

Durham E-Theses

The Giffards of Chillington, a catholic landed family 1642-1861

Patrick Joseph Doyle

How to cite:

Doyle, Patrick Joseph (1968) *The Giffards of Chillington, a catholic landed family 1642-1861*. Masters thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a <https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/9887/> is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

M.A. thesis abstract. 1968.

"The Giffards of Chillington, a Catholic landed family 1642-1861".

P.J.Doyle.

This thesis explores the economic and political effects on the Giffards of three centuries of recusancy, their contribution to the organisation of Catholicism in the Midlands, and to the priesthood and the religious life. Further it examines the exclusiveness of the recusant community, and attempts to explain why the Giffards, like so many other recusant families, ceased to be Catholic in the nineteenth century. The introduction outlines the origins of the family's recusancy, but 1642 is the commencing date. During the Civil War the Giffards distinguished themselves in the Royalist cause, and were instrumental in the saving of Charles II after the battle of Worcester. Their loyalty was rewarded by a partial dispensation from the penal laws, but it was not until their discharge from the double land tax in 1851 that the Giffards were finally relieved from all religious disabilities. The terminal date of 1861 marks the death of the last Catholic squire.

The Civil War resulted in the sequestration of the Chillington estate, otherwise their recusancy had little effect on the family's fortune. ~~indeed~~ in the eighteenth century their rental increased remarkably. The crisis, which beset the estate in 1790, was a result of extravagance, in particular the rebuilding of Chillington Hall. Therefore the last decade of the eighteenth and the nineteenth century was a period of retrenchment and land sales.

The family had mining interests in Stow Heath, Wolverhampton, and the inheritance of the Plas Ucha and Merquis estates on the North Wales coalfield, and the intersection of the Staffordshire properties

by canal & railway increased their interest in industrialism and shareholding. But the Giffards remained essentially landed proprietors. The greatest change was from Cisalpine Catholics to Tory Anglicans.

The Giffards of Chillington, a Catholic landed
family, 1642-1861.

A thesis presented for the degree of Master of Arts,
Durham University, by Patrick Joseph Doyle B.A. University
College, 1968.

Contents.

	<u>Page</u>
Preface	III.
Abbreviations	V
The Squires of Chillington, 1642-1861	VIII
Chapters	
I - The origins of the Giffards' Recusancy	1
II - The Giffards and the Civil War; the Preservation of the King.....	53
III - Persecution and Respite: the Giffards under the Later Stuarts	85
IV - Gentry Catholicism	119
V - The Giffard family's contribution to Recusant Religious Life	172
VI - The Staffordshire Clergy Dispute	196
VII - A Catholic of the Cisalpine Sort, Thomas William Giffard	225
VIII - Liberal Catholic & Conservative Politician, Thomas William Giffard and County Politics	263
IX - Economic Difficulties, 1785-1861.....	287
X - Agricultural Improvement and the Giffard Estate	312
XI - The exploitation of Timber Resources, 1760-1861	346

XII - The Giffards' industrial interest.....	360
Conclusion, The social role of the squiresas patron, benefactor & counsellor	379
Appendices	
I - La Giffart	398
II - William Giffard, Archbishop of Rheims	400
III - Giffard Religious and Priests	402
IV - Wolverhampton Chapel Building Account	414
V - Chaplains, Chillington, Blackladies, Longbirch and Brewood	416
VI - The Chillington Congregation	432
VII - Brewood Manor and Chillington Tithes	443
VIII - Bishop Giffard's Letter Book	456
IX - The Penderell Accounts	458
X - The Welsh Connection	462
XI - The Giffards' Rentals	469
XII - The Giffards' Timber Accounts, 1758-1761	473
XIII - Game and Sport	477
Bibliography	489

Preface.

This thesis attempts to trace the recusancy of the Giffards of Chillington, Staffordshire, and the development of their estates from the Civil War to the death of the last Catholic head of the family in 1861. Unfortunately there are very few documents in the Giffard Papers at Stafford, that illuminate the family's contribution to the survival of Catholicism in the West Midlands. The relevant documents include some seventeenth century sermons, the accounts for the building of Giffard House, Wolverhampton, and the correspondence with the Inland Revenue from 1848-1850 about relief from the Double Land Tax. However I have discovered some other papers dealing with religious matters among the estate correspondence, e.g. a letter from Dr. Hooke of the College Mazarin Paris to Thomas Giffard in 1785, and much correspondence from the Rev. Robert Richmond to T.W. Giffard in 1843 about the building of the Catholic Church in Brewood. Public papers provide supplementary material, such as Returns of Papists and the Registration of Papist Estates, and the letters of some of the family chaplains are found in the Birmingham Archdiocesan Record Office.

The collection contains few personal documents, but some correspondence is preserved among the papers of the Throckmorton family at Coughton Court. However the papers are rich in estate material of all kind, rentals, maps, timber, farm, dairy and colliery accounts, agent's reports and much miscellaneous estate correspondence. Therefore the economic fortunes of the family, from the difficulties of sequestration, through the prosperity of the eighteenth century, to the mortgages and sales of the eighteenth forties can easily be studied.

I would like to thank my supervisor Mr. M.E. James, M.A., Prof. W.R. Ward, M.A. D.Phil., Mr. J. Anthony Williams, M.A. and Miss M.E. Rowlands M.A., for their advice and help, and T.A.W. Giffard, Esq., Sir Robert Throckmorton Bart., Rev. L. Moore, Mr. Bevan-Evans, and Mr. James G. McManamay for answering my queries. Finally, my thanks are due to Mr. F.B. Stitt, Staffordshire County Archivist, Rev. D. McEvelly, the Birmingham Archdiocesan Archivist, Mr. Anthony Wood, Warwickshire County Archivist, Mr. N. Higson, E. Riding County Archivist and Mr. F. Mason, Chief Librarian of Wolverhampton for their assistance and co-operation.

Nov. 1968.

Abbreviations.

A.P.C. Acts of the Privy Council,

B.M. British Museum.

Brady "Annals", W. Mazière Brady, "Annals of the Catholic
Hierarchy", Rome, 1877.

Burke, "A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the
Landed Gentry and Ireland by Sir J.B. Burke,
Various Editions.

C.R.S. Catholic Record Society.

C.S.P., Dom. The Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series.

C.S.P., For. The Calendar of State Papers: Foreign Series.

C.S.P., Sp. The Calendar of State Papers; Spanish Series.

C.T.B. The Calendar of Treasury Books.

D.N.B. The Dictionary of National Biography.

Foley, Henry Foley, "Records of the English Province",
Burns & Oates, London, several volumes, 1879-1882.

Gillow, J. Gillow, "A Bibliographical Dictionary of the
English Catholics", 5 vols., Burns & Oates, London.
1885.

H.M.C. Historical Manuscripts Commission.

Kirk, John Kirk D.D., "Biographies of English Catholics in
the Eighteenth Century; Being part of his projected
continuation of Dodd's Church History," ed. John
Hungerford Pollen S.J. & Edwin Burton D.D., Burns &
Oates, London, 1909.

Leys, M.D. Leys, "Catholics in England", Longmans, London, 1961.

E. H. R. The English Historical Review.

Ec. H. R. The Economic History Review.

L. & P., For. & Dom, Letters and Papers; Foreign & Domestic.

Mimardièrè thesis, A.M. Mimardièrè, "The Warwickshire Gentry,
1660-1730", M.A. thesis, Birmingham, 1963.

Rowlands thesis, M.E. Rowlands, "Catholics in Staffordshire,
from the Revolution to the Relief Acts,
1688-1791", M.A. thesis, Birmingham, 1965.

S.H.C. Collections for a History of Staffordshire.

S.H.C. (N.S.) Vol.V Maj. Gen. the Hon. George Wrottesley,
"The Giffards from the Conquest to the
present time", S.H.C. N.S., Vol.V,
London, 1902.

Ward, "Revival", Bernard Ward, "The Dawn of the Catholic
Revival in England, 1781-1803", 2 vols.
Longmans, London, 1909.

Y.A.S. Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

A/ & C/. Birmingham Archdiocesan Record Office, St. Chads,
Ringway, Papers of James Appleton & Rev. Anthony
Clough.

B/A & D/C. Lichfield Joint Record Office, Papers relating
to the Bishopric & the Dean and Chapter of
Lichfield.

B.M. Ad. M/s. British Museum Additional Manuscripts.

Clifton Archives. Archives of the Clifton Diocese, St.

Ambrose's Leigh Woods, Clifton, Papers
of Bishops Sharrock & Walmesley.

D.D.C.C.. E. Riding Record Office, Beverley, Chichester-
Constable Papers.

D.D.E.V.. E. Riding Record Office, Beverley, Constable-
Maxwell Papers.

D 590. Staffordshire Record Office, Giffard Papers.

D 661. Staffordshire Record Office: Dyott Papers.

Q. Staffordshire Record Office, Quarter Session Records.

Richmond Diaries; Wolverhampton Reference Library, The
Diaries of Thomas Richmond.

Throckmorton Papers, Coughton Court, Alcester, Throckmorton
Papers.

Westminster. Westminster Archdiocesan Record Office.

The Squires of Chillington, 1642-1861.

Peter Giffard, 1632-1663.

Walter Giffard, 1663-1688.

John Giffard, 1688-1696.

Thomas Giffard, 1696-1718.

Peter Giffard of Blackladies, 1718-1746.

Peter Giffard, 1746-1748.

Thomas Giffard, 1748-1776.

Thomas Joseph Giffard, 1776-1823.

Thomas William Giffard, 1823-1861.

THE GIFFARDS OF CHILLINGTON (Fig 1)

Sir Thomas Giffard of Chillington, d. 1560

=

Ursula, d. of Sir Robert Throckmorton of
Coughton, Warwickshire.

John Giffard, Esq., of Chillington, d. 1612

=

Joyce, d. of Sir James Leveson of Gillingham & Trentham.

Walter Giffard, Esq., of Chillington, d. 1632

=

Philippa, d. of Henry White, Esq., of Southwamborough,
Hants.

Peter Giffard, Esq., of Chillington, d. 1663

=

Frances, d. of Walter Fowler, Esq., of St. Thomas'
Stafford.

Walter Giffard, Esq.,
of Chillington (see fig 2.)

Richard

Joseph

Mary
a nun
at Louvain

John
of Blackladies
(see fig. 3)

Charles
Colonel Giffard,

Edward

6 daughters

THE DESCENDENTS OF WALTER GIFFARD (Fig 2)

Walter Giffard, Esq., of Chillington,
d. 1688.

- 1) Anne, d. of Sir Thomas Holt of Aston, Staffs.
- 2) Anne Huggeford.

John Giffard, Esq.,
of Chillington, d. 1694.

= Frances d. of W^m Fitzherbert, Esq.,
of Swynnerton, Staffs.

Two sons

Three daughters.

Thomas Giffard, Esq., of Chillington
d. 1718. s.p. succeeded by his kinsman
Peter Giffard of Blackladies (See Fig 3)

Mary, d. of John Thimelby, Esq., of Irnham, Lincs.
The "Good Madam Giffard", d. in 1753, aged 95.

THE GIFFARDS OF BLACKLADIES (FIG. 3)

John Giffard, Esq., of Blackladies, Staffs.,
fourth son of Peter Giffard, Esq., of Chillington

= Catherine, d. of Richard Hawkins, Esq., of Nash Court,
Kent.

John Giffard, Esq., of Blackladies, d. 1702

= Catherine Taylor of Worcester

Peter Giffard, Esq., of Blackladies & Chillington d. 1718

= 1) Winefred Howard s.p. 2 sons 4 daughters

= 2) Barbara, d. of Sir Robert Throckmorton of Coughton

= 3) Helena, d. of Robert Roberts, Esq., of Plas Ucha, Flint.

Peter,
d. 1749, s.p.

Moria
= Sir Ed. Smythe
of Acton, Salop.

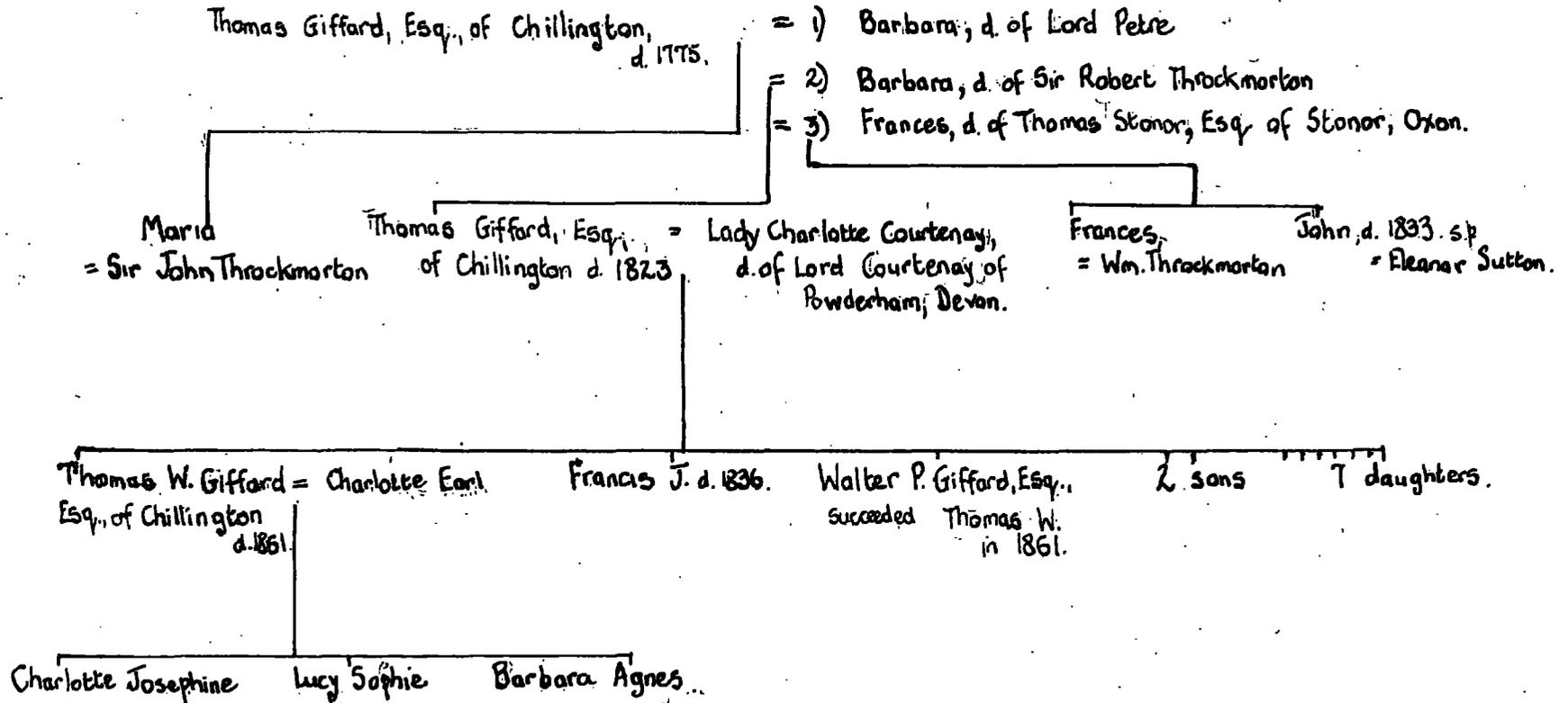
Anna Maria
= Mr. Weld of
Lulworth.

Thomas Giffard, Esq.
of Chillington, d. 1775.
(see fig. 4)

John:
= Eliz. Hyde
of Nerguis,
Flints.

Catherine,
= Francis Canning, Esq.,
of Foxcote, Warks..

THE DESCENDENTS OF THOMAS GIFFARD (FIG. A)



THE PEDIGREE OF BISHOP BONAVENTURE GIFFARD (FIG. 5)

Walter Giffard, Esq., of Chillington d. 1632. = Philippa, d. of Henry White, Esq., of Southwomborough, Hants.

Andrew Giffard
Walter's fifth son, slain in
the Civil War. = Catherine, d. of Sir Walter Levison of Wolverhampton.

Thomas Augustine, Chaplain at Chillington.

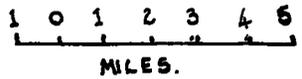
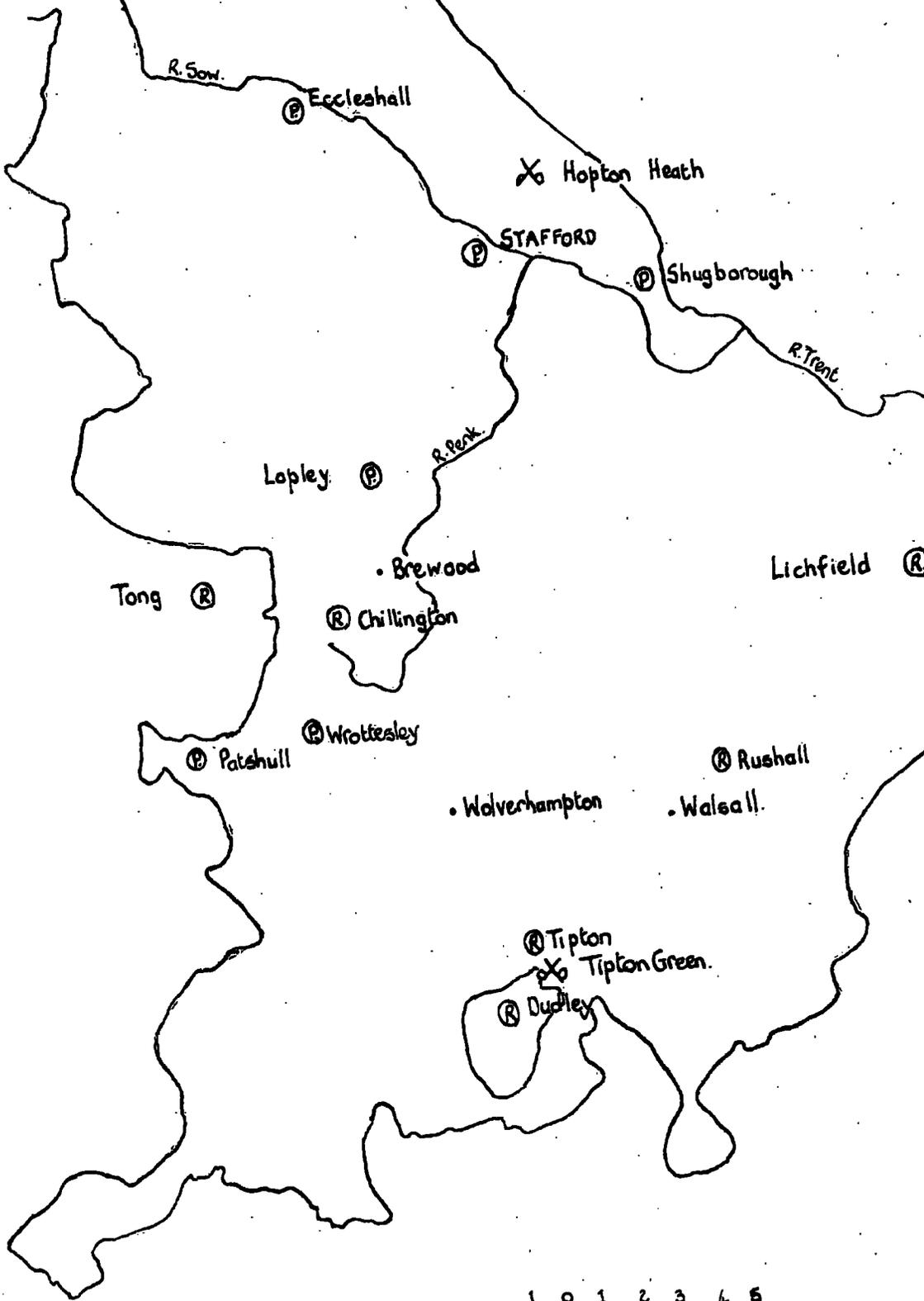
BONAVENTURE,
Bishop of Maduara,
V.A. of the Midland District,
V.A. of the London District,
d. 1734.

Andrew, priest, d. 1714.

Anne

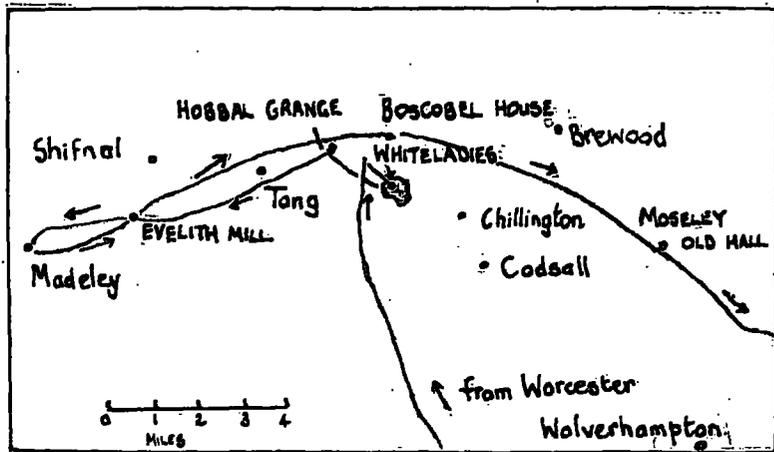
Mary

Catherine,
English Teresian
nun d. 1718.



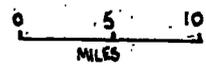
- Ⓟ Parliamentary Garrisons
- Ⓡ Royalist Garrisons.
- X Battle.

STAFFORDSHIRE 1644.
(Fig 6)

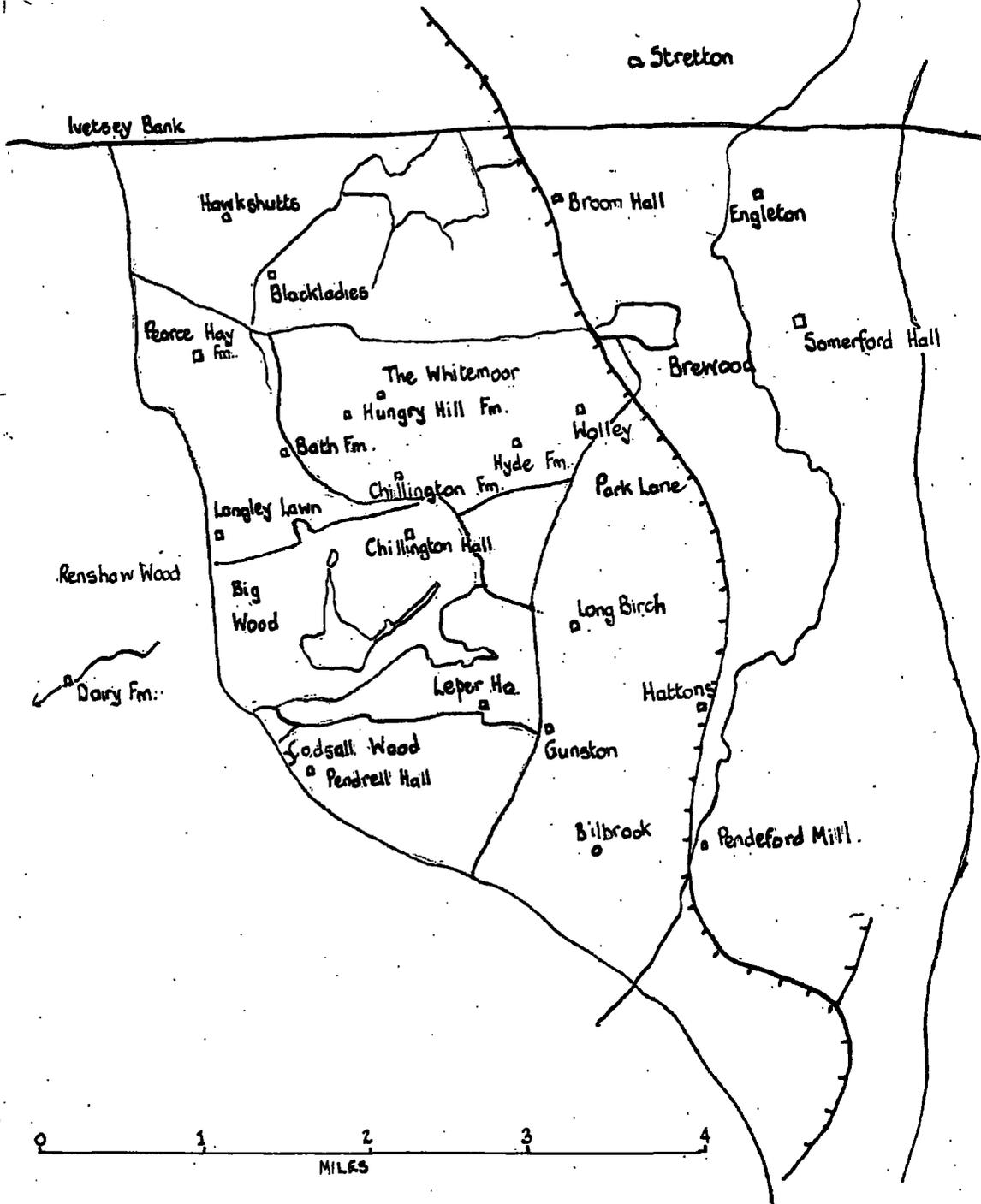


THE ESCAPE OF CHARLES II AFTER THE BATTLE OF WORCESTER.
(Fig 1.)

- Chapel in 1791
- Chapel in 1851
- ◻ Chapel existing in both 1791 & 1851

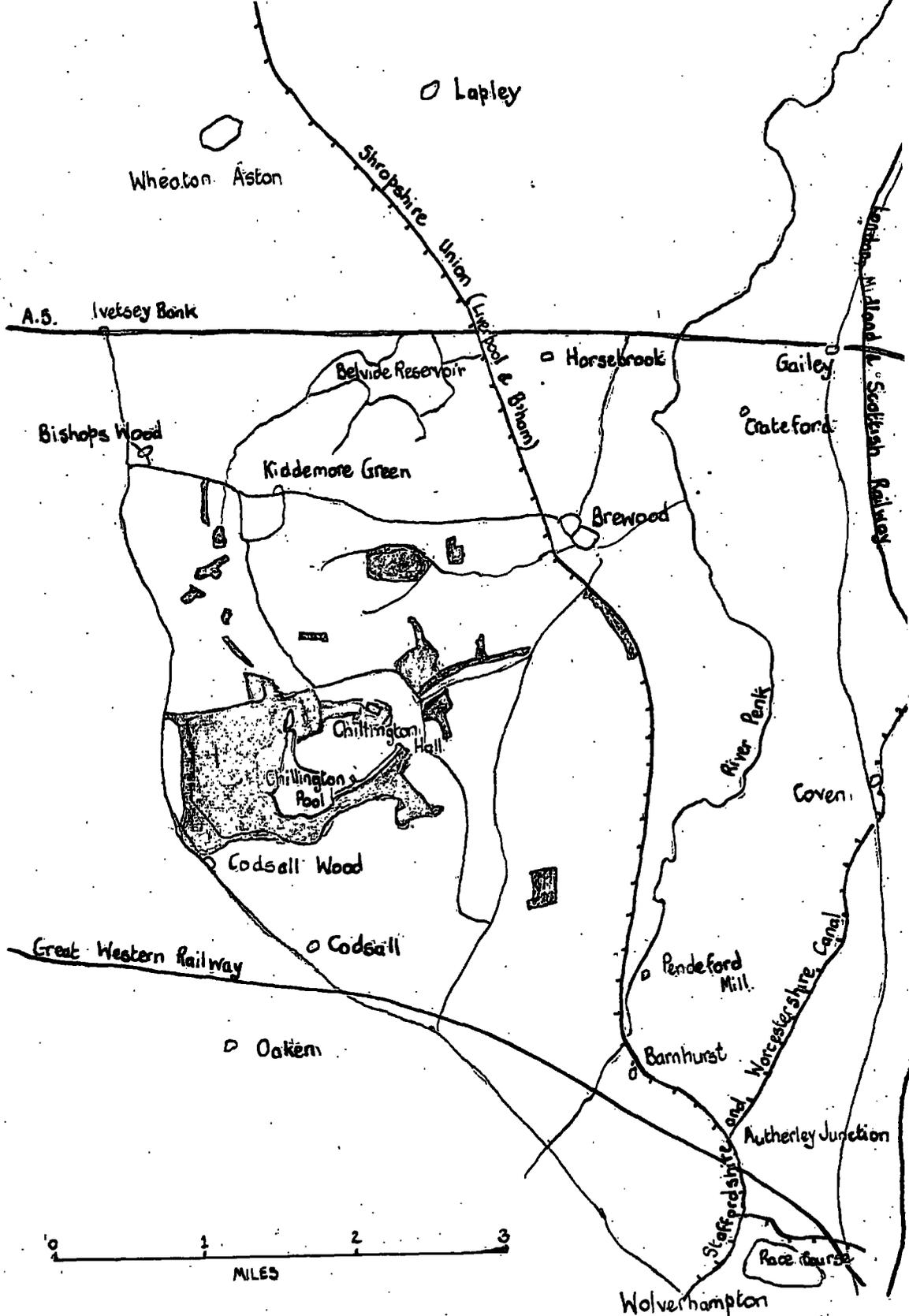


CATHOLIC CHAPELS. 1791 AND 1851.
(Fig. 8)



The main farms on the Chillington Estate c. 1830.
(Fig 9)

-  Canals
-  Roads
-  Rivers



CHILLINGTON & DISTRICT.
(Fig. 10)

-  Canals
-  Railways
-  Roads
-  Rivers/Streams
-  Woodland

CHAPTER I.

The Origins of the Giffards' recusancy.

The Giffards were one of the most ancient families in Staffordshire, and one of the wealthiest. They had held Chillington since 1178 (1), and claimed descent from the Norman Giffards of Longueville-la-Giffart, who fought with the Conqueror at Hastings (2). Sampson Erdeswicke in his "Survey of Staffordshire" states that the Peter Giffardson, who received Chillington from William Corbuco in the reign of Henry II was, "a younger son of one of the Giffard Dukes (Earls) of Buckingham" (3).

Under the early Tudors the Giffards were loyal courtiers and servants of the crown, holding office in Staffordshire as knights of the shire, sheriffs, and Justices of the Peace. Sir John Giffard was a Gentleman

-
- (1). Anthony Richard Wagner, "English Genealogy", Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1960, p. 61.
 - (2). "History", Vol. XXVII, No. 108, 1943, D.C. Douglas states in "Companions of the Conqueror", p. 130 that a "trustworthy list of those who without doubt fought besides the Conqueror at Hastings does not exist", but Walter Giffard belonged to a family which later claimed "perhaps with justice, kinship, with the ducal dynasty", *ibid.*, p. 137. See also Appendix I.
 - (3). Sampson Erdeswicke Esq., "Survey of Staffordshire", plus "Some observations upon the possessors of monastery lands in Staffordshire", by Sir Simon Diegges, MDCCXVII, p. 60.

Usher to Henry VIII and servant to Queen Catherine (1), and in receipt of a small annuity from the King (2).

His service covered a wide span of years; he was present at the Field of Cloth of Gold (3), and an official "whiffler for order keeping" at the official reception for Anne of Cleves (4). His son, Thomas, was an attendant squire at the Cleve's reception (5).

Sir John was sheriff in 1518, 1526, 1531 and 1542 (6), and Sir Thomas held the same office in 1559 (7). In 1553 Sir Thomas was returned to the Commons, as Knight of the shire for Staffordshire, and his son, John, was elected as member for Lichfield (8). Sir John was employed

(1). S.H.C. New Series, Vol.V, p.115.

(2). L. & P. For. & Dom., Henry VIII, vol.XIV Pt.II, p.308; an entry for 1540 states, "Half year's wages at Lady Day; Sir John Giffard £.5.

(3). S.H.C., N.5, vol.V, p.115.

(4). L. & P., For & Dom., Henry VIII, vol.XIV, Pt.II, p.5.

(5). Ibid., p.202.

(6). S.H.C., N.5, vol.V, p.115.

(7). J. Hicks Smith, "Brewood," A Résumé Historical & Topographical", William Parke, Wolverhampton, 1874, p.16.

(8). J. Hicks Smith, "Brewood", op. cit., p.16.

in the collection of a subsidy in 1523 (1), and in 1539 with Sir Thomas he served on the muster commission for the county (2). In the same year both Giffards served on the commission of gaol delivery at Stafford (3), and Sir John was on the commissions of oyer and terminer for Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire (4).

When Leland visited Staffordshire, he commented that, "Sir John Giffard dwelleth at Chillington, where he hath a fayre house and a parke, it is four miles from Penkridge and two miles from Wolverhampton" (5). The hall had been rebuilt by Sir John and Sir Thomas, and was thought fit enough to receive a visit from Queen Elizabeth in 1575 (6). Later it was one of the houses in the county

(1). S.H.C., N.S., vol.V, p.115; L. & P., For. & Dom.,

Henry VIII^m Vol.V. p.458; Sir John and Thomas were appointed to the office of Ranger of Cannock Forest, the grant, "in survivorship on April 30th, 1532

(2). L. & P., For. & Dom. Henry VIII, vol.XIV, Pt.I, p.289 & 290; their own assessments were both, "horse & harness for seven men".

(3). L. & P., For. & Dôm., Henry VIII, vol.I4. Pt.II, p.301.

(4). L. & P., For. & Dom., Henry VIII, vol.XIV, Pt.II, p.158.

(5). "Lelands Itinerary in England and Wales; in or about 1535-1545" edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith, vol.II, Centaur, London, 1964, p.170, see also vol.IV, p.129.

(6). S.H.C. N.S., Vol.V, p.126,

considered by Sir Francis Walsingham, as a suitable place of imprisonment for Mary Stuart (1).

To the south of Chillington lay the embryonic industrial area of the Black Country, centred on the "very good market town" of Wolverhampton (2), Wednesbury with its "sea coles" (3), and "the little market town" of Walsall with its pits of "sea coal, pits of lime and iron ore" (4). By the end of the century, according to W.H.B. Court in "The Rise of Midland Industries, 1500-1838", this area was beginning to "lose its wholly rural aspect and its inhabitants their old and well nigh exclusive loyalty to the soil" (5). This industrial zone contrasted with the rural area in the immediate vicinity

-
- (1). "Letter Book of Sir Amias Poulet", ed. John Morris, S.J., London, 1874, p. 99.
 - (2). "Leland", op. cit., Vol.V, p. 19.
 - (3). Ibid. p. 23.
 - (4). Ibid.; W.G. Hoskins, "An Elizabethan Provincial Town: Leicester", in "Studies in Social History", ed. J.H. Plumb, Longmans, London, 1953, p. 38.
 - (5). W.H.B. Court, "The Rise of Midland Industries, 1500-1838", O.U.P. London, 1955, p. 29, & p. 79.

of Chillington, but even in Mid- Staffordshire, the Pagets of Beaudesert erected furnaces and exploited their coal resources on Cannock Chase (1).

Staffordshire was little influenced by either Lollardy, or by early Protestantism, and the country remained loyal to Catholicism (2). After the settlement of 1559, the Giffards' determination to remain Catholic was most disturbing to the Anglican authorities, as the survival of Catholicism depended on the support of squires like them. They were able to offer shelter to priests, and their servants and tenants provided the

-
- (1). W.H.B. Court, op. cit., p.83-4; Lawrence Stone, "The crisis of the Aristocracy, 1548-1641", Clarendon, Oxford, 1965, p.341, 348, 350.
- (2). J.A.F. Thomsom, "The latter Lollards, 1414-1520", O.U.P., London, 1965, p.104 refers to one Malpass of Hamstall Ridware, who in 1452-3, was accused of desecrating a host in the Parish Church and Woodward of Wigginton, Tamworth, was also found guilty of holding Lollard beliefs. However Lollardy was weak in the county. K.B. McFarlane, "John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Non-Conformity", E.U.P., London, 1952, p.185 states that in 1481 a widow from Ashbourne, Derbyshire, was tried before Bishop Hales at Beaudesert for denying the Virgin Birth and the necessity for infant baptism".

bases of recusant communities (1).

Like other Tudor courtiers, the Giffards received their share of Church Property, & both Sir John and Thomas with eleven other Staffordshire gentlemen served on the Commission, to investigate and discover the whole amount of ecclesiastical property "for the purpose of levying the tenths" (2). The Giffards received the substantial properties of Whiteladies (3) and Blackladies (4).

-
- (1). In speaking of the Tudor gentry, J. Cornwall in his article "The Early Tudor Gentry", *E.C.H.R.* 2nd. Series, vol. XVII, no. 3, April 1965, p. 459 using the subsidy returns of 1524-7 and muster rolls has pointed out that in the reign of Henry VIII "most villages did not have a squire or any sort of gentlemen living in them in Rutland and Suffolk to take only two examples, this was true of four places out of five and things were much the same elsewhere"; Stone, *op.cit.*, p. 67 states that in Staffordshire in 1583 over 200 families in the county were summoned to prove their claims to gentry status and that the Heralds rejected 47 claims.
 - (2). F.A. Hibbert, "Dissolution of the Monasteries", 1910, Pitman, London, p. 54; J. Hicks Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 16.
 - (3). J. Hicks Smith, p. 16, Sir Thomas had been both bailiff of the Episcopal Manor of Brewood, and also seneschal of the Priory of St. Leonard's Whiteladies in Shropshire; this property eventually passed to his son Edward.
 - (4). Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, H. VIII, vol. XIV, Part II, p. 159 & 609, on Nov. 27, 1539 Thomas Giffard was granted for £.134 in fee the "site" circuit and precinct of the late monastery of Black Nuns of Brewood, Staffs., now dissolved, with the Church, steeple and churchyard thereof, a watermill within the same said site and certain pastures in Brewood, with an annual value of £.7.9s.1d. Hibbert, *op.cit.*, p. 92-3, Thomas also took over at Blackladies 1 quarto of wheat, 1 measure of corn 8/0, 1 oats 1/8, 1 peas 2/8, 10 loads of hay 15s.0d. and one horse 4/0. Both properties were later

In 1540 Sir John received the manor of Marston, which had formed part of the alien priory of Lopley, granted to Sheene Priory in the time of Henry IV (1), the lands of Ranton Priory in Orslow, Marston, Enson and Foregote, the manor of Onn, and lands in Pladwick and Westwood (also formerly of Sheene); plus Derbyshire properties at Edneston and Netherthroughmarston, late of Tutbury Priory, Normecote manor formerly of Hulton Priory, and also some parcels of land at Seighford and Gnosall, and the Rectory of Millwich formerly of Stone Priory (2). Sir John paid £. 959. 5s. for the manor of Onn. However

used by Recusants for religious purposes, a Catholic cemetery was sited at Whiteladies, and a chapel at Blackladies, which after 1792 served as the local church for the Giffards, their dependents and the Catholics of the surrounding countryside.

(1). S.H.C. N.S., vol. V, p. 118.

(2). L. & P., FOR. & DOM. H., vol. XV, p. 470.

"Grant in tail male of the manor of Marston, alias Marston, near Stafford, which belonged to the late Priory of Sheene, Surrey: and all tithes in the fields of Forgate, near Stafford, late in the tenures of William Jurden and Thomas Harte, parcel of the possessions of the late Priory of Ranton, Staffordshire, and crofts etc. in Orslow Staffs., late in the tenure of Margaret Jobber, parcel of the possessions of the said late Priory, and all other messuages, etc. in Marston, Enson and Forgate which belonged to the said manor, late in the tenure of the said Thomas Arthur Rent 35s. Also grant for £. 959. 5s. in fee simple of the manor of Onn, Staffs, belonging to the late priory of Sheene, late in the tenure of Jane Anne Hyll, widow, deceased and now in that of Alan Hord, and all lands etc. in Pladwick Westwood, Staffs, which belonged to Sheene, late in the tenure of John Blackemore. Also the manor of Adneston, alias Edneston, Derbyshire, parcel of the possessions of the late Priory of Tutbury,

not all the properties in the grant were kept by Giffard; three days after the award he was granted a licence to alienate some pastures at Wetton, Staffordshire, and in Derbyshire to Robert Burgogne (1), auditor of the suppressed lands in Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Salop and Herefordshire (2). On February 9th, 1541 Knighton Grange was licensed for alienation to Francis Roos and his wife (3),

Staffs, the chief messuage there and lands there to belonging late in the tenure of Will. Wetton belonging to the said Priory. All lands etc. In Netherthroughmarston, Derbyshire, belonging to the said manor of Adneston, the pastures in Wetton, Staffordshire and Derby called Ectan and Le Halesfield which were in the occupation of the late Prior of Tutbury, and moreover in tenure of one James Maperley. Also the manor of Normecote, Staffordshire (of Hulton Priory) water mill in Stone, and some lands, the grange at Knighton and pasture, Grymes Croft, Ellerton Grange, Bacheacre Grange, Stamford Grange, lands in Seighford and lands called "Chruchlands and Bronteslands" in Seighford and meadow "Convents meadow", pasture at Gnosall, possession of the late priory of Ranton and the Rectory of Millwich, late of Stone Priory.

The award was made on July 9th, 1540.

(1). L. & P., For. & Dom., vol. XV, p. 473.

(2). L. & P., For. & Dom., vol. XVI, p. 294.

(3). Ibid., p. 277.

and in June the rectory and advowson of Millwich was alienated to Sir Edward Aston, former Chief Steward of Stone Priory, which had formerly owned the rectory (1). The Giffards continued to hold the manor and park of Brewood from the Bishop of Lichfield, and now paid chief rents for Whiston and Bickford to Lord Paget, properties which had formerly been held of the Abbot of Burton (2).

Many other Staffordshire families, which were later to be staunchly recusant, also benefited from the dissolution (3); the Fleetwoods received Calwich (4); the Draycotts, lands belonging to Hulton Priory (5); Harcourts, lands belonging to Ranton (6); Lord Paget, vast properties of Burton Abbey (7); and the Fowlers, St. Thomas, Stafford, which was later to be the refuge of the Marian Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Poole (8). The behaviour of these Catholics

(1). L. & P., Dom. & For, vol. XVI, p. 464 and Hibbert, op. cit., p. 119.

(2). S.H.C. N.S., vol., V, p. 120.

(3). G.W.O. Woodward, "The Dissolution of the Monasteries", Blandford, 1966, p. 133 writes "For men of all religious sympathies such purchases were straight forward business deals and among the biggest buyers of monastic lands are to be found as frequently those who later became recusants as those who became puritans".

(4). Hibbert, op. cit., p. 38.

(5). Ibid., p. 204.

(6). Ibid., p. 141.

(7). A.L. Rowse, "England of Elizabeth", McMillan, London, 1964, p. 45.

(8). Joseph Gillow, "St. Thomas' Priory", London, Burns & Oates, p. 24.

in seizing Church Property is not surprising, for in 1546 even Stephen Gardiner told Paget that "it hath pleased the Court of Parliament to give unto the King's Majesty hands the disposition of all hospitals, chantries and other houses, whereof I am very glad" (1). However one noticeable feature of the sales of Church fixtures following the suppression was the number of representatives of future recusant families, who, whether in a spirit of piety or sentiment, bought missals and vestments (2). Mr. Whitgrave of Moseley bought a "a mass book" for a shilling at the Austin Friars sale, at Stafford, and Sir Philip Draycott several velvet copes from Burton, at which sale Mr. Wells, of Hoar Cross, also bought some albes (3).

An indication of the Giffards' religious attitude at the time of the Henrician Settlement was the marriage of Thomas Giffard to Ursula Throckmorton, daughter of Sir

-
- (1). Lacey Baldwin Smith, "Tudor Prelates and Politics", 1536-1558, Princetown, Studies in History, vol. VIII, Princetown Univ. Press, Princetown, New Jersey,, 1953, p. 175.
 - (2). Hibbert, op. cit., p. 246, Leveson of Wolverhampton thought an alabaster table at Grey Friars, Stafford, for 2/8d.
 - (3). Hibbert, op. cit., p. 249 and 265.

Robert Throckmorton of Coughton (1). Sir Robert, who died in 1519 in Italy on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, seems to have initiated, "the marked vein of Catholic piety in the house of Coughton" (2). His heir, Sir George, was imprisoned for denying ^{the royal} supremacy, and his deposition of 1537 indicates that a Catholic group led by Fisher, More and Reynolds, had approached him to enlist his support in opposing the Acts of Appeals, Annates and Supremacy in the Commons (3). He confessed that he had spoken against the Boleyn marriage to a group of gentlemen including Sir Thomas Englefield, Sir Marmaduke Constable, Sir John Giffard, and others, "who did much use the 'Queen's Head' at dinner and supper" (4). George's brother, Michael, was Secretary to the exiled Cardinal Pole, and was attainted with him in 1539 (5). Elizabeth Throckmorton was the last Abbess of Denny, and at the suppression of her convent, she retired to Coughton with two of her nuns, and kept the

(1). S.H.C. N.S. p.125.

(2). A.L. Rowse, "Raleigh and the Throckmortons", Mac Millan, London, 1962, p.2.

(3). L. & P., For. & Dom., Henry VIII, vol.XII, Pt.I, p.333.

(4). Ibid. p.332.

(5). L. & P., For. & Dom., Henry VIII, vol.XIV, Pt.I, p.401; James Kelsey McConica, "English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII & Edward VI", Clarendon, Oxford, 1965, p.150.

religious horarium there until her death (1). The Throckmortons and Giffards intermarried many times during the next two centuries, but their first alliance, and the influence of the Throckmorton, Lady Ursula Giffard on her children and grandchildren, may well have been the decisive factor in placing the Giffards in the Catholic camp (2).

Many other future recusant families had sons and daughters in the religious life in the Pre-Reformation period. In Staffordshire, Anthony Draycott, son of Sir Philip Draycott was a priest, and in Mary's reign he became Vicar General of the diocese of Lichfield (3). Clementia Tresham⁽⁴⁾ of the Northamptonshire family was a Bridgetine nun at Sion, and two of the Thimelbys of Irnham, Lincolnshire were nuns at North Ormesby (5); one of them at the Marian Restoration presented Irnham Church with a cope and

-
- (1). D. Knowles, "The Religious Orders in England", vol. III, "The Tudor Age", C.U.P., Cambridge, 1959, p. 301.
 - (2). C.R.S. Miscell., vol. 22, 1921, p. 88-89; S.H.C. N.S., vol. 1915, p. 374. Lady Ursula was still alive in 1577, along with her son, John Giffard and Joyce his wife.
 - (3). S.H.C. 1915, Landor, p. 368; also S.H.C. 1925, "Staffordshire Family Notes", Fowler Carter, p. 127.
 - (4). M.E. Finch, "Five Northamptonshire Families", Northants. Record Society, vol. XIX, 1956, Oxford, p. 68.
 - (5). Lincs Record Soc. vol. 53, 1959. G.A.J. Hodgett, "The State of the ex-Religious & Former Chantry Priests in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1547-1574", p. 38, 58, 112, 117, 130; neither of the Thimelby sisters were married in 1554.

chasuble (1). It is also significant that in Staffordshire, there are two examples of children being named after the great Catholic Reformer, Erasmus; Erasmus Wolesley, who married Cassandra Giffard (2), and Erasmus Hevingham, who through his wife succeeded to the properties of Sir James Lee, centred on Aston near Stone (3). Both the Wolesleys and the Hevinghams remained Catholic in the sixteenth century. It would appear that Staffordshire recusancy rather than being a manifestation of traditionalism and conservatism originated in a vigorous, reformed Catholicism.

