reigns of Henry 4th, Henry the 5th and Henry the 6th.

The 16 of May in this year, being Monday, did the Princess Henrietta Maria, wife to the Duke of Orleans, who was youngest daughter to our late King and Queen, and youngest sister to our now King Charles the 2d, come from her journey out of France, from the said Duke her husband, and so from Dunkirk over seas into England, and landed this day at Dover in Kent, whither our said King her brother with
Lady Anne Clifford

the Duke of York and Prince Rupert went to meet her; and afterwards, on the 18th instant, the Queen went also towards Dover to visit her. And after this Princess Henrietta had made a short stay there she returned back into France, and being arrived at St. Clou, which is within four or five miles of Paris, she was taken with sudden and violent distemper, thought to be a kind of ileous cholick, whereof she died there on Monday the 20th of the month following about 4 a clock in the morning; which sad news was brought into England to Whitehall the 22d of the same month by an express from Mr. Mountague, our King's Ambassador at Paris, to the great grief of his Majestie and the rest of her relations.

And the 20th of this May, being Friday, before 9 a clock in the morning, was my grandchild the Lady Cicely Hatton delivered of her second child, which was also a daughter, in Thanett House in Aldersgate Street in London town, where she and her husband then lay; which child was christened the next day by the name of Margaret, her said grandmother, namely my daughter Margaret, Countess Dowager of Thanett, and my Lord Hatton's lady being her godmothers, and my Lord Fanshaw her godfather.

The 10th day of June in this year, being Friday, did my dear grandchild the Lady Alethea Compton, youngest and only surviving child to the now James, Earl of Northampton, by my deceased daughter, his first wife, come from her journey from her said father's house at Castle-Ashby in Northamptonshire, from him and his now wife and their children and family, hither into this Pendragon Castle in Westmoreland to me, where I now kissed her in my own chamber with much joy and comfort; it being [p. 190] the first time I ever saw her, though she be now nine years and two months old, wanting but some four days. And this grandchild of mine set forth from Castle Ashby aforesaid on Tuesday the 2d of this month in her coach, attended by four gentlewomen, a gentleman and other servants, and also by Colonell Carr, that lives in Skipton in Craven, and so came by Stamford, Newark, Doncaster, Whetherby, Knaresburgh, and by my almshouse at Beamsley, which she went into to see it, into my Castle of Skipton in Craven, where she lay for two nights together in the highest room of the great Round Tower, at the end of the Long Gallery there, where
Countess Dowager of Pembroke, 1670

her father and mother have lain formerly; and in that time, viz. the 8th instant, went for a while into my house or tower of Barden to see it. And the next day, being the 9th day, she came from Skipton to Kirby Lonsdale, where she lay one night, and from thence the 10th day, as above mentioned, came safe, God be thanked, into this Pendragon Castle to me, where she now lay in that chamber over the Great Chamber which hath windows to the East and South for three nights together. During which time, viz. the 1st of July, she went with her gentlewomen and my two gentlewomen to Hartley Castle, to my cosin Mr. Richard Musgrave and his wife and daughter, for a while, and to Kirby Stephan and Wharton Hall, to see those places, but came back again to me about 6 a clock the same evening. And another time she went to see Mallerstang chappell, which I not long since have caused to be new built. And the 13th of this July this grandchild of mine, after I had kissed her and she taken her leave of me, and after she with her company had lain here since the roth of the last month, went away from hence to my castle of Brough, to see it and the Roman Tower there, and so from thence over Stainmore onwards on her journey towards Castle Ashby in Northamptonshire; whither she came safe and well, I thank God, the 23d of that month to her father. Jer. c. 29. 6.1

And the same roth of this June, a little after she was come hither, did my dear grandchild Mr. Thomas Tufton, fourth son and seventh child to my daughter Margaret, Countess Dowager of Thanett, and now one of the Burgesses in Parliament for the corporation of Appleby, come from his journey from London and the Southern parts, and to day from the inn at Greta Bridge, and so over Stainmore, hither also into this Pendragon Castle in Westmoreland, and so up into my chamber to me; where I kissed him with much joy and contentment, I having not seen him since the 30th of September in 1668, that he went the day following from Appleby Castle, where I and my family then lay, up towards London, untill now. And now he lay in this Pendragon Castle, in the chamber over the Great Chamber which adjoyns to my grandchild the Lady Alethea's chamber, for ten nights together; in which time, viz. the 13th of this month, he went to see several remark-

1 Jer. xxix. 6] See p. 29 n.
able places about this castle, as namely Willbor-fell, Hugh Seat, Morvill, and Hellgill Bridge. And the 16th of this month he went to Edenell in Cumberland to my cosin Sir Philip Musgrave, calling by the way at Acron-bank in this county to see Mr. John Dalston. And the 18th of this month he went to Kendal to see it, and into the ruinous castle and church there, and to Mr. George Sedgwick's house at Collinfield, where he dined with him, and came back also this same night into Pendragon Castle again; from whence on Monday the 20th instant, betimes [p. 191] in the morning, before I saw him, he went away onwards on his journey towards Scotland, by the city of Carlisle and those ways, and saw most of the remarkable cities and places in that Kingdom, as namely Dunfrieze, Douglas, Hamilton, and the Duke's palace there, where he was nobly treated by Duke Hamilton there, and from thence went to the city of Glasgow, where he gave a visit to the Archbishop at the Castle and saw the University there, and thence went to the towne and castle of Dunbarton, thence to the towne of Sterling, thence to the city of Edinburg, thence to a place called Bask Island, which is so remarkable for Soland Geese; and so from thence out of Scotland he returned back to the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, Newcastle and Bernard Castle, hither into Pendragon Castle to me the 7th of the month following; where he lay for about eleven nights more. In which time, viz. the 15th of the same July, he went with some of my chief folks through Whinfell Park, and by my castle of Brougham into Dacre Castle in Cumberland, thence to Dunmallerd Hill and so down to Ulswater, to see those places; but they came back to Brougham Castle aforesaid, where they lay that one night, my grandchild lying in the Baron's Chamber, and the next day from thence by Julian Bower and the same ways they went, he and they came back into this Pendragon Castle again. And on the 18th of this July, betimes in the morning, after I had kissed him and he taken his leave of me in my chamber, he rid away from hence from me, and so over Stainmore onwards on his journey towards London. Jer. c. 29. v. 6; c. 30. v. 19; Ps. 116. v. 12, 13, 14.