Further the Catholic "rural freemasonry" (4), formed by the intermarriage of Catholics, had originated long before the persecution and the arrival of Campion and Parsons. As already mentioned, Sir Thomas Giffard had married a Throckmorton, his daughters Cassandra and Isabella,

-
- (1). Peacock, "A List of Roman Catholics in the County of York", London, 1872, John Camden Hotten, p. 13n. John Thimelby claimed the vestments back in Elizabeth's reign.
 - (2). S.H.C., Vol.V, p. 125.
 - (3). S.H.C. 1925, Fowler Carter p. 26-7: C.R.S. Miscell.III, 1906, "Holywell Registers 1698&1829" - records that in 1763 Mary Giffard was Godmother to a relative "Sobieski Parry of Twssog" - another example of a new Catholic baptismal name.
 - (4). The expression is used by Hugh Trevor Roper in Ch. XIII of his "Historical Essays", "Sir Thomas More and the English Lay Recusants", Mac Millan, 1957, p.92, "a rural freemasonry formed as society hardened into its Protestant mould."

the Staffordshire Catholics, Erasmus Wolessley and Francis Biddulph (1), and his son and heir chose for his bride Joyce Leveson, of another local recusant family. The ardent Catholic Throckmortons had in the 1530s. married into the Englefields (2), the Vaux (3), and the Giffards - all recusant families in the future. They were also connected with the Catesbys (4) and later married into the Treshams (5). It appears that the Catholic gentry drew together as soon as their Faith was threatened.

Hugh Trevor Roper in "Historical Essays" described the recusant laity, as being backward gentry in remote counties, "excluded and or excluding themselves from opportunities of enrichment" (6). Yet in the 1570s. the Giffards bought out most of the lesser freeholders within their manors (7), and Sir Thomas completed the extension of

-
- (1). S.H.C., vol. V, p. 125.
 - (2). Biographical Studies, vol. I, no. 2, 1951 T.B. Trappes-Lomax, "The Englefields and their contribution to the survival of the faith in Berkshire, Wilts., Hants., and Leicestershire", p. 141, in 1537 Sir Thomas Englefield married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Throckmorton of Coughton.
 - (3). Geoffrey Anstruther, "The Vaux", op. cit., p. 8.
 - (4). Anstruther, op. cit., p. 8, Later in 1534, John Tresham married Eleanor Catesby.
 - (5). M.E. Finch, "Five Northamptonshire Families", p. 78, from 1559 onwards Sir Robert Throckmorton supervised the affairs of the minor Thomas Tresham, who in 1566 married his daughter Meriel.
 - (6). H. Trevor Roper, "Historical Essays", MacMillan, London. 1957, p. 92.
 - (7). S.H.C. N.S. V, p. 131.

the "farye house" (1), in which John Giffard received Elizabeth in 1575 (2). Indeed, Sir John was sheriff for the county even in 1573 (3), and his exclusion from office came only after his summons before the Privy Council, for non attendance at Anglican services , shortly after the Queen's visit (4). As in other counties the explanation of Catholicism's survival is a social one, and the importance of the recusant body was that it consisted of people who mattered - peers, landed gentry, university men, priests and scholars. A.L. Rowse argued in "The England of Elizabeth: the Structure of a Society"; "the awkwardness, exasperation of the conflict, in the end its significance are due to the fact that it was a cleavage in the governing

-
- (1). "Letter Book of Sir Amias Poulet" ed. Sir John Morris S.J., London 1874, p. 99-100. Sir Amias wrote to Walsingham Oct. 3, 1585 following Darrell's inspection of Chillington "The house is well seated, and is furnished with many fair lodgings, so as this Queen (of Scots) may be very well placed, with great chamber, gallery, cabinet lodging for her gentlewomen, as likewise the governor, and her gentlemen may be lodged in convenient sort. A fair orchard and garden walled about, great store of wood lank wood not far off for charcoal; and sea coal may be had with little charge. Two or three parks at hand, good pasture adjoining to the house, besides the dove house and other like commodities". It was also well furnished, however the brew house was too small, and the stables had room only for twenty geldings.
- (2). S.H.C. N.S., V, p. 126.
- (3). Ibid., p. 127.
- (4). W.R. Trimble, "The Catholic Laity in Elizabethan England" op. cit., p. 76.

class " (1). It has been argued that the replies of the Bishops in 1564 with regards the allegiance of the magistrates indicated that over 421 of the 851 justices were Catholics (2). In Staffordshire ten of the seventeen justices were Catholics, including Giffard and other substantial gentlemen (3). Indeed in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century there was such a shortage of Protestants of suitable rank that there was no resident magistrate in Wolverhampton(4).

Staffordshire soon became a notorious centre of Catholicism, so that Bishop Aylmer of London was moved to promise his leading Puritans that he would banish them to Lancashire, Staffordshire, Shropshire; "and such other barbarous counties that they might wean out their zeal on Papists (4)". Similarly in the neighbouring county of Worcestershire, "recusancy rather than Puritanism was the

-
- (1). A.L. Rowse, "The England of Elizabeth; the Structure of a Society", McMillan, London, 1962, p. 346-7; A.G. Dickens in Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, vol. 37, 1948-51, p. 41, noted that in 1604 the Yorkshire recusant body contained a far higher proportion of gentry than would have been the case in any chance section of the population".
 - (2). Brian Magee, "The English Recusants", Burns & Oates, London 1938, p. 32-3, cites Miss Batesman's summary of the Bishop's replies as showing that 157 J.P.s were adversaries of the settlement and 264 neuter or not favourable - therefore over 421 of 851 J.P.s were Catholics.
 - (3). G. Mander & N. Tildesley, "History of Wolverhampton", Wolverhampton, 1960, p. 62.
 - (4). Cited by M. M. Knappen, "Tudor Puritanism: a chapter in the History of Idealism", Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, 1938, reprinted 1965, p. 258.

chief worry of that active bishop, Whitgift" (1). The harrying of the Catholics had begun in 1562, when three gentlemen were held in prison, and in 1565 Bishop Betham had instructed William Sale, prebend of Weeford to make a visitation and instruct the clergy to take down the altars and erect instead a simple table. They were to replace the hanging pyx with a Table of Commandments, and call upon their laity to throw away their beads, "cast away Mass Books" (2) and forbid lights at the burial of the dead (3). Also corpses were not to be set down at wayside crosses, nor were the De Profundis, nor the Pater Noster to be said for the dead (4). Despite these injunctions Catholicism survived in the county due to the protection of the gentry, who for their pains, received the distinction of being the first group of county gentlemen to be questioned by the Privy Council when the intensive drive against recusancy began in the 1570s. (5).

On the 12th August 1575, John Giffard, still a Justice of the Peace, despite the injunctions of 1564, was summoned

-
- (1). Powell Mills Dawley, "John Whitgift and the Reformation", A. & C. Black, London, 1955, p. 120.
 - (2). An interesting illustration of "literate Catholicism".
 - (3). S.H.C. 1915, p. 367.
 - (4). W.P.M. Kennedy, "Elizabethan Episcopal Administration", vol. I, Mowbray, 1924, Alcuin Club Collection, XXVI, p. XXV.
 - (5). Trimble, op. cit., p. 29.

with his brother-in-law, Wolesley, John Draycott, Francis Gatacre, Francis Pearshall, Sampson Erdeswicke and William Maxfield to appear before the Council. They admitted the charge of recusancy and upon being examined individually asserted that "they acted according to their consciences and the example of their forefathers who had so taught them" (1). Giffard and Wolesley were committed to the custody of the Bishop of Rochester (2) but as John had been visited recently by Elizabeth at Chillington he was permitted to return home to clear up his affairs at his house (3). On November 10th he conformed, but the other Staffordshire gentlemen, Fowler and Erdeswicke remained obdurate (4).

It was at this time that the general religious position was rapidly altering. The Catholic community had been served by the remnants of the Marian clergy, until the arrival of the Seminary priests in the fifteen seventies, the "young men", who were to renew the Old Faith

(1). Trimble, op. cit., p. 76.

(2). Ibid.

(3). Ibid.; Dom Aidan Hamilton in his "Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses of St. Mary's at Louvain. A Continuation, 1625-55", Sands & Co., Edinburgh, 1906, p. 71 & 74 referred to John Giffard as "that noble confessor of Christ".

(4). Trimble, op. cit., p. 77.

and ensure its survival (1). The Marian clergy who visited Staffordshire had included the former Dean of Lichfield, John Ramadge, who had been released on sureties in 1562, and the late precentor of the Cathedral, Henry Comberford, who although confined to Suffolk was permitted to visit Staffordshire twice a year, but his stays were not to exceed six weeks (2). In 1562, the diocese's former Vicar General, Dr^y Draycott, was still imprisoned, and a priest supported by Sir Thomas Fitzherbert was reported "now wandering", and "a man meet to be looked for" (3). Two years later, Bishop Betham reported that Dr. Poole, the Marian Bishop of Peterborough was at St. Thomas' with the Fowlers, "and causeth many people to think the worse of the regiment and religion than they would do, because divers lewd priests have resort thither, but what conference they have I cannot learn" (4). Such priests served to keep a lingering Catholicism alive but they were neither young nor apostolic; the Jesuit John Gerard in 1589 used, "an old priest, one of those ordained before the beginning of Elizabeth's reign"

-
- (1). Joel Hurstfield, "Elizabeth I and the Unity of England", E.U.P., London, 1960, p. 109.
 - (2). S.H.C. 1915, p. 367 & 368.
 - (3). Ibid., p. 367.
 - (4). Ibid. p. 369: J. Gillow in "St. Thomas' Priory" - p.3 mentions a Sir Robert Parton a venerable old priest in Stafford Gaol, after previously spending four years in Newgate.

"to give the last rites to a Catholic lady", as "such priests do not go about in the same peril of their lives" (1). However even in 1577 there remained in Staffordshire at least three Marian priests, as John Bradbury, the Heveningham's chaplain, and Thomas Chedelton and Dr. Barber both of Castle Church, Stafford, were included in the "Diocesan Returns for 1577" (2). But by 1577 the future of English Catholicism, for better or worse, lay with such young men as Gilbert and George Giffard, sons of John Giffard of Chillington, who were "beyond the seas" studying for the priesthood.

R. B. WERNHAM IN "Before the Armada, the Growth of English Foreign Policy, 1485-1588" (3) writes of the Catholic laity in the period 1573-1585 that all "that most of them asked was to be left to vegetate in peace, without being compelled to choose between their temporal and their spiritual allegiances". Following the excommunication of Elizabeth by Pius V in 1570, and the "answering legislation

-
- (1). Trans. P. Caraman, "The Hunted Priest; The Autobiography of John Gerard", Fontana, London, 1959, p. 40.
 - (2). G.R.S., vol. 22, 1921, "Diocesan Returns for England and Wales 1577" Contributed by Rev. Patrick Ryan S. J., p. 92; Dom. H. Birt, "Elizabethan Religious settlement", Bell, London, 1907, p. 399, included Barber under Pentkridge, Parish, near to Chillington.
 - (3). R. B. Wernham, "Before the Armada, the Growth of English Foreign Policy, 1485-1588", Cape, London 1966, p. 357-8.

of the English Parliament made even that difficult" (1). In 1575 John Giffard had conformed, but his conformity was short lived, once back at Chillington he returned to the Catholic fold, and committed his family to Catholicism and inevitably to the Papacy, and although, throughout the difficult years ahead, complicated for him by his son, Gilbert's intrigues and plots, John maintained and proclaimed his loyalty to the crown, the Giffards were now firmly recusant, and consequently excluded from office. John's recantation from apostasy may have been due to the influence of his mother, the widowed Lady Ursula, the Throckmorton, who still resided at Chillington as late as 1577 (2).

It was in 1577 that the Council had requested all bishops to supply a list of all the wealthy recusants within their dioceses and an estimate of their annual income (3). Betham of Lichfield was assisted in this task by Trentham and Bagot, who were the county's under sheriffs,

(1). R.B. Wernham, op. cit., p. 338.

(2). C.R.S. Miscell. vol. 22, 1921, Ryan, op. cit., p. 374:
For a discussion of the role of recusant women see Keith Thomas, "Women and the Civil War Sects" in "Crisis in Europe", Edited Trevor Aston, Routledge, Kegan & Paul, 1965, p. 321.

(3). S.H.C. 1915, p. 372.

and both leading Protestants (1), yet they under estimated the income of many recusants, including that of Giffard, and the bishop consequently had to raise their figures (2). Bishop Betham's returns have been described by Dom Henry Birt in "The Elizabethan Settlement" as the fullest of all the dioceses (3). In these returns Lady Ursula's income was valued by "the gentlemen" in land at £.20, and that of John and his wife at £.40 (4). But the bishop added, "I think by the porte and countenance, he keepeth, that he is worthe in lands and goods by the year" one thousand (d) marks (5). Over one hundred Staffordshire recusants were listed by the bishop (6). An entry on the Staffordshire returns noting that "my Lord Paget thought never to come to Church nor any of his servants" (7), signified the constant worry to the authorities of the non conformity of the leading

-
- (1). Dom Henry Birt, "Elizabethan Settlement", op. cit., p. 399.
 - (2). C.R.S. vol.22, 1921, op.cit., p.89 for example Richard Fitzherbert's income had been estimated at £.4.11s.8d., this was raised to £.100.
 - (3). Op. Cit., p. 389.
 - (4). C.R.S. vol.22,, 1921, op. cit., p. 88.
 - (5). Ibid., p. 88-9.
 - (6). Ibid., This figure included wives and servants.
 - (7). Ibid. p. 88; S.H.C. 1915, p. 375.

aristocrats and gentry in the county. In August 1580 Lord Paget was summoned to the Council (1), and another note sent to the Dean of Windsor informed him that, "the Lord Paget being fallen away in Religion and by his evil example many of her Majesty's subjects in the country where he remained, who heretofore have been conformable to her proceedings are also perverted to Poperie" (2).

In the same year John Giffard, because of his open defiance of the Anglican authorities, was summoned to appear before the Bishop of London (3). He was imprisoned in the Gatehouse at Westminster and the Marshalsea, from which he was released and placed under house arrest, because of "sundry diseases" (4). In May 1581 John was released on sureties of one thousand pounds from imprisonment in his own house at St. Ellins within London, "entering into bondes to yield himself prisoner again into the said place under the charge of the Knight Marshall, upon the last day of Easter Term next ensueing, unless their

-
- (1). A.P.C. vol.XII, AD 1580-1581, John Roche Dósent C.B., London, 1896, p. 134.
 - (2). Ibid., p. 156-7.
 - (3). C.R.S. 1905, vol. Miscell. II, "Official lists of Prisoners for Religion from 1562-1580", ed. J.H. Pollen, p. 60.
 - (4). A.P.C. Vol.XII, 1580-1581, p. 264.

Lordships shall in the mean season otherwise take order with him" (1). Despite this relaxation of confinement because of illness, the Council had in 1580 preferred to stay a civil suit at Staffordshire Assizes involving him, as his absence might prejudice his case, rather than release him to return to his own county (2). However he was permitted in July 1581 to take the waters at Newham (3) Regis, because his health "was greatly impaired by his imprisonment", and was also allowed to spend eight days (3) at Marston, on his Staffordshire estate to attend to his business provided that he presented himself at the Council by November 1st., All Saints' Day (4). On this appearance he was again released because of his poor health, but this time for twenty-five days, and dutifully on 14th December, he once again presented himself before the Privy Council (5).

John Giffard's confinement in London kept him away from Staffordshire, where in 1581 a Grand Jury had failed to indict some well known recusants, in spite of the bishop's certificate (6). Despite some headway made by Protestantism in the 1580s. (7) the

(1). A.P.C. vol.XIII, AD 1581-1582, London 1896,p.7 & p.42. Also Trimble, op.cit., p.104.

(2). Trimble, op.cit.,p.104. A.EC., vol.XIII, p.357.

(3). A.P.C. Vol.XIII,p.110-111 & p.129. The order was made on 28th June at Greenwich, and John was released on July 11th. (4). A.P.C.vol.XIII, p.268.

(5). Ibid. p.288. (6). Trimble, op.cit., p.115.

(7). Trimble, op. cit., p.131.

county remained stubbornly Catholic. Although it is not easy to estimate numbers of recusants and Catholics (1), of the 1839 convicted recusants in 1582, seventy-two came from Staffordshire, which made it the sixth largest recusant county group (2). In 1586 Mendoza thought that, "the gentry and common people are strongly Catholic in Staffordshire" (3), and Paulet, custodian of Mary Queen of Scots, was disturbed by the "backwardness" of the county (4).

Several of John's sons had escaped to the continent, and their letters home were intercepted by the Government's agents (5). In 1580 a letter from one of the exiles, possibly Gilbert, complained to his father of "hard usage in forbidding his brother Edward to speak to him and turning them out into the world in a state of poverty" (6). George thanked his brother Giles, then a student in the New Inn, for his letter, which "brings him, as it were home

-
- (1). Hugh Aveling O.S.B., "Statistics of Catholicism in the North Riding in Penal Times" nd. reprinted from the *Ampleforth Journal*, p. 7.
 - (2). Trimble, op. cit., p.187.
 - (3). C.S.P. Sp.Vol.III, ed. Martin A.S. Hume, p. 896,p.604; Magee, "The English Recusants", Burns & Oats, 1938, p.28.
 - (4). Letter Books of Amias Paulet, op. cit., p. 103.
 - (5). Cal. of S.Papers Dom.1547-1580, edited Robert Lemmon, London, 1856, p.682 on Oct.24, 1580, William Middlemore, of the Warwickshire family, and Wm. Hydesley held at Dover were described as "bearers of letters from many young Papists abroad to their friends in England", they also had in their possession crucifixes, books & a holy picture of Mary Magdalen.

to behold the state of his father's house" (1). A few weeks later he begged his father for more money, as plague had forced him to leave Paris for Mountpasson in Lorraine, and his tutor, Mr. Bayley, had had to lend him forty crowns (2). Of all the Giffard sons, Gilbert, despite his truculence, seemed destined for a distinguished career in the Church. On June 11th, 1580, Ralph Sherwin, the future martyr wrote to Mr. Bickley, "I pray commend me to William (3) and Gilbert Giffard, whom God increase in virtue and learning to the great commodity of our country, which hath great need of such wits well trained up in Catholic schools" (4). Even Robert Parsons, the Jesuit and a bitter opponent of Gilbert was able to describe him as, "so worshipful of friends and of so commendable other parts both of wit and learning" (5).

./..(6). Cal. of S. Papers Dom., op. cit., p. 669, dated August 5, 1580, Paris.

(1). Ibid., p. 677, Sept. 21, 1580, Paris.

(2). Ibid., p. 677, Sept. 22, 1580, Paris.

(3). William and Gilbert Giffard were distant cousins through their Throckmorton connections, and in this period they were closely associated, Father Parsons wrote of them "going to Reims, where they formed a faction" C.R.S. Mis. IV 1907, "Father Parson's Memoirs, concluded" ed. J.H. Pollen, p. 69. see Appendix II.

(4). Dom Bede Camm, "Lives of the English Martyrs, declared blessed by Pope Leo XIII, 1886-1896", vol. II, "Martyrs under Elizabeth", Burns & Oates, 1905, p. 372.

(5). C.R.S. Vol. II, Misc. II, 1906, "Memoirs of Fr. Parsons" edited J.H. Pollen, p. 204.

Gilbert had distinguished himself soon after his arrival at the English College Rome. On October 13th., 1579, during a visit of Dr. William Allen, the leading figure among the Catholic exiles, and before other distinguished prelates and nobles, he defended a number of printed theses embracing the whole of philosophy (1). This was the first time that a thesis had been defended in public by a student of the English College, and a brilliant academic future, seemed to lie ahead for the young scholar (2). Yet in 1580 he was expelled, for challenging a fellow student to a duel, and the Protector of the College, Cardinal Sega, wrote in his report of 1596 that "he had been encouraged by certain externs in Rome with whom he was on a familiar footing" and afterwards he became less cautious (3). Fr. Pollen in "Mary, Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot", states that Gilbert was given an allowance for eighteen months in order to continue his studies outside the college, which had suffered disturbances because

(1). Foley, vol. VI, p. 68: A. Gasquet, "A History of the English College Rome", Longmans, London, 1920, p. 83.

(2). Gasquet, op. cit., p. 83.

(3). Foley, vol. VI, p. 135; C. R. S. 37, 1940, "Liber Venerabilis Collegii Anglorum de Urbe, A. D. 1579-1630", edited Wilfred Kelly, p. 10. "Gilbertus Giffordius Annorum 19, Laicus metaphysic, studens iuravit ut supra. Dismissus fuit. Multas postea proditioes contra causam Catholicam, anno 1588 apparuit hunc Gilbertum fecisse".

of the inefficiency of its first Rector, the Welshman, Maurice Clenog (1). In 1582 he went to Reims to lecture in logic and William lectured in theology. Gilbert was made deacon in 1585 at Reims by the Cardinal de Guise (2), and he was ordained in 1587 (3). However his career was blighted by his involvement in politics and intrigue, and in particular by the role he played in the Babington Plot.

Gilbert had been sent to England in 1585 to open a line of communication between the Queen of Scots imprisoned in Staffordshire, and her secretary in exile, Thomas Morgan (4), but he was stopped at Rye and arrested (5). He was taken to London, where he met Walsingham and it was probably at that meeting that Gilbert agreed to ~~serve~~ serve Walsingham, and that plans were laid to open a secret channel of correspondence between the Queen and her friends in such wise that all the letters they sent, and she received would pass through Walsingham's office (6). Gilbert was

-
- (1). J.H. Pollen, "Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot", Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1922, p. XIII & XIII, I,
 - (2). D.N.B., Vol. X, p. 302.
 - (3). Foley, vol. VI, p. 16n.
 - (4). L. Hicks S.J., "An Elizabethan Problem; some aspects of the careers of two exile adventurers", Burns & Oates, London, 1964, p. 112-3.
 - (5). Conyers Read, "Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth", Cape, London, 1960, p. 342.
 - (6). Ibid., p. 342-3.

considered to be an ideal agent by both sides. Not only was he a gifted linguist, but he also seems to have had a deceptively innocent and youthful appearance; moreover, he had many friends and relatives living close to Chartley Castle (1). His family connections with the Midland recusant gentry, provided a good cover for an agent of Walsingham, while most Catholics thought they could rely on the son of John Giffard of Chillington, who was still imprisoned in London for his Faith. At one stage Secretary Walsingham even considered transferring Mary Stuart to Chillington to facilitate Gilbert's task (2).

Once in Staffordshire, with the assistance of a Burton brewer, "the goodman", he opened up a "secret" line of communication with Mary. The imprisoned Queen was impressed by Gilbert, and wrote of him to her agents in France, " I thank you hartily for this bringer whom I perceive ever willing to acquit himself honestly of this promise made to you" (3). Indeed, at first it was the Queen's Puritan keeper, Sir Amias Paulet, who mistrusted Gilbert. He wrote to Walsingham early in 1586

-
- (1). Christopher Devlin S.J., in "Hamlet's Divinity and other Essays", Rupert Hart Davies, London. 1963, p.132 refers to him as the "baby faced devil".
 - (2). "Letter Book of Sir Amias Paulet", edited Fr. John Morris, S.J., London, 1874, p.103.
 - (3). Ibid. p.151.

that "I will hope the best of your friend but I may not hide from you that he doubled in his speech with me once or twice and it (cannot) be denied but that he received these or other packets sooner than he confessed" (1). However, Paulet was soon ~~convinced~~ by Gilbert, as was the Spanish Ambassador in Paris, Mendoza, who met ~~Ghim~~ in August 1586. He wrote to Philip II of Gilbert, "as a gentleman of good family called Master Giffard with proper credentials" (2). Mendoza wrote of the strength of Catholicism in "the country where the Queen of Scotland is confined", and mentioned Lord (sic) Giffard, "a person of advanced age", - the father of the gentleman they have sent me" (3); "other Catholics listed in the report included Sir Walter Aston, Wolesley, Beedle, Ashley, Fowler, Draycott, Carswick (sic), and Maxfield in Staffordshire; Babington, Longford, Shirley and Fitzherbert in Derbyshire; the Throckmortons, Middlemores and Abingtons from Worcestershire (sic) and the Talbots, Corbets and Brooke in Shropshire (4).

(1). Ibid, p. 153.

(2). C.S. P. S.P. 1580-86, Vol. III, ed. Martin A.S. Hume, 1896, p. 604.

(3). Ibid.

(4). Ibid.

A formidable paper army of gentry; but at least Paulet was suspicious of the Staffordshire gentlemen, and Chillington in particular "seemeth to be barren of good neighbours" (1).

John Giffard throughout the period of the Plot remained in London, and he certainly played no part in his son's machinations, although his presence in London, and absence from Chillington was used by Gilbert to give credibility to his travels. In February 1586 Paulet asked Walsingham if John might be advised by Mr. Phelippes to call Gilbert to London, "as soon as were possible to the end he might deliver these letters to the French Ambassador in convenient time for the better conservation of his credit that way" (2). However as already noted Paulet realised the inflexibility of John Giffard and his tenants, and did not advise that Gilbert's family home should be used to set up the trap for Mary Stuart: the risks outweighed the convenience. John Giffard's own loyalty to Elizabeth cannot be doubted, for in 1587 John wrote to Phelippes, "I would to God he (Gilbert) had never been born. I may well say Happy is the

(1). Paulet, op. cit., p. 103.

(2). Ibid., p. 153.

barren who has no child" (1). Nevertheless it is surprising and perhaps more than a coincidence, that John Giffard was released from confinement shortly after Gilbert's flight to France, following the "discovery of the plot". Licences were granted for him to take the waters at Newman Regis or Bath, and also to return to Chillington for one month at a time only, "so long as the Queen of Scots is or doth remain in any part of the shire"(2).

John Giffard proved a useful excuse for Gilbert in explaining his relationship with Walsingham to the Catholic authorities in Paris. In 1588, he told them his dealing with the Secretary had been because his father, remaining in England was endangered, therefore, "it was to save his father that he had to go on corresponding with his persecutors" (3). Similarly, he tried to justify himself to his cousin, Thomas Throckmorton. He wrote that he had never disclosed anything to Walsingham's agent that, "I was not certain had come to their ears before" (4). He added that he had told the

-
- (1). Ibid. p. 390. John Giffard to Philippes, 14 Sept., 1587.
(2). A.P.C. N.S. Vol. XIV, AD. 1586-87, London, 1897, p. 19.
(3). J.H. Pollen, "Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot", op. cit., p. 128.
(4). C.S.P. For. Series, Vol. XXI, Part I, June 1586-1588, ed. Sophie Crawford Lomas, London, 1927, p. 671, Jan. 22, 1587-8.

Secretary that he had fled in 1586 because his father "was much grieved by my return to England, and fearing lest I should not leave to return to France if I asked it, I ventured to go without warning" (1). Gilbert wrote to Stafford, also in January 1588, as if on good terms with his father; he hoped for thirty sous to purchase his liberty but as he was penniless he asked Stafford for the money, sending a note to be forwarded to John Giffard in London, "who will repay it (the debt) presently were it £.300" (2).

In the summer of 1586 the Secretary's work bore fruit, when the Queen of Scots wrote her fateful letters to Babington (3). Gilbert seems not only to have acted as an intermediary but also as an agent provocateur, or possibly even as a double agent, but Savage, one of the conspirators confessed that "at the solicitation of Gilbert Giffard and others he had been persuaded that to kill the Queen's Majesty was a thing of great merit....as Gilbert Giffard affirmed" (4). Gilbert was perhaps wise to flee the

(1). Ibid., p. 670.

(2). Ibid., p. 668 Giffard to Stafford, 7 Jan., 1587-8.

(3). Full story of the plot see A.G. Smith, "Babington Plot", MacMillan, London, 1936; J.H. Pollen, "Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot", op. cit., & Conyers Read, "Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the policy of Queen Elizabeth", 3 vols., Clarendon, Oxford Press, 1925.

(4). *ECRISA*, Vol. 21, 1919, p. 1977. CXIV.

country, as he was indicted, although his name was later withdrawn (1), and his cousin George Giffard, William's brother, was held in the Tower for two years (2). In the wake of Gilbert's flight came news that the Queen's officers were in search of him (3). The Catholic cause was discredited and the Queen of Scots eventual execution inevitable.

In the Armada year, despite William Allen's "Admonition to the Nobility and People of England concerning the present wars" most Catholics remained loyal but imprisoned, like John Giffard, who on November 28th, 1588 acknowledged Elizabeth to be his only lawful Queen (4). Meanwhile Gilbert was held in a Parisian Prison, having been taken with a "quean" in a brothel. Despite great negotiations Gilbert remained in prison, where he died

(1). Pollen, op. cit., p. CXII - CXIV.

(2). C.R.S. Vol. 2, 1906, p. 257, 263: Even Conyers Read in "Mr. Secretary Walsingham", vol, II, Clarendon, Oxford, 1925 p. 23, refers to this George as a brother of Gilbert the Spy.

(3). C.S.P. Sp. Vol. III, p. 619.

(4). Garret Mattingley, "The Defeat of the Spanish Armada", Cape, London, 1959, p. 292-3; Trimble, op. cit., p. 129: S.H.C. N.S. Vol. V, p. 139.

in 1591 (1). While Gilbert appears to have acted as a double agent, his brothers divided into English patriots or Catholic partisans. Edward was killed while attempting to seize a boat to take to Dunkirk to join the Spanish forces preparing for the invasion of England (2). Walter was an attendant of the Earl of Leicester in the Netherlands (3); Gerard, for a time, seems to have been an intermediary between Phelippes and Gilbert (4), and George, a student at the English College Rome, received minor orders (5).

John Giffard suffered the full fiscal penalties for his persistent recusancy; moreover, he claimed constantly that his estate was over assessed and his wealth exaggerated (6). In 1580 he was charged "three lances" on Bishop Bethams 1577 assessment, and seven years later he paid £50 on an assessed income of £.133.6s.8d.

-
- (1). C. S. P. For. Series, Vol. XXI, Pt. I, p. 353. Paris, Jan. 8th, 1588, Stafford to Burghley. Pollen, op. cit., p. 130, Gilbert died in Nov. 1591 and the future martyr Henry Walpole wrote, "Gilbert Giffard is dead in prison in Paris"
 - (2). S. H. C. N. S. Vol. V, p. 160-161.
 - (3). Trimble, op. cit., p. 191.
 - (4). Pollen, op. cit., p. 130.
 - (5). Foley, "Records", vol. VI, p. 166. He was admitted at the age of 23 in 1585, but after his ordination by Dr. Goldwell, the last surviving Marian bishop, he left the College for France, because of ill health.
 - (6). Trimble, op. cit., p. 191.

from lands. However he maintained that he received £.180 gross and only £.100 net, from which he had to set the charges of six children and also pay £.40 in recusancy fines (1), he therefore offered £.30. Trimble states that this was very likely a fair offer (2). In the year of the Armada, 1588 (3), Ralph Husband had been granted two thirds of the manor of Chillington, "Ac omnium terrarum ten'et heredit' in' Chillington pred' et in Bromhall et Hutton in comitatu pred' in separati tenura sive passione Johannis Gifford de Chillington", at a rent to the crown of £.44.5s.4d. (4). Husband still held the lease in 1594 and on 28th October, on the payment of his second instalment, £.22.12.7½ was declared quit (5). Both John and Joyce Giffard owed £.80 a piece in recusancy fines (6), and with

Leicester in the Low Countries.

(1). Trimble, op.cit., p. 210.

(2). Ibid.

(3). John E. Paul in "Hampshire Recusants in the time of Elizabeth I with special reference to Winchester"¹ Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Chap., vol. XXI, Part II 1959, p.77 stated that regards Hampshire "The defeat of the Spanish Armada did not seem to have radically altered the recusancy situation in the county.

(4). C.R.S. Vol.18, 1916, Recusant Roll 1592-3 Contributed by M.M.C. Calthrop.

(5). C.R.S. Vol.57,1965, Recusant Roll No.2 1593-94 by Dom. Hugh Bowler O.S.B., p. 144.

(6). Ibid., p.150, the entry stated "But he ought not to be summoned for this debt.

their names on the roll were over sixty other Staffordshire Catholics, including Wolesleys, Maxfields, Draycotts and Fitzherberts, who together with John Giffard had provided the backbone to the county's recusant body.

The impact of penal legislation was to cause defections and produce waverers among the recusants but the Giffards were to remain staunch Catholics throughout penal times. All recusants were subject to a twenty pound per month fine for non attendance at Anglican services from 1581 (1). A further act was passed in 1585 against "Jesuits, seminary priests and such other like disobedient persons"(2), and this legislation was completed by a further Act in 1593 compelling Catholics to remain within five miles of their home and to register themselves there (3). A certificate was presented at the Staffordshire Quarter Sessions by the Vicar and the Constable of Brewood on June 12th, 1593 attesting that John Giffard, "has given notice of his repair to his mansion house" (4). Mrs. Bowen in "The Lion and the Throne", has written that "The English Catholic already in

-
- (1). G.R. Elton, "The Tudor Constitution, Documents and Commentary", C.U.P., Cambridge, 1960, p. 412 and 423.
 - (2). Ibid., p.412 and 427, "An Act against Popish Recusants".
 - (3). Ibid., p. 412 and 427, "An Act against Popish Recusants".
 - (4). S.H.C., 1930, Quarter Session Rolls, p. 336.

hopeless case was thrown by the Act of 1593 into near despair" (1), but what mattered to English Catholics was not the severity of these statutes, but how effectively penal legislation was enforced locally. Staffordshire Catholics were already aware of real dangers. Father Robert Sutton of Burton (2) had been seized and executed in 1587 at Stafford, where Cassandra Giffard and her husband Erasmus Wolesley were imprisoned at the same time (3). On December 10th, 1591 Edmund Gennings, another convert priest, also died on the scaffold (4). In 1618, Thomas Maxfield, a priest and son of one of the earliest recusant families in the county, "a noble house and ancient race of Staffordshire" was martyred in London (5). The

-
- (1). Catherine Drinker Bowen, "The Lion and the Throne," the life and times of Sir Edward Coke, 1552-1634, Hutchinson, London, 1957, p. 34.
 - (2). D. M. Rogers, "Venerable Robert Sutton of Stafford, a note on his family and early life", Biographical Studies, 1534-1829", Arundel, 1953, vol. 2, No. 2, p. 161. Robert Sutton was born on Sept. 11, 1544, the eldest son of James Sutton a Burton carpenter; a brief life of Sutton is printed in the "Menology of St. Edmunds College, Old Hall", Introduction, Mgr. Ward, London, C.T.S., 1909.
 - (3). J. Gillow, "St. Thomas' Priory", Burns & Oates, London, p. 9-13
 - (4). "Life and death of Blessed Edmund Gennings by his brother John Gennings", C.T.S. nd. p. 14.
 - (5). C.R.S. Vol. III, 1906, "The life and Martyrdom of Mr. Maxfield priest" edited by J.H. Pollen, pp. 29 & 33; Another martyr supposedly taken at Baswick and executed at Newcastle under Lyme was Father Southerne; J. Gillow, op. cit., p. 15 and Menology of St. Edmund's, op. cit., p. 171; however A.M.C. Foster in "Ven. William Southerne, another Tyneside martyr", Recusant History, vol. 4, no. 5, 1958,

Giffards constructed priests' hiding holes at White-ladies (1) and probably at Chillington (2) to meet the danger of surprise raids on mass centres. These deaths of three Staffordshire priests were warnings enough of ever present dangers in a persistent recusancy.

Yet the position of Catholics in the early seventeenth century was subject to constant fluctuation. For instance the officer responsible for the collection of recusancy fines, in the reign of James I, Sir Henry Spiller was

p.199-217, argues that this priest worked in the North East and died at Newcastle-on-Tyne.

- (1). "Memorials of Old Staffordshire", edited W. Beresford, George Allen, 1909, Rev. Wrottesley on p.198 writing on Boscobel and Whiteladies, stated that many holes there were designed by Nicholas Owen. Defoe in his "Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain", Introduction by G.D.H. Cole, & D.C. Browning, vol.II, Everyman edition, 1928, revised 1962, wrote of Whiteladies following a visit "but it being a house always inhabited by Roman Catholics, it had and perhaps has still some rooms so private in it, that in those times could not have been discovered without pulling down whole buildings."
- (2). Granville Squires, "Secret Hiding Places", Stanley Paul, London, 1934, p.46 wrote that "Staffordshire, though a most recusant county does not appear to have many hiding places left" and on p.52, argues that a great number must have been destroyed in the county without trace, e.g. during the destruction of Tixall and the Tudor Mansion at Chillington.

criticized in Parliament in the sessions of 1614 and 1621 for his leniency towards recusants, and in 1627 the Commons ordered that Spiller should be presented as a Recusant (1). David Mathew in "The Jacobean Age" wrote that "on the whole, the impression made by seventeenth century English Catholicism suggests a remarkable firmness and consistency" (2), but if at times James I and Charles I, whose Queens were both Catholics (3), did display a degree of sympathy for their Catholic subjects, the general temper was increasingly hostile to "Papistry". Coke, the Attorney General, embodied this spirit at the trial of the Earl of Somerset and his wife in 1615 when he denounced a Mrs. Turner; "Thou hast the seven deadly sins, for thou art a whore, a bawd, a sorcerer, a witch, a papist, a felon and a murderer" (4). Similarly broadsheets published anti-Catholic verses, such as that of Martin

-
- (1). B. Magee, "The English Recusants", op. cit., p. 70-72.
 - (2). D. Mathew, "The Jacobean Age", Longmans, London, 1938, p. 231.
 - (3). E. I. Watkin, "Roman Catholicism in England From the Reformation to 1950", Oxford, p. 62-3 states Anne of Denmark appears to have drifted from the Church; Magee, "The English Recusants", op. cit., p. 37, "however Anne had refused Protestant Communion at the Coronation service of her husband".
 - (4). Catherine Drinker Bowen, "The Lion and the Throne", op. cit., p. 316.

Parker, "Farewell, masse monger, with all your juggling tricks. Your puppet playes will not here be allowed" (1).

At the accession of James I the new king renewed (2) promises of toleration, and many imprisoned priests were released, but within a year he issued a royal proclamation ordering all, "Romanist priests to make their way cross in hand, to the nearest port of embarkation and abjure the realm" (3). Not all Catholics had supported the claims of Mary Stuart's son. Robert Parsons and the Spanish Party worked in the interest of the Infanta (4), but Dr. William Giffard, Gilbert's old friend and ally, Charles Paget and William Tresham worked in Flanders against Spain (5). In 1606 Giffard was banned from his deanery of Lille, and the English Ambassador Edmond wrote that the Spanish authorities "out of the respect for

(1): D. Mathew, "The Jacobean Age", op. cit., p. 233.

(2). Magee, op. cit., p. 37-8, "For a few brief months, the Catholics enjoyed a freedom and security that they had not known throughout the reign of Elizabeth"; Watkin, op. cit., p. 62.

(3). Bowen, op. cit., p. 205.

(4). J. Hurstfield, "The Succession struggle in Late Elizabethan England", in "Elizabethan Government and Society", London, Athlone Press, p. 385-6; L. Hicks, "Father Robert Parsons and the Book of Succession", "Recusant History", Vol. 4, No. 3, Oct. 1957, Arundel, p. 10f.; A. H. Dodd, "Hugh Owen, a Welsh Conspirator, 1538-1618", "History Today", vol. XII, No. 5, May 1962, p. 332

(5). C. S. P. Dom. 1558-1601, - 210; Foley, "Records", vol. VI, p. 740; C. S. P. (Sp.), Vol. IV, p. 628 and 681.

the King's Majesty" would not declare the cause of William's exile. Salisbury did promise to relieve Giffard's financial distress and money was sent him by Charles Paget (1). Despite such acknowledgments by the authorities of Catholic loyalty, the Watson, Clarke and Gunpowder plots, caused a sharp reaction against Catholics, resulting in a sharp rise in the Exchequer receipts from Recusancy fines (2). "Although many of the Midland gentry were implicated in the Gunpowder Conspiracy, and their last stand took place on the Staffordshire, Worcestershire border (3), the Giffards were not involved, but like all the recusants, they suffered the consequences of the rebellion. The statutes of 1606 imposed a new oath of allegiance on recusants, restrictions were placed on the Catholic wives of Protestants or "Church Papist" husbands, and in 1610 permission was granted to tender the new oath to anyone over eighteen years (4).

In 1604 another return was made of Papists, and it was reported that at Brewood there were "very many" Papists,

-
- (1). L. Hicks, "The exile of Dr. William Giffard from Lille in 1606", "Recusant History", Vol.7, No.5, April 1964, p.214; Foley, Records, Vol.1, p. 63.
 - (2). Magee, op.cit., p. 73.
 - (3). Magee, op.cit., p. 40 states that in June 1605 there had been a "Catholic rising" in Herefordshire.
 - (4). J.P. Kenyon, "The Stuart Constitution", C.U.P., Cambridge, 1966, p. 448.

and both John and Joyce Giffard were listed (1). It was also reported that there were many recusants nearby at Bushbury and Wolverhampton (2), Sir John was included in a list of prominent recusants presented by Sir Julius Caesar to King James I in 1612 (3). He died in the following year, and was succeeded by his son Walter (4), who was "not so constant", as his father, but he was later reconciled to Catholicism (5). Despite this wavering, Walter kept a priest at Chillington, and protected his Catholic neighbours, by permitting them to drive their animals into his grounds, where they would be kept safely, until "the officer who had come to seize them, for their conscience had departed"(6). Several of his daughters entered religious houses on the continent (7), and his son George, boarded at St. Monica's

(1). S. H. C. 1915, p. 387.

(2). Ibid,

(3). Dom. Adam Hamilton, "Chronicle of the English Canonesses at Louvain, 1625-1644", Sands, Edinburgh, 1906, p. 97.

(4). B. Magee, "English Recusants", op. cit., p. 158, & "Musgrave's Obituary, G to K", completed by Sir Wm. Musgrave, edited by Sir George Armytage, Harleian Society, 1900, p. X; both refer to Walter as a knight.

(5). Dom. Adam Hamilton, "Chronicle of the English Augustine Canonesses of St. Monica's at Louvain, 1548-1625", Sands, Edinburgh, 1904, p. 201.

(6). Ibid.

(7). Ibid. p. 200-201.

Louvain (1). The deep piety of the family is reflected in the fact that fifteen members of the Chillington and Blackladies branch of the family professed as priests and religious in the seventeenth century (2).

At this time several junior branches of the family were establishing themselves in Wolverhampton. A Richard Giffard was buried there in 1606, and his daughter Mary married Francis Pursell, another recusant, in 1611 (3). The children of a Thomas Giffard, Edward and John were baptized there in 1615 and 1620 respectively (4). Andrew, Walter's fifth son, the father of Bishop Bonaventure Giffard, moved to Wolverhampton, where he married the recusant Catherine Leveson (5). The town was an important centre of Catholicism and in 1624, Richard Lee, the Puritan prebend of Willenhall, wrote that, "I never knew any part of this Kingdom where Rome's

-
- (1). "The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers, related by themselves", ed. J. Morris S.J., First Series, Burns & Oates, London, 1872, p. 288-9.
 - (2). M. Rowlands, "Staffs. Parish Registers Society", Vol. 1958-9, p. 6.
 - (3). "Staffordshire Parish Registers Society", Wolverhampton, Parish Registers, Pt. I, 1932, p. iii.
 - (4). Ibid., p. ix.
 - (5). Ibid., p. viii-ix.

snake brood roosted and rested themselves more warmer and safer and with greater countenance" (1).

That same year, one John Brent described as "of Chillington" was prosecuted by the mayor of Evesham and taken to Oxford, where he was charged with making speeches against Queen Elizabeth and the Church of England (1). He had been a Catholic of forty years standing and had been carrying letters between recusant gentry. His main objection to the Anglican church was that its ministers were "Parliamentary ministers not called of God" (2). Such provocation deserved Prebend Lee's outburst. Yet in 1624 the negotiations regarding the marriage between Charles and Henrietta Maria were supposed to lead to an easing of persecution (3), but in Staffordshire, Berkshire and Leicestershire Catholics were still paying heavy fines (4). In 1625 Charles hoped to placate the Commons and so secure supply by repressive measures against recusants, such as empowering deputy

(1). Mander and Tildesley, op. cit., p. 61.

(2). Op. cit., p. 65, the authors mention that he had been taken at the time of the Gunpowder plot, Presumably Brent was a servant of the Giffards.

(3). M. J. Havran, "The Catholics in Caroline England", Oxford, London, 1962, p. 27.

(4). Ibid., p. 29.

lieutenants to disarm Papists (1). Dr. T.G. Barnes in, "Somerset, 1625-1640, a County's Government during the Personal Rule" writes of the county that in 1625 the disarming of Catholics produced, "obsolescent coats of mail", a carbine, a pocket pistol, a bastard musket, and "other odds and ends" (2). He comments that such finds; and, "the four aged Roman Catholic Spinsters of Whitestaunton were hardly a threat to the safety of the realm" (3). Yet many Englishmen were alarmed at the growth of Catholicism especially at court during the reign of Charles.

The Irish Capuchin, Nugent, residing in Paris hoped that the presence of his order in a house adjoining Somerset House would with the assistance of Henrietta Maria provide "a spear head of an energetic advance to win England to Catholicism"(4). Soon conversions were made at court, as Catholicism became fashionable, and the converts included the Staffordshire landowner, Sir Edward Aston of Tixall (5). Some senior administrators, like Sherburne

-
- (1). T.G. Barnes, "Somerset, 1625-1640, a county's Government during the Personal Rule", Oxford U.P., London, 1961, p.106.
 - (2). Ibid. p.114.
 - (3). Ibid. p.15.
 - (4). F.X. Martin, "Friar Nugent", Methuen, London, 1962, p.264.
 - (5). Arthur Clifford, "History of Tixall", Paris, 1817, p. 258. Sir Walter was converted whilst ambassador in Spain, David Mathew, "The Social Structure in Caroline England", Oxford, 1948, p.125-131 discusses "Court Catholicism".

held office despite their known Catholicism, while Charles' government contained such well known Catholics as the Earl of Portland, the Lord Treasurer, and Catholic sympathizers, such as Secretary Windebanke; and a Papal representative had attended court (1).

In 1631 it was claimed by Panzani, the Papal agent, that there were 150,000 Catholics in England (2), and in the same year there were at least thirteen secular priests serving in Staffordshire (3). At this time, a Privy Council memorandum to the commissioners for compounding in the North drew attention to the sharp decrease in recusant revenue from Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, Nottingham, Derby, Stafford and Chester (4). In 1634 Walter Giffard's heir, Peter, compounded for his failure to attend his Parish church for the annual sum of £.180 (5), but four years later he had to petition the King to be relieved of recusancy penalties over his annual

-
- (1). G.E. Aylmer, "The King's Servants", Routledge, Kegan & Paul, London, 1961, p.p.79 & 357. Magee, op.cit., p.57.
 - (2). M. Brady, "Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy", Rome, 1877, p. 83.
 - (3). M. Hamran, "Catholics in Caroline England", Oxford, London, 1962, p. 81.
 - (4). Ibid. p. 94-5; Laud amongst others thought that the assessors had been too lenient.
 - (5). S.H.C. N.S., Vol.V, p. 174.

composition (1). His petition was countered by one from Sir Thomas Glenham and Sir John Poulett stating that "Peter Giffard had for many years past aided and received into his house Roman papistical priests, when living one hundred and twenty miles from town, he had been a partaker of masses" (2). Secretary Vane in 1640 was sent a copy of Peter's composition, and an Exchequer officer, Layburn, noted that their office was surprised that Mr. Giffard was troubled "for transgressing penal statutes made against recusants seeing that he pays to the King the greatest rents of any recusant saving two or three" (3). Even so on the 14th April he again petitioned the King, who had constantly supported him, that still six years after his composition with Stafford (4), he was being persecuted by Walters, "one of base life". (5)

Despite these petty persecutions and fluctuations in toleration, the plight of Catholics had eased during Charles' reign. Staffordshire Catholics still visited the ancient shrine of St. Winifride at Holywell, where in 1623,

(1). Ibid. p. 175.