The 3rd day of August in this year, being Wednesday, after I had
layn in Pendragon Castle in Westmoreland, in the same chamber wherein I formerly used to lye, ever since the 3d of May last, being just a quarter of a year, did I remove from thence in my horse-litter and my family towards my castle of Appleby in the same county; so as we now went within sight of Wharton Hall, Brough Castle and Hartley Castle, and through Waterby and Soulby and over Soulby Mash to my said Castle of Appleby safe and well, I thank God; where I alighted, and came through the hall, the chappell, the Great Chamber, and the Withdrawing Room, in every of which places I stayed awhile to see them, and so up into my own chamber in it, wherein I formerly used to lye, and where I had not been since the 19th of October last, that I removed from thence to Brough Castle, and from thence the 3d of May last to Pendragon Castle aforesaid, untill the 3d of August that I came hither again. And I now continued to lye in this Appleby Castle till the 14 of October following, that I removed from thence with my family into my castle of Brougham in the same county, to lye in it for a time.

The 13th day of August, being Saturday, in the afternoon did the two Judges of Assize for this Northern Circuite, namely Sir Christopher Turner and Sir Timothy Littleton, two of the Barons of his Majesties Exchequer, come from the city of Carlisle in Cumberland, from holding the Assizes there, and so out of that county over the river near my castle of Brougham, hither into my castle of Appleby in Westmoreland, where I and my family now lye, and where these Judges now held the Assizes for this county also in the Town Hall here in Appleby; which was the first time that ever the said Sir Timothy Littleton came hither upon that occasion, though the other hath come this circuite for several years last past. And they now lay here in this Appleby Castle for four nights [p. 192] together, Judge Turner in the Baron's Chamber, and Judge Littleton in the best room in Cæsar's Tower. And when they were past, the Assizes here being ended, they went away from hence from me on Wednesday the 17th of this month to Kendal, where they lay that night, and the next day they went to Lancaster, where also they stayed some days to keep the Assizes for that county, and so finished their circuite.

The 8th day of September, being Thursday, did Mr. William Edge, who had been formerly my domestick servant, and is now receiver-
general of my Southern rents, come with his second and new married wife, who was a widow, and whom I never saw before, from their journey from London where they live, through Staffordshire and Lancashire, and to day from Kenal,¹ hither into this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland to me, where they now lay for seven nights together in the Baron's Chamber. And when they were past, on Thursday the 15th of this month, after they had taken their leave of me in the morning, they went away from hence onwards on their journey towards London again; and I had not seen William Edge these good many years before till now. And this September, whilst I lay in Appleby Castle, a little before my removal thence to Brougham Castle, did my daughter Margaret, Countess Dowager of Thanett, go from Thanett House in Aldersgate Street in London towne down into the country to Kirkby in Northamptonshire,² which is not far from Lillford, to her daughter the Lady Cicely Hatton, and her two little children, Anne and Margaret, whither she came to them the 22d of that month; but her son-in-law the now Lord Hatton was then beyond the seas in the Isle of Gernsey, which island the King lately made him Governor of. And after my daughter had laid at Kirkby aforesaid for four or five nights she came back again to her said house called Thanett House at London.

And the 14th day of October, being Friday, about 9 or 10 a clock in the forenoon, after I had lain in Appleby Castle ever since the 3d of August last, that I came from Pendragon Castle thither, did I remove with my family from thence, coming through the Withdrawing Chamber into the chappell for a while and so through the Hall,[and] took my litter at the hall-door in the court, in which I rid through the town of Appleby over the bridge; and through Crackenthrop, Kirbythure, Temple Sowerby and Woodside, and by the Hartshorn Tree, which I looked upon a while, I came safe and well, I thank God, into my castle of Brougham in the same county about 3 a clock in the afternoon; having been accompanied hither by several of the gentry of this county and of my neighbours and tenants, both of Appleby, Brougham and Penreth; and after they had taken their leaves of me in the hall of this Brougham Castle I came up through the Great Chamber and Painted Chamber

and the little passage-room, into my own chamber, where I formerly
used to lye, and where my noble father was born and my blessed mother
dyed. And I had not been in this Brougham Castle since the 26 of
June 1668, when I removed thence to Appleby Castle aforesaid, untill
now. And I now continued to lye in my said chamber in Brougham
Castle till the 17th of August following, that I removed with my family
to the said Appleby Castle again; so as the time of my stay at Brougham
was ten months and three days, in which time, viz. the 12th of December
in this year, as is hereafter written, dyed my dear grandchild Mr.
George Tufton, [p. 193] youngest son to my daughter Margaret,
Countess Dowager of Thanett. And before I removed as aforesaid
from Appleby Castle to Brougham Castle, viz. on the 8th of September
in the year, being Thursday, was my grandchild the Lady Mary
Tufton, youngest daughter and child but one to my daughter Margaret,
Countess Dowager of Thanett, married to Mr. William Walter, eldest
son to Sir William Walter of Sarsden, not far from Woodstock in
Oxfordshire, whose father was that Sir John Walter that was Lord
Chief Baron of the Exchequer in the time of our late King Charles
the 1st. And this young couple were married together in St. Botolph’s
Church in Aldersgate Street at London by Dr. Wells, minister of that
parish, there being present at the marriage Christopher, Lord Hatton,
her brother-in-law, who gave her in marriage, and her mother, my
daughter of Thanett, and the Lady Diana Curson, Mr. Cecill Tufton
and his wife and son, the Lady Dacres and her second husband, Mr.
David Walter, Sir Peter Killigrew and his wife, the Lord Darcy and
his wife and son and daughter, and Mr. Offley, Groom Porter, and
others. And the said new married couple lay for five nights together
in my daughter of Thanett’s house in Aldersgate Street aforesaid.
And when they were past, the 13th of this month, they went down
towards their father’s house at Sarsden in Oxfordshire to live there with
him. The 14th of October in this year, being Monday, the two houses
of Parliament, viz. the Lords and Commons, according to their adjourn-
ment, assembled at Westminster, where our now King Charles was
then present in the House of Lords, habited in his Royal robes and
crown upon his head; and having taken his place with the usual cere-
monies in the chair of state his Majestie made a gracious speech in
short to both houses, leaving the Lord Keeper to open the particulars more at large.