(2). Ibid.

(3). Ibid.

(4). G.E. Aylmer, op.cit., p.116, in 1637, Strafford reckoned that as Receiver of the Northern Recusant revenues he ought, if all was managed properly to have the constant rise of £.4,000 to £.5,000 in hand, this he told one of his agents was the truth the chief benefit of the place.

(5). S.H.C. N.S. Vol. V, p. 175.

according to John Gee, the Catholics had "intruded themselves divers times into the church or public chapel at Holywell, and there said Mass without contradiction" (1). A school had been established in Staffordshire at Ashmores, Wolverhampton, but it was broken up in 1635, when its pupils had included John Stanford of Perry Hall, William Andrew of Denton, Northamptonshire and one Anthony Atwood of Acton, Worcestershire (2). In 1641 the Brewood recusants numbered seventy-one (3), but in a few months' civil war was to bring them fresh difficulties.

Even before the war commenced, the Court Catholics led by the Queen and the new Papal Agent, Con, had committed the Catholics' publicly to the support of the King's policies as during the Scottish campaign they urged the English Catholics to give financial support to the King (4). To this end a committee was set up, composing, Kenelm Digby, Basil Brooke, John Winter (5), and Walter

(1). Cited by P. Caraman in "The Years of Siege", Longmans, London, 1966, p. 30.

(2). D. Mathew, op. cit., p. 54n., Mander & Tildesley, op. cit., p. 62-3.

(3). M. Rowlands, introduction to "Staffordshire Parish Register Society", 1959, p. 6.

(4). Martin J. Havran, op. cit., p. 153.

(5). "History", Vol. XLV, No. 154, June 1960; George Hammersley, "Revival of the Forest Laws under Charles I", p. 94f.

Montagu, which issued a letter on April 17th, 1639 imploring their co-religionists to donate "some considerable sum of money freely and cheerfully" to prove their gratitude to the King, "who had so often interested himself in the solicitation of their benefits" (1). To add an incentive the Queen promised "every benefit and protection against the penal laws to those who would work for the success of the subscription" (2); in the end the appeal raised £.14,000 (3).

When the fighting began it was to prove difficult for recusants to remain neutral, although Dr. Everitt states that in Kent, "in general the recusants of the county kept their heads low, and endeavoured to remain neutral" (4); in Staffordshire the Catholics largely turned out to fight for the King (5). Indeed early in 1642 according to the testimony of James Tomkinson at the Quarter Sessions, one Walter Hill, having met some troopers at

(1). Havran, op. cit., p. 153.

(2). Ibid.

(3). Ibid. p. 155.

(4). A.M. Everitt, "The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60", Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1966, p. 118.

(5). "The Committee at Stafford", ed. D.H. Pennington & I.A. Roots, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1957, p. XVII, however the editors included the Lanes of Bentley as an old Catholic family for which there is no evidence.

Stafford, said to them, "God speed you, you are going to fight our enemies the Papists", and that "there were many Papists about us that had a good store of landes and moneys, and that Lady Stafford was an alone woman, and that Mr. Giffard of Chillington had great store of money and spoke of other great Papists" (1). William Webb's testimony added that Hill had stated "Mr. Giffard of Chillington was a ranck Papist and had waine loades of money" (2).

As "rank Papists", the Giffards, the Fowlers, and Lady Stafford were marked down by their enemies, and were in no position to remain neutral in the ensuing war. A Century after the reception for Anne of Cleves, the great grandson of Squire Thomas was called upon to serve his King, albeit in different circumstances. In those hundred years the Giffards had been fined and imprisoned, several had professed, or been ordained, and one had reached academic eminence and political notoriety. While in the future some members of the family were to die on the battlefield for

-
- (1). "Staffordshire and the Great Rebellion", edited D.A. Johnson and D.G. Vaisey, Staffordshire County Council, County Records Committee, 1964, p. 21.
(2). Ibid., p. 22.

their King, and a relation on the scaffold for their faith, and another was to distinguish himself as Vicar Apostolic of the Midland and London Districts. Up to 1642 the Giffards do not seem to have suffered great economic hardship because of their religious beliefs, leastwise popular opinion thought that "Mr. Giffard..... had waine loads of money".

CHAPTER II.

"The Giffards and the Civil War; The Preservation
of the King".

At the outbreak of war some royalists, like Peter Giffard, fortified their homes, and some parliamentarians, like Sir Edward Leigh of Rushall did likewise (1). Most Catholics supported the King, but of the Protestant gentry, M.W. Greenslade & D.H. Stuart in "A History of Staffordshire" estimate that "little more than a dozen became active royalists, compared with the forty who were opposed to the King" (2). There were clear signs that the majority of the county gentry, "the political nation" (3), preferred neutrality, and on Nov. 15th 1642 the Sheriff, the Justices and the Grand Jury issued a declaration decrying "the manie outrages, riots and unlawful assemblies that have been made and committed in divers parts of this county by certain persons in arrays and warlike manner to the great fear of all the inhabitants in general" (4).

-
- (1). M.W. Greenslade & D.H. Stuart, "A history of Staffordshire Darwen & Finlayson, Beaconsfield, 1965, p.35; F.W. Willmore, "Records of Rushall with a transcript of the old Parish Register and extracts of the Churchwardens' account", London, 1892, p.43-45; Christopher Hill, "Puritanism and Revolution", Secker & Warburg, London, 1958, p.246 n. C.V. Wedgwood in "The Kings War 1641-1647", Collins, London, 1958, third impression 1964, p.204 wrote that, "the Midlands were infested with such strong points!"
- {2}: Greenslade & Stuart, *op. cit.*, p.34.
- {3}: A.M. Everitt, "The County Committee of Kent in the Civil War", Leicester University, 1957, p.7. Peter Laslett, "The World we have lost", Methuen, London, 1965, p.164-69.
- (4). D.H. Pennington & I.A. Roots, "The Committee at Stafford, 1643-1645", Manchester Univ. Press, Manchester, 1957, p. XX.

D.H. Pennington & I.A. Roots in, "The Committee at Stafford, 1643-1645" state that it is impossible to draw any clear line of social status, economic interest, or family connection separating Royalist from Parliamentarian (1). However, Parliament received the support of the Moorlanders, from the Leek district, who led by the "Grand Juryman" attacked Stafford in 1643 with "birding guns,... clubs....and pièces of scythes" (2). The Parliamentary army had leaders like Colonel "Tinker" Fox who is described by Christopher Hill in "The Century of Revolution" as "the Low-born Tinker Fox of Walsall, who raised a troop among the workers and craftsmen of the Birmingham district, and rose by efficiency to the rank of Colonel" (3). Similarly, as the war progressed, the older gentry either retired from the scene or were removed from power by the lesser gentlemen, and the "win the war" party (4). To this end Henry Stone, the

-
- (1). Pennington & Roots, op.cit., p.XVII.
 - (2). Ibid., p. LXII; Greenslade & Stuart, op.cit., p. 35.
 - (3). Christopher Hill, "A Century of Revolution", Nelson, London, 1961, p.127. J. Willis Bund in "The Civil War in Worcestershire", London, 1905, p.30 describes Fox as "a typical specimen of the fighting Puritan".
 - (4). Hill, op. cit., p.127; Everatt, op.cit., p.52 & Appendix one.

Walsall merchant, was appointed Governor of Stafford in 1644 (1). He and other burgesses and merchants, such as Foxall of Stafford (2), William Jolley, the Leek grocer (3), Simcox, the ironmonger (4), and Backhouse, an ironmonger and mill master (5) served on the County Committee.

The Parliamentarians in Staffordshire seem to have won the support of the mercers, the humble Moorlanders and the industrial towns, like Walsall (6). In the neighbouring counties of Shropshire and Worcestershire in 1645 there were signs of really popular risings, such as took place in Hereford by the "Clubmen" (7). Significantly there was no equivalent to "Tinker" Fox in the Royalist armies. However, the one major factor in determining political allegiance was religion, and most Catholics were

-
- (1). Pennington & Roots, op. cit. p. LXXX; Hill, "Puritanism and Revolution", op. cit., p. 22.
 - (2). Pennington & Roots, op. cit., p. 352.
 - (3). Ibid.
 - (4). Ibid., p. 354.
 - (5). Ibid., p. 349.
 - (6). E. J. Homeshaw, "The Corporation of the Borough and Foreign of Walsall", Walsall, 1960, p. 68 states Walsall remained Radical enough to have its Charter removed in 1682.
 - (7). J. Willis Bund, op. cit., p. 149. The Hereford Clubmen had for their plea "oppression", & "neutrality (was) their cry".

active Royalists, both the rich gentlemen like Peter Giffard, and his humble tenants, who helped Charles II in his escape after the flight from Worcester (1).

Staffordshire is geographically and strategically one of the key Midland counties, but despite its central and crucial position, and its divided allegiance, it was not the scene of any of the major battles of the Civil War (2). Except for the fights at Hopton Heath, and Tipton Green, the war was a succession of skirmishes, raids and sieges (3). In this struggle the Giffard family played a conspicuous role on the Royalist side.

-
- (1). Greenslade & Stuart, op. cit., p. 36. Austin Woolrych in "Battles of the English Civil War", Batsford, London, 1961, p. 39 writes, "Many of those on the King's side were Roman Catholics, and to employ them too conspicuously was to play into the hands of the enemy propaganda".
- (2). Pennington & Roots, op. cit., p. xi & xii.
- (3). Ibid., p. LXI.

* * *

During the autumn of 1642 royalist garrisons were established at Stafford, Dudley, Lichfield and several country houses like Chillington (1). The first action in the county occurred early in 1645, when separate attempts were made by Sir William Brereton, and the "Moorlanders" to take the county town (2). In March Lord Brooke was shot by "Dumb Dyott" during a Parliamentary attack on Lichfield Cathedral Close (3), but the garrison

-
- (1). Pennington & Roots, op.cit., p. IXI; Woolrych, op. cit., p. 43-4, Newcastle held Newark, and Ashby de la Zouche was also held by the Royalists, so Parliament's life-line between north and south looked like being strangled.
- (2). Ibid., p. IXii.
- (3). S.R. Gardiner, "History of the Great Civil War", vol. I, Longmans & Green, London, 1893, p. 98 wrote that many people had been thinking of Brooke as a successor to Essex as commander in chief; Miss Wedgwood, op.cit., p. 180 described his death as a serious loss to Parliament "for the energy and influence of Brooke was paramount in the Midlands".

was forced to surrender within a few weeks, and the troops were allowed to join their fellow royalists at Stafford. A relieving force from Banbury, led by the Earl of Northampton, arrived too late to save Lichfield (1), but he made a rendezvous with Colonel Hastings near Stafford. On March 19th at Hopton Heath, three miles east of Stafford, Parliamentary troops led by Gell and Brereton gave battle to Northampton, who was killed in the course of the fighting (2). Although the battle proved an indecisive engagement, the Royalists were left in control of the battlefield, despite the loss of their commander, and a Parliamentary attempt at capturing Stafford by "a quick coup de main" had ended in disaster" (3). The Royalist author of "Mercurius Belgicus" claimed the battle as a great victory, "wherein Gell and Brereton (two cowardly Rebels) were routed by His Majesties forces under the command of the Right Honourable Spencer then Earl of

(1). Pennington & Roots, op.cit., p. IXii.

(2). A. H. Burne & Peter Young, "The Great Civil War", Eyre & Spottiswode, London, 1959, p. 67-70 give a full description of the battle of Hopton Heath; see also S. R. Gardiner, op. cit., p. 106-107.

(3). Burne & Young, op.cit., p. 70.

Northampton" (1). Yet in May Stafford was eventually taken by Parliament, and Wolverhampton similarly fell within a few weeks (2).

During the summer the Parliamentarians had a further success, when Eccleshall Castle was captured; a prize which contained forty barrels of beer, a trunk of plate and the corpse of the late bishop. (3) But the royalists made substantial gains in the county. Prince Rupert, burned the "seditious town" of Birmingham (4), which had provided the Earl of Essex's army with 15,000 sword blades (5). Charles wrote a restraining letter to his nephew from Oxford, as he considered that the burning of Birmingham had given fresh material to Parliament's pamphleteers. Rupert was urged to seek to reclaim rather

-
- (1). "Mercurius Belgicus" or a Chronologie of the Batails, Sieges, Conflicts, and other most remarkable passages from the beginning of the Rebellion to 25 March 1646: 1646, n. page.
 - (2). Pennington and Roots, op.cit., p. Ixiii.
 - (3). Ibid. p. Ixiv.
 - (4). "Mercurius Belgicus", op.cit.; Pennington & Roots, op.cit., p. Ixiv.
 - (5). S.R. Gardiner, op.cit., p. 107; C.V. Wedgwood, "The King's War, 1641-1647", Collins, London, 1958, Third Impression, 1964, p. 188.

than punish his misled subjects to "take their affections rather than their towns" (1). Rupert followed this success by seizing Rushall and recapturing Lichfield, where he first "introduced mining into siege tactics during the war" (2), while on the Derbyshire border, Uttoxeter and Burton were also taken by the Royalists (3). Their attempt to control North Staffordshire, thereby dividing Parliamentarian Lancashire from the south, was frustrated by the decisive victory of Fairfax at Nantwich on January 25th, 1644 (4). There followed a mopping up campaign against lesser garrisons; Tong, commanded by the recusant Colonel Carlos of Brewood, had been captured the previous December (5), and Biddulph fell shortly after the battle in Cheshire. The royalists garrisoned at Chillington celebrated a victory over the Parliamentary garrison of Lapley, but the Hall was taken early in 1644 (6).

(1). C.V. Wedgwood, *op.cit.*, p. 189.

(2). Burne & Young, *op.cit.*, p. 18; Miss Wedgwood, *op.cit.*, p. 188 explained that Rupert began to drain the muddy stretch of water below the Cathedral hill on the Southern side, and set up his batteries to dislodge them.

(3). Pennington & Roots, *op.cit.*, p. Ixiv.

(4). *Ibid.*, p. Ixv.

(5). *Ibid.*

(6). *Ibid.*

Forces under the command of the Earl of Denbigh, bombarded Rushall Church and recaptured the Castle, and then joined forces with Tinker Fox to attack the much stronger fortress of Dudley (1). Denbigh's troops met with Wilmot's relieving column at Tipton Green. After another indecisive encounter both sides withdrew, and the siege of Dudley was lifted in a few days (2). In February 1645 Stone captured Patshull, South West of Chillington, and Fox raided Dudley again (3). During the summer of 1645 the south of the county was overrun by the Royalists. Charles himself stayed in Bushbury at the home of the recusant Grosvenors, and Rupert billeted in the Catholic centre of Wolverhampton. This new threat to the Committee at Stafford ceased with the King's withdrawal to Leicester and his defeat at Naseby (4). It was not until May 1646 that Dudley and Lichfield surrendered, and the war in Staffordshire brought to

-
- (1). Ibid. p. Ixvii, Denbigh had replaced Lord Brooke as Parliamentary Commander in the Midlands.
 - (2). J. Willis Bund, "The Civil War in Worcestershire", op. cit., p. 130-2.
 - (3). Pennington & Roots, op. cit., p. Ixxi.
 - (4). Ibid., p. Ixxi and I xxii.

an end (1).

Many of the Giffard family served the King. In 1648 the Compounding Papers referred to Peter Giffard of Chillington and "Papist in Arms", and "George, Thomas, John, Edward and Walter Giffard" as all "Papists in arms" (2). Andrew Giffard of Wolverhampton, Peter's brother had been killed in a skirmish outside the town (3), and Francis Giffard of Water Eaton was killed at Dudley (4). Major John Giffard with Major Christopher Henningham treated, on behalf of their commander, Colonel Leveson, the terms of the surrender of Dudley in 1646, and with Leveson signed the "articles of surrender on the 10th May" (5).

Following the capture of Chillington, Peter Giffard was taken prisoner and held at Stafford. In March 1644 he

-
- (1). Ibid., p. Ixxiii - Ixxiv.
 - (2). S.H.C. N.S. Vol.V, p.177.
 - (3). R. Challenor, "Memoirs of Missionary Priests", Part II, Fullaton, London, 1878, p.318 cited Lord Castlemaine's lists of Gentleman Volunteers killed, Andrew Giffard, at Hampton".
 - (4). Pennington & Roots, op.cit., p.149n.
 - (5). J. Willis Bund, op.cit., p. 180-181; D. Johnson & Vaisey, op. cit., p. 68.

was removed to Eccleshall, with some royalists captured at the taking of Biddulph (1). Chillington was for a time garrisoned by Parliament, but in May 1645 the royalist Symonds wrote in his diary that "Mr. Giffard's house at Chillington, which had been a rebel garrison, is now deserted by themselves" (2). The treatment of prisoners varied, for although the Committee permitted "Edward Brimleye servant to Mr. Giffard be sent to wait upon his master at Eccleshall castle unless Captain Stone can give reason against it" (3), the same Committee, a few weeks later in 1644, it ordered that Edward Giffard of Water Eaton should not be released, until Edward Walter, held by the Royalists at Dudley, was freed. Ominously the Committee added that, "in the meane time the said Mr. Giffard to be used in the like manner as Walter is used there" (4). Similarly the Parliamentarians refused to allow the wives of prisoners to visit their husbands,

-
- (1). Pennington & Roots, p. 68; *ibid.* p.10-11, at least one Parliamentarian was wounded at Chillington in Dec.1643. The County Committee ordered "Whereas Rich Blest a souldier under Capt. Wagstaffe was wounded at Chillington. It is desired that Captain Stone do give him something as what he in his discretion shall thinke fitt".
- (2). S.H.C N.S., Vol.V, p. 177.
- (3). Pennington & Roots, *op. cit.*, p. 79 and 89.
- (4). *Ibid.* p. 149.

"untill such time as the like liberty be allowed to our comandars and soldiers wifes now prisoners with the enemy and in particular to the Lady Sarah Houghton" (1).

Nevertheless the Parliamentarians did unbend in early 1645 , as they allowed Walter Giffard's wife to take her children and two maids, and join her mother-in-law at Chillington. Instructions were sent to the Parliamentary troops not to "molest her person" nor "to take away her goods", but her stay at Chillington was conditional on "not giving intelligence against Parliament's forces" (2).

In March 1645 Peter Giffard was offered his liberty for £.100, and given permission to live at Chillington, if he compounded for his estate and gave security that he would not "act anything against the Parliament". This order was signed by both Sir Edward Leigh and Captain Stone (3). On April 14th Peter was to be freed on the immediate payment of £.165, plus £. 65 on the feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist, and similar sums at Michaelmas

(1). Ibid. p. 87.

(2). Ibid. p. 249, Feb. 1645; Ibid. p. 265 in March, Mrs. Giffard, Walter's wife was given "license to keepe two coves at Chillington and a protection for the safe keeping of them".

(3). Ibid. p. 282 March 25, 1644/5.

and Christmas. The Committee also stated that if it was felt necessary to arrest Peter Giffard again, and if he could prove that he had not acted against Parliament, he would have "one hundred pounds abated him out of the money he is to pay them or if he hath payed it, then to have so much repayed back to him again" (1).

The general sequestration ordinance was issued in March 1643 whereby the estates of the "causers and instruments of....these miserable distractions.....should be converted and applied to the supportation of the great charge of the Commonwealth" (2). Catholics were specially singled out for severe treatment, as County Committees were empowered to seize all personal property, lands and revenues of delinquents and two thirds of those of all Catholics, whether or not they were "Papists in arms". Staffordshire

(1). Ibid. p. 297, April 14, 1645.

(2). Pennington & Roots, op. cit., p. xxv; J. P. Kenyon, "The Stuart Constitution", C. U. P., Cambridge, 1966, p. 460-1 cites the Ordinance, which declared the term Papist included every person "which at any time heretofore have been convicted of Popish recusancy, and so continue or that have been at Mass at any time within one whole year before March 26, 1643". An oath was included in the Ordinance denouncing Papal supremacy, transubstantiation, Purgatory, the uses of crucifixes, salvation by works etc.

(3). Pennington & Roots, op. cit., p. XXXV-VI.

Catholics soon felt the repercussions of this ordinance, and the imprisoned Giffards were quickly deprived of their properties. Chillington, as already mentioned, was garrisoned by the Parliamentarians (1), and their Marston estates were sequestered by January 1644, when warrants were issued by the County Committee to distrain the tenants of John and Peter Giffard, "for non payment of rent" (2). Another of Peter's properties, "Heyme's Farm", Chebsey, was let by the Committee to "several tenants" (3).

In March 1645 the Committee agreed that "Mr. Giffard shall enjoy the benefit of hisestate for this year following paying £.260 quarterly, and the weekly pay, and other duties, otherwise Mrs. Giffard is to depart from Chillington House within fourteen days and not to live

(1). Ibid, p.128-129, Chillington ceased to be a garrison on June 17th, 1644.

(2). Ibid., p.37 and 38.

(3). Ibid, p.267; the tenants objected to their rent of £.33.6s.8d. p.a., and exemption from "the weekly pay". The Committee relet it at £.25.os.0d. p.a. to a Mr. Humfrey Lewis.

among her tenants, and they will allow her one fifth part of what they receive, provided she give them "four parts of what she shall receive" (1). Peter, as referred to above, was released in April (2).

His affairs were complicated by the ravages of war; the leases of Brewood Manor and Park were "lost or embezzled" at the taking of Chillington, and their counterparts were destroyed, when the palace of the bishop of Lichfield at Eccleshall was captured (3). However, the sequestrators and a survey jury agreed in March 1647 that Peter held the Manor of Brewood for his life, and the lives of John Giffard, "eldest son to

(1). Ibid. p.282.

(2). Ibid. p.296 & 297; At this time the Committee was also concerned with the affairs of Peter Giffard and Mr. Foley, the Brewood ironmaster, see *ibid.* p.233 & 297.

(3). B/A/213783; Survey of Brewood Manor, March, 1647.

Richard Giffard, deceased, and of Walter Giffard, son and heir of the said Peter and for the life and lives of the longest liver of them" (1). The Park had been leased for £.8 and a brace of bucks and does, and the (2) manor and appurtenances for the sum of £. 58. 3s. 0d(2). In 1651 the Park was leased to Sir Robert King (3).

When the Second Civil War had broken out in 1648, Peter and Walter once more joined the forces of the King, and in July 1648 two hundred royalists, drilling in Boscobel woods, were surprised by the Parliamentarians (4). Peter Giffard's persistent Royalism led to the inclusion of his name in the "Act of State for the several lands and estates forfeited to the Commonwealth for Treason", in one

(1). B/A/21/123783.

(2). Ibid.

(3). Cal. of Proceeding of the Committee of Compoundings, 1643-1660, Part IV, p. 2711. See also Appendix VII.

(4). J. Willis Bund, "the Civil War in Worcestershire", op. cit., p. 202-3, the prisoners included the metalurgist, "Dud" Dudley; Cal. of Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, 1643-1660, Part I, p. 49.

preliminary draft (1), and in 1652 his estate along with those of Fowler of St. Thomas, Brooke of Madeley and Biddulph of Biddulph were sold by a "Rump Act made on August 4th, 1652" (2).

One difficulty facing the Sequestrators was concealments of properties, for example in January 1650 several officers petitioned "the House" for their arrears against Peter Giffard, "a Papist in arms", because they claimed Sir Charles Wolessley owed him £.2,500, "not yet sequestered" (3). Another problem of the Sequestrators was the determination of title; in 1653 for instance, a Colborne Brinley of Wolverhampton petitioned that his estate at Great Saredon, had been sequestered wrongly "for recusancy of Richard Giffard, who has no estate

-
- (1). C.J. 14 March 1648-9 cited by Rosamund Meredith in "A Derbyshire Family in the 17th century - "The Eyres of Hassop and their forfeited estates, Recusant History", Vol. 8, No. 1, Jan. 1965, n. 4, p. 67; Peter Giffard was one recusant specified at that date, not included in the Act".
 - (2). R. Challenor, "Memoirs of Missionary Priests", Part II, London 1877, p. 318; *ibid*, p. 214 the Army's Proposals of August 1647 asked for the sale of prominent recusants estates, such as "Henry Bedingfield, Mr. Bodenham, Mr. Giffard, etc."
 - (3). Cal. of the Proceedings of the Committee for Advance of Money", Part II, p. 1183.

therein" (1). Regarding the estates of Peter Giffard, the Committee for Compounding in May 1651 had allowed a petition of the Earl of Stamford for the payment of the arrears of the £.1,500 a year, "formerly ordered him out of the estates of Sir Charles Smith, Peter Giffard, and Rowland Eyre, and incurred at Lady Day 1651, and that he be paid no longer after that date" (2). In the previous February, Peter had pleaded that no one should compound for Fletcher's farm, Cannock without "his being heard". He explained that his father had surrendered it in 1641 to John Cassy in trust for himself and his youngest sister, but that "Cassy wished to compound for it on the sister's behalf alone" (3). Again Sir Robert King, the purchaser of Brewood manor, complained that he was deprived of part of his rent, "namely a brace of bucks and a brace of does", by "those tenants to whom the state rents it, (Peter) Giffard of Chillington, the immediate tenant of the Bishop of Coventry, is a Papist in arms". King complained that the

-
- (1). Cal. of the Committee for Compounding, Part IV, p. 3130.
 - (2). Cal. of Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, part I, p. 440.
 - (3). Cal. of Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, Part IV, p. 2711, Foley, vo. IV, p. 427, a Jesuit Henry Cassy ordained in 1628 and died in 1633 claimed to have been brought up in Staffordshire, and to have been related to the Giffards and Brookes.

lease bound the tenant to preserve game, and that he was to allow the tenants timber to maintain the pale, the park fence, but there was no deer in the park, which had been ploughed up (1). Other complaints against Peter came from a member of the Shropshire County Committee, Colonel Crowne, who claimed that his estate was valued at £.800 p. a. "whether by you (the Committee for Compounding) or by the County Committee, but it is worth £.2,000" (2). In May 1652 the Chester Committee, which had similarly written that Giffard's estate was "exceedingly under-value(d)" (3), was asked by the central compounding committee to make further enquiries, but in September Thomas Palmer of Marston was granted a seven year lease of Peter's estate at an annual rent of £.800. Palmer's letter asking for the Committee's confirmation significantly added that there had been a great charge in repairs (4).

Palmer had been the highest bidder for the properties,

-
- (1). Cal. of Committee for Compounding, Part IV, p. 2711; V.C.H. Vol.V, p. 25.
 - (2). Cal. of Committee for Compounding, Part I, p. 574.
 - (3). Ibid., p. 575 May 6th, 1652.
 - (4). Cal. of Committee for Compounding, Part IV, p. 2711, and D 590/254; Pennington & Roots, op.cit., Palmer was a prominent Parliamentarian acting as High Constable for Pirehill for 1643 and 1645 in which year he was one of the Grand Jury that recommended the promotion of Colonel Simon Rugeley.

and the Stafford Committee had approved the bid in February 1652. The lease began on March 25th but since that date Palmer claimed that he had spent a great deal in "marlinge, binding and repairing the premises" (1). The Compounding Committee approved the agreement on the 22nd September 1652 (2). During the same month the committee was presented with a petition from Richard, Joseph, Edward and Charles Giffard, Peter's sons, stating that Edward had been granted lands in Coven, and Shareshill, a farm in Whiston, another at Saredon and two cottages and land in Stretton, by his father, and similarly that the other brothers had been granted Blackladies, by Peter, "by severall deeds before the 20th May, 1642" (3). It was ordered that "it be refered to ye Council for ye Commonwealth by Trustees for sale of the sd. lands or either of the sd. counsell to pursue ye said severall deeds and such other writing as many set forth ye indentures of ye Petitioners" (4). This attempt to evade the sale proved

-
- (1). D 590/254; Thomas Palmer's Petition to the Con. for Compounding with delinquents; S.H.C. N.S. Vol.V, p.178
 - (2). D 590/254; Cal. of Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding; Part IV, p. 2711.
 - (3). D 590/252 Petition dated 24 Sept. 1652.
 - (4). Ibid.

fruitless, for in December 1653 Robert Eure of London bought lands at Brewood, Shareshill and Coven and in March 1654 Blackladies was bought by a Thomas Gaskin. In July a messuage in Great Saredon was bought by Richard Sturt of London, and in September Isaac Morgan purchased lands in Coleshill (1). In 1653 Thomas Palmer was involved once more in the disposal of Giffard properties, when in October 1653 he leased for a year, Walter Giffard's estate at Marston for a rent of £.68; the manor was later bought by Edward Tooke with two others in 1654 from the Treason Trustees (2). These purchasers also bought small parcels of land in and around Chillington and Brewood. Finally in March 1655 Samuel Foxley bought the discharge of Neatham Manor, Hampshire (3).

George Giffard, Peter's brother, who had had a mortgage of £.1,500 on lands in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, died in 1649, leaving his executor Henry Farmer to negotiate with the Parliamentary authorities. Initial difficulties in recovering the money, led Farmer

(1). Cal. of Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, Part IV, p. 2711.

(2). Ibid. p. 3146.

(3). Ibid.

to reduce the legacy granted by George to the Canonesses of Louvain from £.500 to £.400 (1). The Committee for the Advance of Money received a complaint in February 1649 that although it had been proved to the County Commissioners that George was a Papist delinquent, no proceedings had been taken against him, and his estate remained unsequestered (2). The Committee ordered that, until further investigations were made, all rents should remain in the hands of his tenants. In June the complaint was dismissed, but further information in December proved both his recusancy and delinquency, and that his "real and personal estate was unsequestered to the value of £5,000"(3). The June dismissal order allowed the executors to collect the rents, but in July 1650 they complained that they were hampered in this task (4). The affair dragged on into 1651, when further information was produced on November 20th proving that Giffard was a papist, and had

-
- (1). Ed. John Morris, "The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers related by themselves", Burns & Oates, London, 1872, p.295.
 - (2). "Cal. of Proceedings of the Committee for Advance of Money", Part. II, p.1015.
 - (3). Ibid.
 - (4). Ibid.

"assisted the late King" (1).

Other Giffard properties caused the authorities some trouble. Roger Thompson claimed in 1653 that an annuity of £.20 on lands at Solihull granted by Henry Hugford to Edward Giffard, "for the life of Henry Longueville, late of Chillington" was assigned by Edward and Longueville to him (1). The Committee for Compounding referred the matter to the County Committee (2). Andrew Mills complained in 1655 that the Staffordshire Committee granted him an one year lease, with a promise of a further seven years lease, on the estate of John Giffard of Wolverhampton, but he now found that "most of the lands are sold to Fras. Gregg, and discharged from sequestration" (3). Moreover the Committee charged him with his arrears on Leacroft Farm, without making due allowance for his expenditure on "husbandry and repairs" (4).

Following the battle of Worcester, Peter Giffard, like many other Catholics, lost his estate. But the establishment of the Protectorate did bring a "partial toleration and relaxation

-
- (1). Cal. of Proceedings of the Committee for the Advance of Money, Part IV, p.3146.
 - (2). Cal. of Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, Part IV, p. 3150.
 - (3). Cal. of Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, Part V, p. 3228.
 - (4). Ibid.

of the penal laws" (1), and Paul H. Hardacre in "The Royalists during the Puritan Revolution" wrote that ~~that~~ this toleration resulted in "the defection of many Catholics from the royalist party" (2). Certainly Sir Kenelm Digby, "Cromwell's Catholic Favourite", resided at Whitehall with Oliver Cromwell, and helped to negotiate the alliance between Cromwellian England and Cardinal Mazarin's France (3). By 1656 a state of virtual toleration had been achieved for Catholics; ~~this was~~ partly because Catholics no longer mattered. "Their sting was gone and the fear of them was going" (4). The Catholic party was broken and could be treated now as another sectarian group. Although in 1657 Parliament once more redrafted the oath of allegiance, and ordered the seizure of two thirds of recusant estates,

(1). Paul H. Hardacre, "The Royalists during the Puritan Revolution", Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1956, p. 86.

(2). Ibid.

(3). R. T. Petersson, "Sir Kenelm Digby, The ornament of England 1603-1665", Cape, London, 1956, p. 254; Prynne accused Digby of seeking a cardinal's hat, and Clarendon complained about Catholics and especially Digby's devotion to Cromwell.

(4). Ibid. p. 256; Maurice Ashley, "The Greatness of Oliver Cromwell", Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1959, quotes the French Ambassador in England in September 1656 as stating "The Catholics find their position better than under former kings who did not allow them freedom of worship".

"there was little inclination to enforce it" (1). This temporizing with the Cromwellians was to prove "fatal to the Catholic cause in 1660 and 1661" (2).

In Staffordshire, one of Giffard's recusant neighbours, Mr. Thomas Whitgreave of Mosely, another host of the fugitive King, served as a magistrate in Wolverhampton during the Commonwealth, and Catholics like Henry Ironmonger chose Whitgreave to conduct their civil marriages (3). At nearby Lapley, the thirdborough Robert Anslow was presented at the August Quarter Sessions 1655, for failing to apprehend musicians, morris dancers and merry makers on the Sabbath; worse "all which men and women danced promiscuously" (4). The dancers, mostly Catholics, came from Lapley, the home of the recusant Thomas Petre (5) and from Stretton, where the Giffards had influence and property. The Vicar of Lapley, John Jackson in October 1655 urged the Justices to stamp out such village entertainment

(1). Petterson, op. cit., p. 256.

(2). J.P. Kenyon, "The Stuart Constitution", C.U.P., Cambridge, 1966, p. 450.

(3). Staffordshire Parish Registers Soc. 1932, W. ton Parish Registers, Pt. I, Ied., Adams, p. iii and 242.

(4). Johnson & Vaisey, "Staffordshire and the Great Rebellion", op. cit., p. 40.

(5). Ibid.; Pennington & Roots, op. cit., p. 166n.

and observed that wake weeks continued with "promiscuous dancing, maurice dancing, tipleing, gameing, quarelling, wantonnesse", and many remained refractory, especially "the Papists and other carelesse livers" (1). The county had been ruled effectively by the Parliamentarians and their religious allies for ten years, but the old ways continued under papist direction, and Papists were still to be found in office both high and low, magistrate and thirdborough.

Following the Restoration of Charles II, Peter Giffard petitioned the king for the restoration of his own estate, in the hope that, "the faithful and eminent services" of his family to the Stuart cause would be rewarded (2). The Giffards had a special claim on the King, as they had helped to rescue him in 1651, after the battle of Worcester. Thomas Giffard rallied the royalists in the city, thus enabling Charles to escape through one of the gates and flee to the North (3). The day after the battle Cromwell was confident that the Parliamentary forces at Bewdley, in Shropshire and Staffordshire plus those of Lilburne, "were

(1). Johnson & Vaisey, op. cit., p. 38-9.

(2). S.H.C. N.S. Vol. V, p. 179.

(3). Ibid. p. 173.

in a condition", as if it had been foreseen, "to intercept what (Royalists) should return" (1). At midnight on September 3rd. the Minister Richard Baxter was awakened in Kidderminster, by "bullets flying towards (his) door and windows" (2), as the Bewdley troopers surprised some retreating royalists. "The sorrowful fugitives hastening by for their lives" reminded Baxter of "the calamitousness of war" (3).

Charles was fortunate in that he found himself in the company of Charles Giffard, described in a contemporary account, as a "person of note, then of that country, and of much manifested honour since to the world", and as "his majesty's conductor in the miraculous blessed escape" (4). Charles Giffard called on Francis Yates, a man under the command of Colonel Charles Carlos of Brewood, to act as guide to the King's party through the tracks and by-roads

-
- (1). Thomas Carlyle, "Oliver Cromwell, Letters and Speeches", Chapman & Hall, London, 1888, p. 295.
 - (2). "The Autobiography of Richard Baxter", intro. & notes J.M. Lloyd Thomas Everyman Edition, London, 1931, p. 68.
 - (3). Baxter; op. cit., p. 68
 - (4). "The Harleian Miscellany" edited Henry Savage, Cecil Palmer, London, 1924, "A True narrative and Relation of his most Sacred Majesty's miraculous Escape from Worcester, on the Third of September 1651, till his arrival in Paris", Printed at London for G. Colborn, 1660, p. 239.

north of Stourbridge, while Colonel Carlos fought off the pursuing enemy (1).

Giffard and Yates led the King to Whiteladies, a Giffard property, and into the safekeeping of the Staffordshire recusants. Richard Ollard in, "The Escape of Charles II after the Battle of Worcester" wrote of the Giffards' part in the escape that their "long experience of concealing priests and evading the recusancy laws made them, in the circumstances, ideal hosts" (2). Indeed that "there can be no question that the King owed his preservation to the loyalty, courage and experience of the Catholic underground" (3); Yates, Carlos, Charles Giffard and the Penderells, who met the party at Whiteladies, were all recusants (4).

(1). Ibid. p. 239-40.

(2). Richard Ollard, "The Escape of Charles II after the Battle of Worcester", Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1966, p.25; Mr. Ollard however writes of Mr. Giffard, as if Colonel Charles Giffard was the head of the family and not a younger son of Peter Giffard of Chillington.

(3). Ibid. p. 57.

(4). "His Majesty Preserved: King Charles II's own account of his Escape after the Battle of Worcester, rewritten and edited by Samuel Pepys", Introduced by William Rees Mogg, Falcon Press, London, 1954, p.21; the King said of Richard Penderell "He was a Roman Catholic, and I chose to trust them because I knew they had hiding holes for priests, that I thought I might make use of in case of need."

However, although the wooded country of the Staffordshire/Shropshire border proved ideal cover for hunted men, at this time the district swarmed with soldiers; three thousand Scots under Leslie were near to Tong, and a force of Parliamentarians were stationed at Codsall only three miles from Whiteladies itself (1). The immediate need was to transform the king's appearance. Charles Giffard ordered Richard Penderell to bring some country clothes for the King, and Richard also trimmed his hair in an attempt to disguise him as a Staffordshire peasant (2). At Whiteladies the party of Lords and soldiers dispersed and Yates and the five Penderell brothers were entrusted with the safety of the King (3). When it was found impossible to cross the Severn and escape through Wales, the King returned to the care of the Giffards, seeking refuge at Boscobel, where he and Colonel Carlos sheltered in an oak tree in the grounds of the house (4), while soldiers searched the thickets

(1). Ollard, *op. cit.*, p. 26 and 27.

(2). Harleian Miscell. 1924, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

(3). Harleian Miscell, *op. cit.*, p. 241-5.

(4). *Ibid.* p. 245; "His Majesty Preserved", *op. cit.*, p. 26, Charles stated that this was Carlos' plan "he knew but one way to pass the next days that was to get up into a great oak..."

and woods around the house (1). From Boscobel the King eventually journeyed to the Whitgreaves at Moseley, where he sheltered in a priest's hiding hole and discussed Catholicism with Father Huddleston, who was to receive Charles into the Church on his deathbed, thirty years later (2). From Moseley the King reached Bentley Hall, from whence, in the company of Jane Lane, he made his escape from the county to the south, and ultimately to the sea and France.

Shortly after the King's departure from Boscobel and Whiteladies, both houses were searched by local Parliamentarian troops (3). A further search of Whiteladies was made, when a royalist officer captured in Cheshire disclosed that he had seen the King arrive at the house the day after the battle, and that he had not seen him leave (4). During the renewed search, Charles Giffard was

(1). Ollard, op. cit., p. 37-8.

(2). Ibid. p.48 &53; Charles whilst at Moseley read a manuscript of Father Huddleston's uncle "A Short and Plain Way to the Faith and Church and dipped into Tuberville's Catechism"; "His Majesty Preserved", op.cit, p. 26 Charles called Whitgreave, Pitcroft which was a large meadow close to Worcester."

(3). Ollard, op. cit., p. 52.

(4). Ibid.

held at pistol point, whilst floorboards were torn up and wainscots ripped down. Throughout the incident Colonel Giffard maintained that a large party of Cavaliers, which might, or might not, have included the King, had been at the house after the battle, but that after they had eaten and drunk everything they could find had continued their flight northwards (1). When the search proved fruitless, the troops turned on their informant whom they had brought with them, and beat him savagely (2).

The Giffards and their dependents had done much to save Charles, and Peter Giffard's petition detailed his sufferings in the hope of relief. He claimed that he had been imprisoned several times, his goods and house ransacked, and "his whole estate sold by the Commissioners of Drury House to one Edward Tooke, William Cox and Samuel Foxley, who threatened to demolish his houses and cut down all his woods, for which they pretended to have paid £.5,000 or thereabouts" (3), and by such "unjust means enforced (Peter) to pay for the redemption of his own estate £.12,000 and upwards". He explained that these sums of money had never

(1). Ibid.

(2). Ibid. p. 53.

(3). S.H.C. N.S. Vol. V, p.178-9, 22 May, 1661.

been paid over to the Commissioners and were still in the hands of Tooke, Cox and Foxley (1). The petition was referred to the Earl of Southampton, the Lord Treasurer, and on 22nd June 1662 a grant was made to Peter Giffard of all monies arising from the sale of his estate by the Drury House Commissioners (2). On the 28th June, a further grant determined that the actions of Tooke, Cox and Foxley were not covered by the Act of free and general Pardon, Indemnity and Oblivion, and for the "good and loyal affection of the said Peter Giffard and of his said sufferings and losses... his loyalty to us and our dear father of blessed memory, the King of his gracious princely bounty of goodness" granted all the monies in the hands of Tooke, Cox and Foxley arising from the sale of Peter's lands, woods and goods to Peter himself. (3)

(1). Ibid. p. 179.

(2). S.H.C. N.S. Vol.V, p. 179.

((3). Ibid.; D 590/707; 28th May 1662.

CHAPTER III.

"Persecution and Respite; the Giffards under
and the Later Stuarts".

Shortly before his death in 1663, Peter Giffard granted to his eldest son, Walter, all his real estate with the exception of one farm at Ranton, which he had recently purchased from his fellow recusant, Thomas Kempson of Great Saredon (1). Provision was also made in this agreement for the support of Walter's own son, John, who was granted £.200 per annum from lands in Walton and Hey Meece. John's grant was secured by a further indenture by his father (3). When Peter died later in the year, his younger son John of Blackladies, was in London, "a hundred miles distant from Chillington wherein his father died". In a petition to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, John maintained that his eldest brother Walter took advantage of his absence to conceal their father's will and take all his personal estate, worth several hundred pounds (4). John appealed

-
- (1). D 590/62 March 1662/3. Indenture to take effect the next ensuing Lady Day, between Peter and Walter Giffard. When Dugdale made his visitation in 1680 Walter was described as now living in France; Staffs. Pedigrees 1604-1700, Harleian Society, 1912 based on visitation of Sir. Wm. Dugdale, from an original ms. of Gregory King edited Sir G. Armytage, Bart & W. Harry Rylands, p.104.
 - (2). D 590/62.
 - (3). D 590/65 12th June 1663 Articles of Agreement between John and Walter Giffard.
 - (4). D 590/322 undated Petition of John Giffard of Blackladies to Sir Orlando Bridgeman.

that his father had made him executor, and that several of Peter Giffard's debts should have been paid and discharged from this personal estate (1).

Whatever the outcome of this dispute, Walter Giffard did not reside for long at Chillington, for he soon left England for the continent (2). So he escaped the renewed pressure on English Catholics during the Popish Plot, although his name appeared in the draft Bill entitled the "Papists (Removal and Disarming) Bill", among the Staffordshire Catholics to be removed to custody at Winchester (3). In fact, the far sighted Walter, determined to escape such misfortune, was then living in Antwerp, while his son John resided at Chillington. Many Protestants wished other Catholics would follow Walter's example and settle abroad, for instance one M. P. Sir Edmund Jennings speaking on the Exclusion Bill on May 11th, 1679 suggested that all Papists should leave the country. "If you have any Papists in England, you will never be secure; therefore

(1). D 590/322.

(2). S.H.C. N.S. Vol.V; Harleian Society 1912, "Staffordshire Pedigrees 1604-1700" edited Sir G. Armitage Bart & W. Harry Rylands p.104; when Dugdale made his visitation Walter was described as now living in France.

(3). H. M/S. Comm. MS of the House of Lords 1678-1688, 1887 edited E. Fairfax Taylor, p.222, 224, 236; the Bill was drafted Dec. 3rd. 1680.

I propose a Bill "That all Papists that will not conform to the Church of England, may have liberty to sell their estates and to be gone, never to return" (1). He added that, "If there be no Papists left in England what danger could there be, if we had a Popish Prince?" (2).

Jennings added that the greatest part of recusant money "goes already out of the Nation" to maintain, "monasteries and designs and education of their children" (3). In Walter's case substantial sums of money left Chillington to support the head of the family in his voluntary exile. Walter was not isolated from his family abroad, nor was he the first lay Giffard to reside on the continent permanently, as his uncle George had boarded at St. Monica's Louvain until his death in 1649 (4). Many of his relatives were members of communities of nuns at Bruges, Louvain and Gravelines (5), and his Wolverhampton cousin,

-
- (1). Debates of the House of Commons, 1607-1694, collected by Hon. Anchtell Grey Esq., Vol. VII, London MDCCLXIII, p. 241.
 - (2). Grey's Debates, op. cit., p. 241.
 - (3). Ibid.
 - (4). John Morris, "Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers", Burns & Oates, London, 1872, p. 304; and Dom Adam Hamilton, "Chronicle of the English Canonesses of Louvain, 1625-44", Sands, 1906, Giffard Pedigrees.
 - (5). See Appendix III, for a full account of the Giffard Religious.

Bonaventure Giffard, the scholar and future Bishop, resided in Paris at St. Gregory's College, during his studies at the Sorbonne (1). Also various members of the family continued to be educated abroad (2), and some travelled on the continent. Following the unleashing of the Popish Plot, three Giffards were granted licences to "cross the seas", Colonel Charles Giffard embarked for Rouen (3), and Thomas Giffard of Cock St., Wolverhampton and his namesake from Broad Hadley were licensed to sail to Flanders (4).

Regular supplies of money were sent across the sea to Walter, and details of these transactions are recorded in an "Account of monies received and disbursed by Mr. Thomas Powell for the use of Walter Giffard and his son John Giffard" (5). A Mr. Francis Bourk on December 23rd. 1679 was entrusted with £.100 in guilders to be delivered to Walter at Antwerp (6), and Bourk delivered further sums

-
- (1). C. R. S. Misc. XI, Vol. 19, 1917, "Register Book of St. Gregory's 1667-1756", p. 105.
 - (2). Hubert Chadwick, "St. Omers to Stonyhurst", Burns & Oates, London, 1962, p. 195, Daniel Giffard, Colonel Giffard's stepson was a pupil at St. Omers.
 - (3). C. S. P., 1678, p. 614, 6 Nov. 1678, Charles Giffard for Rouen.
 - (4). C. S. P., 1678-9, p. 347 licenses dated 28th June and 3rd July.
 - (5). D 590/513.
 - (6). Ibid.; in 1679 £.100 was worth about 1050 guilders.

of £.100, in February, June and October 1680 (1).

Mrs. Giffard shared her husband's exile, as an entry in the account, dated March 1681 refers to "Madam Giffard" receiving £.102, "to her move", plus other sums of £.5 and £.60 in April and May (2). Walter received the unusually large amount of £.200 in 1681, presumably to facilitate their move from Antwerp to Paris. This move must have taken place in the early summer, as on July 18th Walter received £.70 from Bourk at the French capital; an additional £.30 was sent on August 15th to make up the usual payment of £.100 (3).