The 27th of this October did his Highness William of Nassaw, Prince of Orange, eldest son and only child to our now King of England's eldest sister deceased, take ship at the Brill in Holland, in which he came over sea into England, and landed at Margate the 29th of the same month in the morning, from whence he immediately rid post to Canterbury, and thence passed by coach to Rochester, where he lay that one night. And the next day, being the 30th day, he came to Gravesend, and so from thence along the river of Thames in a barge to Whitehall, to his uncle our said King of England and her Majestie and to the Duke and Duchess of York; who all of them received him with great demonstrations of affections and joy, this being the first time that ever this young prince came into England. And he now begun to lye in those lodgings by the Cockpitt at Whitehall wherein my late lord, the Earl of Pembroke, did use to lye, and wherein that lord of mine dyed. And in a short time after this young prince went to Windsor Castle, where he lay one night, and then to both the Universitys of Oxford and Cambridge, and to Audley End House, to see them and other remarkable places and houses in this kingdom. And on Monday the 13 of February following he, with the Earl of Ossory, whom the King appointed to attend him in the voyage, went from Whitehall, and so from London, by Rochester in Kent to Sheereness; where he took shipping that evening in one of His Majesties yachts, and so went safe and well over seas into his own countrey, viz. to the Hague in Holland, to live there again and in other places in the Low Countries as before.

[p. 194] And the 12 day of December, being Monday, about 12 a clock at noon, to the unspeakeable grief of me and his mother, my daughter, the Countess Dowager of Thanett, died my dear grandchild Mr. George Tufton, her youngest son, in Thanett House in Aldersgate Street in London, when he was twenty years old and almost six months over; for he was born into the world in Hothfield House in Kent the 30th day of June in 1650. And he dyed of a wound which he got about four years since by a shot in the wars in Germany. So as his dead body was opened, and inward parts taken out and viewed by
physicians and chirurgions, and found to be so much decayed by reason of the said wound that they wondred he should live so long after having received it. And afterwards his dead body, with the bowells inclosed again in it, was buried in the church at Rainham in Kent, by his father and two of his sisters, namely the first Lady Anne Tufton and the Lady Frances Drax. And both when he dyed and was buried did I lye in my chamber in Brougham Castle in Westmoreland, wherein my noble father was born and my blessed mother dyed.

In the year of our Lord God 1671, as the year begins on New Year’s day, the 31 of March in this year, being Friday, in the King’s house at St. James’s near Whitehall and the river of Thames, and not far from London town, dyed that Anne Hyde that was Duchess of York, in one of the chambers there wherein had formerly dyed Queen Mary and Prince Henry; James, Duke of York, her husband, being present at her death, and her three children that are living, whereof two are daughters and one a son, being then also in the house. And on the 5th of the month following, betwixt 9 and 10 of the clock at night, her dead body, after it had been opened, was accompanied from the Painted Chamber in the Palace at Westminster by his Highness Prince Rupert, who appeared as chief mourner, and most of the English nobility, and was buried in a large vault on the South side of Henry the 7th’s chappell in Westminster Abby.

And the 17th of August, being Thursday, in the forenoon after I had layn in my castle of Brougham in Westmoreland, in the chamber wherein my noble father was born and my blessed mother dyed, ever since the 14 of October last, did I go for a little while out of it into the room adjoining, being the middle room in the great Pagan Tower, and into that part of it where my old servant Jane Bricknell dyed; and so came into my own chamber again, where after a short stay I went from thence about 11 a clock of the same day through the little passage-room and the Painted Chamber and Great Chamber and the hall, down into the garden for a while, and from thence back into the court of the castle, where I took my horse-litter; in which I rid by the pillar that I erected in memory of my last parting there with my blessed mother and so through part of Whinfell Park to Julian Bower; and from thence out of the Park I came over Eden Bridge and through the
towns of Temple Sowerby, Kirby Thure, and Crackenthrop, and down the Slape Stones, and over Appleby Bridge, and near the church and through Appleby town, I came safe and well, I thank God, into my castle of Appleby in the same county about 4 a clock in the afternoon, my woman attending me in my coach drawn with six horses, and my men servants on [p. 195] horseback, and a great many of the chief gentry of this county and of my neighbours and tenants accompanying me in this my removal. So after I was now alighted in this Appleby Castle I went through the hall up into the chappell for a while, and into the Great Chamber and so up the Great Stairs, and through the Withdrawing Chamber into my own chamber, where I formerly used to lye, and where I had not been since the said 14 of October last untill now. And I now continued to lye in this chamber of mine for three months together, viz. till the 17 of November following, that I removed from thence with my family into my castle of Pendragon in the same county, to lye in it for a time.

And the 25 of this August, whilst I lay in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, did my daughter Margaret, Countess Dowager of Thanett, and her youngest daughter, the Lady Anne Tufton, after they had layn [blank] nights in Bolbrook House in Sussex, remove with her family from thence up into her house in Aldersgate Street in London town to lye in it as before.

And the 2d day of September in this year, being Saturday, did Sir Timothy Littleton, who is one of the Barons of his Majesties Exchequer and now one of the Judges of Assize for this Northern Circuite, come from the city of Carlisle in Cumberland from his fellow Judge, Sir William Wild, who was detained there longer by occasion of much business, and so over the rivers of Ement ¹ and Lowther near my castle of Brougham in Westmoreland, where he was mett by my undersheriff, Mr. Thomas Gabetis,² and several of my servants with my coach and six horses, in which he came about 5 a clock in the afternoon hither in this Appleby Castle in the same county. And on the Monday following, being the 4th of the same month, did the said Sir William Wild, who is one of the Justices of his Majesties Court of Common Pleas, and now the other Judge of Assize for this Northern Circuite,