The Popish Plot, which led to several members of the family fleeing the realm, was a testing time for the English Catholics. It was also a time when the gratitude of the King to those recusants, who had saved him after the Battle of Worcester, was put to the test. On reaching Paris in 1652 Charles promised Jane Lane that, "It is impossible I can ever forget the great debt I owe you,

(1). Ibid.

(2). 590/613, Payments made on 31st March, 23rd April and 12th May.

(3) Ibid.

which I hope I shall live to pay in a degree worthy of me" (1). Colonel Giffard had received a pension by privy seal on February 24th, 1668 (2), and the Penderells were rewarded, rather incongruously, from money taken from Recusancy fines (3), and in 1675, Sir Walter Wrottesley, Richard Congreve, John Giffard and their heirs were made trustees by "royal warrant to the Attorney or Solicitor General for the great seal" for various properties, whose rents were to pay the pensions granted to Mary, William, George and Humphrey Penderell, Elizabeth Yates and their heirs (4). Loyalty was rewarded; and interestingly this supervision of the Penderell Grant was one of the few, if not the only, public duty carried out by the Giffards in penal times. The lands, on which the annuities were raised lay in the counties of Stafford, Hereford, Worcester, Warwick and Leicester, and included appropriately enough,

-
- (1). Ed. Arthur Bryant, "Letters, speeches and Declarations of King Charles II", Cassell, London, 1935, p. 25-26: letter dated Nov. 13th, 1652.
 - (2). Calendar of Treasury Books, 1672-1675, ed. W.A. Shaw, London, 1909, p. 419.
 - (3). Ley's p. 95.
 - (4). Calendar of Treasury Books 1672-75, op. cit., p. 75768; The grant was made on June 20th 1675, Mary, Richard Penderell's widow and his heirs received £.100, a similar amount was awarded William Penderell. George and Humphrey both had 100 marks. Elizabeth Yates and her heirs were granted £. 50.

"a tenth reserved... and demenses of the late priory of Rocester, £.3.16s.6½d., and a Fee Farm rent of the lordship or late priory of Trentham, £.105.0s.0d. (1).

However the deliverers of the King were not safe from persecution. A great drive against Papists was made in 1675, and Lord Aston, himself a Catholic, wrote to Secretary Williamson, that, "the Penderells, who were so eminently loyal to the preservation (of the King) are now being prosecuted for being Papists" (2). After the Popish Plot died down, the Giffards and their tenants were further rewarded for their service to the Stuarts, by an amendment that was added to the "Discovery and Conviction of Popish Recusants Bill", in March 1679 (3). This amendment excepted from the Bill those "Persons, who although Papists were yet very instrumental in the preservation of the King's person after the flight at Worcester, and have therefore merited, as a reward for their loyalty to be distinguished from others of their religion" (4). Those exempted included

-
- (1). Ibid. The total sum amounted to £.451.6s.7½d, see also S.H.C. Vol.V, N.S., p.189-191.
 - (2). E.J. Homeshaw, "The Corporation of the Borough and Foreign of Walsall", County Borough of Walsall, Walsall, 1960, p.66.
 - (3). The Ms of the House of Lords, 1678-1688, London, 1887, p.92. This draft was a copy of a bill drafted on 25.Nov. 1678, and the provisions were to come into force on the 24.June, 1679.
 - (4). Ibid. p.93. The amendment was dated 25th March 1679.

Mr. Charles Giffard, Francis Yates and his wife, William Penderell, Richard Penderell, Humphrey Penderell, Thomas Whitgreave (1), Colonel Carlos (2), Mr. Francis Reynold, Mr. John Huddleston (3), and Mr. Francis Wolfe of Madley.

A further bill, of December 3rd, 1680 entitled "Papists Removal and Disarming Bill", was intended to enable sheriffs to collect, "arms, armour, weapons, gun-powder and munitions of whatsoever kinds as any Popish recusant convict within the realm of England hath or shall have in his house or houses or elsewhere" (4). If such arms were not handed to the sheriff within twenty-eight days of the bill becoming law, any recusant concealing arms would have to forfeit ten times the value of the discovered weapons (5). The bill also provided that

-
- (1). Wolverhampton Parish Registers, Pt. I ed. Adams, Staffs. Parish Registers Soc. 1932, p.iii. Whitgreave had been a magistrate during the Commonwealth.
 - (2). Foley, Vol. I, p.180-1. Carlos was governor of Tong during the war, was exiled in Lower Germany, and fought for Charles at Worcester, with his son, who later entered the Society of Jesus.
 - (3). Dom. H. Birt, "Benedictine Obit Book", Edinburgh, 1913, p.65, Huddleston joined the Benedictines after the Restoration, and reconciled Charles II to the Church on his deathbed.
 - (4). Ms. of the House of Lords, 1678-1688, op.cit., p.222-223.
 - (5). Ibid. p. 223.

Staffordshire recusants should be removed to Winchester (1), but no provision was made for Catholics to be brought into strongly Catholic Staffordshire.

The bill named sixty-six Staffordshire Catholics, and the list was headed by Viscount Stafford, who was already imprisoned for alleged treason. Although Walter Giffard was in Antwerp, his name was included along with his kinsman Thomas Giffard who had previously been licensed to travel to Flanders (2). Other notable recusants named in the bill were Lord Aston, involved in the charges made by Oates and Dugdale, Sir Richard Fleetwood of Calwich, Sir James Simeon of Aston, Walter Fowler, Philip Draycott, Robert Howard, Walter Grovener, Richard Gerrard, Basil Fitzherbert, John Stamford and Thomas Winsford (3). This list indicated the continuing strength of Catholicism in the county, especially among the gentry (4).

(1). Ibid. p. 224.

(2). Ibid. p. 236.

(3). Ibid.

(4). C.R.S. Vol. VI, Miscell. V, 1909, a list of convicted recusants in the reign of Charles II ed. J.S. Hanson, p. 76, up to 1671 there had been 678 convictions for recusancy in the reign. However the return of 1671, prepared for Sir George Downing is unreliable as the preamble stated, "it is not certain that all the Recusants are Papists, 'tis probable many of them are fanaticks". Ibid. p. 77.

However the Giffards did not escape persecution during the Popish Plot, and one of their kinsmen Father Ireland suffered martyrdom (1). Foley cites the author of "Florus Anglo Bavaricus" as relating the story of a Jesuit, who was hunted through Boscobel woods, during the Oates persecution. "An inhuman persecutor had determined for a great price to hunt down any Jesuit that might lie concealed in that wood" (2). The pursuivant apparently first searched Chillington, where he entered "with great audacity into this former asylum of King Charles". On searching the royal hiding place, Mr. Giffard cried out "What, do you want to search if the King is again concealed there?" (3). Abashed he proceeded to another room, where a Jesuit was concealed, who managed to escape and fled into the wood. Although constables carefully beat the wood, the priest made his escape under the cover of darkness (4).

(1). Gillow, Vol. III, p. 552, William Ireland was in some way related to the Giffards and the Penderells of Staffordshire, whose name he assumed on the Mission.

(2). Foley, Vol. V, p. 433.

(3). Ibid.

(4). Foley, Vol. V, p. 433; Boscobel lies c. 1½ miles west of Chillington, and both houses were surrounded by woodland; however the King never stayed at Chillington, which makes the story slightly dubious.

Other Staffordshire priests were not so fortunate; Fathers Atkins, Bromwich, Gavan and Ireland were all arrested. Atkins and Gavan had both served in and around Wolverhampton (1), and part of the evidence used against Gavan was that he had taken part in a meeting of Jesuits at Boscobel in 1678, attended by Fathers Vavasour, Eure, Leveson and Petre. This meeting appears to have been a harmless celebration of Gavan's profession (2). Five Catholic peers were all sent to the Tower (3), and the House of Commons resolved, "that there has been and still is a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by Popish recusants for the assassination and murdering of the King, and the subverting the government and rooting out and destroying the Protestant religion" (4).

The "myth of a Popish Plot" (5) was launched by the

(1). Ibid. p.452 and p. 455.

(2). Ibid. p. 452.

(3). David Ogg, "England in the reign of Charles II", vol. II, O.U.P., London, 2nd. edition, 1956, p.573 - the peers were Arundell, Belasyse, Powis, Petre and Stafford.

(4). Ibid.

(5). J.P. Kenyon, "The Stuart Constitution", C.U.P., Cambridge, 1966, p. 451.

"providential pack of lies" (1). of Dr. Titus Oates (2), who had spent some time at St. Omers, where Daniel Giffard was studying. Oates charged Fathers Ireland, Grove and Pickering before the Council on September 30th 1678 with being at the Jesuit consult at the White Horse Tavern in April 1678 (3). Bedloe, another informant told the council that a vast army was to land in England to murder the King and to massacre Protestants, and that Lord Stafford, Coleman and Ireland had sufficient money to pay its expenses. (4) Israel Tonge produced a number

-
- (1). Maurice Lee Junior, "The Cabal", Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, 1965, pp. 238-239.
 - (2). M. Ashley, "England in the Seventeenth century", Penguin, Harmsworth, 1956, p. 140 wrote of "two extraordinary doctors, Titus Oates and Israel Tonge", and David Ogg, op. cit., p. 563 of "Oates "rabbinical degree" from the University of Salamanca. C.R.S. Vo. 30, Valladolid Register 1589-1862, ed. E. Henson, p. xxxiii & p. 173, wrote that Oates was expelled from the seminary at Valladolid after only four months. He had taken the name of Ambrose and the chronicler recorded, "post 4 menses ejectus factus est infamis apostata nimis notus et autor persecutionis plusqua Neronianae sed impii foderunt fovea et inciderunt in ea".
 - (3). Ogg, op. cit., p. 566.
 - (4). David Hume, "History of England", vol. V, London, 1864. p. 295.

of letters supposedly sent to Father Bedingfield, the Duke of York's confessor, including one alleged to have been written by Ireland. This correspondence was supposed to refer to an unlawful design (1). Throughout his trial Ireland not only denied all knowledge of the plot, but he maintained that he had been in Staffordshire at the time it was alleged he was at the White Horse Tavern. At the request of Miss Ireland, the Jesuit's sister, Colonel Charles Giffard testified on the priest's behalf (2). Later the Colonel's stepson, Daniel, and John and Christopher Sanders crossed from St. Omers to testify against Oates on behalf of the five imprisoned peers (3).

At his trial Ireland pleaded that he had journeyed into Staffordshire on August 3rd, and this could be proved by his sister and mother, and also a servant of Sir John Southcot, who had met him at St. Albans on August 5th and had kept him company until the 16th (4). On December 17th

(1). Ogg, op. cit., p. 565-6.

(2). Jane Lane, "Titus Oates", Andrew Dankers, London, 1949, p.154.

(3). Hubert Chadwick, "St. Omers to Stonyhurst", op. cit., p.200; Ms. of the House of Lords, 1678-1688, p. 136.

(4). C.S.P. Dom.1679-1680, ed.F.H. Blackburne Daniell, London, 1915, p.7. Notes by Williamson, "Trial of the Lords", Foley vol.V, p.116. Miss Ireland told Lord Chief Justice Scroggs "My Lord on Saturday the 3rd. August he set out to go into Staffordshire".

Father Ireland told the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs that "Mr. Charles Giffard will prove that I was a week after the beginning of September and the latter end of August in Staffordshire" (1). Under cross examination Giffard replied that he had seen the Jesuit at Wolverhampton a day or two after St. Bartholomew's Day, and that he had stayed in the town until September 9th. Indeed the Colonel attested that not only had he seen him again on September 7th, but that he could bring, "twenty and twenty more that saw him there" (2). Oates replied to this testimony, and Scroggs declared that the informer had "gainsaid" Mr. Giffard (3). The priest was found guilty of initiating the regicide plot in London at the end of April 1678, while Oates was at St. Omers, and of organising the plot in London in August, despite his alibi, that he was then in Staffordshire (4).

While in Newgate awaiting his execution, Father Ireland wrote a Journal, accounting for all his movements

(1). Foley, Vol.V, p. 117.

(2). Ibid., p.119.

(3). Ibid., p.120.

(4). Ibid., p. 138. This evidence was repeated at Fr. Gavan's trial by "Mrs. Harwell, her daughter Mrs. Giffard, Mrs. Penderell, Mrs. Elizabeth Keeling, and Mr. Penderell, who kept the Royal Oak at Boscobel.

between August 3rd and September 14th. Among the places Ireland claimed to have visited were Chillington, Boscobel, Wolverhampton and Tixall (1). Ireland had drawn the attention of Lord Chief Justice Scroggs to the fact that his relatives, the Penderells and the Giffards, had saved the King after Worcester, and that his own father and an uncle had both died in the Royalist cause (2). Scroggs replied tersely, "Why then do you fall off from your father's virtue?" The priest was executed on February 3rd, 1679, but before his death he told the crowd that he forgave all those who had conspired to bring about his sentence (3).

On March 1st, several St. Omers students, including Daniel Giffard, swore before the Mayor and Alderman of the town that Titus Oates had resided at the College from December 10th, 1677 until the following June 23rd, and that during his stay he had only left the seminary once

(1). Foley, Vol.V, p.228, Foley states that Ireland mentioned in his Journal Mr. Giffard of Chillington; this must refer to John Giffard. See also Challenor, "Memoirs of Missionary Priests", Pt.II, London, 1877, p.239.

(2). Ibid. p. 121.

(3). Ibid. p. 40, Foley wrote that Ireland's clothes were immediately bought up as relics.

and that for only a two day visit to Wattenes (1). In an attempt to undermine Oates's testimony Daniel and some other students crossed to England, but they were stopped and arrested at Southampton (2). They were examined there by a Mr. Walker, and gave their evidence about Oates stay at St. Omers (3).

The "Plot" attracted many informants, who were prepared to testify to an assassination plot, involving Catholics. One Stephen Dugdale, who had been dismissed from his post as Steward to Lord Aston for embezzlement (4), accused his former master, other laymen, and the Jesuit fathers, Every, Gavan, Walker (5) and Leveson of plotting against the King (6). Dugdale's disclosure of a "Staffordshire Plot" had its repercussions, Gavan tried

-
- (1). C.S.P. Dom., 1678-80, p. 87.
 - (2). Ibid., p.135.
 - (3). House of Lords Ms. 1678-1688, op.cit., p.136.
 - (4). Foley, vol.V, p.41: D.D.C.C. 147/13, in 1787 one century after this affair John Childe, then steward of Tixall, wrote in a letter of "that vile and ungrateful one Stephen Dugdale".
 - (5). Foley, vol.VII, p.302, Peter Giffard, alias Walker, the Jesuit son of Richard Giffard of Cosford, Secretary of the Lancashire and Derbyshire College.
 - (6). Foley, vol.V, p.41, Fr. Every was Lord Aston's chaplain at Tixall.

to evade capture, but was arrested in London, while trying to seek a passage to the Low Countries. (1) The Wolverhampton priest was executed along with Barrow, Caldwell, Turner and Whitbread on June 20th 1679 (2). Father Atkins, also of Wolverhampton, although paralysed, bedridden and nearly speechless, was sentenced to death at Stafford Assizes in the same year. The sentence was never implemented, but the octogenarian remained imprisoned in Stafford Gaol, where he died in 1681 (3). A secular priest, Andrew Bromwich, was also condemned and held in prison at Stafford, but he was reprieved, and later served the Giffards as chaplain at Chillington (4). Maurice Giffard, a Dominican priest, no relation of the Staffordshire family, but the brother of

(1). Foley, vol. V, p.455.

(2). M.V. Hay, "The Jesuits and the Popish Plot", Kegan Paul, London, 1934, p.150, wrote that the Rev. John Sergeant, a Catholic priest gave evidence to the Council against Gavan, stating that Gavan had told him "the King might be lawfully killed not only as a heretic but for defiling the Queen's bed": Foley, V, p.457, at Tyburn, Gavan protested that he was "as innocent as the child unborn of those treasonable crimes which Mr. Oates and Mr. Dugdale have sworn against me in my trial".

(3). Foley, V, p. 52.

(4). J. Gillow, "St. Thomas' Priory", Burns & Oates, London, n.d., p.49, and Kirk, p.35.

Sir Henry Giffard of Burstall, was accused by Bedloe of leading a Jesuit gang, which was supposed to be responsible for several fires in Wapping and Limehouse (1). The fire threat was evidently treated seriously by the Council, as a reward of £.50 was offered for the capture of Giffard, and "others of the Romish religion, who have conspired to set on fire the city of London" (2).

Eventually the frensy died away, but not before Lord Stafford was executed. Lord Aston was prevented from testifying at Stafford's trial, as he was "treasonable" (3), but Dugdale deposed that at Tixall, Stafford not only gave his consent to the death of the King, but that he had offered the steward £.500 to carry out the assassination (4). Stafford was the last victim of the "Plot", that claimed

-
- (1). C.R.S. Vol.25,p.128n & 174; Walter Gumbley, "Obituary Notices of the English Dominicans; 1555-1952", Blackfriars, London, 1955, p.44-45. James Leasor, "The Plague and the Fire", Allen & Unwin, London, 1962, p. 236.
 - (2). C.S.P.1679-1680, p.135: Richard Baxter in his "Autobiography", Everyman edition, edited J.M. Lloyd Thomas, 1931, p.244-5 wrote of "New fires breaking out, enrage the people against papists....Stubbs told them one Giffard, a priest and his confessor engaged them in it".
 - (3). Arthur Clifford, "A History of Tixall", Paris, 1817,p.268
 - (4). J. Lingard, "History of England", Vol.IX, p.241.

eighteen lives, while another eight priests were executed on account of their orders, and a further four, like Atkins, died in prison (1).

Colonel Charles Giffard, who had given evidence on behalf of the priest, and had been personally involved in the rescue of the King, continued to receive his pension, despite the "Oates persecution" and the anti-Catholic temper of the period. His annuity had been awarded by Privy Seal in February 1667 (2), but he was forever in financial difficulties, and General Wrottesley in his "History of the Giffards" stated correctly "that he does not appear to have been a wise man" (3). Eventually the Colonel was arrested for debt and imprisoned in 1667 and 1669, and it needed a special meeting at Wallingford House in 1673 to settle his accounts and debts (4).

This annuity was still paid to Charles Giffard in 1685,

-
- (1). Foley, vol.V, pp.95-97, John Wall, who was executed at Worcester on August 22nd 1679 was the last priest to die for his orders in England.
 - (2). Calendar of Treasury Books, 1672-75, London, 1909, p.419 S.H.C. N.S., Vol.V, p.185.
 - (3). S.H.C. N.S., Vol.V, p.183.
 - (4). Ibid. p.183-186. Giffard was involved in a variety of expensive schemes, such as attempting to reclaim land from the sea in Dorset, and "making balls of earth into a sort of fuel". See also Calendar of Treasury Books, 1672-75, op.cit., p. 212.

because on June 23rd. Henry Guy requested the auditor of receipt, "to issue out of money of the letter office now in Exchequer £. 300 to Charles Giffard" (1). Other "delivers of the King", such as Jane Lane, Francis Reynolds, and Whitgreave of Moseley, were also in receipt of pensions (2). Not everyone was satisfied with the allocation of the Trust. Nicholas Yates complained that, although his father was equally instrumental with the Penderells in saving the King's life at Boscobel and Whiteladies, because he died shortly after the Restoration, his family was not granted an annuity. Nicholas now begged the Catholic James II for a pension, and Colonel Giffard attested the truth of the statement (3). Even after the "Glorious Revolution", the Colonel received his pension, although it was

-
- (1). Cal. of Treasure Books, Vol. VIII, 1685-89, London, 1932, p. 234.
 - (2). Ibid., p. 235, Jane Lane, then Lady Fisher, received £. 750 p. a., Francis Reynolds £. 200 p. a. and Whitgreave £. 150 p. a.
 - (3). Ibid., p. 716 a note added to the petition stated that the Elizabeth Yates mentioned in the original grant was the wife of Francis Yates, who was unhappily taken and hanged for having been the late King's guide from Worcester to Whiteladies, and was no relation to the petitioner. The note added "The Petitioner deserves a pension".

subject to delay (1), and the Chillington Giffards kept their sole public office, as trustees of the Penderell Grant. Therefore, despite the fate of Father Ireland, loyalty was rewarded (2).

Throughout these turbulent years of 1678-80 the head of the family, Walter Giffard, wisely remained on the continent, but he did not neglect the interests of his relations as he closely supervised his family's affairs from his refuge. The "Account" (3) kept by Thomas Powell, shows that Walter's grandson, Thomas, received £.200 on May 31st, 1679 from, "the moneys or rents from this before named John Smith" (4) and on June 3rd, 1687 Edward Fisher, an attorney received £.1.0s.0d., for business conducted in Hampshire, concerning Walter's property at Neatham, "towards the account of John Giffard" (5). When negotiations began in

-
- (1). Cal. of Treasury Books Vol. IX, Part III, London, 1931, p.1304 warrant made on Sept.15th 1691 for moneys due Michaelmas 1689 signed by Henry Guy. Guy a friend of Sunderland and an official of James II survived the Revolution - see, D.Ogg, "England in the Reigns of James II & William III", Clarendon, Oxford, 1955, corrected 1957, p.113 & J.P. Kenyon, "Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland", Longmans, London, 1958, p.25 & p.240.
 - (2). Cal. of Treasury Books, Jan.- Dec.1710, VolXXIV, Part II, London, 1950, p.475 records a sum of £.300 due to Colonel Giffard's executors for one year to Christmas 1695.
 - (3). D 590/613.
 - (4). Ibid.
 - (5). Ibid.

1688 for the marriage between Walter Giffard's grandson, to Mary Thimelby of Irham in Lincolnshire (1), a rich heiress, several lawyers were employed to scrutinize the proposed marriage settlement, and in June a draft settlement was made. About the same time, Mr. Edward Vaughan, an attorney, was sent over to France by John Giffard to deliver the deeds to Walter at La Flèche (2).

On September 3rd. an indenture was made between Walter and John to facilitate the marriage of Thomas Giffard. This declared that Miss Thimelby, the sole daughter and heir of John Thimelby of Irnham was to hold with Thomas, "lands, tenements, and hereditaments in fee simple of the yearly value of four hundred pounds to and for the marriage portion of the said Mary Thimelby... (so) a complete jointure and maintenance may now be settled and assured upon

-
- (1). J.W.F. Hill, "Tudor and Stuart Lincoln", C.U.P., Cambridge, 1956, p.107 and 109, the Thimelbys were also a staunchly Catholic family. In 1600 Richard Thimelby had been arrested for "saying things (about) the Queen's title and of plans to bring troops into England."
- (2). D 590/71-1, in January Mr. Poleson, Counsellor at Law was paid £.1.1.6 for his opinion and John Tranter, Attorney £.10.0.0. £.10.0.0 was paid in July for the draft of the deeds, and a further 10s. purchased a fair copy for John Giffard. On 6th July Vaughan was paid for his visit to Normandy.

the said Mary Thimelby.....in case she shall happen to survive the said marriage"(1). Therefore to this end Walter transferred the possession of the manors and lordships of Chillington, Hattons, Whiston, Bickford, High Onn, and the moiety of Stow Heath and 'Hampton plus some other lands at High Onn to his son and heir John Giffard (2). This was duly signed by Walter and witnessed by James Mahony, Thomas Powell, Edward Vaughan and Mr. Butler (3).in Normandy. This transfer was necessary, as Walter was tenant for life of most of the lands to be

-
- (1). D 590/571-2 Indenture 3 Spt. 1688. Arthur Clifford, "Tixall Poetry", Edinburgh, 1813, p.xvii & p.xxiv, and David Mathew, "The Social Structure in Caroline England", O.U.P. London, 1949, p.118. The Thimelbys had been allied in the 17th. century to another Staffordshire recusant family, the Astons of Tixall. Herbert Aston married Catherine Thimelby, & Henry Aston married Gertrude Thimelby. Around this family group there flourished a cultural circle, which exchanged poems, and shared contactss with such leading poets as Austin, Crashaw, Fanshawe, and Caryl.
- (2). D 590/71-2.
- (3). D 590/71-1, John Giffard commission of June 16th, witnessed by Will. Neachell, Rich. Neville, and John Wilkes, and on the cover was written "John Giffard Esq. his letter of attorney to Mr. Thomas Powell et al. to take deed at x from ye hands of his father Walter Giffard Esq. in France with powers to ratify and confirm the treaty on his behalf".

settled on young Thomas who needed "a great advancement in lands, tenements, and hereditaments", if he was to marry (1)

Shortly after this visit and the completion of the legal transactions, Walter died. According to the terms of a draft, unexecuted will, found among the Giffard Papers, his son, John, was his sole executor. This draft annulled and cancelled all previous wills made by Walter, but it contains few stipulations, and even these are not specific, presumably because, by this time, most of the estate was in John's possession. However, provision was made for Walter's three daughters, and for a legacy to be given to his grandson Peter, on his coming of age (2).

Early in 1685 some members of the family were further exempted from the penalties of recusancy. A warrant was issued on February 5th 1685 granting pardon to John Giffard of Balckladies, his son John, and his brother Charles

-
- (1). D 590/71-2; D 590/613 "Powell's accmpt", included an entry 30 April 1689 "settlement of Mr. Thomas Giffard's marriage £.5.8s.4d. Mr. Goodhall, servant in Chancery Law copying out 3 large draughts (sic) of the said settlement £.16.0s.0d. and to the Attorney General clerk -5s.0d. "
 - (2). D 590/265. It began with the usual formula, "First and principally I recommend my soul unto the hands of Almighty God, my creator and redeemer. And my body I commit to ye earth to be decently interred at ye discretion of my executor".

for, "all trespasses, ~~mis demeanours~~, and contempts whatsoever against any Acts of Parliament or otherwise and all convictions and attainders for the same....." (1). The accession of the Catholic James II (2) not only brought relief to all the family, but soon the Giffards were given office and attained power, such as they had not possessed since the reign of Mary and the early years of Elizabeth (3).

The Treasury granted a warrant in 1687 to King's Rembrancer, "to issue Commissions of Enquiry to the Commissioners (for the Counties) to enquire touching the monies levied or received from any recusants or dissenters whatsoever and not accounted for the late and present King" (4). The Staffordshire Commission was headed by the Anglican-Royalist, Sir Walter Bagot, but it included John Giffard of

-
- (1). C.S.P. Dom. 1684-Feb.1685, p.287. Warrant dated Feb.5th, 1685.
 - (2). M. Greenslade & D. Stuart, "Staffordshire", Darwen Finlayson, Beaconsfield, 1965, p.8 cite Dr. Plot as recounting that James once joked that Staffordshire was "fit only to be cut into thongs to make highways for the rest of the Kingdom".
 - (3). J.P. Kenyon, "Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland", Longmans, London, 1958, p.146 makes the interesting point that, "the failure of the native Roman Catholics under James II bears witness to the effectiveness of previous persecutions. At a time when Catholicism was an instant recommendation to the highest offices it is remarkable how few men were able to seize the opportunity".
 - (4). Calendar of Treasury Books, Vol.VIII, Part III, 1685-89, London, 1923, p.4

Chillington and his fellow recusants, Whitgreave, Robert Howard and Philip Draycott, and also John Tranter, the attorney, whose advice the Giffards had sought with regards the Thimelby settlement (1). Later John Giffard was made a member of the commission for recusants for the Co. Palatinate of Chester, the City and County of Chester, the County of Stafford, and the city of Lichfield. Also on the Commission were the Welsh recusants, John and Richard Parry (2). Meanwhile in November 1687 the supreme power in the county, the Lord Lieutenancy, had passed into the hands of the Catholic, Lord Aston, a kinsman of Mary Thimelby, the future bride of Thomas Giffard (3). At the same time Jeffreys replaced Bridgewater in Buckinghamshire, the Catholic Lord Carrington relieved the Earl of Plymouth in Worcestershire, and the Catholic Fairfax was appointed to the North Riding (4). Following the appointments of Lord Langdale to the East Riding and Lord Thomas Howard to the West Riding in January 1688, all the Lieutenancies in the largest English county were held by Catholics (5). In the

(1). D. 590/613.

(2). Cal. of Treasury Books Vol. VIII, Pt. III, op. cit., p. 1804.

(3). J.P. Kenyon, "Earl of Sunderlands", Longmans, London, 1951, p. 172, Aston replaced Lord Ferrers.

(4). Ibid.

(5). Don Hugh Aveling, "Northern Catholics", Geoffrey Chapman, London, 1966, p. 335

North Riding thirteen Catholic Justices were made in James' short reign, and one of them, Sir Roger Strickland sat in the Commons as M.P. for Aldborough (1). The accession of James also led to the addition of some Catholics to the Commission of Peace in Warwickshire (2), and in Cumberland, a county with few recusants, Sir Francis Salkeld became an alderman in Carlisle, where another Catholic, Francis Howard, had already been appointed governor of the castle (3). The burden of administration and policy fell on James' Protestant supporters and Scots and Irishmen, as the English Catholics, for so long excluded from office, proved inadequate (4).

Catholics were in a position to open schools, and chapels, and priests worked openly and publicly, but the expected floods of converts never materialised. The registers of the Catholic Mission at Worcester, the birthplace of Peter Giffard's mother, Catherine Taylor, indicates that some conversions were made, although they are entered in

(1). Ibid.

(2). Mimiadière thesis, p.3. The accession of William and Mary led to the omission of the Catholics and of one non Juror, Robert Burdet.

(3). Francis Goldwin James, "North Country Bishop; *Autobiography* of William Nicholson", Yale, 1956, p.45, in the early eighteenth century only 0.5% of the county was Catholic.

(4). J.P. Kenyon, "The Stuart Constitution", "Documents and Commentary", C.U.P., Cambridge, 1966, p.454.

the registers as "reconciliations". Even in the reign of the Catholic King the recusants met local hostility, as in the case of John Gabriell of Worcester, who was received into the Church shortly before his death, but remained a week before he was buried, because Parson Py had excommunicated him for being a Catholic, but eventually he was buried at Monmouth (1). Seven conversions were made at Worcester in 1687 and two in 1688; significantly the next recorded reconciliation was not until 1695 (2). Presumably this was not an isolated phenomenon.

In Staffordshire, Daniel Fitter, chaplain to the Fowlers at St. Thomas', Baswich, opened a school in the county town (3). The Jesuits established Wolverhampton as the Headquarters of the College of St. Chads, and the order opened a school in the town at Deanery Hall, which had fifty pupils, including twelve boarders (4). Bishop Leyburn, the

(1). John Orlebar Payne, "Old English Missions", Burns & Oates, London, 1889, p. 98.

(2). Ibid. p. 99.

(3). J. Gillow, "St. Thomas Priory", Burns & Oates, n.d. p. 49; A. C. F. Beales, "Education under Penalty", Burns & Oates, London, 1963, p. 255, stated that Fitter's school was built expressly for the poor.

(4). G. P. Mander & N. W. Tildesley, "A History of Wolverhampton", Wolverhampton, 1960, p. 103; Roman Catholic Registers, Staffs. Parish Registers, 1958-9, op. cit., p. 11; A. C. F. Beales, "Education under Penalty", op. cit., p. 249.

Mimiadière thesis p. 91 states that James attempted to appoint governors like Sir Charles Holt to King Edward School, Birmingham, and so place the school in the hands of the Conservative gentry.

leading Catholic moderate, visited the county in October 1687 conducting confirmations at St. Thomas', Stafford and Wolverhampton, where thirty-seven candidates were presented (1). The little timber chapel at Blackladies may have been opened for public worship at this time (2), and many Staffordshire Catholics contributed to the building fund of the Capuchin Church at Baddesley, Birmingham.

Brother Leo of St. Mary Magdalen, alias Father Randolph, was the superior of the Birmingham Capuchin community and therefore supervised the project. King James himself gave timber from the Royal Forest of Needwood for the church and convent (3). Lord Aston, Lord Lieutenant of Staffordshire, gave the county's Catholics the lead, contributing £.3.10.6 to the fund (4); Lady Aston also donated £.3.4s.6d. (5). All the Giffards made contributions. John of Chillington £.2 (6), his son Thomas £.1.1s.6d. (7),

-
- (1). Brig. T.B. Trappes, Lomax, "Bishop Leyburn's visitation in 1687, A Newsletter for Students of Recusant History", No. 4 1962, p. 20.
 - (2). Catholic Magazine 1834, Vol. V, cited by Dom. Gilbert Dolan in Downside Review, No. 76, Vol. XXVI, (N. 5) March 21, 1907, p. 53.
 - (3). "Franciscan Registers", Warwickshire Parish Registers Society, p. 7. See also Thaddeus, "The Franciscans in England, 1600-1850", London, 1898, p. 138.
 - (4). "Franciscan Registers", p. 11.
 - (5). Ibid. p. 11.
 - (6). Ibid.
 - (7). Ibid.

Mrs. Frances Giffard £.1.1s.6d.(1), Giffard of Blackladies 10s.0d.(2), and Captain Thomas Giffard paid the same amount (3). The humble Penderells William and Mary gave £.1 and Magdalen and Catherine 2/6 each (4). Other Staffordshire gentlemen, who subscribed, included the Draycotts, the Hevinghams, the Fowlers, and the Purcells (5).

Their generosity was realized when the Church was consecrated by Bishop Bonaventure Giffard on September 4th, 1688. At this ceremony the bishop ordered that the feast of the dedication should be kept on the first Sunday in September (6). Not even the first anniversary was celebrated, for on 26th November "the rabble of Birmingham began to pull ye church and convent down and ceased not until they had pulled up ye foundations"(7). The overthrow of James II provoked other displays of "No Popery violence", and at Wolverhampton, the Jesuit school was also destroyed by a mob which wrecked the library and burned the furniture on High Green (8). Some Chalices, vestments and ornaments were

(1). Ibid. p.13.

(2). Ibid. p. 7.

(3). Ibid. p.12.

(4). Ibid. p. 9.

(5). Ibid. p. 7.

(6). Ibid. p. 5.

(7). Ibid. p.15.

(8). Foley V, p.420 & 450. The Annual Letters of the Jesuits of the District of St. Chads reported, "The greater portion of our library, which was well stocked was burnt in the market place. The schools were demolished....the benches

saved but the superior and another Jesuit fled north into Lancashire (1).

Several Giffards were granted dispensations to serve in the army created by the Catholic King - the dispensations removed all penalties "incurred as a result of various acts passed against Popish recusants and signifying the royal pleasure that no proceedings should be taken against them hereafter....". Thus by royal favour Captain Thomas and Captain John Giffard were commissioned on November 23rd. 1685 (2), and served along with Ensign Edward Giffard (3) in Sir Edward Hales' Regiment of Horse (4). Augustine Giffard (5) was commissioned on December 17th, 1686 in

./.. the reading desk, chairs, ornamental woodwork, framed after the model of our continental schools, and also the entire household furniture, all was either plundered by the mob or appropriated by the commissioners who were sent". Some hope was entertained by the fathers that hopes of a restoration were not in vain.

(1). Ibid.

(2). C.SP. Dom. James II, Vol.I, Feb.- Dec.1685, London, 1960, 1936.

(3). Ibid. p. 1959.

(4). Ibid.

(5). C.S.P. Dom. James II, Vol.II, Jan.1686-March 1687, London, 1964, 1251. It was difficult to identify these Giffards, although significantly Captain Thomas Giffard contributed to the Capuchin chapel building fund. Augustine may well have been the brother of Andrew and Bonaventure, and himself later a priest and chaplain at Chillington. C.S.P. Dom. William III Jan-Dec.1698, London, 1933, p.61, Edward was licensed to return to England in 1698 having served with King James in Ireland.

Captain George Aylmer's regiment with other Catholic officers, all of whom had been dispensed from the Oaths. Two of these officers were later promoted; in 1686 Edward became an adjutant (1) and then Lieutenant (2), and in the October of the same year, John became a major in charge of a company in Hales Regiment (3). The packing of the army with Catholics accounted for much of the hostility of Protestants towards James II and his co-religionists. The Bill of Rights specifically attacked the disarming of Protestants, when, "at the same time Papists were both armed and employed contrary to Law" (4).

The activities of Bishop Giffard also alarmed the Protestants. Not only had he been openly consecrated bishop of ~~Madagascar~~ before the King and Court at the Banqueting Hall, Whitehall (5), but he accepted the Presidency of Magdalen College from the King. James' attempt to secure a foothold in the Anglican preserve of Oxford, was seen as a plot to turn Magdalen, the richest foundation in England,

-
- (1). C.S.P. Dom. James II, Vol.II, 1686-May 1687, op.cit, 295.
 - (2). Ibid. 1001.
 - (3). Ibid. 1039.
 - (4). W.C. Costin & J. Steven Watson, "The Law and Working of the Constitution", Documents, 1660-1914, Vol.I, 1660-1783, Black, London, 1962, p. 68.
 - (5). Dom. Basil Memphill, "The Early Vicars Apostolic in England", Burns & Oates, London, 1954, p.16.

"perhaps in Europe" into a Catholic Seminary (1).

Bonaventure's brother, Andrew, was also a Fellow of Magdalen (2), and the College chapel was taken over for Catholic services (3). The bishop and the other Vicars Apostolic wore their cassocks and pectoral crosses, publicly and openly (4), and when the birth of the Prince of Wales was celebrated at Magdalen, Bonaventure appeared in the College Hall with, "his purple cassock....down to the foot girt about" (5). Wood added that although Giffard's College was in festivity, "little notice was taken of it in the rest of the town". This brief moment of triumph for the Giffards, with their religion restored and Bonaventure, chaplain to the King, Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, and President of Magdalen, soon passed -

-
- (1). "Bishop Burnet's History of His own Times", abridged by Rev. Thomas Stackhouse, Everyman edition, London, 1906, p. 253.
 - (2). Kirk, p. 98.
 - (3). V. H. Green, "Religion at Oxford and Cambridge, A History c. 1160-c. 1960", S. C. M., London, 1964, p. 165, unaccountably Green refers to Bartholomew (sic) Giffard, b. of Madura.
 - (4). Douglas Newton, "Catholic London", Robert Hale, London, 1950, p. 107.
 - (5). Cited, Mrs. Bryan Stapleton, "A History of Post Reformation Catholic Missions in Oxfordshire", Froude, London, 1906, p. 23.

by the end of 1688 cross and cassock cast aside, Bonaventure was in hiding, and eventually was imprisoned in Newgate (1).

(1). Kirk, p.100; Douglas Newton, "Catholic London", Robert Hale, London, 1950, p.107.

CHAPTER IV.

"GENTRY CATHOLICISM "

About the year 1701 a list of Catholic gentlemen and nobles was prepared for Bishop Leyburn, in which the gentlemen were classified under several heads, ranging from Barons and Knights to "gentlemen of smaller estates", that is with an income of between £.400 and £.1,000. It also indicated whether or not the gentlemen supported a chaplain, and if so, whether the priest was a secular, a regular, or a Jesuit (1). In this document John Giffard was described as "Mr. Giffard of Chilenton, a gentleman of considerable estate", who supported a secular chaplain, and his uncle John of Blackladies, a gentleman of "smaller estate," as "Mr. Giffard of Blackladies, Staffs." who maintained a Jesuit. At nearby Wolverhampton there were several Giffards in the congregation of one hundred souls, which maintained "a priest to help ye town and ye parts adjacent" (2). John of Blackladies' son Peter, succeeded his father as a minor in 1709 (3), and in 1718 at the death of his cousin Thomas, Peter inherited the Chillington estates (4) and so united all the Giffard properties.

(1). Westminster Archives, A. Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2 (transcript in the possession of Mr. J. Anthony Williams).

(2). Ibid.

(3). Kirk, p. 101.

(4). Kirk, p. 101 and 102.

Thomas' widow, Mary, retired to her dower house at Longbirch, where she lived a distinguished life and earned the title of, "the good Madam Giffard". She died in 1753 at the great age of 95, outliving Peter, her husband's successor, by seven years (1).

The new squire was the eldest son of John Giffard of Blackladies and Catherine Taylor of Worcester (2), and like all his family, a staunch Catholic (2). One of his tutors at Douay College was Dr. Challenor, later the Vicar Apostolic of the London District; Kirk states that in 1714 Peter "defended universal philosophy under Dr. Challenor" (3). Throughout his life Peter interested himself in the affairs of Douay and used the increased fortune of the Giffards in the support of the Church. His family occupied a more prominent place within the Staffordshire laity in the eighteenth century, with the passing of the estates of the Fowlers of St. Thomas and the Draycotts

-
- (1). J.O. Payne & E.E. Estcourt, "English Catholic Non-Jurors of 1715", Burns & Oates, London, n. d., London, p. 251.
 - (2). Kirk, p. 101, gives Catherine Langton of Kent as Peter's mother; Gen. Wrottesley, S.H.C., vol. V, p. 192, and Estcourt & Payne, p. 246 give John Giffard's wife as Catherine Taylor of Worcester; in 1715 she was resident in that city, described as "late of Blackladies", p. 246 and 276.. D 590/337, the trustees of Katherine, widow of John Giffard of Blackladies were Thomas Giffard of Chillington and his chaplain and cousin, Augustine Giffard
 - (3). Kirk, p. 101-102.

of Paynsley into the hands of non-resident recusant families. Eventually the Giffards provided at Longbirch a home for the Vicars Apostolic of the Midland District.

A statute was passed in 1700 to prevent Catholics from inheriting and purchasing land, and in 1715 all Catholic non-Jurors had to register their lands at Quarter Sessions with a view to the imposition of a tax amounting to two thirds of the value of their estates (1). Although this tax was not levied, Catholics were obliged to pay a double land tax, but as E.I. Watkin observes in, "Roman Catholicism in England from the Reformation to 1950", "if in fact no Catholic were permitted to inherit or purchase land, on what land could he pay his double land tax?" (2). Catholics resented the public enrollment of their estates, and the scrutiny of their private transactions by government officials (3), therefore they tended to keep matters concerning property within their family or the circle of their fellow Catholics. Peter's

-
- (1). E.I. Watkin, "Roman Catholicism in England from the Reformation to 1950", O.U.P., London, 1957, p.105; Estcourt & Payne, op.cit., p.365. Appendix II.
(2). Watkin, op.cit., p.105.
(3). Ibid.

sister Mary Parry wrote in 1727 to her cousin Mr. Roberts of Nerquis about a dispute over the inheritance of her son, that it be, "referred to Bishop Giffard or some able priests of a Lower class to avoid the interposing of Lawyers or Protestants, if there be found a way for Catholics to agree amongst themselves" (1). Catholics minors had Catholic guardians; Catholic heirs, Catholic brides, and Catholic estates, Catholic Stewards, and tenants (2). Although the penal land legislation, "was to a large extent held over Catholics in terrorem, not excuted" (3), the eighteenth century was, "a most dispiriting period of persecution without the heroism and glory of martyrdom". Protestant friends did sometimes act for their Catholic neighbours, and the stratagems of their lawyers enabled them to preserve their estates (4). The Giffards

-
- (1). D 590/573/2 - Mary Parry to Mr. Roberts of Nerquis, July 17, 1727.
 - (2). Mimladière thesis; e.g. Nathaniel Piggott, was steward of the manors of Brailes and Cherrington, which belonged to the Recusant Sheldons.
 - (3). Watkin, op.cit, p. 105.
 - (4). G.E. Mingay, "English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century", Routledge Kegan & Paul, London, 1963, p.42; Robert Robson, "The Attorney in the Eighteenth Century", C.U.P., Cambridge 1959, p.75; Watkin, op.cit., p.104, states that an act of 1696 prevented Catholics from practising as 'counsellors-at-law, barristers, attorneys or solicitors', hence Catholic legists had to turn to their only outlet conveyancing, a useful knowledge for eighteenth century recusants. Even Charles Butler was a conveyancer, and not until the 1791 Act were Catholics allowed to practice at the bar, Following the act,

indeed prospered; Dr. G.E. Mingay wrote in "English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century", that, "an unusually fortunate Catholic family was the Giffards of Staffordshire, who because of their assistance to Charles II after the battle of Worcester, were exempted from the anti-Papist laws. They prospered exceedingly, intermarried with other local Catholic families, and enjoyed an income which climbed from about £.4,000 in 1758 to £.10,000 in 1790" (1).

A summary of the registration of the estates of the English Catholics was made by the Very Rev. Edgar E. Estcourt and John Orlebar Payne and printed as "The English Catholic Non-Jurors of 1715" (2). Their summary of the Staffordshire returns can be compared with the fuller returns, "Enrolled Registration of Papists' estates 1715-1716" in the Staffordshire Record Office (3). Estcourt & Payne's summary indicates that there were one hundred and twenty-five

Henry Clifford, the Staffordshire recusant became the first Catholic to be called to the bar.

(1). Mingay, op.cit., p.42.

(2). Very Reverend Edgar E. Estcourt, "The English Catholic Non-Jurors of 1715", Burns & Oates, London n.d.

(3). Ibid. p.251: A copy of part of this registration, concerned with the lands of the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield is at Lichfield R.O. B/A/21/123702.

Catholics, who registered lands in Staffordshire, and the total value of their properties was £.17,882.1s.0d. Of these one hundred and twenty-five, thirty five landowners resided outside Staffordshire, mostly in the adjacent counties of Shropshire, Worcestershire and Warwickshire, and seventy-six of them owned lands worth fifty pounds or less. Thomas Giffard of Chillington, whose estates were enrolled as worth £.2,110.6s.6½d., was the richest Staffordshire Catholic (1), but there were also more humble Staffordshire recusants like Giffard's neighbours, Richard Lloyd the Kerrimore Green weaver, whose freehold house was worth £.2 (2), Frances Dale, spinster of Chillington, who had land at Brewood only worth £.1.18s.0d. (3), and Cresswell Wilks of Brewood Forge, whose Brewood Farm was registered at £.8 (4). In all fifteen landowners registered land in areas where the Giffards were influential landowners, such as Brewood, Kerrimore Green, Marston and High Onn (5), and

(1). Ibid.

(2). Estcourt & Payne, op.cit., p. 241.

(3). Ibid., p. 247.

(4). Ibid., p. 248. Cresswell (Cressida?) was a widow.

(5). Ibid., besides Lloyd, Dale & Wilks, there were, John Turner of Marston, Joseph Hawley of Eccleshall, Robert Bromley of Great Bridgeford, Catherine Bromley of High Onn, Thomas How of Boscobel, Joseph Brindley of Blymhill and Lapley, John Lees of Kerrimore Green, Edward Bamford and Joseph Carrington of Brewood, Mary Wolley of Whiston and John Shelley of Ranton.

fourteen Catholics from the Wolverhampton district, also registered land, including a victualler, a blacksmith, a brazier, a baker, a mercer and an innholder. (1)

There were other large Staffordshire landowners, but Giffard was easily the richest. He was one of ten landowners, whose property accounted for over £.11,000 of the £.17,882, which was the total value of the Staffordshire Catholics estates, but most of the registered landowners were yeomen, and small tradesmen (2).

Other Giffards owned land in the county; Edward, a Worcester apothecary, had property in Tettenhall and Wolverhampton (3), Catherine Giffard's lands in Blackladies and Stretton^{were} worth £.195.12s.0d. (4), and Elizabeth Giffard owned property in the town of Wolverhampton worth £.26 (5).