¹ Ement] Eamont. ² Gabetis] MS. Gabesis.
come from the said city of Carlisle, being met by the way at Emond Bridge by the said sheriff and others with my coach in like manner as the former Judge was, and so came in it hither into Appleby Castle to him and me and us here. So these two Judges now lay here till the 6th day of this month, viz. Judge Littleton four nights in the best room in Cæsar's Tower, and Judge Wild two nights in the Baron's Chamber, during which time they held the Assizes in the Moothall in Appleby town, and dispatched business for the people of this county as usual. And on the said 6th instant, being Wednesday, having taken their leaves of me in my chamber, they went away from hence, part of the way in my coach attended by some of my servants, towards Kendal, intending to lye there one night, and the next day to go to Lancaster to hold the Assizes for that county also, and so to finish their circuite; and this was the first time that ever Sir William Wild came hither on this occasion, though the other Judge had been here the year before. And whilst the Assizes were held at Appleby as aforesaid, viz. on Monday the 4th of this September, did my cosin Philip, Lord Wharton, and his two eldest sons, Thomas and Goodwin, and a grandchild of my Lord Wainman's come hither into Appleby Castle to me, but went that night into Wharton Hall in this county. Also my cosin Sir Philip Musgrave of Edenell came hither to me the same day with them, and lay in one of the best upper chambers in Cæsar's Tower one night, and the next day went away again; and the said Lord Wharton’s three daughters that are unmarried, whom he had by his second wife, were also here with me for a while these Assizes, for during the time of these Assizes did I lye in my own [p. 196] chamber in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland.

And the 3d day of this September, being Sunday, about 7 a clock in the morning, was my grandchild the Lady Mary Walter, fifth daughter and ninth child to my daughter the Countess Dowager of Thanett, brought to bed of her first child, which was a son, in Thanett House in Aldersgate Street in London town, where her husband Mr. William Walter and her said mother and youngest sister, Lady Anne Tufton, then lay. And the 7th of that month in the same house was this child christened by the name of William, after his father, my said

1 Wainman] Philip, 3rd Lord Wenman, had a daughter who married William Croft.
daughter standing as deputy godmother in my stead, and the child's father standing deputy godfather in his father's stead; and Mr. David Walter was the other godfather. And the 21st of the same month, to my great grief and sorrow, this little William Walter my godson dyed, being but three weeks old, wanting two days; and his dead body was opened, and towards the latter end of the same month was carried to Church-hill near Saresden in Oxfordshire and buried in the church there, where his father's relations lie buried. And so both when this child was born, christened and died and was buried, did I lye all the time in my chamber in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland.

And the 17 of November in this year, being Friday, about 10 a clock in the forenoon, after I had layn in my chamber in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland ever since the 17 of August last, being just three months, did I remove with my family from thence. Coming through the Withdrawing Chamber and Great Chamber into the chappell for a while, and so through the hall, I took my litter at the hall-door in the court, in which I rid by the High Cross in Appleby, and through Scattergate and over Soulby Mash and through Soulby and Waterby and over Askfell into the forest of Mallerstang there in the same county about 4 a clock in the afternoon, having been accompanied in the way by several of the gentry in this country, and of my neighbours and tenants both of Appleby, Kirkby Stephan and Mallerstang, etc. And my two gentlewomen and women servants rid in my coach drawn with six horses, and my men servants on horseback. But we had a great storm of rain and wind towards the latter end of the journey, and after the company had taken their leaves of me here at Pendragon Castle I came up the stairs and through the Great Chamber into my own chamber on the West side of it, where I formerly used to lye, and where I had not been since the 3d day of August in 1670, being a year three months and some fourteen days, untill now, and where I now continued to lye for five months and two days, viz. till the 19th of April following, being in the year 1672, that I removed from hence again into my castle of Brough in the same countie, to lye in it for a time.

For on this 19 of April 1672, as aforesaid, being Friday, about 10

1 Church-hill near Saresden] Churchill and Sarsden, south-west of Chipping Norton.
2 For on this] MS. inserts "In the year of our Lord . . . as the year begins" (etc.).
a clock in the forenoon, after I had layn in my chamber in Pendragon Castle in Westmoreland ever since the 17th of November last, did I remove out of it, and came through the Great Chamber down the stairs into the court, where at the hall-door I went into my horse-litter, in which I rid through the gatehouse and through the river of Eden, and over a great part of Ask-fell and through Wharton Park, and in sight of the hall, and through Kirkby Stephan and Brough Sowerby to my castle of Brough in the same county, my gentlewomen and maid servants attending me in my coach drawn with six horses, and my men servants on horseback, and a great many of my tenants and [p. 197] neighbours of Mallerstang, Kirkby Stephan, Brough and Appleby and other places in this county coming along with me. And so we came safe to my said castle of Brough about one a clock in the afternoon, where in the court of it I alighted out of my litter and came up stairs into the hall, where all the strangers that accompanied me took their leaves of me and went away to their several homes; and from thence I came up stairs into the Great Chamber, and through it and the chamber adjoyning I came into my own chamber in Clifford’s Tower, where I formerly used to lye, and where, nor in this castle, I had not been since the 3d of May in 1670 untill now. And now I continued to lye in it till the 15 of August following, being just four months but four days; and then I removed from hence again, as shall be here underwritten, into my castle of Appleby in the same county, to lie in it for a time.

And the 30 day of July in this year, being Tuesday, whilst I lay in Brough Castle aforesaid, did my daughter Margaret, Countess Dowager of Thanett, and her youngest child, the Lady Anne Tufton, and second son, Mr. John Tufton, with their servants come from their journey from Thanett House in Aldersgate Street at London, and the last night from the inne at Greta Bridge in Yorkshire and over Stainmore into Brough Castle in Westmoreland, and so into my chamber in Clifford’s Tower there to me, where I kissed them with great satisfaction and joy; I having not seen my said dear daughter nor grandchild Lady Anne Tufton since the 13 of August in 1669, when they with other two of my grandchildren, namely Mr. Sackvill Tufton and Lady Mary Tufton, went away from me from Appleby Castle,
where I then lay, back towards London, untill now. Nor had I seen my said grandchild Mr. John Tufton since the 14 of June in the said year 1669, that he and his brother Mr. Richard had been with me in Appleby Castle aforesaid for about a week, and then went back again towards London, untill now. And they now lay in Brough Castle, my daughter and her daughter, with her women, lying in the chamber at the North West corner of the Great Chamber, and her said son Mr. John, with their men servants, lying in the great Roman Tower there for seven nights together. And when they were past, on Tuesday the 6th of the month following, in the morning, I having kissed them in my said chamber as taking my leave of them, they went away from thence over Stainmore again, and so onwards on their journey towards London; whither they came safe and well, I thank God, the 14th day of the same month to Thanett House in Aldersgate Street there. The 15th of August in this year did I remove with my family out of the said Brough Castle into my castle of Appleby in the same county, coming along in my horse-litter, attended by my women servants in my coach, and my men servants on horseback, with a great many of my neighbours and tenants of both places, through Warcop, Bongate, and over Appleby Bridge through the towne, up into the court of the said Appleby Castle; where I alighted and went through the hall into the chappell for a while, and then through the Great Chamber and Withdrawing Chamber I came into my chamber, where I formerly used to lie, and where I had not been since the 17 of November last till now, and where I now continued to lye till the 28th of January following, being five months and about a [p. 198] fortnight over, that I removed from thence into my castle of Brougham in the same county, to lye in it for a time.