-
- (1). Ibid., Ursula Kempson, Thomas Marson, Peter Howell, Elizabeth Giffard, Elizabeth Fowler, Sussanah Guyott, Charles Smith of Bushbury, Thomas Wilson, Thomas Higgs of Tettenhall, Andrew Hill, Constance Whitgreave, William Sylvester and Edward Collins plus the Willenhall Levesons.
- (2). Estcourt & Payne, op. cit., pp. 250, 245, 252.
Sir Richard Fleetwood of Calwich £.1,278.11s.7d.
Thomas Fleetwood of Gerards Bromley £.1,286.6d.7d.
Sir Edward Simeon of Aston near Stone £.1,126.10s.11d.
John Fowler of St. Thomas, Stafford, £.1,489.10s.5d. The others were Lady Gerard, Lord Aston, Lord Aston, the Earl of Stafford, and Thomas Fitzherbert.
- (3). Ibid. p. 244.
- (4). Ibid. p. 246.
- (5). Estcourt & Payne, op. cit., p. 245.

Thomas had other estates outside Staffordshire, including "a life estate at Beelsby", Lincolnshire, worth £.424.2s.2d (1) and the manor of Neatham in Hampshire worth £.215.16s.10d. (2). Thomas' chaplain and kinsman, Augustine Giffard, had an annuity on land in Shiffnal, and a leasehold estate at Halesowen totalling £.44 (3). Walter Giffard's fifth daughter, Magdalen Giffard, resident at St. Giles in the Fields, Middlesex, owned the Manor of Chalvestone in Bedfordshire, worth £.133 (4). Peter's mother Catherine besides her Staffordshire properties, had an estate in fee at Hernhill, Kent of £.40 (5), and an estate at Water Orton, Warwickshire, of £.36 (6), but the widow lived neither in Kent, Warwickshire, nor Staffordshire, but resided in her native city of Worcester.

The enrollments in Stafford are of course much fuller than the summaries provided in Estcourt and Payne, e.g. the latter state, "Cresswell Wilks of Brewood Forge, widow, Farm there £.8" (7), while the enrollment reads, "a message,

(1). Ibid. p.160.

(2). Ibid. , p.235.

(3). Ibid. p.221, Augustine was a brother of Bishop Bonaventure Giffard.

(4). Ibid. p.1. Magdalen was Thomas' great aunt.

(5). Ibid. p.85.

(6). Ibid. p. 276.

(7). Estcourt & Payne, op.cit. , p.248.

tenement and farm in Brewood, in possession of Hawkins, year to year, £.8, "dated 19 April 1717"(1), and at the same date her son Edward Bamford enrolled for "Eustace Sling and one acre of meadow in Brewood worth 30/- "in possession of Cresswell Wilks, widow, my mother" (2). The larger estates of the Giffards were enrolled with particulars of lands, wastes, buildings, gardens, foldyards woods, paddocks, etc. in the possession of Giffard, and details of the rents of his tenants. However in the Staffordshire enrollments, Mary Giffard of Chillington is entered as widow of the late Thomas Giffard, and Peter Giffard of Stafford and Kent, as the owner of the manor and Lordship of Chillington, a moiety or part of Beelsby, Lincolnshire, lands at Broomhall, Staffordshire; the manor and Lordship of Whiston; lands at Longbirch, Gunston and Hattons; property at Stretton; the moiety of Stow Heath, shared with Lord Gower; Blackladies; Brewood, Manor and Lordship, and £.40 of land in Kent (3). A portion of Peter's registration addressed to "The Clerke of the Peace for the County of Stafford or his lawful deputy or deputies" is preserved among the Giffard Papers, in which he declared "by this writing under my hand desire you to register my

(1). S. R. O. Q. R. R. p.1, Enrolled Registration of Papists

(2). ^{Estates.} Ibid.

(3). S. R. O. /Q. R. R. p.1.

name and estate in severall manors, messuages, lands, tenenements and hereditaments herin after mentioned and contained situate lying, being and arrising in the said County of Stafford and County of Kent" (1). Unfortunately the copy only covers part of the details of the manor and Lordship of Chillington, in which it closely follows the actual enrolled registration.

Catholics continued throughout the eighteenth century, until the Relief Act of 1791 to enrol their properties, but after the complete registration of 1715-17 the tradesmen and craftsmen and, in general, the smaller landowner seems not to have registered their few acres, although John Kempson, the recusant yeoman of Great Saredon, did enrol his property at Great Wyrley and Shareshill on May 3rd, 1734 (2). However the great landowners like Peter Giffard's heirs continued to enrol their estates; on October 6th, 1755 Thomas Giffard enrolled his estates, when he was eighteen and therefore liable to take the oaths (3). When Peter's

-
- (1). D 590/227: Peter Giffard of Chillington, Registration as a Papist of his estate.
 - (2). S.R.O./Q/R.R. p.4 Particulars of Papist Estates returned to the Clerik of the Peace.
 - (3). Ibid.

grandson, Thomas Joseph, became liable to enrol his estates in 1785, he sought the assistance and advice of the Catholic lawyer, Francis Plowden, who was paid a guinea for his "opinion about the necessity of a Catholic registering his estates" (1), and he was given another 6s.8d. when Giffard consulted him about, "taking the oaths, registering your estates and drawing a conveyance of the Hyde Estate" (2). Nevertheless on the 19th September 1785 Thomas Joseph's enrollment was entered with, "the Particulars of Papist Estates returned to the Clerk of the Peace" (3).

Although Dr. Mingay states in "English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century" that the Giffards were exempted from anti-Papist laws because of the family's assistance to Charles II (4), this is not entirely correct, as the family not only paid the double land tax, but were still paying this double levy as late as 1850 (5). Also the Giffards had to fight vigorously for their family's exemption from other

-
- (1). D 590/666 Lawyers' Bills. To Francis Plowden, 1785.
 - (2). Ibid., Jan. 1785.
 - (3). Q/RR, p. 4.
 - (4). G. E. Mingay, op. cit., p. 42.
 - (5). D 590/684. Letters from Geo. Robinson to William Garnett and Thomas Keough of the Inland Revenue Office.

penal levies and burdens in the early eighteenth century. The Privy Council had been petitioned in 1716 by Richard, John, George and Thomas Penderell, Thomas and Peter Giffard, Thomas Whitgreave, Francis Yates, Thomas Howe, Anne Rogers and several others, "that their ancestors were immensely instrumental in the preservation of the person of the late Majesty King Charles II after the battle of Worcester" (1), and that Charles II had by, "an order in Council of January 17, 1678 desired that the House of Lords should proceed with a bill to exempt those and their descendents, who have saved him after Worcester, from Penal legislation, and that a similar order in Council had been made by Queen Anne in 1708" (2). These orders were dependent on the descendents behaving themselves "placably and quietly", and the petitioners maintained that they were peaceful subjects. The petition was accepted, and on April 6th, 1716 an order in Council signed by Devonshire, Townshend, Pulteney and other members of the Privy Council declared that, "whomsoever it may concern are to take notice of this mark of his Majesty's Royal favours in regard to the fidelity and

(1). D 590/337.
(2). Ibid.

services of the said families to the crown" (1). Yet, despite this order the Giffards had to pay the double land tax.

It is apparent that Peter Giffard's estate was also chargeable for the "finding of horse, horseman, arms, or a foot soldier and arms" for the Militia, because he was a Papist, and that he was charged £.8 in lieu of supplying the horseman and arms, even when the Militia was not raised (2). In 1721 a Militia captain demanded £.8 from him for each of the previous five years, although the Militia had not been raised; Peter sought legal advice (3). John Conyers, cited an opinion of Edward Northey in 1705, that "a papist or non-juror is not obliged to pay for Horse except the service be performed", and Conyers ruled that Peter was not liable to pay for years in which the Militia was not raised. Conyers added that despite the Order in Council, "I am of the opinion that Peter Giffard being one of ye Petitioners above mentioned will not thereby be excused from ye £.8 when by ye said Act it becomes

(1). D 590/377.

(2). Ibid.

(3). Ibid.

payable" (1). Therefore it seems that the Giffards had not gained much by the 1716 Order in Council, although Peter Giffard, Thomas Whitgreave and the Penderells were exempted from the special levy of 1723 (2).

Peter had proven himself litigious even before he succeeded to the Chillington estates, as he had a dispute with his mother over the maintenance of his brothers and sisters. The childrens' guardians Thomas and Augustine Giffard suggested that £.20 should be ordered for their maintenance, but, "ye heir (Peter) objects against, because by deed, no maintenance is provided". Peter held that the widows annuity, and bonds, debts, mortgages and portions left him in a worse condition than a younger child. However, "out of a filial duty", he was willing that Mrs. Giffard "should enjoy that legacy" (3). Once the Blackladies properties, detached from the estate, at the time of his grandfather, John of Blackladies, had been joined to the estates of the Chillington family, the new Squire seemed determined to enjoy his wealth and influence in every possible

-
- (1). D 590/337/2 - Conyers stated that "when ye militia is not raised very doubt full from ye persuing of ye Act which requires such payments for ye services to be performed, I think therefore ye construction of the Act may be best collected from ye nature of this Act".
 - (2). Rowland's thesis, p.165.
 - (3). D 590/337 Letter to the guardians, Thomas and Augustine Giffard.

way. Cases were taken to court; a Vice President of Doway became his chaplain at Chillington; he visited London, Bath, and even his alma mater in France; he also replaced the old Tudor House with a new mansion built by Francis Smith of Warwick (1).

Peter's energetic role as an active Catholic Country gentleman may be compared with that of his great uncle, Walter, who had spent the latter part of his life in exile at Antwerp, Paris and La Flèche, and the relative quietness of his predecessors John and Thomas. Peter married three times. His first bride was Winifred Howard, the daughter of Robert Howard of Hoar Cross (2), a fellow Staffordshire Recusant, but listed in Bishop Leyburn's document as "a gentleman of smaller estate" (3), so that Peter married into the minor gentry of the same rank and background as that of his own Blackladies family. His second bride Barbara Throckmorton of the Warwickshire and Buckinghamshire family (4) brought Peter into a different social world, and he bargained hard with Sir Robert Throckmorton for a substantial dowry, eventually receiving over £.5,000 (5). His third bride

(1). See below.

(2). Kirk, p.102.

(3). Westminster Archives, A Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2.

(4). Kirk, p.102.

(5). Throckmorton Papers, on 2 May, 1724, Peter Giffard acknowledged the receipt of the sum of £.5,368.5s.8d., from Barbara's brother, Sir Robert Throckmorton.

was Helen Roberts of Nerquis in Flintshire, perhaps through the influence of his sister, who was married to another Welsh Recusant, John Parry of Twsogg, Denbighshire (1). His other sister Catherine married Thomas More of Coxwold, Yorkshire (2). Far from marrying into "other local Catholic families", the Giffards seem, as the century progressed, to be marrying more widely, but within the Catholic landed community.

Peter's eventual heir, Thomas, also married three times, firstly a daughter of Lord Petre, then another Barbara Throckmorton, and finally Frances Stonor, of the Oxfordshire Recusant family (3). His other son, John, married into another Welsh family, the Hydes of Plas Ucha, and his daughters Mary and Catherine, married Sir Edward Smythe of Acton Burnell, and Francis Canning of Foxcote (4), Warwickshire, respectively. Finally his grandson Thomas Joseph took as his bride the Protestant, Lady Charlotte Courtenay, the sister of the Earl of Devon (5). Indeed

-
- (1). Kirk, p.101 & 102; Estcourt & Payne, op. cit., p.29 - states John Parry of Twssog as having a life estate at Henllan, Abergelge worth £.80.1s.6d.
 - (2). Kirk, p.101; Estcourt & Payne, op.cit., p.329, More's estate was worth £.163.4s.0d.
 - (3). Kirk, p.101; Gillow, Vol.II, p.457.
 - (4). Ibid.
 - (5). Burke, "Landed Gentry", 1862, edition, p.549.

throughout the eighteenth century, except for Peter's marriage to Winifred Howard, the Giffards never married into a Staffordshire recusant family. Most of their spouses came from the substantial gentry of the neighbouring counties, but in two instances the Lords of Chillington took their brides from the ranks of the nobility. A marked feature of the Giffard marriages in this period was the close alliance with the Throckmortons of Coughton; four marriages took place between the families (1), so that by the 1790s. they were bound together by, "deep bonds of cousinage" (2). But the most significant marriage proved to be that of Thomas Joseph Giffard to the Protestant Charlotte Courtenay in 1788 (3).

By rebuilding Chillington Hall Peter underlined the affluence and status of the Giffards, but even his house was replaced fifty years later by an even grander one, designed by Sir John Soane. The Tudor Hall

-
- (1). Burke, 1862 edition, p. 549. Peter Giffard married Barbara Throckmorton; his heir, Thomas, another Barbara Throckmorton, and his daughters Maria Catherine and Frances married Sir John and William Throckmorton respectively.
 - (2). David Mathew, "Catholicism in England", Longmans, London, 1936, p. 152.
 - (3). Burke, 1862 edition, p. 549.

pulled down by Peter had been described by Sir Amias Poulet in the sixteenth century as a house which, "is well seated and is furnished with many fair lodgings, with a great chamber, gallery cabinet, a fair orchard, and garden walled about, great store of wood..... Two are three parks at hand, good pasture adjoining to the house, besides the dove house and other like commodoties" (1). Sir Amias, did have some criticisms of the hall, that the brewhouse and stables were rather small, although as a whole the house was very well furnished; nevertheless it had not been adopted as the prison of Mary Stuart. The South Front of the new Hall has been described by Christopher Hussey in, "English Country Houses, Mid Georgian", as "an excellent example of Early Georgian Provincial workmanship in pale red facing bricks with stone dressing" (2). This is all that remains of Peter's edifice. Mr. Hussey suggests that stylistic evidence points to the work as that of the architects the Smiths of Warwick, but he argues that the work was probably of William, who continued to live at

-
- (1). ed. John Morris, "Letter Book of Sir Amias Poulet", London, Burns & Oates, 1874, p. 99-100.
 - (2). Christopher Hussey, "English Country Houses; Mid Georgian", Country Life, London, 1956, p. 223.

Tettenhall, five miles from Chillington (1).

As a fashionable gentleman, Peter visited both London and Bath. In 1719 he wrote to Sir Robert Throckmorton from "ye King's bath, Bath" about his proposed marriage with the baronet's daughter (2). He informed Throckmorton that he had discussed the matter with his Steward "in the country", and also with "Mr. Fowler, when in Town" (3). Despite some dispute with regard to Barbara's portion, the marriage was eventually celebrated, "before a full assembly", on the feast of the Epiphany 1723 at the Throckmorton family chapel at Weston Underwood, Buckinghamshire (4). The following year Peter wrote from London to his Wolverhampton attorney, Mr. Brome, that as his wife had been safely delivered of a daughter, he hoped

-
- (1). Hussey, *op. cit.*, p. 223; H.M. Colvin in "A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660-1840", John Murray London, 1954, p. 552, attributes Chillington to Francis Smith.
 - (2). Throckmorton Papers: Peter Giffard to Sir Robt. Throckmorton, Sept. 17th, 1719 - this suggests that Peter had negotiated for Barbara's hand, before his marriage to Winifred Howard.
 - (3). Estcourt & Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 252 & 278 - John Fowler of St. Thomas also held land in Warwick.
 - (4). John Orlebar Payne, "Old English Missions", Burns & Oates, London, 1889, p. 81.

to "be in ye county in about a fortnight or three weeks^d time" (1). He wrote two more letters from London in 1724, one on May 23rd, 1724 from Duke St. Westminster, in which he acknowledged the receipt of a letter from Brome and declared that, "I would have sooner answered, but was removing my lodging and upon ye hurry" (2). He ordered the lawyer that if proof could be found, to bring an action against a Mr. Crawley for fishing "that hole by Boucker's mill upon my wast" (3), as previously he had been dealt with "tenderley" (2). This time he hoped Brome would prosecute Crawley "to ye rigour of the law" (4). On August 15th he again addressed his attorney, this time more promptly, with regard to a case at Shrewsbury concerning Broomhall Farm. Peter wrote that he had left with his steward Davis, all the writings concerning Broomhall, including a deed of Sir Thomas Giffard (5). He promised that the Steward and Dodd, the bailiff, would be of assistance in the case, and that Dodd had ten guineas, "For the counsels fees", as he hoped "they will speak home and handsomely to ye point, so I am willing to fee accordingly"(6).

(1). D 590/337 Letter 1724 und. Peter Giffard to Mr. Brome, Wolverhampton.

(2). D 590/337 Duke St. Westminster, May 23 1724 Peter Giffard to Brome.

(3). Ibid.

(4). Ibid.

(5). D 590/337 London, Aug. 15, 1724 Peter Giffard to Brome

(6). D 590/337 Aug. 15th, Peter Giffard to Brome.

Even from London the squire kept a close eye on proceedings in Staffordshire, supervising the activity of his attorney, steward and bailiff (1).

Barbara's first confinement was in London, and Peter appears to have spent the Spring and summer of 1724 in the capital. The couple returned to Chillington in the following year, and it was at the family seat that Barbara gave birth to her second daughter, who was baptized Barbara on December 19th, 1725 (2). The child's godparents were Sir Edward Blount and Catherine Giffard, "late of Blackladies and mother of Peter Giffard", but she died on the 13th March 1726 (3). The next child of the marriage, Peter, was also born at Chillington and baptized by Dr. Dicconson at half past one in the morning of 29th June 1727, the feast of St. Peter. The chaplain wrote in his register, "for had he been born on any other day the intention had been to have called him Thomas after the late gentleman of this house, his cousin from whom he inherited the Chillington estate" (4). The then chaplain at Chillington, Dr. Dicconson, had been Vice President of Douay College, and had returned

(1). Ibid.

(2). Staffordshire Catholic Registers, p.22; the child was born and baptized the same day.

(3). Ibid.

(4). Staffordshire Catholic Registers, p.25.

to England from Douay with Peter in 1722 (1). Peter had visited the College to make a donation to the rebuilding fund and to arrange for a mass to be sung for his late wife Winifred Howard (2).

Dicconson of Withrington, Lancashire, came of a good recusant gentry family, and had a distinguished career at Douay, being Professor of Poetry, Professor of Philosophy and Professor of Theology as well as Vice President. However, despite his good qualities, a speech impediment made preaching difficult for him, and hindered his promotion. Eventually, after years of service to the Giffards at Chillington and to the Midland Catholics as Vicar General to Bishop Stonor, in 1740, Dicconson succeeded Bishop Williams as Vicar Apostolic of his native Northern District (3). Peter had acquired a most distinguished chaplain, who was able to assist him in his own schemes to serve his fellow Catholics, in the building of the chapel at Wolverhampton and the publication of various Catholic books. Peter kept up his close ties with Douay;

-
- (1). C.R.S. Seventh Douay Diary, 1928, p.100; W. Maziere Brady, "Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy", Rome, 1877, p. 257, he was succeeded as Vice President by Peter's old tutor, Dr. Richard Challenor.
 - (2). C.R.S., Vol. 28, op. cit., p. 100.
 - (3). W. Maziere Brady, op. cit., p. 256.
 - (4). Brady, op. cit., p.258; Staffordshire Catholic Registers, p. 10.

young Peter was sent there in 1739 (1), and the guardians of Thomas and John, the younger children, dispatched them there in 1748, where they were educated alongside children of other noble and gentry families, such as the Stonors and Mostyns (2).

Like many other country gentlemen, Peter was involved in the fever and panic surrounding the South Sea Company. Apparently he contracted with a Mr. Webbe on September 20th, 1720 to buy £.1,000 stock of the Company, but at that date Webbe had no stock, and it was not until November 16th that he in fact purchased the stock to make good the contract (3). Giffard was soon involved in a bitter legal wrangle with Webbe over the contract and his liability to purchase, and he therefore sought the advice of both Thomas More of Lincoln's Inn and Robert Raymond (4). Ten years later Peter found himself engrossed in yet another controversy, when he sought to obtain a debt, of £.1,000 from the heirs of John Betham, Lord and Lady Fauconberg (5). He claimed that Betham had not only borrowed the sum of £.1,000 but had given a bond, "and obliged himself, his heirs, executors and

(1). C.R.S. 1928, op. cit., p. 222.

(2). Ibid. p. 254 and 255.

(3). D 590/336 Giffard v. Webbe. Reply of Rob. Raymond, 12 Feb., 1721.

(4). Ibid.

(5). D 590/340 Opinion of C. Talbot, 29 Dec. 1731

administrators, according to the usual form". Fauconberg refused to pay the debt and on 29 December, 1731 a Mr. C. Talbot gave his opinion, that Mr. Giffard's proper remedy for the recovering of the debt to him was by Bill in the Court of Chancery against Lord and Lady Fauconberg and the executors and administrators of John Betham (1).

The wealth that permitted a London season, South Sea speculations, bonds to recusant gentlemen, and the reconstruction of Chillington Hall stemmed from the rents and profits of the properties formed by the uniting of the Chillington and Blackladies estates. The increase in the Giffards' rental throughout the century, and their interest in agricultural improvement is dealt with in a subsequent chapter, but it is as well to note that in 1719 Peter wrote to his future father-in-law, Sir Robert Throckmorton that he had himself heard his estates valued at more than £.3,000 p. a., but that in fact they little exceeded £.2,000, but "they were very old rents indeed and consequently very improvable" (2). In 1716 his rental totalled £.2,039.0s.4½d. by 1748 "all ye rents yearly" totalled £.2,310.13s.11½d. (3), and his second son and heir Thomas (4) had an income from

(1). 590/340. Advice of C. Talbot, 29th Dec., 1731.

(2). Throckmorton Papers, Peter Giffard to Sir Robert Throckmorton, Sept. 17, 1729.

(3). D 590/600.

(4). D 590/601.

rents of £.3,042.5s.8d., according to the Petre marriage settlement made in 1761; therefore in forty years the rental had increased by 50% (1).

Some of Giffard's income was used to help the local Catholics; besides keeping a chaplain at Chillington and a chapel, which served his family and servants, the Catholics of Brewood and the surrounding townships, Peter helped to build a "Mass House" at Wolverhampton. The site of the house had been purchased in 1723 from Edward Giffard, but the work was not completed for another ten years (2). The total cost of the house was £.1,069.2s.2½d., which was raised by donations and subscriptions, to which Peter contributed (3). Although three priests, Thomas Brockholes, Thomas Berington and John Johnson acted on behalf of Bishop Stonor, the Vicar Apostolic (4), the accounts for the building were drawn up and balanced by Peter's steward, Davis and his bailiff Dodd, and the final audit; "an account

-
- (1). D 590/94 Settlement Thomas Giffard and Barbara Petre, 1761.
 - (2). Staffordshire Parish Registers, Roman Catholic Registers, op.cit., p. 12.
 - (3). D 590/634 A rental book, inside the cover is written Longbirch, Gunston and Hattons. An Acct. of Money Received of W. Davis. Overleaf is headed "towards Expenses of Building of Peter Giffard Esq. for work to be done at Wolverhampton."
 - (4). Ibid.

of what money Peter Giffard Esq. hath received upon the building of the new house in Wolverhampton" was presented to the Squire himself in 1734. Peter then handed the money over to the three priests, "superiors of ye clergy in Staffordshire by ye special appointment and direction of Bishop Stonor", who acknowledged the receipt of the £.1,069.2s.2½d. on 20th July 1734 (1). "Ye great new house and chappel in Tup St., Wolverhampton, with Peter's initials engraved upon the lead drain pipes, soon became known as Giffard House, and stands to this day, still under its old name, but with its chapel now enlarged and serving as the parish church of SS. Peter and Paul (2).

The accounts contain minute details of the brick making and even state that 3d. was spent on buying a rake "for raking up straw" (3). A brick kiln was erected on the site in 1727, and one Thomas Birch began his task of drawing out tiles, quarries and bricks; while at the same time the vaults and foundations were sunk (4), "for 169 yds. of sinking for the vaults and more at another time 24, all

(1). D 590/634.

(2). Staffordshire Parish Registers, pp.cit., p.12-13.

(3). D 590/634.

(4). Ibid.

being 193 at 3d. (1), per yard, £.2.8s.3d." (2). The clay dug out of the foundations was used to make the bricks, and although some "clods" were brought from Calf Heath, most of the material for the bricks seems to have been found on the site (3). While the foundations were being dug a shilling was paid for the "removing of green trees", and the sale of timber raised £.4.5s.9d. for the building fund (4). The supervisor of the work was Thomas Marson, the victualler, whose estate had been registered in 1715 (5). In 1728 William Hollins arranged for lime to be brought from Walsall and Dudley to the site (6). In 1729 Hollins and Thomas Evans, the carpenter began to pull down the old house and level off the site, with the aid of several workmen, Lawrence, Linkes, Lane, Corbitt and Daulton (7). Collins did the glazing and Joseph Salt of Wolverhampton painted the finished house in 1732-3 (8), while Hollis did the mason's work, as well as the building, with the help of the Carpenter, Evans (9). Clemson of Tettenhall dealt with

-
- (1). Ibid.
 - (2). D 590/634.
 - (3). Ibid.
 - (4). Ibid.
 - (5). Estcourt & Payne, op. cit., p. 244.
 - (6). D 590/634.
 - (7). Ibid.
 - (8). Ibid.
 - (9). Ibid.

tiles and gutters (1), Hugh Robinson of Penkridge the ropes (2), and John Walker of (Wolver) Hampton received £. 5. 1s. 8d. for nails (3).

Towards the end of the enterprise the supervision lay with Davis and Dodd who had to disburse bills ranging from £. 129. 4s. 11½d. in 1729 for "building timber" to £. 4. 19s. 0d. to Thomas Evans for making twenty-five sashed windows (4). In all, over one thousand pounds was spent. The subscription list was headed by a donation of £. 100 from Peter given early in 1728, and Thomas' widow, Mary, "cousin Giffard wid. of ye Longbirch gave £. 105. 0. 0. Some money was given by other gentlemen, e.g. Mr. Stanford gave £. 5. 5s. 0d. and Sir Windsor Hunlocke ten guineas, but most of the subscription came from collections made by various priests, especially Bishop Giffard, himself a native of the town, who raised over £. 500. Dicconson donated £. 76. 12s. 5d., and Brockholes was responsible for the payment of Mrs. Giffard's money, and £. 50 left by Mrs. Kempson of Great Saredon. A few small donations were made, one of £. 2. 10s. 0d. by Mrs. Ann Manning, and another of £. 2. 8s. 9d. from Mrs. Ellenor White (5).

(1). Ibid.

(2). Ibid.

(3). D 590/634.

(4). Ibid.

(5). Ibid. - a full account is printed in Appendix IV.

Peter had his own chapel in his gatehouse, where his servants, tenants and the local Catholics worshipped and received the sacraments from the hands of the family chaplain. Sermons were preached in the chapel, by the Giffards' priests, although doubtless Dicconson's (1). impediment hindered his preaching. Two sermons are preserved amongst the Giffard Papers, but though anonymous and undated, they must be (placed as) either late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, and may have been preached in the chapel at Chillington. One was prepared for the feast of All Saints (2) and another for the feast of the Assumption (3). The first was suitable for the mixed Chillington congregation of gentry, substantial tenant farmers, husbandmen, labourers, servants, tradesmen and craftsmen, as it states "for on this great day every one of us whatsoever his condition or state may find himself a proper patron to implore and a patron to imitate" (4), and that "to be poore in spirit you must be sure to content yourself with your present estate whatsoever it be" (5). It continued, "some men if he had another blessing would run

(1). M. Brady, *Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy*, Rome, 1877, p. 257.

(2). D 590/732.

(3). Ibid.

(4). D 590/733.

(5). Ibid.

wild, and if he had some other man's crosses would be desperate. The world is a large chess board, every man has his place assigned him, one is a King, another a knight, another a baron, and each hath its several motions without this variety there would be no game and play" (1). The rich, in this case the squire and his circle, were told to keep their riches as the apothecary kept his poison, i. e. in his shop and not in his body, and so "money will not infect you", and they were urged to give alms, an excellent practice, because God's, "nature is to give and to do good as ye fire is to heat" (2). The preacher added a warning to all, "You'll complain perhaps that you are poore, if you desire to have a shoee overwide and not fit your foot you deceive yourself, you ought not to say you are poor" (3).

This sermon can be compared to one written by Bishop Giffard himself, and found in a unbound letter book among the Maxwell-Constable Papers at Beverley Record Office, containing the copies of sermons and letters found in the Bishop's closet. The first entry is the copy of a letter prepared for the feast of St. Matthew, on the theme "Jesus passed by" (4). The bishop spoke of God's glory in making

(1). D 590/732.

(2). Ibid.

(3). Ibid.

(4). DD EV. 60/83 - The second entry in the book is a Letter,

"little accidents" and "mere casualties" serve the "eternal and immutable decrees of His wisdom; and of Christ; thou art absolutely Lord and master, no heart so obdurate which thou canst not soften, no ear so stopped which thy voice cannot break, no rebellion so great which thou canst not conquer". He urges his audience to, "consider the Goodness of God, who goes to seek out sinners even in the place of their sin" (1).

Peter encouraged the publication of English Catholic books. Robert Simms in, "Bibliotheca Staffordiensis," notes that he was the principal contributor to the printing of Dodd's "Church History", and that his chaplain Dicconson, "was one of the greatest assistants in its compilation" (2). Peter also printed at his own expense, Gother's, "Sincere Christian Guide", the preface

dated simply St. Mathew's Day.

(1). Beverley R.O. D.D.E.V. 60/83, "a collection of Letters and scattered Papers found in Bishop Giffard's closet". Despite all difficulties, the sermon appears to have been an important part of the spiritual life of English recusants.

(2). Robert Simms, "Bibliotheca Staffordiensis", Lichfield, 1894, p.187.

of which was written by his old tutor Dr. Richard Challenor (1). He also collected Catholic books, many of which found their way to Giffard House at Wolverhampton, from where they have recently been moved to Oscott College. Catholic books were fairly freely available in eighteenth century England, and it must be remembered that it was from a study of such works that young Edward Gibbon resolved to become a Catholic; a resolution made even before he had spoken to a priest. When Gibbon left Oxford for London in 1753 to join the Church, he wrote that "I addressed myself to Mr. Lewis, a Roman Catholic bookseller in Russell Street, Covent Garden, who recommended me to a priest, of whose name and order I am at present ignorant"(2).

Peter, as already mentioned, was educated at Douay, and he had later his executors and administrators saw that his three sons were educated at their father's alma mater, while at least one of his daughters, Catherine, was taught at Paris by the Blue Nuns (3). Young Peter entered Douay at the age of twelve in 1739 (4) and stayed for at least

(1). Simms, op.cit., p.187. & Gillew, Vol. II, p.540-1, Gother, a convert, was the chief Catholic controversialist during the reign of James II.

(2). ed. High Trevor Roper, "Gibbon; The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire and other selections from the Writings of Edward Gibbon", New English Library, London 1966, p.14.

(3). Throckmorton Papers; Catherine Giffard to Sir Robert

Throckmorton, Paris June 22nd. 1752.

(4). C. R. S., Vol. 28. Seventh Douay Diary, p. 202

eight years (1), whilst Thomas and John, the younger boys entered the College aged fourteen and eleven in July 1748 under the alias of "Saunderson" (2). Their father had his own view of piety, and in the seventeen forties he kept a common place book, in which he made various jottings about his spiritual life, e.g. he resolved to spend an hour in the morning and an hour in the evening in spiritual exercises, and in 1745 he determined to go to Confession and Communion every three or four weeks (3).

Many of Peter's children were baptized at Chillington (4), and the family heard Mass in the company of servants, labourers, craftsmen and farmers, who made up the congregation. The Chillington registers do record the births of most of Peter's children, and some of his domestic tragedies. In December 1725 Dr. Dicconson baptized Barbara, the second daughter of Peter's second wife, but the child

(1). Ibid. p. 251.

(2). Ibid. p. 254, 255 & 257.

(3). Rowland's thesis, p. 211, and 224. The book is now among the Throckmorton Papers at Coughton.

(4). D 590/737, Thomas Joseph had his son Thomas William baptized at the Portuguese Embassy, as the delivery took place in London. But significantly, although the last Catholic squire was not baptized in Staffordshire, in accordance with normal Catholic custom, he was baptized on the same day that he was born.

died within three months (1). Two years later his son and heir Young Peter was born, and his godparents were the Derbyshire recusant landowner Sir Windsor Hunloke and "old Lady Throckmorton", Mrs. Giffard's grandmother (2). In August 1728 a third daughter, Anne, was born, and Mrs. Jones, the midwife, baptized the child at birth "Seeming at its coming into the world to be just a dying" (3).

The first child of Peter's third wife, Helena Roberts, was born dead in 1733, after it had been, "baptized in the womb by Mr. Altery, the man midwife" (4). One year later Mrs. Giffard gave birth to a son, Thomas, who was baptized half an hour after his birth, his godparents being his uncle John Giffard of London and Miss Mary Roberts (5). The following year another daughter, Catherine, was born (6), but in 1737 Mrs. Giffard died six days after giving birth to her second son John Bonaventure. She died, "just as the clocks struck ten, after having had all the rites of the church" (7), and

-
- (1). Roman Catholic Registers, op. cit., p. 22.
(2). Ibid. p. 25.
(3). Ibid., p. 28.
(4). Ibid. p. 34.
(5). Ibid. p. 35.
(6). Ibid.
(7). Ibid. p. 35-36.

also having had four pregnancies in as many years. The same fate befell Barbara Throckmorton, the second wife of Helen's son, Thomas Giffard, who, "died on the 10th day after her lying in, being 17th May (1764) R.I.P." (1). Gentry families were not immune to infant mortality, nor the perils of childbirth.

Peter earned the name of "Peter the Great" for all his work in transforming the House and estate of Chillington, but although the title was bestowed somewhat facetiously by his friends, in many respects it was deserved (2). Peter's successors were to continue to build up the resources of the estate, and his son Thomas maintained his tradition as a benefactor of the church, with his constant aid to Sedgley Park School. A family chaplain served the house until 1793, when Mr. Appleton left the Hall and the family were served from Blackladies (3). Peter's work laid the foundations for the affluent days of Thomas Joseph, who toured France, Germany, Italy, enjoyed the world of a London Dandy; employed Sir John Swane to rebuild Chillington, and married the sister of an Earl. However he had "a shoe overdue", and ultimately

(1). Ibid. p. 39.

(2). Gilloew, Vol. II, p. 457.

(3). Kirk, p. 4.

his estate was placed in commission, and the glittering life of debts, bills and bonds ended, as heavy mortgages were laid upon the estate.

Thomas Joseph's marriage to a Protestant led to most of the children being brought up as Anglicans, and one of Peter's great grandchildren actually married an Anglican clergyman. Although his greatgrandson Thomas William remained a Catholic until his death in 1861 (1), he too married a Protestant, and he was not an active, zealous Catholic of the Chillington, or "Peter the Great's" tradition.

Peter's immediate heir was young Peter, but he died on the hunting field in 1749 (2), and was succeeded by his half brother Thomas, at the age of fifteen, while still a student at Douay. Thomas, as already mentioned, took over the responsibility of his estate from his guardians Sir Robert Throckmorton and Sir Windsor Hunloke in 1755, when he registered his estates as a Papist (3), John Bonaventure Giffard, whose birth led to the death of his mother Helen Roberts, inherited his mother's Welsh properties at Plas Ucha in Flintshire (4).

(1). J.H. Smith, "Brewood", W'ton, 1876, p. 52.

(2) .C.R.S. Vol. 28, op. cit., p. 222.

(3). S.R.O./Q/RR p. 4. Particulars of Papist Estates returned to the Clerk of the Peace.

(4). Gillow, Vol. II, p. 457.

Another factor in the development of the Giffard estate after Peter's death was that Mrs. Giffard, his cousin's widow continued to live at Longbirch, her dower house, and when her chaplain Mr. John Johnson died in 1739 (1) he was succeeded by John Hornyold. At the request of the Bishop Stonor, Hornyold was appointed his coadjutor in 1751, and he was consecrated by Stonor in February 1752 (2). After his consecration Hornyold continued to live with Mrs. Giffard at Longbirch, and after her death in 1753, the house was rented from the Giffards, and continued as the residence of the Vicars Apostolic until 1804 (3). Hornyold was subject to the hazards of the penal code; on one occasion he had to disguise himself as a woman, by throwing a cloak over his vestments during a search by constables, and several times he had to be "concealed in one of the Longbirch farms" (4). When he died in 1778, the ^{Brewster} register stated simply "December 30th 1778, Buried John

(1). C.R.S. Vol.12, 1913 Obituaries, p.5, he died on 16th June 1739.

(2). Brady, "Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy", op.cit, p.210-211; R.J. Stonor, "Stonor", Newport,1951, p.290, wrote of Hornyold being consecrated to care for the Northern part of the Vicariate and of the risk in the ceremony being performed at Stonor; it was the only consecration of a Catholic bishop to take place in England under the penal laws".

(3). V.C.H. , Vol. V, p.38.

(4). Brady, op.cit. , p.211.

Hornyold, Esquire, of Longbirch" (1).

Following the consecration of Hornyold, Stonor wrote to a nephew at Cambrai about the ceremony, informing him that the coadjutor had returned to "his old Lady in Staffordshire, to take care of ye good people there, and to proceed in time to the work of perambulation" (2). Hornyold was a friend of Peter Giffard's former tutor, Dr. Richard Challenor, and they often corresponded. Michael Trappes Lomax in his "Bishop Challenor" described a letter of Challenor's to Hornyold as containing a quaint devotional conceit in reference to the failing health of the good Madam Giffard", and cites Challenor as writing "If her legs and sight fail her, I make no question but that she employe so much the more the wings of the soul and her interior eyes, in the way of mental prayer and inward conversation with God" (3). In a further letter "Mr. White (Dr. Petre), joined with Challenor in presenting (4) his respects to good Mrs. Giffard, and on December 24th, 1751 Dr. Challenor under his pseudonym 'J. Fisher' in another letter to Hornyold acknowledged, "the enclosed bill

(1). Ibid., p.24 & C.R.S. Vol.12, op.cit., p. 14.

(2). Stonor, op.cit., p. 290.

(3). Michael Trappes Lomax, "Bishop Challenor", Longmans, Green & Co. London, 1936, p.111, Letter dated 10th February 1750.

(4). Ibid. p.115 Dr. Petre, bishop Petre, letter of April 1751

of Mrs. Giffard's charity", and both Challenor and Petre gave their new year's wishes to the coadjutor and the "good lady" (1).

The Longbirch household must have been large, since Mrs. Catherine Collingwood also retired to the house to live with Mrs. Giffard, and continued to reside there even after the latter's death in 1753. Her granddaughter, Barbara Throckmorton, married Thomas Giffard of Chillington. She died in 1776, the same year as her great grandson, Thomas. Joseph inherited the Chillington estate (2). Mrs. Giffard brought up as Catholics the sons of her relative Mrs. Rayment, whom she educated at the Egbaston school (3). Good Madam Giffard took care of her servants in her will requesting that "housekeeping be kept at her house one whole month after her decease to the end that

(1). Trappes Lomax, op.cit., p.115.

(2). Kirk, p.52. Mrs. Collingwood was a daughter of Lord Montague, and her daughter married Sir Robert Throckmorton. She died at the great age of ninety-one.

(3). D.D. C.C. 147/14. Lartington, near Barnard Castle, Sept. 21st. 1810, B. Rayment to Thomas Clifford.

her servants may have time to dispose of themselves" (1).

Peter's own chapel was in the gate house at

-
- (1). "Records of the English Catholics of 1715" ed. J.O. Payne, Baker, London, 1900, p. 63.
Mrs. Giffard was the heiress of her father's property at Irnham in Lincolnshire, and her own heir was Benedict Conquest of Houghton Conquest, Bedfordshire. Eventually the estate descended from Mr. Conquest to his only daughter Lady Arundell. Conquest's sister married Mr. Rayment, an Anglican. In 1810 B. Rayment relying on "oral information", declared that Mrs. Giffard had given £.1,500 p.a. to her nephew Mr. Conquest during her lifetime, and that the old lady had given £.500 to Dr. Rayment who later died at Rome, and £.500 to Mr. Rayment of Worcester. A Mr. Thomas Rayment of Worcester wrote in 1792 to Thomas Clifford of Tixall to inform him that he proposed to visit Staffordshire and spend some time at Longbirch. A reminder of the close connection between his family and the old dower house, which had since become an episcopal residence.
C.R.S. Vol. 28, p. 115; D.D.C.C. 147/14 B. Rayment, Lartington Sept. 29th, 1810 to Thomas Clifford; D.D.C.C. 147/13. T. Rayment, Worcester 7th Nov. 1792 to Thomas Clifford.
"Records of the English Catholics of 1715", ed. J.O. Payne, op.cit., p. 34.

Chillington (1), but there were other chapels in the vicinity. Giffard House, as already mentioned, served the Wolverhampton Catholics.

A small chapel stood at his family home of Blackladies; Mrs. Giffard kept a chaplain at Longbirch, who cared for the neighbouring Catholics, while a Jesuit, Father Robert Collingwood, lived at Boscobel from 1691 until 1743, and the site of Whiteladies Abbey was regularly used as a cemetery by Staffordshire Catholics. In the course of the eighteenth century the Giffard's estate became the centre of Midland Catholicism; Peter's chaplains Dicconson and Thomas Brockholes were both Vicar General to Stonor during their residence at Chillington, and from 1756 until 1804 Longbirch, as the residence of the Vicars Apostolic, became the administrative and ecclesiastical centre of the entire Vicariate. The Catholics in the Brewood area were a sizeable minority; in 1706 the number of recusants was 181, in 1769 389, and by 1780 the total was 399 (2). Although the nucleus of this Catholic community was Chillington, not all of the Brewood recusants were servants,

(1). J.H. Smith, Brewood, A Résumé, Historical and Topographical", Wolverhampton, 1876, p.44.

(2). Rowland's Thesis, Appendix 1.

tenant farmers and agricultural workers, many of them were small tradesmen and craftsmen. A copy of the return of 1706, "an exact account of the number of papists and reputed papists within the parish of Brewood" giving, "Quality, estates, and places of aboad within the said parish of papists" was found among papers at Lichfield, concerned with the registration of Thomas Giffard's property, "as may concern ye Bishop of Lichfield", and other documents concerning the episcopal Manor and Park of Brewood (1). Thomas Giffard, Esq., his lady and his Lady Mother and family were listed as recusants at Chillington, and at Blackladies the return noted as recusants, "John Giffard, Senior, gentleman and John Giffard Junior Gentleman, and his wife and children" (2). At Chillington Town, there was among the Catholic population, a variety of occupations, including carpenters, blacksmiths, millers, as well as labourers and husbandmen (3). At Brewood there were returned twelve households, and there were recorded, three labourers, three husbandmen, a gardener, a butcher, a "joyner", a weaver and even, "a poor woman" (4). At Kiddermere Green

(1). B/A/ 21/123702.

(2). Ibid.

(3). Ibid.

(4). Ibid.

the return included two shoemakers, a tailor, a naylor, and a sawyer (1). The return indicated that there were at least forty-five Catholic households in the immediate vicinity of Chillington, and that mixed marriages were rare. Indeed both the return and the Chillington baptismal register suggest that the children of mixed marriages were usually brought up as Catholics. (2)

The Chillington registers record one hundred and six baptisms between 1720-1735, a yearly average of 7.57, and in the period 1762-1770 one hundred and fifteen baptisms, a yearly average of 14.27. In the early period, twenty-eight marriages are entered in the register, of which all but five were celebrated either at the Hall, or in the home of one of the local Catholics. Six were "mixed", but in three of these cases, the non-Catholic was either under instruction, or promised to become a Catholic (3). The chapel was used by other congregations, for example, two of the marriages concerned members of the Longford congregation, who had the permission of their own

(1). Ibid.

(2). Staffordshire Parish Registers Soc. Roman Catholic Registers, 1959, op. cit. For a more detailed examination of the Registers see Appendix V.

(3). Ibid. p.18, p.19 and p. 25.

priest, Mr. Griffith, to marry at Chillington (1).

Similarly chaplains from the surrounding missions sent members of their flocks to Chillington for confirmation, e.g. when Bishop Stonor visited the chapel in 1721, he confirmed twenty-one people prepared by Dr. Dicconson, and twenty others under the direction of Mr. Johnson of Longbirch, and Collingwood of Boscobel. Three years later the bishop confirmed people sent by Harneage of Madeley, Good of Linley, Shropshire, and Mr. Huddleston "who lives behind Coven" (2). Between 1720 and 1734 of the one hundred and sixty-seven Catholics confirmed at Chillington, only sixty-seven were members of the local congregation, and the remainder came from the surrounding Shropshire and Staffordshire missions (3).

These registers contain the names not only of servants at Chillington, but also those at the houses of other recusant families, and the names of tenants of other recusant landowners. In 1725 two former servants of Mr. Hill of Pepperhill married at Chillington (4), and in the same year a daughter of Goody Roberts of Ackborowes, who

(1). Ibid. p. 18 and 19.

(2). Ibid. p. 16.

(3). Ibid. p. 16, p. 19-21, p. 23, p. 28 & p. 31-33.

(4). Ibid. p. 21.

had been in service at St. Thomas', married a Patrick Hamilton of Stafford (1). The godparents of Agnes Causer in 1727 were John Fielding, the butler of Mrs. Giffard of Longbirch and Elizabeth Latchford, a laundry maid at a Throckmorton house, Harvington Hall in Worcestershire (2). In March 1728 Francis Haughton, described as "lately a husbandman on Mr. Palin's estate" at Dearnsdale, Staffordshire, married Anne Reynolds, a Chillington chambermaid; an interesting match between a Catholic servant in a Catholic household, and a former husbandman on a Catholic estate (3). After the marriage Haughton took over one of Peter Giffard's farms at Gunston, and at the baptism of his first son, Peter Reynolds, the child's uncle, was godfather by proxy, as he had "gone hence to live with Squire Barclay of Spechley (sic)" (4). Another marriage between Catholic servants took place in November 1729 when Peter Giffard's coachman, Francis Sutton, was married to Anne Manning, servant to Mrs. Elizabeth Giffard of Wolverhampton (5).

(1). Ibid. p. 22.

(2). Ibid. p. 25; Estcourt & Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

(3). Ibid. p. 27.

(4). Ibid. p. 29. Squire Berkeley of Spetchley, Worcestershire.

(5). Ibid. p. 30; D 590/534 Miss Manning made a small contribution towards the building of the Wolverhampton Mass House.

The entries in the registers, concerning the Giffards themselves have been dealt with already, but it is interesting that the Squires only appear twice as godfathers; once in 1728 when Peter stood for William Rock (1), and in 1769 when Thomas Giffard and the Hon. Mrs. Heneage were godparents to Mary Catherine Fielding (2).

Joseph Berington in "The State and Behaviour of English Catholics" reported a similar pattern of Catholic life throughout England when he declared that most Catholics lived in the neighbourhood of the houses of the recusant gentry. "They are the servants, or the children of servants, who have married from those families, and who choose to remain around the old mansion, for the conveniency of payers and because they hope to receive the favour and assistance from their former masters" (3). Berington's book gave a most pessimistic account of the state of Catholicism, painting a picture of a rapid decline in numbers of Catholics in the eighteenth century. The author also stated that with the exception of a few Commoners, the greatest number of Catholics had less than one thousand

(1). Registers op.cit., p.28.

(2). Ibid. p.45.

(3). Joseph Berington, "The State and Behaviour of English Catholics", 2nd. Edition, Faulder, London, p.116.

pounds per annum in landed property (1). Therefore the Giffards, whose rental in 1791 was £.6,319.18.2d., and their total income from their property £.10,897.1s.11d. (2) were exceptional among Catholic gentlemen, but their congregation, although larger than the average, was composed of the usual mixture of servants and tenants gathered around the "big house".

Berington wrote that twenty pounds was considered to be a good salary for a Gentleman's chaplain, and if "the rural curate have twenty more, to keep himself, his horse, and his servant, it will be said, he is very well provided" (3). The priest further stated that the Catholic gentry were "rough and unsociable" (4), and that in general although priests were "upright and sincere" they were narrowed by a bad education (5). The Giffards were well provided with chaplains in the eighteenth century of their own social rank. Augustine Giffard was a member of their own family; Dicconson, a Vice President of Dotay, and Brockholes were members of Lancashire gentry families, while Anthony Clough, a relative of the Hornyolds, was another priest from the ranks of the gentry (6). Their

(1). Ibid, p.122.

(2). D 590/602 - accounts presented to Thomas Giffard's trustees, Loughborough, John Throckmorton and John Cote.

(3). Berington, op. cit., p.159.

(4). Ibid. p.162.

(5). Ibid. p.125-6.

(6). See Appendix VI for a full list of Giffard's chaplains.

successors at Blackladies and Longbirch, were not men of that background. The world of John Roe and his Richmond nephews, as recorded in the Diaries of Thomas Richmond, the Godsall schoolmaster, was a world of rustic charm, but not a world of the gentry élite (1), and inevitably St. Mary's Brewood, the successor church to the Blackladies, Chillington and Longbirch, chaplaincies had in the eighteenth fifties parish priests named Father Kavanagh, and Father Michael O'Sullivan (2).

In the eighteenth century at least Catholic squires like the Giffards were educated at Douay, or Liège, with the seminarians, who were later to be ordained and serve on the English mission. As one might expect, Berington was critical of this "foreign education", which gave the gentlemen "at first a peculiar cast, but a free intercourse with the world soon rubs off those acute angles, unless when inveterate habits have formed, or the mind been peculiarly narrowed" (3). Charles Butler thought the Douay system was excellent with regards classics and religion, but as the main object was to, "form members for the church they were not calculated to qualify the scholars

(1). Richmond Diaries, Wolverhampton Reference Library.

(2). J.H. Smith, "Brewood", Wolverhampton, 1876.

(3). Joseph Berington, op.cit., p.125-6.

either for business, the learned professions or the higher scenes of life" (1). Apparently, writing, arithmetic, geography, modern history and "manners" were neglected, but he admitted that on two scores "the foreign education", could be praised, for its cheapness, and the "universal equality of treatment" (2):

However there were advantages for the recusant body, in their gentry and priests sharing a common education, as well as disadvantages. Certainly in some cases it must have lessened the tensions, which would inevitably arise in a household by the presence of a resident chaplain. Not everyone considered Catholic chaplains as badly treated; some outsiders compared their lot with that of Anglican clergymen, e.g. Steele writing in the Tatler in 1710 mocked at the exclusion of Anglican clergy from the last courses of dinner and asked, "what a Roman Catholic priest would think of such treatment?" (3). In the mid nineteenth century, Benjamin Armstrong, the Norfolk High Churchman, after attending a performance of "The Messiah" at Norwich,

(1). Bernard Ward, "The Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England 1781-1803", Vol. I, 1781-1803, Longmans, London, 1909, p. 19.

(2). Ibid.

(3). Cited by W. H. Hutton, A History of the English Church from the accession of Charles I to the death of Queen Anne", MacMillan, London, 1903, p. 323.

wrote that, "In the patrons' gallery sat the bishop and also the nobility and gentry of Norfolk looking very tenacious of their rank and precedence. Among them sat a Roman Catholic priest to whom people seemed to pay marked respect, from which I hazard a guess that he is one of the Jerningham family..... his countenance was of the most intellectual and devotional cast. The contrast in this and perhaps other respects between him and our bishop was rather painful" (1). Armstrong also noted in his diary that, "verily squires love to have pre-eminence and I am thankful that there is not one in my Parish" (2). Catholic squires too sometimes treated their priests as little better than servants, and this matter is considered in a later chapter. However the close connection between priests and gentry, continued even into the twentieth century. A convert priest, Father Wincutt, (who has since returned to the Church of England), wrote that "when at

-
- (1). "Armstrong's Norfolk Diary", Edited by his Grandson, Herbert B.J. Armstrong. Introduction, Owen Chadwick, Hodder & Stoughton, 1963, p. 83. [Sept. 24, 1852]
 - (2). Armstrong, op. cit., p. 68 - entry Oct. 24, 1858: Ibid. p. 77. Armstrong was amused to see the Rev. Gurden galloping away from Hingham, after a visitation, instead of staying to dine: "he was going to meet Cardinal Wiseman at Lady's Stafford's where His Eminence has been staying some days".

Princethorpe (Warwickshire).....On Tuesdays I lunched with the Squire my visit to the eighteen nineties, for in this sombre mansion I seemed to find myself in the reign of Queen Victoria. We lunched in state..... waited upon by the last survivor of a once numerous staff" (1). Even today a number of country missions survive, as a reminder of the recusant past (2).

Many Anglican clergymen in the eighteenth century had some contact with Catholics. The diarist, James Woodforde, wrote in 1765 of spending an afternoon in the company of several men, including one Mr. Taunton, a "Roman", who he described as, "a young sensible man of great wealth" (3), and a few days later he discussed religion with a Mr. Dod "a baker and a Roman Catholic", but he added "I own was not right at all" (4). William Cowper, the poet and Anglican minister, when in charge of Weston Underwood was friendly with Thomas Giffard's sister, Mary Catherine, and

-
- (1). W.P. Wincutt. "Return to Reality", S.P.C.K., London, 1954, p. 44.
 - (2). Birmingham Diocesan Directory, 1964, Birmingham: e.g. p.104, Coughton, the Throckmorton chapel; served from Sambourne; p.107; Cresswell, p.121; Princethorpe, p.130; Swynnerton & p.137 Woodlane, Yoxall.
 - (3). Rev. James Woodforde, "The Diary of a Country Parson", ed. John Beresford, O.U.P., London, 1926, p. 44.
 - (4). Ibid. p. 45.

her husband Sir John Throckmorton. Cowper wrote to Rev. William Unwin about Sir John that "he has a wife, who is young, genteel and handsome. They are Papists, but much more amiable than many Protestants..... Mr. T. is altogether a man of fashion, and respectable on every account" (1). Such contacts helped to remove the barriers of prejudice, but they must be contrasted with the persecution of Bishop Hornyold, and the fact that two Catholic labourers even in 1782, had to sell their furniture, to pay a shilling fine and expenses for not attending the Church of England" (2).

Woodforde wrote in his diary in September 1780 that he had received a printed letter from his bishop, ordering a return to be made of all the Roman Catholics in his Parish, but he claimed, "he did not know of any" (3). Similarly S.L. Ollard in an Appendix in The Yorkshire Archaeological Society Volumes "Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns, 1743" wrote that the returns make it clear that the English clergy were not concerned to draw attention to their Catholic Brethren, and that "In answer to Archbishop

-
- (1). "Cowper", Poetry and Prose", Intro. & Notes, Humphrey S. Milford, Clarendon, Oxford, 1921, reprint 1953, p.140.
 - (2). Ursula Henriques, "Religious Toleration in England 1787-1833", Routledge, Kegan & Paul, London, 1961, p. 137.
 - (3). Woodforde, op.cit., p. 292.

Herring's searching questions the parochial clergy for the most part preserve a discreet silence" (1). In the same work Ollard summarises very well the strengths and weaknesses of the well trained Catholic clergy, who served the English Catholics in the difficult, unheroic years of the eighteenth century (2). "Their records exhibit them to be a body of men who studied to be quiet, and were content to spend long years in the service of small groups of country folks..... If they were not distinguished in literature or scholarship these Roman Catholic clergy seem to have been strong in their spiritual integrity, they neither caused scandal nor lapsed from their allegiance" (3). Such were the men who served at Chillington, Blackladies and Longbirch; the cultured "avant-garde", Joseph Berington was a rarity, and in many respects this was more of a blessing than a loss to the English Catholics.

(1). Y. A. S. R. S. Vol. LXXVII, 1930; Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns, 1743, Vol. IV edited S. L. Ollard & P. C. Walker, Appendix A, Roman Catholics, S. L. Ollard, p. 190.

(2). Ibid.

(3). Ollard, op. cit., p. 190.

When the Tourist Torrington in 1790' visited Moseley, after his look at Chillington and before his visit to Tixall, all recusant houses, he saw, "a sneaking priest glide by me; of what should they fear now?... When I came downstairs I said "But where is your chapel?" So the young farmer took me up to it in the garrets, where I saw an adorned altar!"

CHAPTER V.

"THE GIFFARD FAMILY'S CONTRIBUTION TO RECUSANT
RELIGIOUS LIFE".

Throughout penal times the Giffards made a distinct contribution to the religious life, as many of the family entered the priesthood and joined the English communities on the continent (1). Their most distinguished religious were Winifred, Abbess of Rouen, and Bonaventure, Vicar Apostolic of the Midland and the London districts. The family also gave financial assistance towards the upkeep of religious Houses (2), and many of the children were educated in the seminaries and convents. However during the eighteenth century the number of vocations in the family decreased, and a nephew of Peter Giffard, Pierce Parry, who served on the Staffordshire Mission and died in 1792 (3), seems to have been the last of the distinguished band of priests and religious produced by the family.

The greatest number of vocations, particularly among the women of the family, came during the seventeenth century. Most of the girls entered the convent of the

-
- (1). For a general introduction to the foundation of the English Houses on the continent see E. I. Watkin, "Roman Catholicism in England", O.U.P., London, 1957, p. 75 f. and M. D. R. Leys, "Catholics in England", Longmans, London, 1961, p. 59 f... For a full list of Giffard Religious see Appendix III.
 - (2). Peter Guilday, "The English Catholics Refugees on the Continent 1558-1795", Vol. I, Longmans, London, 1914, p. 301 and p. 387.
 - (3). Kirk, p. 177; C. R. S., Vol. 13, p. 289.

Augustinian Canonesses at Louvain and the Poor Clares House at Gravelines. In 1621, Briget and Ann, the daughters of Walter Giffard, after crossing the channel, without passes(1), professed at Louvain (2). They were later joined there by three of their nieces, Mary and Joyce Giffard and Anne Vavasour. Sister Mary, the daughter of their brother Peter, professed in 1625 (3), and four years later accompanied Sister Bedingfield to Bruges, where they founded a new house (4). Joyce was the daughter of Richard Giffard of Cosford (5), and Anne Vavasour a daughter of Sir Thomas Vavasour, the Yorkshire recusant and Ursula Giffard (6). Although five members of the family entered Louvain between 1621 and 1638, the second generation of Giffard religious preferred the house of the Poor Clares at Gravelines.

-
- (1). Dom. Adam Hamilton, "The Chronicle of the English Canonesses of St. Monica's, Louvain, 1548-1625", Sands & Co., Edinburgh, 1904, p. 201-2.
 - (2). Ibid., p. 200.
 - (3). Dom. Adam Hamilton, "A Chronicle of the English Canonesses of St. Monica's, Louvain, 1625-1644, a continuation", Sands & Co., Edinburgh, 1906, p. 16 & 76.
 - (4). C. S. Durant, "Flemish Mystics and English Martyrs", Burns, Oates & Washbourne, London, 1925, p. 241.
 - (5). Hamilton, "Continuation", op. cit., p. 18.
 - (6). Hamilton, "Continuation", op. cit., p. 94 & 109.

Four of Peter Giffard's other daughters, Dorothy, Ursula, Elizabeth, and Winifred joined the Gravelines community (1). Dorothy professed in 1626 (2), Ursula in 1630 (3), and Elizabeth and Winifred in 1633 (4). Winifred, who made her profession at the age of sixteen, was the most distinguished of the sisters. As Mother Winifred Clare she ruled over the community at Rouen for thirty five years. She resigned her office in 1701, and died five years later; her community recorded her death on November 23rd, 1706, "our most venerable and most reverend and dearly beloved Mother Abbess, Sister Winifred, third abbess of this convent, ninety years old, seventy in religion" (5).

The last Giffard girl to enter a community was Mary, daughter of Walter Giffard (II), who joined the English

-
- (1). C.R.S. Miscell. IX, 1914, "English Poor Clares at Gravelines, 1608-1637", edited by Joseph Gillow, p. 33 & 51; two granddaughters of John Giffard of Chillington, Sister Anne Brooke and Teresa Sandford, joined the Poor Clares in 1596 and 1619 respectively.
 - (2). Ibid. p. 62.
 - (3). Ibid. p. 63.
 - (4). Ibid. p. 66 & 92.
 - (5). C.R.S. Miscell. IX, 1914, op. cit., p. 92; Hamilton, "Continuation", op. cit., p. 75, wrongly described her as a sister of Briget of Louvain, she was in fact the seventh daughter of Peter Giffard and a niece of Sister Briget, C.R.S. Miscell. IX, 1914, op. cit., p. 106; in 1679 Mother Winifred gave shelter to her cousin Bonaventure, who had fled from the terror of the Popish Plot. See also C.R.S. Miscell., Vol. LVI, 1964, edited E. E. Reynolds, II, "Papers from Lambeth Palace Library", ed. Carson I. A. Ritchie, p. 139-141.

Teresians at Antwerp on April 8th, 1681 aged forty-two, and adopted the name of Sister Mary of the Martyrs (1). Although no other member of the family became a nun, the Giffards retained their close contacts with the English Communities on the continent, for instance on the death of Walter, at La Flèche in 1689, Mary's mother, the "wedow Giffard", went to live with the Blue Nuns at Paris (2). This house also had a school, that was "favoured by the English nobility and gentry" (3), and in the seventy fifties Catherine Giffard was educated there (4).

In June 1752 Catherine (4) wrote to her guardian,

-
- (1). Hamilton, "Continuation", op. cit., p. 77; Thaddeus, "The Franciscans in England, 1600-1850", 1898, p. 68; P. Caraman, "Henry Morse, Priest of the Plague and Martyr of England" Fontana, London, 1962, p. 183. Mary brought to Antwerp several miniatures of the Jesuit martyrs, Morse, Corby & Holland, plus other priests imprisoned at Newgate. P. Caraman states that "These portraits were painted by a fellow prisoner of the martyrs, a Staffordshire Giffard, who though he was untrained and inexperienced, ... achieved an astonishing likeness".
 - (2). C. R. S. Vol. 8, 1910, "The Diary of the Blue Nuns, 1658-1810", ed. Gillow & Trappes Lomax, p. 37.
 - (3). E. I. Watkin, "Catholicism in England", op. cit., p. 77-78.
 - (4). Catherine was born on March 17th, 1734/5, and later married Francis Canning; Staffs. Parish Register, vol. 195 p. 35 & Burke's Landed Gentry, 4th Edition, 1862, p. 208-209.

Sir Robert Throckmorton asking for money, as "the sum you was pleased to send me begins to grow very small, for I was much in debt, when it came and in want of all sorts of clothes" (1). She also stated that she was unable to drink beer, and as the nuns did not allow her, "to drink water alone", she had to drink the more expensive wine (2). She complained that everything in Paris was expensive, especially "the masters". However, a few months later she offered to give up her harpsicord lessons, as she found, "I make but little progress and I am quite tired of learning" (3). This gesture of economy was followed by a plea to her uncle to raise her allowance to £.200. She explained that she desperately needed money, as the nuns borrowed money for her, and it was "a great mortification to them, particularly as it is for so long a time, in fact the person what lends them (h)as now declared it is not in (h)is power to give me any more" (4). Catherine sent Sir Robert

-
- (1). Throckmorton Papers, Paris June 22, 1752, Catherine Giffard to Sir Robert Throckmorton"; D 590/615, "Guardian's Disbursement Book" contains a reference to a payment of £.87.0s.6d. to Catherine on January 30th, 1752.
 - (2). Ibid.
 - (3). Throckmorton Papers, Paris Jan. 26th 1753 Catherine Giffard to Sir Robert Throckmorton.
 - (4). Ibid.

the regards of the school's "first mistress", Sister Fermor, Sister Blount and Miss Hunlocke, whose names are another indication of the close link between the convent and the recusant gentry families (1).

In one of her letters to her uncle, Catherine had rightly written that, "you likewise can be no stranger to the nuns' circumstances" (2); indeed both Sir Robert and her father had made gifts and loans to the community (3). Most recusant gentlemen provided some financial support for the convents, and gave a dowry for any daughter entering an order. M.D.R. Leys in "Catholics in England" wrote that the dowry was generally less than a suitor would have expected as a marriage portion, and that girls who professed, saved their parents, "some of the troubles attendant on the marrying of their daughters" (4).

(1). Ibid.

(2). Ibid.

(3). C.R.S. Vol. 8, 1910, "The Blue Nuns of Paris, 1658-1810", ed. J. Gillow & R. Trappes Lomax, p. 72, p. 74 & p. 85.

(4). M.D.R. Leys, "Catholics in England", Longmans, London, 1961, p. 201; George Yule in "The Independents in the Civil War", C.U.P. Cambridge, 1958, p. 48 states that the thesis of H.R. Trevor Roper, "does not explain why the recusant gentry were such ardent royalists: surely the abolition of the Court of Wards would have been worth a sermon". John Bossy's analysis of "Seigneurial Catholicism" in "The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism", Past & Present, No. 21, April 1962 explains the answer to that problem. Equally Peter Giffard, who had five daughters in convents, had his answer - Catholicism was worth five dowries.

One of the earliest supporters of the Louvain House was George Giffard of the Middle Temple, who used his legal training to help the Canonesses. He had "put out most of (the nuns') means" in England, before the Civil War, and when the fighting broke out he "got the monies in", which the community then, "laid.... here (The Low Countries) upon life rents, which somewhat increase them" (1). George boarded at St. Monica's with his friend, Sir Francis Englefield, and Mr. Thornbury, a young medical student (2), and as they paid well for their lodgings, they greatly assisted the community's finances. George bequeathed £.500 to the community in 1649, but, because of the wars, the community only received £.400 which was promptly "put forth to rent" (3). Later in the century Thomas Hawkins, the son of Catherine Giffard, assisted the Blue Nuns of Paris, in a similar manner (4). In 1699 he was empowered by his aunt

-
- (1). J. Morris, "Troubles of our Catholic Forebears", Burns & Oates, London, 1872, p. 288-289.
 - (2). Ibid. p. 305.
 - (3). Ibid. p. 295, "by reason of the hard times in England we were counselled to agree with Mr. Farmer his executor, for present payment to give him in £.100."
 - (4). C.R.S. Vol. 8, 1910, op. cit., p. 367. Payne & Estcourt, "Catholic Non Jurors of 1715", Burns & Oates, London, p. 1, Thomas was son of Thomas Hawkins of Nash Court, Kent and in 1720 he was an executor of the will of his aunt Magdalen Giffard.

the Reverend Mother, "to act in her businesse" during his visit to England as "it would require a long time to finish it and she was not able to undure so long a separation from her Deare community" (1).

The Blue Nuns received further help from the Giffards. In 1719 Bishop Giffard sent them £.200, "which had been left the house by "the late Thomas Giffard of Chillington" (2). In the same year Peter Giffard loaned the nuns three hundred pounds to pay Mr. Rhenault, one of the community's creditors (3). In 1726 Peter instructed the nuns to pay, "the two English convents of the nuns in Paris", 1,800 livres from the loan of £.300, and another sum of one hundred pounds, which he had given the convent (4). A few years later Bishop Giffard himself granted the nuns a legacy of two hundred livres (5).

Provision was sometimes made for the support of individual members of the family, who entered religious orders. For instance in 1698 an indenture was drawn up between Thomas Biffard of Chillington and, "Mary Giffard

-
- (1). C.R.S. Vol. 8, 190, op.cit., p.47 & 367: the abbess was Susanna Joseph Hawkins.
(2). Ibid. p.72.
(3). Ibid. p.85.
(4). Ibid.
(5). Ibid. p.98.

of the Towne of Antwerp in Flanders, spinster and aunt of the said Thomas Giffard" (1). As already stated above, Mary was a member of the English Carmel at Antwerp (2), and by the terms of the indenture her nephew promised to make her an annuity of ten pounds to be paid in two portions each Lady Day and Michaelmas. The money was to be raised on some meadow land and other small properties in Neatham, Hampshire (3).

The Giffards held money for religious, who were not members of the family, as Thomas Joseph held money on behalf of Dame Christina Hooke of Cambray (4). On his return from the Grand Tour in 1785 Thomas received a letter from Dr. Luke Hooke, who explained that he regretted not seeing him when he was in Paris, but hoped that Thomas would either, "pay the £.200 or ... take of him £.200 money in order by the interest to make up the pension allow'd Dame Christine, my sister at Cambray, for her to enjoy as long as she lives" (5). The principal was to be

(1). D 590/712.

(2). Hamilton, "Continuation", op. cit., p. 77.

(3). D 590/712.

(4). C. R. S. Misc. VIII, Vol. 13, 1913, "Records of the English Benedictine Nuns at Cambray", ed. J. Gillow, p. 73, Dame Christina died in 1792.

(5). D. 590/666 Collège Mazarin, Dec. 10, 1785 Hooke to Thomas Giffard: For Hooke see Gillow, Vol. III, p. 370-371 & Kirk p. 123.

bequeathed, at the death of the nun, to another of Hooke's sisters, who lived in London. Originally the principal had been held by Thomas' father, and his widow, Frances Cary, had offered Hooke the choice of the repayment of the principal, or the continuation of payments of interest on the sum. Now Hooke wished to settle an allowance on Dame Christina, "in the manner most agreeable and advantageous to the convent", and asked Thomas to tell his step-mother of this plan, and thank her for "having consented to be hitherto a treasurer for the convent" (1).

Many male members of the family entered the priesthood; the first were Gilbert and George, sons of John Giffard who were ordained in the sixteenth century, as secular priests. However other Giffards joined the religious orders; Edward Giffard, a pupil of the martyr Father Oldcorpe, entered Valladolid College in July 1600, and later became a Benedictine (2). Peter Giffard of Whiston also joined the Benedictine order, and professed at St. Edmund's Paris

(1). Ibid.

(2). C.R.S. Vol. 30, "The English College at Valladolid, 1589-1862", ed. E. Henson, p. 64.

in April 1640 (1). Several boys entered the new order, the Society of Jesus. Edward Giffard, the son of Richard Giffard of Ashmores professed as a priest in 1634 (2), and both Peter and Joseph Giffard, of the Cosford branch of the family, entered the society in the sixteen forties (3). Other Giffard relations, who joined the Jesuits in the seventeenth century were, Father William Ireland, the martyr (4), Daniel Coulster, Colonel Giffard's stepson (5), Francis and Walter Pershall (6), Richard Vavasour (7) and

-
- (1). Dom. Henry Birt, "Obit Book of the English Benedictines, 1600-1912", Edinburgh, 1912, p. 21: Downside Review, No. 76 (New Series vii), March 21, 1907, Gilbert Dolan, ch. xxii, "The Benedictine Associations of Staffordshire", p. 53; a distant kinsman of the Giffards, Edward Wollesley, professed in 1632, Birt, "Obit Book", op. cit., p. 47, and another Benedictine, Nicholas Becket of Moseley, near to Chillington, died on the Mission at Cannock, Staffordshire, in 1603, Birt, "Obit Book" op. cit., p. 6, C.R.S., Vol. 30, op. cit., p. 75.
 - (2). Foley, Vol. I, p. 652 & Vol. VII, p. 301.
 - (3). Foley, Vol. VII, p. 301-2, & p. 305-6, both Peter and Joseph adopted the alias of Walker. Peter served for a time in Staffordshire.
 - (4). Foley, vol. VII, p. 395.
 - (5). Foley, Vol. VII, p. 300; Daniel's alias was Giffard.
 - (6). Foley, vol. V, p. 430-1 & 589: C.R.S. Vol. LV 1963 "Responsa Scholarium" of the English College", ed. Anthony Kenny, p. 482.
 - (7). "Staffordshire Catholic History", No. 3, 1963, Frank Robert "The Society of Jesus in Staffordshire", p. 16.

Henry Cassy (1).

The new order continued to attract members of the family even in the eighteenth century, when two of Peter Giffard's nephews, Christopher and Thomas More, entered the Society (2). When the Jesuits were suppressed Thomas More was appointed Vicar General to the former members of the order by Bishop Challenor (3).

Although Blackladies was a Jesuit Mission for a brief time, Chillington was always a secular chaplaincy. Therefore it is not surprising that some of the boys became secular priests in the seventeenth century; one was Peter Giffard, a son of Thomas Giffard of Wolverhampton, who was ordained in 1653 and served in England from 1661 until his death in 1689 (4). The family of Andrew Giffard of Wolverhampton provided three secular priests, Andrew, Augustine and Bonaventure. On one occasion, long after his ordination, Bonaventure had cause to write to his mother who was troubled

(1). Foley, Vol. IV, p. 427.

(2). Foley, Vo. V, p. 703; & Vol. VII, p. 520, they were the sons of Thomas More of Barnborough, Yorkshire, a descendant of the martyr, St. Thomas More and Catherine Giffard of Blackladies.

(3). Kirk, p. 169-170.

(4). Kirk, p. 101.

by thoughts of "a comfortless death", reminding her of God's providence in "that he has helped you to bring up your children in his service, that he has made you instrumental to the saving of many poor souls" (1).

Andrew was successively Professor of Philosophy and Divinity at Douay, and during the reign of James II, he was in charge of the Lime St. chapel, from which he was dismissed after some Jesuits had accused him of "Blackloism and Jansenism" (2). Later he became a Fellow of Magdalen, and he declared that his ejection from the Oxford College was carried out with "much more civility and much less reproach" than in the case of his expulsion from Lime St. (3). He also served as Vicar General to his brother, Bishop

-
- (1). D.D.E.V. 60/83 A Collection of Letters and Scattered papers found in Bishop Giffard's closet.
 - (2). Kirk, p. 98; Gillow II, p. 451-2; A. C. F. Beales, "Education under Penalty", Athlone, London, 1963, p. 248. Andrew replied to the charges that not only was he averse to the doctrines of Blacklo, but he had never spent half an hour reading his work, and as for Jansenism, "I was so averse to it, that I always taught the opposite opinions, and generally struck to the doctrines of the Society both in morals and speculation, and this the Jesuits know and own to be true".
 - (3). Gillow, Vol. II, p. 453.

Bonaventure Giffard (1), and in 1706, although chosen to succeed Bishop Ellis to the Western Vicariate, he declined the honour, despite the entreaties of his brother Bonaventure (2). He died in 1714, and Bonaventure wrote of him, "My brother though much indisposed, was forced by threats of an immediate search by Mottram (an apostate priest) to retire into the country, which so increased his fever that in seven days he died. An inexpressable loss to me, to the whole clergy, and to many more" (3).

Unlike his brothers, Augustine spent most of his years in the priesthood in Staffordshire, humbly serving his cousins at Chillington as Chaplain from 1711-1722 (4).

(1)¹/₂ Ibid. p. 452.

(2). Kirk, p. 98: See also "Journal of Ecclesiastical History," Vol. XV, No. 2, October 1964. J. Anthony Williams, "Bishop Giffard and Ellis and the Western Vicariate", who writes that Andrew declined "on the grounds of age and infirmity to the chargin of his colleagues of the chapter.... The exiled Queen continued to insist upon a regular having the appointment while the secular cleggy, including Bishop Giffard himself were firmly opposed to this.

(3). John Morris, "Catholic England in Modern Times", Burns & Oates, London, 1892, p. 12.

(4). Hamilton, "Continuation" op. cit., p. 75.

He was also an administrator of the clergy's Common Fund (1). In his will made in 1719 the priest described himself as "Augustin Giffard of Chillington gent", and began his testament with the usual pious format "I bequeath my soul to Almighty God hoping by my saviour's passion and death to find mercy" (2). He bequeathed to his sister £.300 and "half the little plate I have and a dozen dyaper napkin"; to his cousin Betty Giffard of 'Hampton, "a guinea", and he left Mary Giffard, Thomas' widow, "the bed that is in my chamber, where my sister died with what belongs to it that is mine" (3). He acknowledged the kindness he had received from Peter Giffard, by leaving him, "five broad pieces and his own bed" plus his best chest of drawers (4). After his death a great dispute broke out between Bishop Stonor and the trustees of the Common Purse. Thomas Brockholes, Peter's chaplain threatened the Bishop with a law suit, unless he returned the £.200, originally handed over in 1703 by Francis Fitter to Augustine, and which forty

-
- (1). Rowland's Thesis, p.51.
 - (2). Lichfield Record Office, Augustine Giffard's will, 1719, witnessed by Thomas and Robert Dodd, the steward and bailiff of Peter Giffard.
 - (3). Ibid.
 - (4). Lichfield Record Office, Augustine Giffard's will, Augustine's executor was a Holborn goldsmith, Thomas Higgins.

years later Robert Freeman, the agent for the Staffordshire clergy, had been persuaded to hand over to Stonor (1).

The third of Andrew Giffard's sons to become a priest was Bonaventure Giffard, whose career as Vicar Apostolic and President of Magdalen has been mentioned in a previous chapter. Dom. Basil Hemphill in, "The Early Vicars Apostolic in England" described Bonaventure as "one of the most outstanding of all the long line of Vicars Apostolic between 1685 and 1850, he was for many years the leading representative of the Church in England" (2). After the brief triumph of the reign of James II, Bonaventure was subject to persecution and hardship. Shortly after the accession of William and Mary, he had been imprisoned for twenty months, and altogether he served four separate spells of imprisonment (3). Appointed to the London Vicariate in 1702, he was continually harried by priest hunters, and in 1714 he declared that he had recently to change his lodgings fourteen times in five months to escape

)))

- (1). Rowland's Thesis, p.56-59.
- (2). Dom. Basil Hemphill, "The Early Vicars Apostolic in England", Burns & Oates, London, 1954, p.18, and p.45; he was born in the reign of Charles I and died in that of George II.
- (3). Ibid. p.45.

pursuivants and spies (1).

Bonaventure also suffered the intrigues of Abbe Strickland, who from c.1715 with the help of Saltmarsh and Stonor, had tried to persuade Propaganda to appoint a coadjutor to the London District (2). This group claimed that Bonaventure's age rendered him unequal to bear the weight of his office (3). The Bishop was also troubled by the political situation following the Hanoverian succession; a problem complicated by the close association of the exiled Jacobite Court and the English Catholic authorities (4).

Throughout his life Bonaventure worked constantly for his flock, and in 1722 he stated that he always gave away three quarters of his own patrimony and the gifts he received (5). He died at Hammersmith in 1734 aged ninety-two.

(1). Ibid. p.45 & p.47-48.

(2). Ibid. p.51, & M.Brady, "Annals of the Hierarchy", Rome, 1877, p.154.

(3). Ibid. p.53 & 68, Brady, op.cit., p.157 & 158; In 1720 Bonaventure accepted Henry Howard, the brother of the Duke of Norfolk, as his successor, primarily to prevent Stonor obtaining the London District. A few months after his appointment Howard died of fever, and Benjamin Petre succeeded Howard as coadjutor.

(4). Hemphill, op.cit., p.49 & p.109 Bonaventure and Bishop Pritchard of the West asked Propaganda a number of questions e.g. "If James invaded and George ordered Catholics to kill or expel James, are Catholics bound to do this?"

(5). Ibid. p.91; Foley V, p.797, one such gift was £.10 from Sir George Webb's will of 1696; he also gave money to Leyburn, poor nuns, and interestingly a sum "to bind

His coadjutor Petre reported the bishop's death to Rome, stating "His Lordship during the last months frequently desired and received the Sacraments with extraordinary fervour and confidence" (1). He was buried alongside his brother Andrew, in St. Pancras churchyard (2). Throughout his life Bonaventure did not forget his native Staffordshire and his home town of Wolverhampton. He had helped his cousin Peter to build the Mission House and chapel in Wolverhampton, and in his will, he bequeathed twenty pounds to the poor Catholics of Wolverhampton and the neighbourhood (3).

As already stated the eighteenth century saw a decline in the number of Giffard vocations, but Pierce Parry, the son of Mary Giffard, Peter's sister, became a secular and served at Oscott (4). Another secular, connected

poore children apprentices".

(1). Brady, op.cit., p.159; Hemphill, op.cit., p.134.

(2). Hemphill, op.cit., p.182, C.R.S. Vol.12, 1913, Catholic Memorial inscriptions, John Hobson Matthews, p.21, "St. Edmund's Menology", ed. B. Ward, C.T.S. London, 1909, p.137. At the end of the nineteenth century their bodies were moved to the Seminary at Ware, Hertfordshire; at the exhumation the remains of Ann Giffard, their sister, were discovered.

(3). Hemphill, op.cit., p.182.

(4). Kirk, p.177: C.R.S. Vol.13, 1913, p.289.

with the family was John Howell, who had been baptized at Longbirch by Hornyold. He was educated at Valladolid and ordained in 1789 (1). At his death in 1810, he was the chaplain to the Welsh branch of the Giffards at Nerquis in Flintshire (2).

The seminary at Donay was used by the recusant gentry as a school for their boys (3), and in the eighteenth century Peter Giffard and his sons Peter, Thomas and John were all educated at the College (4). The ties between Donay and Chillington were further strengthened when the Vice President, Dr. Dicconson, in 1722, became Peter Giffard's chaplain (5). The Giffards were benefactors of the College; Thomas Giffard gave £. 500 to help its building scheme, and was consulted by Dr. Witham, the President, on the laying out of money in life rents (6). In 1722, his cousin Peter, revisited Donay "et in manus Praesidis contulit libras sterlingas ducentes ad promo vendum novum aedificium" (7)

-
- (1). C.R.S. Vol. 30, Valladolid Registers, op.cit., p.210.
 - (2). C.R.S. Vol.12, p.107.
 - (3). Leys, op.cit., p.157: in 1619 Donay opened a school for juniors.
 - (4). C.R.S. Vol.28, 1928 "The Seventh Diary" edited Edwin Burton & Edmund Nolan, p.222 & p.254.
 - (5). Ibid. p.81 & 100.
 - (6). Ibid. p.56 & 318.
 - (7). Ibid. p. 100.

Bonaventure donated £.100 to the College (1), and he requested that at his death his heart should be buried at Douay, with this inscription, "Hic jacet cor Bonaventurae Giffard hujus collegii alumni" (2).

The "Seventh Donay Diary" records the progress of the Giffard boys through the years of Grammar, Syntax, Poetry and Rhetoric, and a letter from John Giffard to his guardian, Sir Robert Throckmorton, provides an insight into this educational system. John wrote in 1752, four years after his entry, and thanked his uncle for placing him in, "so advantagious a situation that it will be entirely my own fault if I advance not daily in virtue and learning (which I am confident you'll take to encourage)" (3). John wanted Sir Robert to send him the, "Greek and Latin texts of Xenophon and Homer, Mr. Pope's translation ofthe Iliad, a Paradise Lost, done by M. Milton, a Telechmachus, and lastly a french dictionary" (4). He explained that the texts were required not only to "advance his learning, but also to polish...as I may say and refine

(1). Ibid. p. 318.

(2). C.R.S. Vol. 28, p.192.

(3). Throckmorton Papers, Feb. 8th, 1752: John Giffard to Sir Robert Throckmorton.

(4). Ibid.

my manners" (1).

In 1762 a Catholic school was opened in Staffordshire at Betley, near Newcastle under Lyme, and in the following year it transferred to Sedgley Park, near Wolverhampton (2). The Park was leased from Lord Ward, and Michael Trappes Lomax in "Bishop Challenor" wrote that Lord Ward "later had to defend his action in Parliament" (3). Dr. Kirk stated that Thomas Giffard had persuaded Ward to let the house to the Catholic authorities, and that Thomas had guaranteed the rent of the premises (4). Hugo Kendall, The Park's first President, soon won the respect of his aristocratic landlord, and on a few occasions he dined with Ward in the company of Thomas Giffard (5). This school was founded for the education of Catholic boys, "in the middle ranks of life" (6): it began with only eighteen pupils yet by 1771 the number had increased to almost one hundred (7).

(1). Ibid.

(2). Michael Trappes Lomax, "Bishop Challenor", Longmans, London, 1936, p. 169¹.

(3). Ibid. p. 169: Edwin Burton, "Life & Times of Bishop Challenor", Vol. II, Longmans, London, 1909, p. 37.

(4). Kirk, p. 102.

(5). Ibid. p. 144.

(6). Ibid. p. 126.

(7). Trappes Lomax, op. cit., p. 169: Burton, vol. II, op. cit., p. 37 - the old boys included the actor John Kemble, Bishop Milner & Dr. Kirk.

Thomas Giffard, who had helped to found Sedgley Park, was a man of wide culture, and made a tour of the continent. While in Italy in 1771 he had his portrait painted by Batoni (1), and purchased a picture for £.25 in Rome, for an altar piece for the chapel at Holme on Spalding Moor (2). In 1782 his brother John returned to the continent (3), and stayed at St. Gregory's Seminary Paris, which he entered as "a pensioner with two servants" (4). It is not surprising therefore that Thomas' own son and heir made the traditional Grand Tour, accompanied by Dr. Charles Berington, who had "positively refused" (5) the presidency of St. Gregory's, preferring to act as guide and tutor to the young Catholic heir.

Among the Giffard papers is a letter dated Paris,

-
- (1). Esmé Stratford-Wingfield, "The Squife and his Relations", notes to the plates of the Giffard portraits.
 - (2). Katherine M. Longley, "Heir of Two Traditions, the Catholic Church of St. John the Baptist, Holme on Spalding Moor 1776-1966" privately printed, 1966, p. 9.
 - (3). Kirk p.101 wrote that John's Protestant mother-in-law placed his eldest daughter in the hands of the Lord Chancellor "and would have done the same with the younger had not Mr. Giffard taken her over to Paris and placed her in one of the English nunneries. This obliged him to reside abroad several years in France & Italy".
 - (4). C.R.S. Vol. XIX, 1919, "Register Book of St. Gregory's 1667-1786" edited Edwin Burton, p.153.
 - (5). Ibid. p.152-153. Dr. Belasyse also refused the Presidency, preferring to act as tutor to Lord Petre's eldest son.

10th November 1783, and addressed to Thomas Giffard, "gentilhomme Anglois", Allemagne à Munich (1). The writer described Giffard as "mon très amiable correspondant" (2). It is evident from this letter that Giffard and his tutor had visited Spa and Dusseldorf, and that Thomas had a regular correspondence with the writer, who read his letters with "le plus grand plaisir"(3). The unknown writer recommended Thomas to keep a travel book, and enter notes under the following headings "De la Géographie, Histoire, Religion, Government, Acts et Moeurs", and finished his note by offering his compliments to "M. Berington" (4).

The writer may well have been Dr. Hooke, the librarian at the College Mazarin and former lecturer at the Sorbonne (5) who wrote on December 10th 1785, after Thomas had returned to England, expressing his disappointment that he had not travelled back by way of Paris. Hooke wrote that "I did promise myself real pleasure in seeing you safe and well

-
- (1). D 590/715 Paris, Nov. 10th 1783, anon to Thomas Giffard; part of the letter missing, so that the identity cannot be established.
(2). Ibid.
(3). Ibid.
(4). Dr. Charles Berington.
(5). Kirk p.123.

after so long a journey, as also great entertainment in running over again all the ways you had trod and hearing all your adventures" (1). He explained that he would have prepared for such a meeting by reading all Thomas' letters, which he had kept, which he had intended to give him at their meeting. He added flatteringly that they might have helped him recall, "the agreeable scenes and prospects you have so well set forth and painted in your poetical descriptions" (2).

Thomas' education, as befitted such a wealthy young heir, was similar to that of any other rich young gentleman in the late eighteenth century: the Grand Tour through France, Germany and Italy (3). On his return, Thomas ordered his lawyer, Flowden, to draw up a bond to secure an annuity of £.400 for his tutor (4), who by this time had been consecrated coadjutor to Bishop Talbot (5).

(1). D 590/666 College Mazarin, De.10th 1785, Hooke to Thomas Giffard.

(2). Ibid.

(3). It is interesting to note that the last resident chaplain at Chillington, James Appleton (c.1791-1794) had acted as tutor and companion to the Jerninghams on their Grand Tour in the seventeen sixties, see Gillow, Vol.I, p.54.

(4). D. 590/666 Lawyers Accounts, Jan. 1786.

(5). Gillow, Vol.I, p.187.

CHAPTER VI.

"The Staffordshire Clergy dispute".

Catholic Squires like Thomas Giffard witnessed the improved legal position of the Dissenters, and sought ways of integrating their own small and isolated community into the framework of English society. In their efforts to break out of this isolation, some Catholics attempted to follow the unfortunate precedent set by James II, and ally themselves with the Dissenters. Dr. Machin in his study, "The Catholic Question in English Politics" describes this policy as an endeavour to create the impression that Catholics were, "just another English non-Conformist sect rather than members of an universal church which transcended national boundaries" (1). It is significant that the Catholic Committee adopted the name of "Protesting Catholic Dissenters", but co-operation from the Dissenters was not forthcoming (2).

(1). G. I. T. Machin, "The Catholic Question in English Politics" Clarendon, Oxford, 1964, p.10.

(2). Ursula Henriques, "Religious Toleration in England, 1787-1833", Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1961, p. 91; Joseph Berington appealed in 1787 to the Dissenters "You wish to hold us out as the only obnoxious party, as if in the proportion we shall appear guilty, your innocence will be predominant. Could not your case rest on its merits?" Ibid. p.137; the need for such a Committee to protect the interests of Catholics, is illustrated by the fact that in 1782 two Catholic labourers were forced to sell their furniture in order to pay a shilling fine imposed for failing to attend the services of the Anglican Church."

To secure toleration, a Catholic Committee was formed in 1782, replacing one appointed in April 1778, which although it had long ceased to meet had never been dissolved (1). At a meeting on June 3rd 1782 attended by the representatives of thirty leading Catholic families, Lords Stourton and Petre, Mr. John Throckmorton, Mr. Hornyold and Mr. Stapleton, were elected to the Committee (2). Its aims were clearly stated; it was to exist for five years "to promote and to attend to the affairs of the Roman Catholic Body in England" (3). Writing long after the meeting, Bishop John Milner saw the formation of the committee as the beginning of "lay interference and domination in the ecclesiastical affairs of English Catholics which has perpetuated disorder, divisions and irreligion for the past forty years" (3). Milner, the son of Joseph Miller, a "respectable London tradesman" (4),

-
- (1). B. Ward, "Dawn of the Catholic Revival, 1781-1803", vol.I, Longmans, London, 1909, p. 93.
 - (2). Ibid. p.94; later the committee was enlarged to include Sir Henry Englefield, William Fermor, Lord Clifford, Sir Carnaby Haggerston & Mr. John Towneley.
 - (3). W.J. Amherst, "The History of Catholic Emancipation", Vol. I Kegan, Paul, Trench & Co., London, 1886, p.150.
 - (4). Gillow, Vol.V, p.15; Kirk, p.164, "Milner changed his name from Miller to Milner, & Miss Leys, "Catholics in England" op. cit., p.164 described him as "a priest of lowly birth"

accused the committee of being unrepresentative of the English Catholics, and led an attack on the gentry's hold on the church. This charge had some substance, as the bulk of the Catholic merchants, tradesmen, craftsmen and labourers were ignored, "only the respectable land-owners and their tenants counted" (1).

Indeed the movement for emancipation, and in particular the manoeuvres and negotiations preceding the 1791 Relief Act gave rise to bitter controversy between the Cisalpines and the Ultramontanes (2), the clericals and anti-clericals, demonstrating the inevitable tendency of a minority to fragment and be subject to internal dissention. Professor Trevor Roper in his introduction to Lord Acton's "Lectures on Modern History" described the English Catholics as, "a somewhat parochial body, but at least, through the lay interest, which they shared with the Protestant gentry, they had acquired a certain Whiggish scepticism, a certain negative enlightenment" (3).

-
- (1). Leys, "Catholics in England", op. cit., p.136.
 - (2). Joseph Althoz, "The Liberal Catholic Movement in England, 1848-1864", Burns & Oates, London, 1962, p.3 described the factional strife as revealing the predominance of the "Cismontane" party.
 - (3). "Lord Acton's Lectures on Modern History", Fontana, London, 1960, p. 9; see also H. Trevor Roper, "Historical Essays", MacMillan, London, 1957, p.95 in which the Catholic laity at the beginning of the nineteenth century are described as "prosperous, as liberal, as half Protestants in the days of Sir Thomas More".

Although the Benedictine Joseph Wilkes in 1791 expressed the hope that , "at least the Gentlemen of ancient families will not be bullied or intimidated... (1) will they be priest ridden for ever?", many priests had contrary fears, fear of "lay encroachment" and "the half Protestant views of the laity" (2). In many respects the squires had begun to look upon patronage as "a right and were jealous of any infringement of their acquired position" (3), and the relationship of patron and priest resembled that of employer and employee (3). Although the Giffards' chaplains had servants themselves (4), in many houses they were treated as menials. Lady Petre in a book of household hints headed a list of necessary servants with two chaplains (5), and one Yorkshire household was divided as to whether or not their chaplain should have a silver candlestick in his bedroom, as this would place him on an equal footing with the family (6). Significantly it is

-
- (1). Throckmorton Papers, Bath, January 4th 1791, Joseph Wilkes to John Throckmorton.
 - (2). Trevor Roper, "Introduction to Lord Acton's Essays on Modern History", op. cit., p. 9.
 - (3). J. A. Williams, "Bath & Rome", Bath, 1963, p. 55; E. Burton in "Challenger", vol. I, Longmans, London, 1909, p. 144 wrote that chaplains were regarded as entering the employment of a patron "much in the same way as if he were a Secretary or bailiff."
 - (4). Staffordshire Parish Registers, Roman Catholic Registers, 1959, p. 30.
 - (5). Leys, op. cit., p. 209.
 - (6). Burton, "Challenger", Vol. I, op. cit., p. 144.

recorded that Milner himself recalled, "an instance of contemptuous treatment that deeply wounded him as a young priest" (1).

Thomas Giffard did not play an important role in this Catholic dispute. Indeed his preoccupation with his debts and various schemes for salvaging his estate did not leave him time for clerical politics. However as both his brother-in-law Throckmorton and his former tutor, Charles Berington, were members of the Committee, and his chaplains (2), supporters of the "Staffordshire Clergy", a group of priests, who championed the cause of the Committee, and its propagandist, Joseph Wilkes, he was drawn inevitably into the dispute. A "Mr. Giffard", possibly Thomas himself, was present at the meeting, called by the Committee, at the Crown and Anchor, the Strand on February 3rd. 1790 (3): this meeting, according to Clough, was attended "by many of the most respectable characters among the clergy and laity" (4). No Giffard was present at the famous meeting at the same inn on June 9th (5).

Therefore Giffard's main connection with the turmoil

(1). Ibid.

(2). The Revs. A. Clough & J. Roe.

(3). M.D. Petre, "The Ninth Lord Petre", S.P.C.K., London, 1928, p.169. Mr. Giffard might refer to Thomas' uncle, John

Giffard of Nerguis.

(4). C 969, Feb. 1790, Clough to Kirk.

(5). B.M. Ad. M/s. 5416 B.9 Printed Minutes.

that rent the Catholic body at the end of the eighteenth century, was through his relative, Throckmorton and his chaplains. His friendship with Throckmorton, "a man of fashion and respectable on every account" (1), who emerged as a leading apologist of the Cisalpine Party, suggests sympathy with his Gallican opinions. In 1791 Giffard stayed at Coughton (2) and on November 21st, of the same year, Fr. Wilkes asked Throckmorton, if he could meet him adding "I would with pleasure wait upon you at Chillington" (3). Therefore it seems that Giffard, like his clerical friends, was in close contact with the leading spirits in the Cisalpine party.