The 28 of this August did Mr. Richard Sackvill, third son to the now Earl and Countess of Dorsett, come from his journey out of Scotland, from his sister Humes, who lives there, and from the city of Carlisle, where he lay the night before, hither into Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, though I saw him not till the next day, that he came up into my chamber to me; where I kissed him, it being the first time I ever saw him, or that he, or any of his parents' children were in any part of the lands of my inheritance. So he now lay in the Baron's
Chamber here for three nights together; and on Saturday the 31 of the same month he went away from hence again to Kendal and so onwards on his journey towards London.

The same 31 of August, in the evening, did Sir William Wild, one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, and Sir Timothy Littleton, one of the Barons of his Majesties Exchequer, who are now the two Judges of Assize for this Northern Circuite, as they also were the last year, come from their journey from Carlisle hither into Appleby in Westmoreland, where they now lay, the first in the Baron’s Chamber, and the other in the best room in Cæsar’s Tower, for four nights together; in which time they held the Assizes for this county in the Town Hall here. And on Wednesday the 4th of the same month they, having taken their leaves of me in my chamber, went away towards Kendal, intending for Lancaster tomorrow, to keep the Assizes there also, which is the last place they have to go to in this circuite. Also my cosin Sir Philip Musgrave of Eden-hall and my cosin Sir John Lowther of Lowther lay in this Appleby Castle most part of the time of these Assizes as usual.

And the 11 of October in this year, being Fryday, did my daughter Margaret, Countess of Thanett, with her youngest child, the Lady Anne Tufton, remove out of Thanett House in Aldersgate Street at London, and so in their coach over London Bridge into her house at Bolbrook in Sussex, to lye there in it for a time; which was the first time they came to that house after they and my said daughter’s second son, Mr. John Tufton, had been with me at Brough Castle in Westmoreland but the August before, for they went from thence from me but the 6th of that month towards London. And my said daughter continued to lye in Bolbrook House aforesaid till the 20 day of December following, that she removed from thence back again to Thanett House aforesaid; but by the way she lay one night in the inne at Croyden ¹ in Surrey, which was the first time she ever lay in that inne, wherein her father’s dead body did lye one night many years before, as he was carried from Dorsett House in London to his burial in Withyham ² Church in Sussex. And the 29 of December in this year did there fall, being Sunday, about midnight, a violent

storm of thunder and light[ning] upon the island of Guernsey, which
taking hold of the magazine of powder blew up and destroyed Castle
Connett,¹ which was the garrison of that island; by the ruins whereof
were killed, to my great grief and sorrow, my dear grandchild the
Lady Cicely Hatton, wife to Christopher, Lord Hatton, the Governor
there, and with her the old Lady Dowager Hatton, her mother, and
many of his officers soldiers and attendants. [p. 199] But by God’s
mercifull providence my said dear grandchild’s children that she left
behind her, which are three daughters, as also their said father and
some relations of theirs that were there, were preserved alive. But
the dead bodies of my said grandchild and her lord’s mother were
brought over into England to Portsmouth etc., and interred in the
Abby of Westminster the 11th of the month following.

In the year of our Lord God 1673, as the year begins on New Year’s
day, the 18 day of January in this year, being Tuesday, about one
a clock in the afternoon, I removed out of Appleby Castle in West­
moreland with my family, after I had layn in it ever since the 15 of
August before, into my castle of Brougham in the same county, where
I had not been since the 17 of August 1671 till now. And now as I
came from Appleby Castle I went through the Withdrawing Chamber
and Great Chamber into the chappell for a while; where being taken
with a swounding fitt, I was carried into the Green Chamber; and
after I was by God’s blessing recovered of it I came from thence again
down the stairs through the hall into the court. From whence, being
taken by another fitt of swounding, I was carried up for a while into
the Baron’s Chamber; but having also by God’s blessing got well
past it I went down again into the court, where I took my horse-litter,
in which I rid through Appleby town and over the bridge there and
through Crackenthrop, Kirkby Thure and Temple Sowerby and
Woodside into the court of Brougham Castle aforesaid, whither I
came safe and well, I thank God, about 4 a clock that afternoon. And
there I alighted and went upstairs into the hall, where all the company
of my neighbours and tenants and others that came along with me
took their leaves of me and went away; and I came upstairs, through
the Great Chamber and Painted Chamber and the passage-room into

¹ Castle Connett] Castle Cornet.
my own chamber in the said Brougham Castle, wherein my noble father was born and my blessed mother dyed, and where I now continued to lye till the 30 of July following, that I removed from thence with my family into Appleby Castle in the same county, to lye in it for a time.

The 23d of February in this year, being Sunday, about 7 a clock in the morning, was my grandchild the Lady Mary Walter brought to bed, and safely, I thank God, delivered of her second child, which is her first daughter, in her mother my daughter of Thanett's house in Aldersgate Street at London; which child was christened the 26 of that month by the name of Mary, the Countess of Kent, whose mother was my goddaughter, being the one godmother, and my said daughter of Thanett, the other, and Sir William Walter the godfather.

The 17 of Aprill in this year was my dear grandchild the Lady Anne Tufton, youngest child to my daughter Margaret, Countess Dowager of Thanett, married in St. Botolph's Church in Aldersgate Street at London to Mr. Samuel Grimston, a widdower, whose first wife was daughter to Sir Heneage Finch, the King's Attorney General, by whom he had one only daughter now living, and himself is only son to Sir Harbottle Grimston, Keeper of the Rolls, who with his lady and many others of his relations were present at the marriage, as also of my said grandchild's relations her sister the Lady Margaret Coventry and her children, and three of her brothers, [p. 200] viz. Mr. John, Mr. Richard, and Mr. Thomas Tufton, and others; I then lying in Brougham Castle in Westmoreland, as I also did at the time of their removal, which was the 8th of the month following; for then this new married couple went from her mother my said daughter's house in Aldersgate Street aforesaid to his father's house at the Rolls to live there with him and his lady, Ecc. c. 3; c. 8. v. 6; Prov. c. 10. v. 24; Ps. 26. v. 11, 12, 13; Ps. cxii.

The 13th day of June in this year were my great-grandchildren, my Lord Hatton's three daughters, that he had by my deceased grand-

1 Eccles. iii.] See p. 33 n., etc. 2 Eccles. viii. 6] See p. 34 n., etc. 3 Prov. x. 24] God will graunt the desire of the righteous. 4 Ps. xxvi. 11–13] Probably cxvi. 11–13, see p. 69 n. 5 Ps. cxii.] Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord, etc.
child the Lady Cicely Hatton, carried from Castle Connett in the Isle of Guernsey, from their said father, the now Governor of that island, to the sea-side, where they took ship in the Hatton yacht and landed in England at Portsmouth the 15 of that month; from whence they continued their journey towards London, and came well thither the 18 of that [month] to Thanett House in Aldersgate Street, to their grandmother my daughter of Thanett, to lye there with her; and that was the first time she ever saw these three grandchildren of hers since their mother's death by the unhappy accident herein above related. Ps. 19. v. 15, 16, 17.¹

The 17 day of July in this year did my daughter the Countess Dowager of Thanett, with her daughter the Lady Mary Walter and her husband Mr. William Walter, go from Thanett House in Aldersgate Street at London, leaving behind her there her said three grandchildren, my Lord Hatton's daughters, down to Sir Harbottle Grimstone the Master of the Rolls' house called Gerhamburie² near St. Albans, to her youngest daughter the Lady Anne Grimston, wife to the Master of the Rolles's only son, where they lay for thirteen nights together. And the 30 of the same month they returned back from thence to Thanett House again. And the same 30 of July, being Wednesday, in the forenoon, after I had layn in Brougham Castle in Westmoreland, in the chamber wherein my noble father was born and my blessed mother died, for about half a year, viz. since the 28 of January last, did I go for a while out of it, into the middle room in the great Pagan Tower there, where my old servant Jane Bricknell died; and then came into my own chamber again, where after a short stay I went from thence, through the little passage-room, and the Painted Chamber and Great Chamber and the hall, down into the court of that castle; where I went into my horse-litter, in which I rid, being attended by my women in my coach drawn with six horses, and my men servants on horseback, along by the pillar that I erected in memory of my last parting there with my blessed mother, and through Whinfell Park, and by the Hartshorn Tree and the Three Brother Tree³ and Julian Bower and through the entry; and so out of that park, crossing the two rivers

Lybennett and Eden, I went through Kirkby Thure, Crackentrop, Battleburgh, and over Appleby Bridge and through the towne into Appleby Castle, whither I came well, I thank God, about 3 in the afternoon, having been accompanied most part of the way by many of the chief gentry of this county and others, and by my neighbours and tenants hereabouts. And so after I was now alighted in the court of this Appleby Castle I came through the hall and up the stairs into the chappell and Great Chamber, and from thence up the Green Stairs and through the Withdrawing Room into my own chamber, where I formerly used to lie, and where I had not been since the said 28 of January last till now, and where I now continued to lye till the 20 day of March following, that I removed from thence with my family to my castle of Pendragon in the same county, to lie in it for a time.

The 9 day of August, being Saturday, in the evening, did Sir William Wild, Bart., one of the Justices of the King’s Bench, and Sir William Ellis, Kt., one of the Justices of his Majesties Court of Common Pleas, and now the two appointed Judges for this Northern Circuite, come from their journey from Carlisle in Cumberland, from holding the Assizes there for that county, hither into this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, where they now lay, the first in the Baron’s Chamber and the other in the best room in Cæsar’s Tower, for four nights together; and in that time kept the Assizes in the Moothall in Appleby towne; which ended they went away from hence from me on Wednesday the 13th of the same month in the forenoon to Kendal, and the next day to Lancaster, to hold the Assizes there also, which is the last place of their circuite.

And my cosin Sir John Lowther of Lowther lay here most part of the time of these Assizes as usual, but not my cosin Sir Philip Musgrave, though he was here the 11th instant most part of the day and went home in the evening.

The 21 day of November in this year did the Duchess of Modena, with her daughter and many persons of quality, come from their journey out of Italy, their own countrey, and landed at Dover in Kent, where his Royal Highness the Duke of York mett them, and married the said

1 Lybennytt Lyvennet.
Duchess's daughter for his second wife; and they all came together to London and Whitehall and St. James's the 26 of that month. And the 30 day of the month following did the said Duchess of Modena, mother to the now Duchess of York, go from her and her husband the Duke, from St. James's and Whitehall and so out of England onwards on her journey back into Italy to her own home there.

In the year of our Lord God 1674, as the year begins on New Year's day, the 20 day of January in this year, being Tuesday, between 1 and 2 a clock in the afternoon, was my grandchild the Lady Mary Walter brought to bed of her third child, which was her second son, in Thanett House in Aldersgate Street at London; which child was christened the next day by the name of John, Sir William Walter, the grandfather, and Mr. William Walter, the father, being the two godfathers, and my self, by deputy, the godmother. But my said dear grandchild, the day after her delivery as aforesaid, was taken with the small pox, whereof she died there, to my great grief and sorrow, the 31st of the same month, at the age of twenty-one years and about six months over. And her dead body was carried the 5th of the month following to Church-hill near Sarsden in Oxfordshire, and buried the 7th of the same in the vault of the church there, where her eldest son and her husband's relations lye buried. And during the time of her delivery, death, and burial as aforesaid did I lye in my own chamber in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland. And the 23 of this January dyed in Arundell House, of a fitt of the stone, Elizabeth Stewart, Countess Dowager of Arundell, and was buried in Arundell church or chappell in Sussex, by her husband Henry Howard, Earl of Arundell, by whom she had eight sons and two daughters. And part of her jointure was the castle and barony of Graystock in Cumberland.