-
- (1). The opinion of the poet William Cowper, a neighbour of Maria and John Throckmorton at Weston Underwood, see, p. 292.
 - (2). Throckmorton Papers, Bath n.d. 1791, George Throckmorton to his brother Sir John.
 - (3). Throckmorton Papers, Bath, Nov. 21, 1791 Joseph Wilkes to Sir John Throckmorton; Wilkes had once served in Staffordshire at the Fitzherbert House, Swynnerton, from 1782-to 1786; see Dom. Henry Birth, "Obit Book of the English Benedictines, 1600-1912", Edinburgh, 1913. p. 1361

The Catholic Committee did not limit its attention to achieving emancipation, but, as early as 1783, it tried to influence the organisation of the Catholic Church in England, by issuing a letter, signed by all its members, to all the Vicars Apostolic, asking their opinion on the subject of the establishment of a regular hierarchy. Milner later described this action in the following words, "they may be excused from the intention of schism, by their ignorance of theological matters, but how daringly presumptuous must their scribes and advisers have been" (1). Even the more moderate members of the Committee had in 1787 urged the appointment of diocesan bishops, and suggested that the system of church government through Vicars Apostolic contravened the Statute of Provisors and Praemunire. Father Joseph Wilkes in 1790 suggested that the priests, and the gentlemen, like Giffard, "who maintain congregations" in the Midland district, should "elect their present worthy prelate (Talbot) as their Bishop, and make a standing regulation that no bishop shall for the future apply to Rome for his confirmation,

(1). Amherst, vol. I, op. cit., p. 152-153.

(2). Ibid. p. 161. On 15 May 1788 Wilkes and Charles Berington were co-opted with Bishop James Talbot to the Committee.

or disgrace himself and the English Catholics by taking an oath of fealty to a foreign power" (1).

However the greatest trouble occurred over the terms of the proposed Relief Act. Lord Stanhope invited the Catholic body to assist the cause of further relief, that had the support of Prime Minister Pitt, by repudiating, "some tenets commonly ascribed to them" (2). He subsequently drew up a Protestation, "probably in collusion with the Catholic Committee" (3), that rejected the doctrines that the Pope could depose an excommunicated ruler, or approve his assassination, or advocate taking up arms against lawful government, nor could he make an immoral act moral" (4). The Protestation was accepted by three of the Vicars Apostolic, and two thirds of the clergy, but later Bishop Walmsley withdrew his signature, and Matthew Gibson of the Northern District, permitted his name to be affixed, only if it was necessary, and then "in sensu Catholico" (5).

When Charles Butler, the Secretary of the Committee incorporated an oath containing the words "Protesting Catholic Dissenters", in the proposed Act, the four Vicars

(1). Throckmorton Papers, Bath June 21, 1790, Wilkes to John Throckmorton.

(2). E. I. Watkin, "Roman Catholicism in England", O.U.P., London 1957, p. 132.

(3). Ibid. p. 133.

(4). Ibid.

(5). M. Brady "Annals of the Hierarchy", Rome, 1877, p. 223.

Apostolic at a meeting at Hammersmith on October 19th 1789, condemned the formula (1). The condemnation took the form of a joint pastoral letter, and the Committee protested that the bishops published their censure without calling upon the Committee to explain their conduct (2). The Talbot brothers, Vicars Apostolic of the London and Midland districts never published the letter, and so their inaction meant that "united action on the part of the bishops had ended almost as soon as it had begun" (3).

A battle royal followed, and William Pilling (4) informed Sharrock, Walmsley's coadjutor, "that the Talbots

-
- (1). Watkin, op.cit., p.135, Brady, op.cit., p.223. As a coadjutor Berington was also present.
 - (2). Clifton Archives, Vol.1788-1791/74 Letter signed by the Committee to the Vicars Apostolic.
 - (3). Philip Hughes, "The Catholic Question, 1688-1825", Sheed & Ward, London, 1929, p.162: The Talbots, younger brothers of the Earl of Shrewsbury were in many respects "Gentry Bishops".
 - (4). Kirk, p.184. Gillow, Vol.V, a Franciscan stationed in London. In 1790 he published two tracts, "A Letter to Rev. Mr. Joseph Reeve, on his view of the Oath", & "A dialogue between a Protesting Catholic Dissenter and a Catholic", a reply to John Throckmorton.

have hurt the cause by not publishing the letter and have done themselves no credit". He urged the bishop to ask Lord Arundell and Mr. Weld of Lulworth to approach George III and, "tell him the plain truths" and so prevent the oath becoming embodied in the Act (1). Meanwhile the Committee replied to the pastoral with "An Address to the Catholics of England", which repudiated Paul V's condemnation of James I's oath of allegiance, and Dr. Charles Berington, although he had been present at the Hammersmith meeting, signed the address in opposition to the Vicars Apostolic (2).

The Crown and Anchor meeting of February 3rd 1790 was called to reach a compromise on the matter of the oath. It was moved that the committee should endeavour to prevail on the legislature to alter the oath to the words of the protestation and that so altered the oath will be unobjectionable (3). At this time a pamphlet war was raging in a spirit of slander, denunciation and calumny (4).

-
- (1). Clifton Archives, 1788-91/75, London, Nov. 25th 1789, W. Pilling to Sharrock; 1788-91/75; Dec. 16th 1789 James War-moll to Walmsley, was also concerned about the Talbots and the fickle Gibson, "it was left to the Western Vicar Apostolic to fight the insurgents.
 - (2). Brady, "Annals", op. cit., p. 223.
 - (3). M. D. Petre, op. cit., p. 169.
 - (4). C 969 Feb. 1790, Clough to Kirk - a fine example of partisan language, in which Clough writes of Gibson's pastoral, "not in the sentiment or language of a father of his people, if your disorder requires an emetic, read the letter, and take my word, it will produce the effect."

Charles Berington replied to forty-five Lancashire priests, who petitioned Bishop Gibson against the oath, and fifteen Staffordshire priests rallied to the support of the Committee and their coadjutor (1). Early in 1790 Giffard's chaplain, Clough, had suggested that a joint address might be presented to Bishop Talbot, and after a meeting at Sedgley Park, the Staffordshire priests drew up their letter, but were unable to present it, as the Vicar Apostolic had left Longbirch to visit his dying brother in London (2).

Charles Berington and Wilkes in a joint letter to Clough on Feb. 16th 1790, described the Staffordshire address as "neat and manly", and stated that it had produced "very beneficial effects". They declared that "to every calm mind your sentiments have conveyed the impressions of reason and truth" (3). Clough also tried to influence Talbot by lending him books on Papal Supremacy, such as Holden's, "Accurate analysis of faith,

(1). Watkin, op.cit., p. 136.

(2). Rowland's thesis, p. 65, p.68.

(3). C 969 Gunston, February 16th 1790, Charles Berington and Joseph Wilkes to Rev. Clough.

(4). Gillow, Vol. III-338, Holden's work was first published in Paris in 1652 and translated in 1658, Holden was described as "Blacklo's Melancthon".

from the essay on Catholic Communion" (1). The Gallican temper of the Staffordshire clergy was demonstrated by the words of Dr. Kirk, "I would soon ask Rome whether England may go to war with Spain, as consult them about the political and civil government of this country" (2).

Berington became the centre of another controversy, when after the death of James Talbot, many of the Committee sought his appointment to the London Vicariate (3). Some Catholic peers wrote an address to the Pope himself, which was delivered to Cardinal Antonelli by Mr. Clifford of Tixall; the former gave assurances, but criticised Berington's action with regards the Protestation and Oath (4). Wilkes urged his cisalpine friend, Throckmorton, to suggest to the priests, who supported Berington's nomination to draft an address and have it signed by the gentry of the district (5). Further Wilkes wanted Throckmorton to write to Lord Stourton in the Netherlands urging him to see the Nuncio in Brussels and explain, "the offence taken by the

(1). C 1012, Feb. 15, 1791 Clough to Charles Berington.

(2). Rowlands, p. 70-1.

(3). B. Ward, Vol. I 1781-1803, op. cit., p. 221.

(4). Ibid.; P. Hughes, "The Catholic Question, 1688-1829", Burns & Oates, London, 1929, p. 163.

(5). Throckmorton Papers, Bath, date illegible, 1790, Joseph Wilkes to John Throckmorton.

English Catholics, especially the gentry, who are and long have been the protectors of the Catholic religion, and the detriment of course which the proceedings of the Court of Rome, must occasion by disgusting them they ought to oblige" (1).

Despite this lay support (2), Berington was not appointed, but some of the London clergy hesitated in accepting their new Vicar Apostolic, Douglass. This opposition was only withdrawn when Berington published a letter, "resigning every pretension to the London Vicariate"(3). Douglass was consecrated at Lulworth Castle on December 19th 1790, a proceeding described by Wilkes as an event, "marked by the most absurd and violent fanaticism" (4). At this meeting, the bishops issued another encyclical condemning the oath, and asserting the exclusive

(1). Ibid.

(2). Clifton Archives 1778-1791/142 London June 14, 1790, Peter Browne, and Thomas Meynell and James Archer wrote to Walmsley on behalf of the London clergy to support Charles Berington.

(3). D.N.B., Vol IV, p. 337; C 977, June 16, 1790, Clough had written to Kirk "if Mr. Berington is laid aside, and should Rome remain obstinate, the man who suffers himself to obtrude upon them, will find himself in an awkward and difficult situation".

(4). Throckmorton Papers: Jan. 4 1791, Wilkes to Throckmorton, Petre, op. cit.; Talbot was not present at Lulworth.

right of bishops "to determine on oaths or instruments concerning and containing doctrinal matters and rejecting the appellation of "Protesting Catholic Dissenters" (1). It also condemned some of the publications attributed to the Committee, as "schismatical, scandalous and insulting to the Supreme Head of the Church, the Vicar of Jesus Christ" (2). This denunciation of lay interference was directed particularly against Throckmorton, whose pamphlets had argued the right of the clergy and laity to choose their own bishops, without papal interference (3).

Joseph Wilkes, although popular with his fashionable Bath congregation, and the supporters of the Committee, received little sympathy from either his fellow clergy in the Western Vicariate or from his order (4). In 1789 Warmoll, Definitor of the Province, had expressed his

(1). Amherst, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 169.

(2). Brady, "Annals", op. cit., p. 224.

(3). Throckmorton Papers, Bath 10 Nov. 1790 - Wilkes to Throckmorton, Wilkes wrote that, "pure English Catholics will at length learn to think, and speak and act like Englishmen."

(4). Clifton Archives, 1891-2 Vol. 1-8 Feb. 1, 1791, Warmoll to Walmsley "What is to be done with our confrère Wilkes? neither I, nor my superior can control him, he assumes his own mastership, and seems by will perverse to the last; 1789-91/141, June 16, 1790, a Father Walker informed Walmsley that he feared "Wilkes had imbibed the principles of the Geneva writers and legists".

concern to Walmsley that one of their, "own confrères are in some sort principal agents in this disgusting scene" (1). Eventually Walmsley suspended Wilkes (2), and the Staffordshire clergy (3), gave him their support. Joseph Berington (4) drafted a letter, which pledged the Staffordshire priests to make his cause their own, and "doubt not but they shall receive such co-operation from all the clergy of England as shall ensure the success of their endeavours in restoring to their delegate the good will of the Bishop and the exercise of his ecclesiastical function" (5).

-
- (1). Clifton Archives, 1789/88 16 December 1789 Warmoll to Walmsley.
 - (2). For a good summary of the Wilkes affair see J.A. Williams, "Bath and Rome, the Living Link", Bath, 1963, p.55f.
 - (3). Dom Henry Birt, "Obit Book of the English Benedictines, 1600-1912", Edinburgh, 1913, p.136, he knew the Staffordshire clergy through his stay at Swynerton. Interestingly enough he was born at Coughton, a Throckmorton House; as a Missioner at Bath he came within Walmsley's jurisdiction.
 - (4). D.N.B. Vol. IV, 1885, p.338, the cousin of Bishop Berington, whilst at Oscott he attended meetings at Great Barrin the company of Priestly, Boulton and Watt. B. Ward, "Revival", Vol. I, op.cit., p.124. Dr. Kirk described a meeting with Joseph at Chillington and added "another there is, but a monk at Swinnerton (sic) Dr. Wilkes, you will hardly find his equal in learning."
 - (5). B. Ward, "Revival", Vol. I, op.cit., p.320.

Joseph took this letter to the Committee meeting at the Strand held on June 9th, 1791 (1). The meeting carried a resolution endorsing the Protestation by 104 votes to 72, and a further resolution that a copy should be deposited in the British Museum (2). Another motion was carried thanking in the name of the Catholics of England, "The noblemen and gentlemen of the Catholic Committee for their attentive, judicious and remitting conduct, whereby the Bill, has been brought to so fortunate an issue", but an amendment that special thanks should also be offered to the Vicars Apostolic was not put to the vote (3). At this point Joseph Berington introduced his letter from "the clergy of the County of Stafford" which praised the work of the Committee and recommended to it the cause of Wilkes (4). This letter

(1). Ibid.

(2). B.M. Addl. M/s 5416-B.9 - inscribed N.9 Mr. Butler's printed account of the meeting of June 9th 1791, when a majority voted to send the (supposed) original Protestation to the Museum. This copy was addressed to the Hon. Thomas Talbot, Longbirch, near Wolverhampton, and had a note dated 27th June 1791 signed C.B. (Charles Butler?) adding "Mr. Douglass received a letter this morning from Mr. Walmsley and Mr. Gibson informing him they acquiesce to the oath".

(3). Ibid. See also M.D. Petre, op. cit., p.345-6.

(4). Ibid.

outlined the history of this cause célèbre, emphasising the petition of the Bath Catholics in favour of their pastor (1). Mr. Basil Fitzherbert of Swynerton, Wilkes' old mission, moved a motion, seconded by Henry Howard that their delegate, Wilkes "be restored to the exercise of his missionary faculties and ecclesiastical functions in the city of Bath"(2). The resolution that the petition be sent to Walmsley was carried unanimously (3), but the bishop, not surprisingly, remained unmoved.

Wilkes spent the summer of 1791 touring North Wales with Thomas Clifford. After this excursion he attended a meeting at Weston Underwood, the home of John Throckmorton, and on September 28th he wrote a public letter to Clifford justifying his actions (4). After a final appeal by Wilkes and six of his leading parishioners, had been rejected, he left Bath on November 21st. (5). One of the Bath laymen, Thomas Canning, was a relative of Giffard, and was later excommunicated for his part in the affair (6). Wilkes warned

-
- (1). B.M. Add. M/s. 5416 B.9
 - (2). Ibid. Fitzherbert argued that Wilkes had been suspended from his pastoral duties, because of "the discharge of the trust committed to him as a Committee member".
 - (3). Ibid.
 - (4). Ward, "Revival", Vol. I, op.cit., p.325-328.
 - (5). J.A. Williams, "Bath and Rome", op.cit., p.55 and 126.
 - (6). Ibid. p.126.

Throckmorton that the enemies of the Committee would now try to force Charles Berington to retract or "resign his mitre", compel Talbot to account, and then attack all the clergy, who had sided with the Committee (1). This persecution was to follow but not so immediately.

Following Wilkes' expulsion, the Staffordshire clergy issued a printed address, in which it was contended that the suspension was null and void, and there had been no proper citation, no sufficient cause for suspension had been shown, and "no greivous crime" had been committed (2). Clough, who had left Chillington, after a disagreement with Thomas Giffard, disassociated himself from this document. He argued that in making Wilkes' cause their own, the Staffordshire clergy had assumed too much, as they were only "a very small part of the whole and it carries with it an apparent defiance to Mr. Walmsley, which had a direct tendency to make (him) more obstinant" (3). Now at Heythrop and away from the Cisalpine atmosphere of Longbirch and Chillington, Clough lost sympathy with the position adopted by his friends. He discovered that the Professor of Divinity

(1). Throckmorton Papers, Alcester, Dec. 7th 1791, Joseph Wilkes to Throckmorton.

(2). C 1128, Heythrop, December 27th 1791, Clough to Kirk.

(3). C 1128, Heythrop, Dec. 27th 1791, Clough to Kirk. Heythrop was the seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

at Oxford had declared that Joseph Berington was "no Catholic", and that many people considered him "non rectus in fide" (1). Clough also accused Carter of Wolverhampton, of being "so habitually affected that it is woven within his very constitution" (2). Significantly Clough spared Wilkes from his criticism, "His enemies are much greater objects of commiseration, they must sink in the public opinion, whereas his merits (place him) in an elevated and strong point of view. he is amply provided for" (3).

The Staffordshire clergy were attacked themselves by the pamphleteers, Plowden, who questioned their right to consider themselves a corporate body, as they had no canonical existence (4). Even Clough thought they should reply to charges made by Plowden, especially as they had sent protests to both the priest and Walmsley, his superior and had no reply. On January 18th 1792 they issued their "Appeal to the Catholics of England". This appeal catalogued Plowden's defamations, and included Butler's statement that they had not helped the Committee to draft the Blue Books (5).

(1). Ibid.

(2). Ibid.

(3). Ibid.

(4). Ward, "Revival", Vol. I, op. cit., p. 332.

(5). Ibid. p. 332-334: Foley, Vol. II, p. 601.

The priests declared that "We believe our Church to be an infallible guide in all that pertains to salvation. Of this church we believe the bishop of Rome to be the head, supreme in spirituals by divine appointment, supreme in discipline by ecclesiastical institution but in the concerns of State or civil life we believe him to be no governor, no master, no guide" (1). This "Staffordshire Creed" provoked Milner to condemn certain of the Appeal's propositions, as containing implied heresy (2).

Talbot wrote from Longbitch on February 6th, 1792 appealing for peace, "as a minister of the Gospel of Peace, I have a right to put these questions, to use my utmost endeavours to bring about peace and reconciliation with all discordant members of our holy Faith and Communion" (3). The situation was indeed tense. Wilkes as early as September 9th 1791 wrote that "Charles Berington and I are the two foulest devils in the new pandemonium" (4), and a Thomas Bennet in a letter to Walmsley compared Berington to Talleyrand, the bishop of Autun and Wilkes to Abbé Sièyes (5). On the other hand

(1). Ibid. p. 335.

(2). W. Amherst, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 241.

(3). Ward, "Revival", Vol. I, op. cit., p. 337.

(4). Throckmorton Papers, Sept. 9th 1791 Wilkes to Throckmorton

(5). Clifton Archives, 1791-2/18, London February 13th 1791, Thomas Bennet to Walmsley.

Clough dubbed Plowden "the Lulworth Libeller" (1). On the initiative of three lay mediators, Mr. William Sheldon, Mr. Francis Eyre and Mr. John Webb Weston, peace was made on May 9th 1792 between Charles Plowden and Joseph Berington, and a declaration drafted, which was to be signed by the Staffordshire clergy (2).

Peace was not to last long. Talbot died at Bristol in 1795, in the company of Dr. Berington, on his way to Hotwells (3). Ironically the death of ^{the} one bishop, who throughout the troubles had preached brotherhood and Christian charity, led to further controversy and feud. Bristol lay in the Vicariate of Walsley, and Berington was refused permission to say the Requiem over the body of his friend and superior (4). Instead the service at the Trenchard St. chapel was conducted by Robert Plowden, the brother of the polemicist (5). As a coadjutor, Berington automatically succeeded to the Midland Vicariate, but because

-
- (1). C.11117, Nov. 4th 1791, Clough to Kirk.
 - (2). Ward, "Revival", Vol. I, op. cit., p. 339.
 - (3). Ward, "Revival", Vol. II, op. cit., p. 130; Alfred Harvey, "Bristol, a Historical and Topographical Account of the City", Methuen, London, 1906, p. 249.
 - (4). C. R. S. Vol. 3 1909. Miscell. "Catholic Registers of St. Joseph's, Trenchard St. Bristol, p. 318.
 - (5). Foley, Vol. VII, p. 605.

of his association with the Committee, he was deprived of his "extraordinary faculties", until by some retraction he confirmed his loyalty to the Holy See (1).

Propaganda demanded the explicit retraction of his name from the Blue Books (2), and Walmsley urged Douglass to tell Cardinal Gerdil "not to put up with a vague imperfect retraction of B. Berington, but to insist on the gentleman making that open formal retraction sent to him from Rome, as nothing less will take away the Scandal he had given" (3). It was not until October 1797 that on the advice of Dr. Beww (4), his secretary, he signed a formula, drawn up at a meeting with Bishops Gibson and Douglass at Wolverhampton (5). In a letter to Throckmorton on October 14th he explained that the formula was not a complete retraction as it "preserved everything entire, which we wished to preserve. I therefore complied with their earnest treaties and signed it in that form." He added plaintively "I have now done

(1). Ward, "Revival", Vol. II, op. cit., p. 138.

(2). Ibid. p. 140.

(3). Clifton Archives, 1794-5/119a Sept. 29th 1795, Walmsley to Douglass.

(4). C. R. S. Vol. 19, p. 98, Bew had been Thomas Giffard's uncle's chaplain at Nerquis.

(5). Ward, "Revival", Vol. II, op. cit., p. 140.

everything which can be done" (1).

Unfortunately he was never to exercise his full faculties, for no sooner had they been confirmed by Propaganda than he collapsed and died on the road from (2) Sedgley Park to Longbitch. On June 11th 1798 he was buried in Brewood Churchyard, and later a tablet was erected in his memory in the Parish Church (3). An obituary in the "Gentleman's Magazine" stated he was, "a prelate, whose amiable virtues gave an impressive charm to the truths

-
- (1). Throckmorton Papers, Oct. 14th 1797 Bishop Berington to John Throckmorton.
(2). Brady, "Annals", op.cit., p. 218; C.R.S. 1913, p. 63.
(3). V.C.H. Vol. V, p. 43: J.H. Smith, "Brewood", Wolverhampton, 1874, p. 24n. The inscription on the memorial was composed by the ultramontane Milner, but it included the following tribute,

"Having worn an unsought and unsullied mitre
only alas for a few years
At the age of 50
he expired and mankind lost a friend
for
generous he was and hospitable
and merit was sure of his smile.
His piety, like his other principles
was primitive and without show."

of religion ; a scholar of great classical tastes; a man whose judgment was profound, whose manners were peculiarly conciliating and whose hilarity of conversation rendered him the delight of society" (1).

Dr. Bew tried to collect the votes of the priests of the District on the question of the succession, claiming to be the Vicar General. However Bishop Gibson of the North declared that as Berington had never acquired full faculties, Bew's appointment was invalid (2). The death of Berington therefore removed the last protection of the Staffordshire clergy, and their harrying began in earnest. Even in 1797 Walmsley had ordered that, if any of the priests entered his district, they would be refused the sacraments and the exercise of their priestly functions. Seven survivors of the original signatories met at Sedgley Park and issued a reply "the exposition of our sentiments" (3), and after meeting them at Longbirch, Berington promised to testify both to their orthodoxy and their edifying priestly lives (4).

His successor, Stapleton (5), demanded a retraction,

(1). Gillow, Vol. I, p. 188.

(2). Ward, "Revival", Vol. II, op. cit., p. 156.

(3). Ibid. p. 149.

(4). Ibid. p. 152.

(5). Brady, "Annals" op. cit., p. 219, Stapleton succeeded Nov. 7th 1800.

but it was not until 1801 that Roe, Thomas Giffard's chaplain at Blackladies, Southworth, President of Sedgley Park, Kirk, the historian, and James Tasker finally, "condemned and retracted the bad noxious or dangerous doctrine contained in the writings or publications signed or approved by us" (1). Carter of Wolverhampton, although he was given an ultimatum by Stapleton to retract the proposition, "that the Bishop of Rome is supreme in discipline by ecclesiastical institution", refused to abjure (2). Shortly before his death, he declared that he refused to sign away the canonical liberties of the Christian clergy, and obliquely to wound the reputation of two beloved superiors (3). So the controversy lingered on into 1802.

The laity too continued their opposition to the Ultramontanes, and after the winding up of the Catholic Committee, several leading laymen, including Giffard's brother-in-laws John and William Throckmorton, formed the Cisalpine Club on December 21st 1793 (4). The Club did some good work, for instance it drew attention to the case of some Staffordshire constables who despite the 1791 Relief Act continued to report Catholics, but an attempt to

(1). Ward, "Revival", Vol. II, op. cit., p. 243.

(2): Ibid: p: 244.

(4). Petre, op. cit., p. 306.

establish a "Cisalpine" school at Oscott provoked yet another furore (1). Lord Clifford described the Club as "avowedly a party club and while it exists must prevent ...union" (2). In May 1794, a Roman Catholic Club was formed to counter the Cisalpines, and the first meeting was attended even by Thomas Clifford, the erstwhile friend and protector of Wilkes. (3)

Therefore Thomas Giffard came of age and inherited the properties, traditions and responsibilities of Chillington, at a time when the English Catholic community was divided and riddled with the spirit of faction. The old family chaplain, Clough, was a partisan of the Staffordshire clergy, and John Roe, who served Chillington, after the departure of Appleton from the Hall, was one of the last priests to retract. Besides this his Throckmorton relatives were deeply involved in the Cisalpine cause. But Thomas' closest connection with the affair was through his

-
- (1). Staffs. Catholic Historical Journal, Winter 1966, P.J. Doyle, "Patrons and Protégés: Thomas Clifford and Catholic education".
 - (2). D.D.C.C. 147/13 February 1794, Lord Clifford to Thomas Clifford.
 - (3). C.R.S. Misc.VIII 1913 p.216- p.217.

tutor Dr. Berington (1), who was appointed coadjutor to Talbot on his return from their Grand Tour, and consecrated at Longbirch.

Dr. Hooke wrote from Paris on December 10th 1785 to the young heir, begging him to "receive (his) compliments on (Berington's) preferment: I don't doubt that he will answer your highest expectations" (2). These congratulations must have made Giffard acutely aware of his status as "a gentleman who maintained a congregation" in the "Gentry Church" of the late eighteenth century. It was during this period of turmoil and strife that the sequence of events began that would lead eventually to the conforming of the Giffards. The very fruit of the gentry's struggle, the Relief Acts of 1778 and 1791 speeded the process by which the Church emerged from the shelter of the Big Houses and the protection of the squires.

-
- (1). Gillow, Vol. I, p. 187; F. M. L. Thompson, "English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century", Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1963, p. 83, writing of Anglican tutors, who were promoted by their patrons: Pitt's old tutor, Pretyman was made Bishop of Lincoln in 1787; Addington's tutor Huntingford became Bishop of Gloucester in 1802; and Bechell, the Duke of Northumberland's tutor, Bishop of Bangor in 1830: Berington's promotion has a similarity to those of these Anglican divines.
- (2). 590/666. College Mazarin, Dec. 10th 1785, Hooke to Thomas Giffard.

A Church of towns and the industrial masses emerged in the nineteenth century, a church dominated by its natural leaders, the priests. Milner, the tradesman's son and bishop, marked a departure and the beginning of a new era, just as the Talbots, bishops and brothers of the Earl of Shrewsbury, marked the end of the old order. It is significant that there were few Giffard vocations in the eighteenth century, and the return of Giffard's kinsman, Robert Throckmorton as M.P. for Berkshire in the eighteen thirties heralded a new pattern (1).

John Morris in "Catholic England in Modern Times", compared the situation in 1870 with that of 1790 and commented that "by far the greatest number of the English Catholics of rank and fortune sided with the Cisalpine Club and the "Protesting Catholic Dissenters" of a century ago, but in our time we might count on the fingers of one hand those that sympathized with Dr. Dölinger and the old Catholics (2). By then the balance of power in Catholic

(1). Petre, op.cit., p. 280.

(2). J. Morris, "Catholic England in Modern Times", Burns & Oates, London, 1892, p. 104; Alec Vidler, "The Modernist Movement in the Roman Church", Cambridge, 1934, p. 211. However Miss M.D. Petre was one of the few lay supporters of the modernist Fr. George Tyrell.

society had altered: Longbirch and Blackladies were closed and the Giffards at Chillington were Anglican.

CHAPTER VII.

A Catholic of the Cisalpine Sort

Thomas William Gifford.

In the nineteenth century the Giffards ceased to be Catholic, and conformed to the Church of England. However this was a gradual process and was not completed until the accession to the Chillington estates of Walter Peter in 1861 (1). The marriage of his father, Thomas Joseph, to Charlotte Courtenay marked the beginning of the family's break with the Church (2). A mixed marriage was the greatest cause of lapsing, as the Cisalpine Joseph Berington wrote in "The State and Behaviour of English Catholics" that in such cases "... all or half the children are..... generally educated Protestants" (3). This was

-
- (1). James Hicks Smith, "Brewood", Wolverhampton, 1874, p. 52 wrote that since the marriage of Thomas nineteenth Lord of Chillington, the Giffards have ceased to be Catholics. David Mathew, "Catholicism in England, 1535-1935, Portrait of a minority its culture and tradition", Longmans, London 1936, p. 152 stated that "Bishop Berington's pupil, Peter (sic) Giffard upon whom so much landed influence had devolved had conformed to the established church: Lady Charlotte Giffard was a Protestant and Chillington had fallen". But the Giffards' conformity was neither so sudden nor so definite, and both Thomas and his son died in the Catholic Church.
 - (2). W.G. Hoskins, "Devon", Collins, London, 1954, 3rd. impression 1957, p. 236, states that the Courtenays of Powerham had themselves been recusants until at least 1641.
 - (3). Joseph Berington, "The State and Behaviour of English Catholics", 2nd. edition, F. Faulder, London MDCCXXI p. 17. he also argued that "the general indifference about religion which gains so perceptibly on all ranks of Christians" also affected Catholics. Indifferentism was fashionable, Dr. E. Hobsbawm in "The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848", Mentor, New York, 1964, p. 259 has written that "Frank atheism was still comparatively rare but among

precisely what was to happen in Thomas Giffard's case; apart from his heir, all his children were brought up by their mother as Protestants, and one of his daughters even married an Anglican clergyman.

The marriage was solemnized on June 23rd, 1788 (1), and had immediate repercussions. The family chaplain, Anthony Clough, quarrelled with the squire over the Protestant marriage and his extravagant expenditure and mounting debts (2). Clough, who had been at Chillington since 1758, left the Hall in 1791 to live at Gunston, from where he served his congregation by saying Mass at Blackladies

enlightened scholars, writers and gentle men who set the intellectual fashions of the later eighteenth century, frank Christianity was even rarer". One such enlightened Catholic was William Constable of Burton Constable, a friend of Rousseau who on his deathbed told Dr. Howard his chaplain, "For my part I believe nothing" Kirk, p. 57.

(1). Burke's Landed Gentry; 1862 edition, p. 549.

(2). Rowland's thesis, p. 176; S.H.C. Vol. V, N.S., p. 193 cites George Selwyn as describing Thomas Giffard as "a young man of large patrimony which he was rapidly dissipating".

chapel (1). Dr. Kirk explained that the chaplain "had been much attached to the Giffard family and to his congregation, his removal caused him great regret and affected his health, so that he lost his usual spirits and gaiety of conversation" (2). Clough and his young master were later reconciled, but despite Giffard's pleas the old priest did not return to Chillington.

This reconciliation took place at Heythrop, the Oxfordshire home of the Earl of Shrewsbury. The young reprobate stayed overnight in the priest's company, and gave him an annuity of £.50 in recompense for his previous behaviour (3). Shortly after this visit Giffard wrote in a letter of apology that, "I was very happy to have seen you at Heythrop and acknowledge my misconduct towards you which my dear sir, I shall do everything to repair in future" (4). Clough was deeply moved by his letter, and informed his friend Kirk that it showed, "the goodness in Giffard's heart",

T

- (1). C.R.S. "Seventh Donay Diary", 1928 edited Edwin Burton & Edmund Nolan n.p. 232.
- (2). Kirk, p.49. Clough served at Heythrop and Oscott, where he died on Sept. 7th 1793 but he was buried at Brewood.
- (3). C 11117 Heythrop Nov. 4th 1791 - Ant. Clough to Dr.Kirk.
- (4). C 1128 Heythrop Dec. 27th 1791 - Ant. Clough to Dr.Kirk citing Giffard's letter.

and "how much he feels his past behaviour" (1). Although he would not return to Staffordshire he informed Kirk that he would give up a good deal to be of real service to Mr. Giffard, "more than the Lulworth gentry with all their zeal" (2).

Clough realised that because of his debts Giffard would be unable to live at Chillington much longer, but he hoped that following a period of quiet retirement, he would be able to return and "appear like the Lord of that Ancient place" (3). The "sermon maker" James Appleton replaced Clough (4), and a record survives of two baptisms performed by him at Chillington in 1793 (5). However his stay at

(1). C 1128.

(2). Ibid., Lulworth Gentry refers to Mr. Thomas Weld and other lay supporters of Bishop Walmsley.

(3). C 1117 Nov. 4, 1791 Ant. Clough to Kirk.

(4). Ibid. & Kirk, p. 44. J. Gillow, "St. Thomas Priory or a History of St. Austins", Burns & Oates, London, n. d. p. 101. His most important work, "Theophilus" was translated whilst he was working at Chillington. A 347 the will of John Perry priest of Sedgley instructed his executors to distribute all his copies of "Theophilus" to his congregations of Sedgley and Bloxwich and a neatly bound volume was to be sent to Sir Thomas Clifford of Tixall".

(5). A 93 The document states "William Hill, Sept. 18th, 1793, John Coxhead Oct. 25, 1793 "baptizatus fuit a me Jacobus Appleton.

Chillington was short and he soon returned to the service of the Blounts (1).

Thomas's heir, Thomas William was baptized by Dr. Charles Bellaysyse (2) at the Royal Portuguese chapel South St. Governor Square, London on March 28th, 1789. The child's godfather was his uncle John Throckmorton of Weston, the lay Cisalpine leader (3). But the rest of the children, four boys and seven girls appear to have been brought up by their mother as Anglicans. Indeed the decline in Giffard's allegiance to Rome was demonstrated by the marriage of Anne Barbara to a Church of England minister, the Reverend Charles Whitmore (4).

At the time of his marriage Thomas was engaged in the reconstruction of Chillington, and in 1786 the old chapel was demolished (5). Swane's original plans for the new Hall

-
- (1). C. R. S. Vol. XXII, Miscell. 22, 1921, "Catholic Registers of Cottesy Hall Norfolk", p. 278-9.
 - (2). C. R. S. Vol. XIX, 1917, p. 149 Belaysyse was the seventh and last Lord Fauconberg.
 - (3). D 590/737. Extract from the Register of the Portuguese Chapel made by W. V. Fryer, 18th April 1833. Thomas Joseph had been baptized at Chillington by the old family chaplain Clough.
 - (4). Burke's Landed Gentry, 1862 edition, p. 549.
 - (5). V. C. H. Vol. V, p. 44. Rowland's thesis, p. 233. The old chapel had eleven sets of vestments, many candlesticks, chalices, ciboria and cruets; three missals, the best being bound in Moroccan gilt and silver clasps, and even altar boys' cassocks were found amongst the vestments.

contained a chapel, as the first draft showed, "a square entrance hall flanked by a long library and chapel" (1). Eventually the area was devoted to a saloon and the architect designed another chapel to be erected in the grounds (2). The plan was never executed, but this probably reflects the young squire's financial difficulties rather than his attitude towards religion and the Catholic community. However in 1791 Blackladies was opened for public worship, and Longbirch had been a public chapel since 1779 (3), so that the Chillington Catholics were well provided for.

Following the Relief Act of 1791, the chapels were registered at Quarter Sessions as, "a certain chapel situate at Longbirch in the County of Stafford", and, "a certain other chapel situate at Blackladies in the parish of Brewood in the said county of Stafford". The priests registered were John Roe of Blackladies and the Hon. Thomas Talbot and Edward Eyre of Longbirch (4). Thomas Giffard subscribed to the Declaration and Oath at the Sessions to relieve himself.

-
- (1). Christopher Hussey, "English Country Houses, Mid Georgian" Country Life, London, 1956, p. 224.
 - (2). Dorothy Stroud, "The Architecture of Sir John Svane", Studi London, 1961, p. 32.
 - (3). Rowland's thesis, p. 233.
 - (4). Staffordshire Record Office Q/S.O.f. 82 1791 Registration

from "certain penalties and disabilities to which Papists or Persons professing the Popish religion are by law subject" (1). On coming of age a few years earlier Thomas had paid his lawyer. Francis Plowden (2), a guinea for writing an "opinion about the necessity of a Catholic registering his estates" (3), and 6s.8d., "for consultation and advice on taking the Oaths and registering his estate" (4).

Thomas gave his support and patronage to the Blackladies chapel, at which he attended Mass when in residence at Chillington (5). When the chapel was opened, the old quarters of Mr. Coffin, a former land agent of the family, were fitted out as the priest's residence (6). Thomas' contribution to the new Mission was a present of nine pieces

-
- (1). D 590/576 printed in a memo. book. E. Watkin, "Roman Catholicism in England", O.U.P., London, 1957, p.138. This oath was the result of the intervention of Bishop Horsley of St. David's in a Lord's debate. He suggested a modification of the oath "so that no Catholic because of conscience would be left outside the bills provision".
 - (2). Kirk, p.186. Francis was a brother of the Jesuit Fathers Charles and Robert Plowden.
 - (3). D 590/666
 - (4). Ibid.
 - (5). Easter Communion Lists, St. Mary's Brewood
 - (6). J. Hicks Smith, "Brewood", Wolverhampton, 1874, p.44.

of silver plate, namely eight candlesticks and a crucifix (1), probably part of the chapel plate bought by his guardians in the seventeen seventies "for the use of the heir" (2).

Thomas continued to interest himself in the Mission, as he received a letter, while at Rouen, from his steward, Matthew Ellison, in which the latter offered the thanks of Mr. Roe of Blackladies, "for the kind present of wine" (3). Ellison added that the priest promised to visit Chillington during his leisure time and "look over the Books and make a catalogue of them" (4). The friendly relations between the priest and Giffard were maintained, as a note book of 1812, concerned with taxation and levies, has an entry dated May 6th

-
- (1). Deed at Brewood Presbytery - the family arms were inscribed on the plate, which weighed 829 ounces. The candlesticks are now on the high altar of St. Mary's, Brewood. Pitt, "History of Staffordshire", Newcastle, 1817, p. 254 noted that the Giffards' tenantry were mostly Catholics and were "provided with chapels at Longbirch and Blackladies".
 - (2). D 590/615. In all the guardians spent £. 277. 1s. 3d. was spent on "chapel plate".
 - (3). D 590/666 Ellison to Mr. Giffard - À Monsieur Giffard, Rouen, Normandie, by Dover à Calais n.d. c. 1792-3.
 - (4). Ibid.

"Mr. Roe's window tax £.6.16s.6d." (1). Indeed Mr. Roe in 1823 was to administer the last rites to the squire (2).

-Yet the removal of the chaplaincy from the Hall and the Protestant marriage did mark a great breach with tradition and weakened not only the family's personal ties with Catholicism, but also brought to an end the family's influence within the English Catholic community. Besides his Cisalpine connections, and his Protestant relations there may have been other causes for the estrangement from the Church. Bishop Berington wrote to John Throckmorton in 1793 that Thomas was, "much as usual or better. He has now set aside one day in the week, for all his pranks, disguises, tricks, and which he calls Tom Fools Day; and if he could confine his follies to that one day and act rationally all the rest of the week I think that he would have the advantage over the rest of mankind" (3). Such eccentricity may well have affected his religious position.

The end of the old order was marked in 1803 by the removal of the Midland Vicariate from the "large brick and tiled house" (4) of Longbirch to Giffard House in

(1). D 590/625-3.

(2). Richmond Diaries, Wolverhampton Reference Library.

(3). Throckmorton Papers Cresswell Dec. 11th 1793. Charles Berington to John Throckmorton.

(4). D 590/354: Brian Fothergill in "Nicholas Wiseman", Faber, London, 1963, p. 51 stated that Vicars Apostolic "tended to live in quiet, if not obscure, lodgings"; neither Longbirch nor Giffard House warrants that description.

Wolverhampton (1). This also indicated a stage in the movement away from "Gentry Catholicism" and heralded the end of the gentry dominated Church. Under the impact of immigration and toleration, the old Recusant Church rooted in the countryside and sheltered by the squires, was to be transformed into a Church based on towns and the new industrial community.

Irish immigration, the biggest factor in the transformation of the Church, was noticed at Blackladies at the end of the eighteenth century. In the Communion Lists of the chapel the priest noted on Christmas day 1795 "an Hybernian" and at Easter 1798 there was recorded at Longbirch "an Irishman from Four Ashes" (2). Nearby Wolverhampton received far more Irish immigrants, and the Wolverhampton Mission registers record the baptism of a Bart. Cassadi (Cassidy)

(1). D. Mathew, "Catholicism in England, 1535-1935, Portrait of a minority, its culture and tradition", Longmans, London, 1936, p.152.

(2). Communion Lists, at St. Mary's Brewood.

on Sept. 9th 1792, and in 1794 that of a Anne Tracey, sponsored by John Scandalum (Scanlon) and Catherine Sullivan (1). The inability of the priest to spell Irish surnames reflected presumably the illiteracy of his Irish parishioners and his own unfamiliarity with Irish accents and names. Even in 1811 Fr. Blount added to an entry with reference to parents and godparents, "all Irish people" (2). In 1802 three of twenty-one children were Irish, by 1812 the proportion had risen to six of twenty-two (3), and by 1851 there were 3,491 Irish in the town (4). Few English

-
- (1). Staffordshire Parish Registers, "Roman Catholic Registers, 1958-9", p.49 & 51. Irish immigration dates from the end of the eighteenth century and even fashionable Bath, the resort of Thomas stepmother, Frances had Irish chairmen and publicans with names such as Kelly, Scanlon, McCurty, Donovan, Taafe, Nolan, O'Connell & McCartan, see J.A. Williams, "Bath and Rome: the Living Link", Bath, 1963, p.39 & 43, and the Bell Tree Chapel Registers 1781-1812 in the possession of Mr. J.A. Williams.
 - (2). Ibid. p.76: Timothy Patrick Coogan, "Ireland since the Rising", Pall Mall Press, London, 1966, p.251 writes that "even at the close of the fifties one could see Irish speaking Catholic labourers from the West of Ireland standing at Holyhead with placards around their necks plaintively inscribed "Put me on a train to..."
 - (3). Ibid. p.61-2, p.71-3 and p. 77-8.
 - (4). "The English Catholics, 1850-1950" edited George A. Beck, Burns & Oates, London, 1951, p.49 & 81, and Jean Lesourd, "La déchristianisation en Angleterre vers le milieu du XIX siècle" carte I opp. p.283 in "Cahiers d'histoire publiés par les Universités de Clermont - Lyon & Grenoble"

gentlemen followed the example of Sir Edward Vavasour, who early in the nineteenth century let the Irish pitch their tents on his Yorkshire estate at Hazlewood, and even gave his own clothes to them (1).

Thomas Giffard, who as a young man had made the Grand Tour (2), and lived a life of great extravagance, not only inhabited a world removed from the Irish of Wolverhampton, but he also represented the opposite values of the Milner clerical school within the Church (3). Milner, the bishop who moved the episcopal residence from the Giffard estate, had been a bitter opponent of the Cisalpines and the Staffordshire Clergy. He was also a man of simple tastes, with a hearty appetite and a particular fondness for boiled corn beef and the "more plebian forms of fish" (4).

-
- (1). Father Gallwey S.J., "Salvage from the Wreck" Art Book Company London, New Edition, 1903, p.61. George Scott, "The R. Cs.", Hutchinson, London, 1967, p.12, cites a member of 'an old family' as stating that "we felt we had a community of suffering with the working-class Catholics" in reference to the early days of the twentieth century.
 - (2). "Johnson's England" ed. A.S. Tuberville, Vol.I, Clarendon Oxford, 1952, H.L. Beales, "Travel and Communication", p.156, described the Grand Tour as "a habit of the rich".
 - (3). Cuthbert Butler, "Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne, 1806-1889", Burns, Oates & Washbourne, London, 1926, p.153, described the old Catholics as at sea amidst the Oxford movement and the Irish Immigrants.
 - (4). D. Matthew, op. cit., p.150.

He had followed a long line of gentry bishops, Hornyold, Talbot, Berington and Stapleton (1): Longbirch was their world. Milner, a tradesman's son, was happier in the middle of Wolverhampton, away from Chillington, Throckmorton's brother-in-law and the Protestant Lady Charlotte.

The Squire kept close contact with the Catholic gentry; in fact he was bound to some gentlemen by loans. In 1795 he negotiated the discharge of £.10,000 belonging to his sister, Lady Throckmorton (2), and in 1806 a note of "interest paid" included a sum of £.93.15.0 to Sir John Throckmorton and a similar sum to the Hon. Mr. Clifford (3). Receipts for 1807 indicate that William, his other Throckmorton brother-in-law, received £.90, a year's interest on £.4,000 lent by Master Peter More to Giffard, and that a further £.90 had been credited to Clifford (4).

Similarly the Giffards remained in contact with their Catholic relations, the Throckmortons and the Cannings. In 1806 Robert Canning wrote to Thomas to inform him that his father, Thomas' uncle, was "growing weaker every

(1). Ibid.
(2). D 590/109.
(3). D 590/666.
(4). Ibid.

day (1). He hoped that "Tom" (Thomas William) had arrived home safely from Weston, the home of John Throckmorton, where, "we had dined the day before". Robert enquired whether the Giffards proposed to attend, "the Stratford Ball", and offered his kindest love to Mrs. Giffard, "and all your family" (2). In the following year Francis Canning wrote on December 15th, in the hope that Thomas would visit Foxcote, as he had promised. Mrs. Giffard and her daughter, Charlotte, had recently visited there, and Francis hoped they had returned to Chillington, "without having caught cold" (3). These letters suggest that the Giffards remained members of the Catholic social world.

Thomas died in the summer of 1823, and some information about his last days can be gleaned from the diary of Thomas Richmond, the Codsall schoolmaster and nephew of John Roe,

-
- (1). D 590/574 Foxcote, 1806. Robert Canning to Thomas Giffard. In the same bundle there is an undated and unsigned letter, probably from Thomas to John Canning then in Bengal. Gillow, Vol. I, p. 393-4. Burke, 1862 edition, p. 549. Francis Canning had married Catherine Giffard, Thomas' aunt, they had three sons Francis, Robert and John.
 - (2). Ibid.
 - (3). D 590/574 Robert Canning to Thomas Giffard 1806.
 - (4). D 590/574 Foxcote, Dec. 15th, 1807 Francis Canning to Thomas Giffard.

the Blackladies chaplain (1). On July 26th the diarist recorded that Mr. Jones a priest from Longbirch, had told him that, "Uncle Roe has had some conversation with old Mr. Giffard" (2). The following day the schoolmaster walked with his uncle to Chillington, as the priest was visiting the squire, who was seriously ill. Richmond noted, "Mr. Giffard has water on his chest and they have no hopes of his recovery. God grant him a happy death" (3). On July 30th Roe was again at Chillington and the news from the Hall was that the squire was "not quite so well" (4). On July 31st Roe continued his bedside vigil and on August 1st Richmond wrote that, "Mr. Tuft said that Mr. Giffard was so ill yesterday evening that they did not expect him to live an hour" (5). On August 2nd he wrote "Mr. Giffard died yesterday, R.I.P." (6), and his death was also recorded in the obituaries of the Wolverhampton Mission, -"1823, August 1st. Mr. Giffard (sic) Esq." (7).