And the 20 day of March, being Friday, about 10 a clock in the forenoon, after I had layn in my chamber in Appleby Castle in Westmoreland ever since the 30th of July last, did I remove with my family out of it, and came down through the Withdrawing Chamber, Great [p. 202] Chamber and hall into the court; where I went into my horse-litter, in which I rid, being attended by my women in my coach, and my men servants on horseback, with several of my neighbours and tenants, through Scattergate, and over Soulby Mash and through
Soulby and Wateby, to my castle of Pendragon in the same county, whither I came safe and well, I thank God, about 3 a clock in the afternoon, and there, after those of the gentry and other my neighbours and tenants that accompanied me had taken their leaves of me, I came upstairs through the Great Chamber into my own chamber on the West side of it, where I had not been since the 19 of April in 1672 till now, and where I now continued to lye till the 24 of September following, being about half a year; and then I removed from thence to my castle of Brough in the same county, to lye in it for a time.

And the 29 of May did my grandchild Mr. Thomas Tufton, fourth son and seventh child to my daughter of Thanett, and one of the Burgess in Parliament for the corporation of Appleby, come from his journey from London hither into this Pendragon Castle to me, where I kissed him with great satisfaction, I having not seen him since the 18 of July in 1670. And now he lay here seven nights together, in which time he went to Appleby to see the Mayor and Aldermen, and to Acrumbanck to see my cousin Dalston, his fellow Burgess. And the 5th of the month following, after I had kissed him and he taken his leave of me, he rid away from hence from me onwards on his journey towards London again and the Southern parts.

And the 27 of July, about 8 a clock in the evening, was my grandchild the Lady Anne Grimston, youngest child to my daughter of Thanett, and second wife to her husband Mr. Samuel Grimston, brought to bed in her own chamber at the Rolls in Chancery Lane at London of her first child, which was a son, who was christened there the 4th of the month following by the name of Edward.

The 31 day of August, being Monday, did Sir Richard Rainsford, one of the Justices of the King's Bench, and Sir Timothy Littleton, one of the Barons of his Majesties Exchequer, they being appointed the two Judges this year for this Northern Circuite, come from the city of Carlisle in Cumberland, from holding the Assizes there, and so by Brougham Castle and those ways into my castle of Appleby in Westmoreland, whither I had sent some of my servants before to entertain them (myself with the rest remaining still at Pendragon Castle); and there at Appleby the said Judges held the Assizes for this county, and lay two nights in my castle there, Judge Rainsford in the
Baron's Chamber and Judge Littleton in the best room in Cæsar's Tower. And when they were past, the 2d day of the month following, they with their attendants went away from thence to Kendal, where they lay one night; and the next day they went to Lancaster to hold the Assizes there also for that county, and so to finish their circuite. And my cosin Sir John Lowther of Lowther in Westmoreland and my cosin Sir Philip Musgrave of Edenell in Cumberland lay most part of the time of these Assizes in my castle of Appleby as usual at such times.

And the 21st of May in this year did my honorable cosin, to whom I was godmother by deputy, Mr. Robert Stanley, second brother to this Earl of Derby, [p. 203] born at Knowsley in Lancashire, come hither to Pendragon Castle to see me, and lay here one night, and the next day went away again homewards to the Countess Dowager of Derby, his mother.

And the 26 of August did my cosin Philip Lord Wharton's two eldest sons, viz. Thomas, that was lately married, and Goodwin, who is yet unmarried, come from their father to his house at Wharton Hall in this county, where they lay for about a week; in which time, viz. the 29 and 31 of the same month, they came severally hither to Pendragon Castle to me for a while.

The 24 of September, being Thursday, about 11 a clock in the forenoon, after I had layn in my chamber in Pendragon Castle in Westmoreland ever since the 20 of March last, did I remove from thence, being attended by my gentlewomen and maid servants in my coach and my men servants on horseback, and some of the gentlemen, as also of my neighbours and tenants of Mallerstang, Appleby, Brough and other places; and so I rid in my horse-litter, cross the river of Eden, and through Wharton Park, Kirkby Stephan, Brough Sowerby, and part of Brough towne, into my castle of Brough, whither I came safe and well, I thank God, about 3 a clock in the afternoon, and so up into my own chamber in Clifford's Tower, where, nor in this castle, I had not been since the 15 of August 1672 untill now, and where I now continued to lie.

And the 19th day of October, about 2 a clock in the morning, in her father the Lord Hatton's house at Kirkby in Northamptonshire,
died my great grandchild Mrs. Elizabeth Hatton, third and youngest daughter and child to my late dear grandchild the Lady Cicely Hatton deceased. And the 27 of November, about 10 a clock at night, in the same house at Kirkby in Northamptonshire, dyed her sister Mrs. Margaret Hatton, second daughter and child to my said dear grandchild the Lady Cicely Hatton deceased.

And the 23 of December, about 12 a clock at noon, died at the Rolls in London my great-grandchild and godson Mr. Edward Grimston, first and only child to my dear grandchild the Lady Anne Grimston, and was buried the 28 of the same month in the vault at St. Michael's church at St. Albans in Hertfordshire, where some of his father's ancestors were buried before him, and where also was buried my ancestor Thomas, Lord Clifford, who was killed there in the first battle between the two houses of York and Lancaster in Henry the 6th's time. And when, to my great grief and sorrow, these three great-grandchildren of mine died as aforesaid, did I lye all the time in my chamber in Clifford's Tower in Brough Castle.

In the year of our Lord God 1674 : 1675, the 24th day of March in this year, dyed in his house at Sarsden in Oxfordshire Sir William Walter, who was grandfather to two of my great-grandchildren; for my grandchild the Lady Mary Tufton had been married to his son Mr. William Walter about four years ago, and dyed his wife, of the smallpox, about two years ago, leaving two children behind her who are still living, namely Mrs. Mary Walter, who was two years old the 23d of February last, and Mr. John Walter, who [p. 204] was one year old the 20th of January last; and now at the time of his death his said son their father was in Italy.

The 11th day of May 1675, about 10 a clock in the forenoon, after I had layo in my chamber in Clifford's Tower in Brough Castle in Westmoreland ever since the 24th of September last, did I remove from thence with my family, going by Warcopp, Bongate and over Appleby Bridge, into my castle of Appleby in the same county, whither I came safe and well, I thank God, about 2 a clock in the afternoone, having been accompanied by several of the gentry and of my neighbours and tenants, who took their leaves of me there; and then I went through the hall, and up through the Great Chamber and withdrawing Chamber.
into my own chamber there, where I had not been since the 20 of March 1673–4 till now, and where I now continued to lye till the 5th of October following, that I removed from thence to Brougham Castle in the same countie, to lye in it for a time.

The 18th of June in this year was conferred upon my noble son-in-law James Compton, Earl of Northampton, by our now King Charles the 2d the command and trust of Constable of the Tower of London.

The 3d day of August did my dear daughter Margaret, Countess Dowager of Thanett, and her grandchild Mrs. Anne Hatton, the only surviving child of Lady Cicely her deceased mother, come from their journey from Thanett House in Aldersgate Street at London hither into this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland to me, where in my own chamber I kissed them with much joy, having never seen this grandchild of mine before; nor had I seen my daughter since the 6 day of August in 1672, when she was with me at Brough Castle, till now. So they now lay here in the Baron’s Chamber eight nights together; and when they were past, the 11th instant, they began their journey towards London again, whither, I thank God, they came safe and well on Friday the 20th of the same month.

And the 23d of this August, being Monday, did Sir Richard Rainsford and Sir Timothy Littleton, the two Judges of Assize for this Northern Circuite, come from holding the Assizes at Carlisle in Cumberland hither to me to Appleby Castle in Westmoreland, where they now lay, the first in the Baron’s Chamber and the other in the best room in Cæsar’s Tower, for two nights together; in which time they held the Assizes for this county in the Moothall in Appleby town. And on Wednesday the 25th instant they went to Kendall, and the next day to Lancaster, where they likewise held the Assizes for that county, and so ended their circuite.

The 1st day of September, about noon, did Henry Howard, Earl of Norwich 1 and Lord Marshall of England, and his eldest son the Lord Henry Howard, and Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle, my cosins, come into this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland to me for a while; so I kissed them, it being the first time I saw this Lord Marshall since he was a child, or that I ever saw this son of his. And after they had

dined here with [p. 205] several of the gentry of this county and of Cumberland they went away from hence onwards on their journey towards London.

The 15th day of this September did my dear grandchild the Lady Alethea Compton, youngest and only surviving child to my deceased daughter Isabella, Countess of Northampton, come from her journey from her father's house at Castle Ashby in Northamptonshire hither into this Appleby Castle in Westmoreland to me; where I kissed her with much joy, I having not seen her since the 30th of July 1670, that she was at Pendragon Castle with me, till now. And now she continued to lie here in the Baron's Chamber eight nights together. And when they were past, on the 23d instant, she began her journey from hence towards Castle Ashby again, whither she came safe and well, I thank God, with her company the 29 of the same month.

The 23 of this September, about 10 a clock at night, was my grandchild the Lady Anne Grimston, twelfth and youngest child to my daughter Margaret, Countess Dowager of Thanett, delivered of her second child, which was a daughter, in her husband's house at Gorhamburie in Hertfordshire; which child was christened there the 6 of the month following by the name of Mary, the Master of the Rolls, the child's grandfather, and my said daughter of Thanett and the Lady Diana Curson being witnesses to it. And about that time was my grandchild Mr. Thomas Tufton, fourth son and seventh child of my said daughter of Thanett, sworn Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York.

The 5th day of October, being Tuesday, about 10 or 11 a clock in the forenoon, after I had layn in my chamber in Appleby Castle ever since the 11th of May last, did I remove with my family from thence by the ways of Crackenthrop, Kirkby Thure, Temple Sowerby and Woodside etc., into my Castle of Brougham in the same county, where I had not been since the 30th day of July 1673 till now, and where I now continued to lie as usual, in the chamber wherein my noble father was born and my blessed mother died.

The last day of November, about 7 a clock in the evening, dyed my worthy cosin Sir John Lowther, Bart., in his house at Lowther Hall in this county of Westmoreland, when he was about seventy-three
years old, and was buried the 4th of the month following in the church ther at Lowther, where many of his ancestors lie interred. And by his death his grandchild and heir John Lowther, my godson, came to be Baronett, who that day as chief mourner attended the corpse to the church; where Dr. Smallwood, Parson of Graystock, preached the funeral sermon, there being present at the whole solemnity a great many of the gentry of this and the neighbouring counties, as also most of my chief servants.

[p. 206] *In the Year of our Lord God, 1675–6.*

Thus far this book is a copy of the summary of the Countess of Pembroke's life, containing a continued thankfull commemoration, as her honour hath often said, of God's great mercies and blessings to her and hers, and were written by her Ladyship or her directions. But she proceeded no further, for on Sunday the 9th of March 1675–6 it pleased Almighty God to visit her with sickness, which wrought so sharply upon her all that day and Monday that on Tuesday she was forced to keep her bed. And on Wednesday the 22d of that month, about 6 a clock in the afternoon, after she had endured all her pains with a most Christian fortitude, always answering those that asked her how she did with "I thank God I am very well," which were her last words directed to mortals, she with much cheerfulness, in her own chamber in Brougham Castle in Westmoreland, wherein her noble father was born and her blessed mother died, yeilded up her precious soul into the hands of her mercifull Redeemer.

Not long after her death her dead body according to her Will was wrapped in seare cloth and lead, with an inscription in brass upon the breast, shewing whose body it was. And the 14th day of Aprill 1676 it was carried in a hearse drawn with six horses to Appleby church, and was buried about mid-day in the vault there which her Ladyship had caused to be made in her life-time for that purpose, having been attended thither by her grandchild Mr. John Tufton and all or most of her own servants in mourning, as also by the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, who preached her funeral sermon; Sir Philip Musgrave and Mr. John Dalston and some of their sons and others of the gentry of the countrey being there present at her funeral.
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