Further evidence that Thomas had lived and died a Catholic is found in two anonymous letters sent to his son,

-
- (1). Richmond Diaries Wolverhampton Reference Library.
 - (2). Ibid.
 - (3). Ibid.
 - (4). Ibid.
 - (5). Ibid.
 - (6). Ibid.
 - (7). Staffordshire Parish Registers, Roman Catholic Registers, 1958-9, p.131.

when he was acting as chairman of Sir Francis Goodricke's election committee during the 1835 by-election (1). One stated, "You are descended from the most ancient family in the county attached to the old faith, in which your worthy father, who was universally respected lived and died" (2). This "True friend to the Giffards and the House of Chillington" considered Thomas William to be a Catholic, because he stated that the Conservatives were trampling on the poor in Ireland, and "laughing up their sleeves at Giffard and calling him ---- for joining them against his own Faith" (3). Another note in the same illiterate scribble was more direct, "No Popery, Giffard. Goodricke forever. Down with all Catholics" (4).

His heir Thomas William aged six when the last chaplain resided at Chillington, nine at the death of his father's tutor, Bishop Berington, and fourteen when the Vicar Apostolic left Longbirch, was just old enough to remember the last days of his family's predominance in Midland Catholicism. Although the Giffards of Chillington were no longer a completely Catholic family, their Nerquis cousins (5) all

-
- (1). See Chapter VIII.
(2). D 590/570-2 Wolverhampton May 12th 1835.
(3). Ibid.
(4). D 590/570-2 n. d.
(5). See Appendix X "The Welsh Connection".

lived and died Catholics. Similarly Thomas William's other relations, his Throckmbrton aunts, Maria and Frances and his uncle John Giffard, who had married Eleanor Sutton of Sutton Sturmev, Ireland, all remained loyal to the Church (1). Thomas William also married a Protestant, Charlotte Laintol Earl (2), and his three daughters, Charlotte, Lucy and Barbara (3) were all brought up as members of the Church of England.

The number of Catholic tenants on the estate declined. In 1817 Pitt in his "History of Staffordshire" noted that the tenantry were mostly Catholics, but that, "Mr. Giffard (Thomas Joseph) of Chillington is however, a gentleman of liberal principles and is married to a Protestant lady by whom he has a large family" (4). In 1834 William White in his "History, Gazeteer, and Directory of Staffordshire" reported that all the female branch of the "numerous family were members of the Established Church", but that at this

-
- (1). Burke's Gentry 1862 edition p. 549: C.R.S. Vol. 12, 1913, p. 225, the "Laity's Directory" stated that John Giffard died at Coughton Court on October 7th 1833 aged 58 and described him as "late of the County of Stafford".
 - (2). D 590/736 Copy of marriage certificate.
 - (3). S.H.C. N.S. Vol. V, p. 194 & 199 & Burke's Gentry 1862 edition, p. 549.
 - (4). Pitt, "History of Staffordshire", Newcastle, 1817, p. 254.

date the Giffards' tenantry were "mostly Catholics" (1). However in 1851 White's "Gazeteer" stated that "Until recently their (the Giffards) tenants were nearly all Romanists; but the present Mr. Giffard has adopted Liberal views and has now only three or four tenants of the Roman persuasion. He married a Protestant Lady and has three daughters brought up in the Church of England" (2).

The Church retained some links with the Giffards of Chillington, as she remained tenant of Blackladies, Longbirch and the Brewood copyhold properties. On the social level, Dr. Walsh, Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District in 1834 granted the squire and his friends permission to "sport over his Churchlands in the parish of Brewood" (3). Also it appears that Thomas William had the right to present to the Blackladies Mission. In Kirk there is printed a letter from one of the Richmonds to Dr. Kirk giving him some biographical details of their uncle, who had died in 1838, having spent forty-eight years at Blackladies (4). The requiem

-
- (1). William White, "History, Gazeteer & Directory of Staffordshire", Robert Leader, Sheffield, 1834, p. 481.
 - (2). William White, "History, Gazeteer & Directory of Staffordshire", 1851, Sheffield, p. 446.
 - (3). D 590/570-2 Wolverhampton, Sept. 28th 1834; Brady Annals, p. 242. Whilst a deacon Walsh was Bishop Stapleton's Secretary, and from 1801-4 he was priest in charge at Longbirch. In 1826 he succeeded Milner to the Vicariate.
 - (4). Kirk, p. 200-201, Gillow added a note that on the original was a penciled query "By Rev. Robert Richmond".

of the old priest was attended by "a large concourse of people" (1), and the internment took place at Whiteladies, "now a decent, venerable and truly Catholic cemetery" (2). The note added, "Dr. Walsh intends writing to Mr. Giffard and proposing Henry. I wish he could have called at Chillington" (3). The gift of Blackladies remained in Thomas William's hands, but the following years were to see a great change in parochial organisation, Blackladies and Longbirch were to close and a new church was built at Brewood in 1844 (4).

The stone for the Church came from the Giffard's quarry at Stradsfield (5), and the good offices of Thomas William were used throughout the building of St. Mary's. This required constant communication between the Rev. Robert Richmond of Longbirch and the Chillington estate office.

(1). Ibid.

(2). Kirk p.201; DDCC 147-14 Wolverhampton, Dec.18th 1810, Milner to Thomas Clifford, in the past Whiteladies had been threatened, when Fitzherbert was selling Boscobel, Milner had written to Thomas Clifford about his concern for a place that had been in Catholic hands since the twelfth century and his efforts to prevent sacred remains from being ploughed up "and exposed to become the food of impure carrion crows".

(3). Kirk p.201.

(4). V.C.H. Vol. V, p.45.

(5). V.C.H. Vol.V. p.20.

The priest wrote on March 14th 1843 (1). to the squire, as the chapel scheme had run into difficulties. Dr. Walsh, the Vicar Apostolic, had viewed the plans but he had informed Richmond that he was unable to donate any money to the building fund, He suggested to Richmond that as only £.340 had been raised by subscription, the extra money might be obtained either by selling the small six acre copyhold property in Park Lane, Brewood (2) or by borrowing £.400 and using the rent of £.16 p.a. from the property to pay off the interest (3). The priest hoped that the squire would consider buying the six acres and wrote that, "if so, there is (a) plan which I should beg to propose to you, by which between one and two hundred pound would be saved in the building of the chapel and house at Brewood. I will call at Chillington in the course of the afternoon to enquire, if there be any answer from you, when I hope to hear that your health is much improved (4).

-
- (1). D 590/570-3 Longbirch March 14th 1843 Robert Richmond to T.W. Giffard.
 - (2). D 590/9/9 Longbirch Nov. 3rd 1842 - Robert Richmond to George Robinson. Dr. Walsh had chosen his coadjutor Dr. Wiseman, Dr. Henry Logan & Robert & William Richmond as the trustees of church property at Brewood.
 - (3). D 590/570-3 Longbirch March 14th 1843 Robert Richmond to T.W. Giffard.
 - (4). Ibid.

Giffard's steward visited the site in Park Lane and although he was unaware of the contents of the report, Richmond wrote to the Squire on March 20th to ask if it would be better if Newman who occupied a cottage in Park Lane was asked to quit because, whether the negotiation about the small estate and the exchange be brought to a conclusion or not, but if the exchange be made, "it will be very inconvenient if the notice be not given" (1). After the priest received a letter from Dr. Walsh and a visit from his solicitor W. Robinson, the transaction gained momentum. The priest told the squire that he was pleased that W. Robinson was acting in the matter, "as I do not understand such things sufficiently" (2). Despite such protestations, he was politic enough to mention that the surveyor Timms had valued the property at £.500, and since the news of the sale had become public, "a person has as good as offered me that sum for it" but he assured the squire that the bishop, "wishes you to have the preference, and I should (be) very sorry if it did not go into your hands" (3).

Giffard's solicitor, George Robinson, wrote to him on

(1). D 590/570-3 Longbirch 20th March 1843 Richmond to T.W. Giffard.

(2). D 590-570-3 Longbirch, 24th March 1843, Richmond to T.W. Giffard.

(3). Ibid.

April 5th that Richmond had proposed that the squire should buy five acres in Park Lane, adding. "I have only said I would submit the proposal to you, I suppose you know which five acres they mean, they are called Dr. Walsh's own land by Mr. Richmond" (1). A few days later Mr. Bell, the steward, called on the priest, and informed him that Giffard was willing to sell Newman's cottage and land and was prepared to purchase the Sedgley Park Copyhold estate (2). Mr. Bardon, the College President, suggested that a disinterested person, possibly Mr. Timms should value both properties, therefore Richmond wanted permission for the surveyor to examine Newman's cottage in the presence of the Steward(3).

Richmond on April 17th 1843 appealed to the steward on another matter. He complained that the labourers, who were digging the foundations of the church, had been ordered off the site by Mr. Wright of the Lion Inn, who threatened that

-
- (1). D 590/570-3 Wolverhampton, April 5th 1843 G. Robinson to T.W. Giffard.
 - (2). D 590/570-3 Longbitch, April 12th 1843 Richmond to T.W. Giffard.
 - (3). D 590/570-3 Longbitch, April 12th 1843 Richmond to T.W. Giffard. He also stated "I should likewise (like) to look over the cottage in order to see whether it will answer the purposes I anticipated.

"he would have £.3 or bring a plough into the field within the course of an hour" (1). He asked Bell to settle the matter, reminding him that he had informed the priest that Wright "had no right even to a farthing" (2).

The purchase of the copyhold estate was eventually made before the Court Baron of Thomas William, the Lord of the Manor of Brewood, whose court steward, George Holyoake dealt with the matter. Henry Turner, the local attorney, appeared for Dr. Kirk of Lichfield and Bowdon of Sedgley Park, the representatives of the church (3). After the descent of the copyhold had been traced from Thomas Southworth (4), the purchase was made of the cottages, tenements and gardens for £486 (5). This was Giffard's

-
- (1). D 590/570-3 Longbirch, April 17th 1843 Richmond to J. Bell.
(2). Ibid.
(3). D 590/21/2.
(4). D 590/21/1 Descent was proved from Southworth, President of Sedgley Park in 1807 to Southworth's heir, Richard Bellington, in 1819, who surrendered the estate in January 1819 to the Revs. Kirk, Birch and Bowdon.
(5). D 590/21/2 and Robert Richmond's Subscription List, St. Mary's Brewood: D 590/684 July 17th 1849 G. Robinson's evidence to the Land Tax Commission in 1849 referred to small parcels of land purchased from "Lord Ducie, Mr. Plimsly, Mary Taylor and the trustees of the Roman Catholic endowment."

contribution to St. Mary's building fund.

The Church was opened in June 1844 but unfortunately a few days later, Robert Richmond, worn out with all his labours, died aged sixty-two at Sedgley Park (1). He had served at Longbirch from 1808-1811, & 1819-1821, and returned there in 1838, after serving as Professor of Divinity and Vice President at Oscott College (2). He and William Richmond, his nephew and successor, are commemorated in St. Mary's by two inscribed figures in priests' robes on a brass on the floor of the church (3). The death of William in 1848 brought an end to the family's service to the Catholic community of Brewood and Chillington, which had begun in 1791 when "Uncle Roe" first went to Blackladies.

The total cost of the church was £1,605.7s.4d. including the £486.0s.0d. paid by Giffard in November 1843 for the copyhold estate. A full account of the subscriptions was kept by Richmond (4), and the priest headed the list with his own donation of £10. Thomas William's mother, the Lady Charlotte Giffard, gave £5, a lady's maid at Chillington

(1). Gillow, Vol. V, p. 415.

(2), Ibid.

(3). V.C.H. Vol. V, p. 45.

(4). List of Subscriptions for the Catholic Chapel. A notebook kept by Robt. Richmond. St. Mary's Presbytery, Brewood.

a humble 5 shillings and a Mr. Mercer from Chillington donated £.10 (1). But the subscription list reads like a roll of the Catholic aristocracy and gentry, as few of the old recusant families failed to contribute to the building of this church in the historic centre of Midland Catholicism. Lord Shrewsbury, through the architect Pugin, paid £.100; the Lady Dowager Shrewsbury £.10; Lord Petre £.5; Lord Southwell and family £.5; Lord Newburgh £.10 and Anne, Lady Newburgh another £.10; the Countess of Clare £.10; Lady Scardale £.3 and Lords Stafford and Stourton both donated £.5 (2). Among the gentry families, contributions were received from Whitgreave of Moseley, Maxwell Constable, Vavasour, Mostyn, Stonor, Fitzherbert, Berkeley, Jerningham, Langdale, Blundell, Brockholes, Weld Blundell, Chichester and of course the Throckmortons (3).

Amongst the clergy the Right. Rev. Dr. Wiseman and the Right. Rev. Dr. Mostyn made their donations, but surprisingly sums were collected from many congregations and the ordinary laity, not only from Oscott, Coughton, and Swynerton, but also from Liverpool, Preston, Lancaster, and Alnwick (4). Other entries included the names of humble local recusants,

(1). Ibid. The Subscription List.

(2). Ibid.

(3). Ibid.

(4). The Subscription List.

who had served the Giffards and the Church throughout the years. John Penderell gave £.1.0s.0d., Mary Floyde and Winifred Poole 1s.6d., and "a widows mite, Mary Floyde 6d." (1). Some of these sums were apparently obtained by preaching and beseeching, as the note book contains the following entry, "we cannot commend too highly the object for which the Rev. Robert Richmond is soliciting the alms of the faithful", followed by a subscription in the name of the clergy from Wiseman and the Hon. Rev. George Spencer (2).

The labours of the Richmonds were recorded by Archbishop Ullathorne in a short memoir on William Richmond in 1848, in which he wrote of "this beautiful church with its chancel, tower, spire, bell, churchyard and everything (3) else complete". Robert Richmond had managed to persuade patrons to donate the particular projects admired by Ullathorne. Sir Clifford and Lady Constable gave £.7 towards a churchyard cross; Mr. Edward Robinson a stove for the church; Lady Vaughan, Mr. Pugin, the architect and Henry Whitgreave gave money for stained glass windows. Mrs. Hardman donated £.12 for an iron tabernacle and Robert Richmond

(1). Ibid.

(2). Ibid.

(3). Mother Francis Raphael, "Letters of Archbishop Ullathorne Burns & Oates, London, 1892, p. 6. Letter dated 13 Nov. 1842: but the panegyric was wrongly described as of Robert Richmond.

paid for the weathercock himself. To complete the setting, Mr. Perry, the Bushbury Nurseryman donated some privet and quickset plants for the garden and hedges (1).

The church, designed by Pugin, was dedicated to St. Mary, the same dedication as that of the Benedictine convent of Blackladies. Other links with the past included a seventeenth century wooden crucifix from Blackladies (2), and a twelfth century pillar stoup, outside the south porch is supposed to have come from Whiteladies (3). However, despite the amicable negotiations between Richmond and Giffard regarding the land and building, when Henry Richmond moved the silver candlesticks from the Mission to Brewood, he received a strongly worded letter of disapproval from George Robinson (4).

Ullathorne in the same memoir described how William Richmond had spent five hours a day teaching in the boys' school, because he was 'unable to pay for a school master. There was also a girls' school at Brewood "this most complete rural establishment in England" (5). The first Catholic school in the neighbourhood had been attached to Blackladies

-
- (1). Robert Richmond's Subscription Book, St. Mary's MBrewood.
 - (2). V.C.H. Vol.V, p.36.
 - (3). V.C.H. Vol.V p.45. In 1851 at St.Mary's the 10 a.m. mass was reported always full to capacity, this meant an average Sunday Mass attendance of four hundred.
 - (4). Wolverhampton 25 March 1844 G.Robinson to H.Richmond, St. Mary's Brewood.
 - (5). Ullathorne's letters op.cit.p.6-7, he also referred to

and was attended by thirty-three boys and girls. This school was supported by the Evans of Boscobel (1).

Robert's brother, Thomas Richmond, as mentioned above, kept a school at Codsall House, before he moved to Walsall, where he died in 1837 (2). From 1854 until 1916 the school was in the charge of a lay mistress, although the Victoria County History states that "it is said to have been under the superintendence of the Sisters of St. Paul" in 1860 and 1868 (3). In 1919, the first Dominican sister was appointed headmistress of the school (4), and in the following year the order opened a Convent school in the old Brewood workhouse (5).

After Longbirch ceased to be the centre of the Vicariate, it became a Mission, but with the opening of St. Mary's, Brewood, the house reverted to being a simple farmhouse. In 1874 an attempt was made to restore the former episcopal

William as "the best missionary in the district a man without care of himself".

- (1). V.C.H. Vol.V, p.46; White's Gazeteer, 1834, p.482.
- (2). Gillow, Vol.V, p.415 & C.R.S. Vol.XII, 1913, p.223. Richmond made his Easter Duties at Longbirch in 1800 and there are references to his continuing to do so until 1836. Easter Communion Lists, St. Mary's, Brewood.
- (3). V.C.H. Vol.V, p.46.
- (4). Ibid.
- (5). Ibid. p.45.

residence, but the structure of the house collapsed, and eventually the foundations were blown up and a new farmhouse built in 1878 (1). In 1843 (2) George Robinson thought that Blackladies might be restored for £.400 to make it, "not only one of the most ornamental but the most commodious farm house in the whole country" (3). His plans to convert the building were not intended to destroy the character of the place, "the little House of God consecrated so long to his worship should stand" (4). The chapel was described in 1834 as, "a low... half timbered building, the ceiling is of oak and part of the old tessellated pavement still remains.... The wooden turret for the bell was taken down about 1789, but there still remains a ponderous little statue of the Blessed Virgin carved in wood, which occupies the place of the altar piece" (5). This seventeenth century chapel was demolished in 1846, but its site was commemorated by a cross set in a low brick wall (6).

(1). Ibid. p.38.

(2). D 590/570-3 Tettenhall, 1843 n.d. Robinson to T.W. Giffard.

(3). D 590/570-3 Wolverhampton 1843 G. Robinson to T.W. Giffard.

(4). Ibid.

(5). Catholic Magazine 1834 Vol.V, p.303 cited by Gilbert Dolan, in "Chapters in the History of the English Benedictine Mission", Ch. XXII. "Benedictine Missions of Staffordshire," Downside Review, VolXXVI, No. 76, New Series VII, March 21, 1907, p. 53.

(6). V.C.H. Vol.V, p.37 & 45. When the farm was sold in 1919 to the Vaughan family, Blackladies returned to Catholic ownership.

Shortly after the building of St. Mary's, Mr. Giffard began his fight against the double land tax, a legacy of recusancy, which he claimed was still levied on part of his estate. Miss M.E. Rowlands in her article "The Iron Age of Double Taxes" estimates that between 1692 and 1851 the Giffards contributed £.9,000 in additional taxation on their Staffordshire estates (1). Although from 1794 the double land tax was not imposed by statute, it was still paid until 1831, when, "the royal assent was given to an act amending the Land Act in so far as they impose a double tax on Roman Catholics to disencumber their lands of this burden" (2).

Catholics had discovered ways of escaping the full imposition of the tax, for example as early as 1693 another Staffordshire landowner, Sir Thomas Simeon of Aston, reported that the tax commissioners had been persuaded to levy the double rate only on his demense and not on the whole estate (3). Other devices included the making of nominal leases to sympathetic Protestants (4), and for assessors to undervalue recusant properties. In Staffordshire

(1). Staffordshire Catholic History Journal, No. 3, Spring 1963, M.E. Rowlands, "The Iron Age of Double Taxes"; See also W.R. Ward, "English Land Tax in the XVIII century", O.U.P., London, 1953, p.130.

(2). Rowlands, art. cit., p.20.

(3). M. Leys, p.115.

(4). V.C.H. Vol.V, p.35. In 1758 the lease of Brewood Manor was made over to Thomas Prowse by Thomas Giffard to avoid prosecution as a Papist.

in 1728, when Peter Giffard was assessed at £. 32. 3s. Od. , the collectors and assessors for the Cuttlestone hundred included four recusants, William Carrington of Brewood, John Boughey of High Onn, John Adderley of Church Eaton and William Kempson of Kinvaston (1). One of the assessors in 1780 was another Catholic, Richard Plant, who was also a tenant of the Giffards (2), and this assessment was to prove extremely crucial during the struggle of Thomas William to obtain relief.

The Squire's first complaint was made in 1847 to the Receiver for the Cuttlestone Hundred, who passed the case on to the Receiver General in London (3). The local commissioners had certified that "The Land Tax assessment upon the property exceeds by the sum of £. 67. 16s. 7d. the just proportion, which would be changed upon it, if the property did not belong to a Roman Catholic" (4). Mr. Garnett, an Inspector of Taxes at Somerset House insisted that no document had been provided to show the pound rate at which the estates were charged either in 1780 or 1847, nor the

(1). Rowlands, art. cit. , p.27-28.

(2). Ibid. p.35.

(3). D 590/684 Stafford, November 8th 1847 R.W. Hand, to T.W. Giffard.

(4). D 590/684 Somerset House, London, 14th April 1848 W. Garnett Inspector of Taxes to T.W. Giffard.

manner in which the local commissioners had arrived at their conclusion that the excess amounted to £.67.16s.7d. (1).

In May 1848 Garnett demanded precise documentation to support the claim (2), and so Walker, the Chillington land agent, began a search in the muniment room, and once the search was completed he prepared a report for Giffard's solicitor, George Robinson (3). Walker claimed that although the tax was high throughout Brewood, it was still 2d. per acre higher on Giffard's land. There were 11,900 acres in Brewood, and on 4,110a. the land tax was reduced. Of the remaining 7,790a. Giffard owned 5,203a. and paid land tax at the rate of 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per acre, but the other 2,587 acres in the possession of a number of proprietors was assessed at only 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per acre (4).

Robinson took up the case again in January 1849, arguing that the disproportion discovered by Walker arose because Giffard was still assessed as a recusant. He forwarded to Garnett a copy of the 1780 assessment showing

(1). Ibid.

(2). D 590/684 Somerset House London, 10th May 1848 W. Garnett to T.W. Giffard.

(3). D 590/684 Chillington, 19th Jan. 1849. R. Walker to G. Robinson.

(4). D 590/684 Chillington, Jan. 16, 1849 R. Walker to G. Robinson, Giffard paid £.145.8. s. 6d. on his 5,203 acres - the others £. 51. 4s. 4d. on the remaining £. 2,587 acres.

the double rate paid by Thomas William's father, and claimed that "I cannot imagine a case more evident and unquestionable" (1). Yet the case dragged on; Garnett in May 1849 merely repeated that the Board was not convinced that the documents which had been presented justified the squire's claim. In particular he wished to know whether the 1780 assessment was an exact copy, as on four pages there were two columns headed, "simple tax" and "recusancy", but this was omitted on other pages, and he thought that a complete and exact copy of the 1847 assessment should have been presented to the board (2).

On May 19th 1849 Robinson wrote again to the Commissioners offering the strictest proof of Giffard's claims. He offered a map of the whole parish, distinguishing Giffard's estate, the rent rolls of 1770 and other years, "from the tenancy of Mr. Giffard's land when charged double to identify the tenancy and assessment from then and to the present". The solicitor suggested that a meeting or tribunal

-
- (1). D 590/684 Wolverhampton, March 22nd 1849 G. Robinson to W. Garnett. The 1780 copy showed the double assessment of 1780 "in respect of the lands numbered 5 and crossed X on the copy of the assessment of 1847, which I returned you with the Commissioner's certificate of Mr. Giffard's right to the relief he seeks".
 - (2). D 590/684 Somerset House, May 10th 1849, W. Garnett to T.W. Giffard.

should be convened to settle the matter (1).

On July 17th 1849 such a tribunal met at the Littleton Arms Penkridge (2). Robinson declared that as the family's solicitor for over twenty years he was, "intimately acquainted with the estate and title to them". He gave evidence of land held by Thomas Giffard in 1780 in Brewood, primarily in the Township of Chillington and Gunston, and how in 1823 they had descended to the present squire (3). The son of one of Thomas Giffard tenants, a Thomas Fielding, seventy years old and late of Gunston, testified that Bishop Hornyold, James Knight, Robert Reynolds, Richard Plant (4) and others had been tenants of the late Mr. Giffard (5). Finally Walker produced the account books and rent rolls of

-
- (1). D 590/684 Wolverhampton May 19th 1849 G. Robinson to W. Garnett - Robinson made the exceptions 10s. on land sold in 1833 to Mr. Monkton of Somerford, and 5s. 6d. on land held of the Bishop of Lichfield and redeemed in 1807.
 - (2). D 590/684 Report of the meeting at the Littleton Arms on July 17th 1849.
 - (3). Ibid., Testimony of George Robinson.
 - (4). Rowlands, art. cit. Plant was an assessor in 1780.
 - (5). D 590/684 Report of the meeting at the Littleton Arms on July 17th 1849. Testimony of Thomas Fielding.

Chillington and Gunston for 1770 and argued that they were the same persons, who were assessed double in 1780 (1).

After some meditation on the local commissioner's findings, Garnett wrote on November 8th 1849 to Thomas William to inform him that the assessment exceeded his just proportion by £. 63. 5s. 5d., and added tartly not by £. 67. 16s. 7d. the figure of the local commissioners (2).

Despite this award, following three years of exhaustive enquiry, research and negotiation, Giffard was required to pay the excess up to the 5th April 1850 (3). Robinson wrote that the squire considered this demand "so inconsistent with justice that he has directed me to address you on the

(1). Ibid. Testimony of Robert Walker.

(2). D 590/684 Garnett to T.W. Giffard. Garnett queried the two cases of John Howell and Thomas Ward who appeared as "Heirs of Hornyold Esq.". If proof was given of Giffard's ownership of these properties the Treasury would consider relief of £. 63. 5s. 5d.. On December 8th 1849 in the presence of Robinson, Walker and the squire solemnly swore that the lands in question in 1761 were held of Thomas Giffard, the grandfather of the present squire, and that Bishop Hornyold had never been a proprietor, but only a tenant at Longbirch. The reference to the bishop was simply an error. D 590/684 The Solemn Declaration of Thomas William Giffard and Robert Walker, 8 Dec. 1849.

(3). D 590/684 Wolverhampton July 16th 1850 Robinson to Garnett.

subject of it" (1). The irate squire thought that the relief should have been dated from the time of his appeal or at least from the date of the commissioner's order (2).

A Mr. Keogh informed Giffard that no discharge of double land tax from any assessment for a current year could be granted, unless the commissioners' certificate was made before October 10th (3). But at least from April 1850 the Giffards were finally relieved from all the penalties of recusancy, some twenty-one years after Emancipation and fifty-nine years after the Relief Act.

Shortly before his death Giffard once more helped the Church authorities by purchasing a small piece of pasture and arable land from the Bishop of Birmingham (4). The 35a.1r.14 poles lay at Longbirch, and were bought late in 1858 (5). Yet the sale of more church property really marks another stage in the loosening of the bonds between the Church and the Giffards. The final break came with the

(1). D 590/684 Wolverhampton, July 16th 1850, Robinson to Garnett.

(2). Ibid.

(3). D 590/648 Somerset House, 29th July 1850 Thomas Keogh to T.W. Giffard.

(4). D 590/573-4 March 30th 1859 The Survey of Timms, Best and Woodcock of land purchased from the Roman Catholic Bishop.

(5). D 590/685 -Wolverhampton Nov.12 1858, G. Robinson to T.W. Giffard.

death of Thomas William in 1861.

James Hicks Smith in his, "History of Brewood" wrote that, "the late Mr. Giffard on his death bed received the rites of the Church and the same were celebrated over his body before it left Chillington" (1). Smith cited an extract from an obituary of Thomas William in the Guardian of January 1861 that stated, "he was one of the few surviving specimens of the loyal Cisalpine school of Roman Catholics" (2).

Thomas William's death brought the accession of his Protestant brother, Walter Peter, and ended three hundred years of recusancy. John Morris in "Catholic England" in "Modern Times" written in 1892 lamented that there had been many estates in England where all the tenants were Catholics (3). "There are very few places now, the Gascoignes are gone and the Inglebys, the Sheldons, the Fortescues, and now the Turvilles, the Giffards, the Fermors, the Cliftons, the Fairfaxes, the Heneages, the Swinburnes, the Curzons, the Ropers - to content oneself with names that rise up

-
- (1). James Hicks Smith, "A History of Brewood", Wolverhampton, 1874, p. 52.
 - (2). Ibid.
 - (3). J. Morris S.J., "Catholic England in Modern Times", London, 1892, p. 20-1.

almost spontaneously" (1). The old families who claimed to be of "the soil of England and yet of the blood of (2) martyrs" had conformed, become extinct or remained in a church, that was rapidly shaking off the last traces of "Gentry Catholicism".

(1). Ibid.

(2). Vincent Alan McClelland, "Cardinal Manning, His Public Life and Influence 1865-1892", O.U.P., London, 1962, p. 23.

CHAPTER VIII.

"Liberal Catholic and Conservative Politician"

Thomas William Giffard and County Politics.

The Giffards, as prominent members of the Conservative Association, played an influential role in nineteenth century county politics, but, unlike their Tudor forefathers, they never held the important public offices of Sheriff and member of Parliament (1). Thomas William Giffard's support for the Tories is a little surprising, as both he and his father were described, with regard religious matters, as gentlemen of "liberal principles", and his obituary states that, he was a Catholic of the Cisalpine sort (2). Most Catholics were Whigs, and the Giffard's kinsman, Robert Throckmorton, who represented Berkshire in that interest in the eighteen thirties, reflected the political sentiments of the majority of their co-religionists (3).

The Whigs were traditionally the party in favour of relief and toleration, although by no means all of the party supported Emancipation, consequently Catholics were led

-
- (1). See Chapter I, "The Origins of the Giffards recusancy". William White in the "History, Gazeteer and Directory of Staffordshire", Sheffield, 1834, p. 481 writes of the family, "(they) have been kept from public employments only by their religious tenets, being Roman Catholics".
 - (2). Pitt, "History of Staffordshire", Newcastle, 1817, p. 30; William White, "History, Gazeteer and Directory of Staffordshire", Sheffield, 1851, p. 446.
 - (3). B. Ward, "The Eve of Catholic Emancipation", vol. III. Longmans, London, 1912, p. 277.

into an habitual alliance with them (1). This alliance was strengthened when the Whigs formed a pact with O'Connell's Irish Party, the political ally of the English Catholics (2). John Vincent in, "The Formation of the Liberal Party, 1857-1868" comments that the Catholic peers were Whigs in memory of 1828 and, "it would seem that the Liberalism of the peerage was generally a family heirloom" (3). The political furore over the Restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in 1850, leading to Lord John Russell's Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and the Liberal's Italian Policy undermined this alliance of convenience (4).

After the advent of Disraeli, despite the presence of such ultra Conservatives, as Spooner and Newdegate, in the Tory ranks, many Catholics found it possible to support the Tories (5). Sir John Pope Hennessy became the first

-
- (1). Joseph L. Altholz, "The Political Behaviour of the English Catholics, 1850-1867", *Journal of British Studies*, vol. IV, No. 1, Nov. 1964, p. 91; B. Fothergill, "Nicholas Wiseman", Faber & Faber, London, 1963, p. 46. G. I. T. Machin, "The Catholic Emancipation Crisis of 1825", *E. H. R.*, Vol. LXXVIII, no. 308, July 1963, p. 458, stresses that the division among the Tories was the basic factor contributing to the passing of the Emancipation Act.
 - (2). Altholz, art. cit., p. 91.
 - (3). John Vincent, "The Formation of the Liberal Party, 1857-1868", Constable, London, 1966, p. 7.
 - (4). Altholz, art. cit., p. 93; Vincent, op. cit., p. 261.
 - (5). Altholz, art. cit., p. 94, Spooner & Newdegate pressed in Parliament for legislation to inspect convents.

Catholic Tory M.P., and in 1861 Lord Arundell of Wardour became the first Catholic peer to sit on the Tory benches in the Lords (1). In 1855 Wallis purchased the "Tablet", and turned the paper into an organ of "Catholic Toryism" (2)., and by the eighteen seventies, the Catholic Union of Great Britain, the forum of the Catholic nobility and gentry, was strongly Conservative (3).

However many Catholics placed religion above party politics. In 1881, during the Berwick by-election, a correspondent wrote in the "Tablet", "We are all, I hope, Catholics first, and Liberals, or Conservative afterwards" (4). At this time Cardinal Manning was encouraging

-
- (1). ed. G. Beck, "English Catholics, 1850-1950", Burns & Oates, London, 1950, p.231. "Some papers of Lord Arundell of Wardour", Longmans, London, 1909, p.XIV.
 - (2). Altholz, art. cit., p.96.
 - (3). Vincent, op.cit., p.262. John Bateman in "Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland", London, 1833, lists among the 2,500 landowners 49, who were educated at Catholic schools, and another 12 clearly recognisable Catholics, of these 13 were members of Liberal clubs, and only eight belonged to Conservative Clubs. Even excluding the Irish, the ratio remained the same, 11 Liberals, 6 Conservatives. Of the whole 2,500, 348 belonged to Liberal Clubs, and 856 to Conservative. The Catholic Tories were marginally younger than the Liberals.
 - (4). Walter L. Arnstein, "The Bradlaugh Case, A study in late Victorian Politics", Clarendon, Oxford, 1965, p.181. Hubert Jerningham, a Catholic, was the Liberal candidate at Berwick.

his flock to play an active role in public life (1). In some respects, as the century had progressed, Catholics seem to have withdrawn from public affairs; in 1830 five English Catholics, all Whigs, were returned to the Commons, but after the eighteen thirties the number declined (2). Lord Edward Howard at Arundel, and Sir George Bowyer at Dundalk, in Ireland, were the only English Catholics elected in 1852 (3). After the disenfranchisement of the Duke of Norfolk's pocket borough of Arundel in 1868, only one English Catholic was elected (4), and the situation deteriorated rather than improved, since in 1880 no English, Welsh or Scottish Catholic sat in the Commons (5). Therefore, in so far as Thomas William never became a M.P., his

-
- (1). Arnstein, op. cit., p. 325 argues that Manning may well have recognised that a joint religious attack upon Bradlaugh was "a means whereby his adopted church might raise its own claims to full acceptance in nineteenth century England".
 - (2). B. Ward, "The Eve of the Catholic Emancipation", vol. III, Longmans, London, 1912, p. 276-277. All five Catholic Whigs, except Sir Clifford Constable, who sat for his own pocket borough of Hedon, voted for the Reform Bill.
 - (3). Altholz, art. cit., p. 95.
 - (4). Ibid., p. 102.
 - (5). Arnstein, op. cit., p. 181.

political career was little different from that of his fellow Catholics, but as an active Catholic Tory, as early as the eighteen thirties, he was exceptional. His Toryism indicates his estrangement from the Church, and seems to suggest that the prejudices of the country gentleman overcame his religious sympathies.

Staffordshire was essentially an aristocratic county (1), dominated by the great Whig houses of Trentham, Shughborough, Beaudesert, and Teddesley, the homes of the Duke of Sutherland, the Earl of Lichfield, the Marquess of Anglesey and Lord Hatherton. These four magnates were accredited in 1870 with 70,000 a. and a.g.a.v. of £.180,000 (2).

-
- (1). F.M.L. Thompson, "English Landed Society in the nineteenth century", Routledge, Kegan & Paul, London, 1963, p.38.
 - (2). D. Southgate, "The Passing of the Whigs; 1832-1886", Mac Millan, London, 1962, p.95,n.5.

Also Lord Granville was the largest leaseholder in the county (1), and this territorial strength maintained Whig influence not only in the boroughs of Newcastle and Lichfield but also in the county. However from 1835 the Tories broke the Whig-Liberal monopoly of the county seats, largely by a combination of good organisation and the influence of the county gentlemen like Monckton of Somerford, Dyott of Freeford and Giffard himself. Although the Conservative leader Peel had his country seat in the county at Drayton, and the Tory elder statesman Harrowby had his residence at Sandon (2), Staffordshire Tories were essentially gentlemen.

Giffard's first major political intervention came during the 1835 by-election in the Southern Division following the ennoblement of Sir Edward Littleton (3). Sir Francis Goodrick, a popular landowner and member for the borough of Stafford, resigned his seat to fight the county

-
- (1). D. Southgate, "The passing of the Whigs, 1832-1886", Mac Millan, London, 1962, n. 5, p. 95.
 - (2). Lord Harrowby died in 1847 aged 85, and had declined the peerage on the death of Canning. To Greyville, he was "the top of the second rate men...no man ever passed through a long political life more entirely without blemish or suspicion". Greyville's Memoirs, edited Roger Fulford, Batsford London (1963), p. 241.
 - (3). Raised to the peerage as Lord Hatherton.

in the Tory interest (1). Thomas William Giffard as a leading landowner was made chairman of Goodricke's election committee and played an important part in securing a Tory victory. In his capacity as chairman Giffard received an urgent plea from Thomas Martin of Wheaton Aston (2) to send an influential person to reason with the voters in his parish, as he feared at least sixteen votes had been lost to the Whigs, following a visit from Colonel Anson (3). Although an attorney, Mr. Henry Turner, had made a canvass, Martin thought that there were many people, especially in county districts, who objected to being canvassed by a "mere attorney" (4) and wanted a visit from an "influential person". A few days earlier Mr. Wyley of High Onn ~~and~~, another of Giffard's tenants, wrote that Anson had gained votes in the Marston area, before it was disclosed that Goodricke was to stand. However he confirmed that the votes of Church Eaton were promised for Sir Francis. Wyley pledged his support to the

-
- (1). Norman Gash, "Politics in the age of Peel, 1830-1850", Longmans, London, 1953, p. 250.
 - (2). D 590/570-2 Thomas Martin to T.W. Giffard, May 19th, 1835.
 - (3). Ibid. Colonel Anson was the brother of Lord Lichfield.
 - (4). G. Kitson Clark, "Making of Victorian England", Methuen, London, 1962, p. 212 described the solicitor as "the natural representative of a private individual or private property" and the Consergative party as, "a curious network or web of solicitors".

candidate, and offered Giffard his assistance and the "little influence he had at his disposal" (1).

This by-election happened to coincide with the establishment of a national Standing Committee to supervise the registration of voters by the Tories, "in the same spirit two years later Peel urged his supporters to "Register, register, register" (2). Registration was all important in securing electoral victory, as the Reform Act of 1832 had left the securing of the franchise to the initiative of the voter. Those qualified had to make their claim to the parish overseer, in the county, and be prepared to defend their qualification (3). An undated notice among the Giffard papers indicates the intensive efforts in the thirties to register Brewood voters, and on the back of the bill is a list of persons with "reg" or a black space against their name (4).

Giffard's support for the Tories provoked some opposition. Two anonymous notes, from a co-religionist,

-
- (1). D 590/570-2 T.W. Wyley to T.W. Giffard, 10 May, 1835.
 - (2). Asa Briggs, "The Age of Improvement", Longmans, 1959, p. 265. In Disraeli's "Coningsby", Signet, New York, 1962, p. 105 "There is nothing like a good small majority" said Mr. Taper, "and a good registration". "Ay register, register, register," I said the Duke. Those were immortal words".
 - (3). J. Alun Thomas, "The system of Registration and the Development of Party Organization, 1832-1870", History, Vol. XXV, Feb/June 1950, p. 82-3.
 - (4). D 590/583.

written in a puerile or disguised hand (1), are preserved in the Estate Correspondence. This "true friend" to the House of Chillington criticised Giffard's support for Goodricke and in the name of his religion, urged the squire not to be , "a tool for the Tories" (2). The critic was underlining Giffard's apparent desertion of his faith in supporting the Tories against the traditional pro Catholic party, the Whigs. Goodricke's campaign despite some violence in Wolverhampton and attempted intimidation proved successful, as the Conservatives surprisingly beat Lord Lichfield's brother (3).

At the 1837 General Election both the Northern and Southern divisions returned a Whig and a Tory. Anson was returned with Ingestre, a Tory, in the South, whilst the North elected Edward Buller, a Whig, and W.B. Baring, a Conservative (4). Baring's election was celebrated early in October by a dinner at Stone, coinciding with the first race

(1). See chapter "The Catholic of the Gasolier South".

(2). D 590/570-2 W'ton May 12th, 1835.

(3). Gash, op. cit., p. 250. At Wolverhampton all those not wearing the Whig laurel leaf emblem were jostled and threatened. On Polling day Goodricke's supporters were assaulted and the Riot Act was read, dragons being used to clear the streets. Gash, *ibid.*, p. 149 and 151. Similar Radical intimidation, necessitating military intervention had occurred at Walsall during the 1832 election. Gash, p. 146.

(4). Gash, p. 251.

day, at which the member intended meeting his constituents. William Meeson invited Giffard and all the friends he could muster to support their common cause. Another object of the invitation was the provision of game. Giffard was asked to provide some, Meeson reminding him (1) that birds were rare around Stone, and suggested that expense and time would be saved if the squire could arrange for the game to be killed at Marston (2).

By 1839 rumours of a dissolution were circulating in the county. On January 7th (3) Sir Robert Peel had written to the defeated Tory candidate in the Southern Division in 1837, Richard Dyott of Freeford (4), that an early election might take place but he had at that moment little reason for supposing it likely. Peel made it clear that although he had not publicly stated his opinion regarding South Staffordshire, in the event of an early election he would advise the Tories not to contest the seat.

-
- (1). D 590/570-2 Sept. 28th, 1837. Wm. Meeson to T.W. Giffard.
 - (2). Ibid.
 - (3). D 661/10/1/10. Sir R. Peel to R. Dyott, Jan. 7th, 1839.
 - (4). Dyott was born 26 May 1808, son of General Dyott, and married in 1849 the only daughter of Charles Smith Foster of Lysways Hall, Conservative M.P. for Walsall.

Six months later Dyott was approached by John Bembow (1) to stand as the second Conservative candidate in the event of an early election. Bembow's approach was made with the consent of some influential gentry, who remembered his efforts in 1837 (2). Only a week later, Bembow had changed his mind, having to explain to Dyott that although there was now little likelihood of an early election, it would be difficult to raise an election fund in the county, as the general feeling was that the peace should not be disturbed. From London on 15th June he wrote that his enquiries in the capital and the county suggested that "there is (little) disposition to subscribe to the support of two conservative candidates" (3).

Finance had been the root cause of a disagreement in (4) 1837 between the Dyotts and the sitting member, Lord Ingestre. £.6,400 was subscribed towards the expenses, of which General Dyott, Richard's father, contributed £.500, and he thought that the outstanding debt should have been settled by Ingestre as the winning candidate (5). Ingestre

(1). John Bembow, trustee of the late Earl of Derby acted for Lord Ward.

(2). D 661/10/1/12 1 June, 1839 John Bembow to Richard Dyott.

(3). D 661/10/1/12 8 June, 1839 John Bembow to Richard Dyott.

(4). D 661/10/1/12 15 June, 1839 26, Mecklenburgh Sq., J.N. Bembow. to Richard Dyott.

(5). Gash, op. cit., p. 251. In 1841 Dyott's expenses at Lichfield were only £.45.18s.3d. D 661/10/1/12 July 16, 1842.

however refused. Professor Gash states in "Politics in the Age of Peel" that, "it was certainly Ingestre's determination not to be led into similar expense that led to the events of 1841" (1). These manœuvres generated great excitement, and split the Conservative Party in the county, but there was no contest.

The wealthy proprietors displayed little enthusiasm for an election (2). One of these gentlemen was Giffard, who was specifically named in a memorandum drawn up by Walter Wrottesley (3), the leading negotiator on behalf of the Whig interest which stated that "the Liberal Party were willing to enter with such an agreement as that proposed by Edward Monckton, if it had the support of the leading persons on the Conservative side in Staffordshire, "and among others, more particularly that of Lords Ward and Bradford and T.W. Giffard." On June 12th, Monckton had sent his neighbour the minute of his conversation with Wrottesley, adding that the Whigs were particularly concerned to obtain Giffard's express

(1). Gash, op.cit., p.251.

(2). Lord Stanley had argued in 1841 that, "it was known that when a man attempted to estimate the probable result of a county election in England it was ascertained by calculating the number of the great landed proprietors in the county and weighing the number of occupiers under them". Asa Briggs, "Age of Improvement", op.cit., p.264.

(3). Fellow of All Souls and a relative of T.W. Giffard as →

his elder brother Lord Wrottesley had married Sophia Elizabeth Giffard. Burke's Peerage, 1963, p. 2626. Lord Wrottesley was one of T. W. Giffard's executors, D 590/Walker to George Pearce, March 26th, 1861.

consent (1). Although confined to Chillington during the negotiations, Giffard was kept in constant touch with proceedings by Edward Monckton, who had been chosen at a meeting at the Carlton to deal with Lord Hatherton (2). This meeting was attended by Lord Ingestre, G. Bagot, R. Curzon and F.R. Hill, amongst others, and had been informed that Mr. Wyatt the Liberal agent, had made it known that the Liberals were not eager for a contest. Monckton explained that nearly all the leading gentry of the division were in London and they were extremely anxious to have Giffard's opinion and approbation of what had been done. As the squire was incapacitated, and unable to write himself, Monckton asked him to get John Hay, the steward, or someone else to reply on his behalf (3). Another consideration in the minds of the Tories was the fear that Lord Granville would be the second Liberal candidate with the financial

-
- (4). 590/721 Copy of a memo. made by Walter Wrottesley dated June 12, 1841.
- (1). D 590/723 New Burlington St., Edward Monckton to T. W. Giffard 12 June 1841.
- (2). D 590/722 New Burlington St., Edward Monckton to T. W. Giffard, June 11, 1841.
- (3). D 590/722 11 June 1841 New Burlington House, Monckton to T.W. Giffard.

support of the Duke of Sutherland (1).

On the 13th June Giffard replied, anxious to know whether the other proprietors absent from the meeting had been approached, and significantly "whether steps have been taken to ascertain the opinions of the principal Conservatives in the mining and manufacturing interests"(2). Monckton answered on the 14th, as soon as he had received Hay's dispatch, that he had not sought the ironmasters' opinions, until he had heard from Giffard, as the Liberals would not have considered any pledge without it having the backing of Giffard (3). Edward Monckton took the advice, and Mr. Hill was delegated to inform the ironmasters, whilst he wrote himself to Mr. Briscoe.

Monckton also explained that Lord Hatherton had decided that it was irregular for a peer to interfere in a matter concerning the Commons, therefore Walter Wrottesley

(1). D 590/722 *ibid.*

(2). D 590/719 Copy June 13, 1841. Hay p.p. Giffard to Edward Monckton.

(3). D 590/726 14 June 1841, New Burlington St. Edward Monckton to Thomas W. Giffard.

had become the chief Whig negotiator. After some quibbling the clause regarding the appearance of a second candidate was approved in the following form, "that the appearance of such second candidate on either side shall at once liberate the party against which he shall be brought forward from the pledge now given, but not the party on whose side such second candidate shall appear" (1).

By the 16th (2) Monckton on the return of Bembow from Oxford was assured of Lord Ward's support to the agreement, and that of the industrialists, as Briscoe confirmed that with four exceptions, they had agreed that it would be "impolitic to agitate the country at this time" (3). Once more Giffard's powerful position in county politics was re-emphasised by Monckton, who wrote that the Staffordshire Tories in London anxiously awaited his support of the agreement (4). He added that he thought that things had gone so far the Liberals might think that the Tories

(1). D 590/726 14 June 1841, New Burlington St., Edward Monckton to Thomas W. Giffard.

(2). D 590/724 16 June 1841 New Burlington St., Edward Monckton to T.W. Giffard.

(3). Ibid.

(4). Ibid.

were bound to neutrality. A copy of the undertaking was enclosed in the letter (1).

By the 18th John Hay was unable to convey his master's assent to the agreement (2), however the disgruntled Tory, Richard Dyott, the Lichfield candidate (3) at a meeting in the Swan Hotel carried a resolution viewing with regret and condemnation the degraded position in which South Staffordshire appeared before the political world, "by reason of a compromise or compact entered into by certain unauthorised persons in London" (4). These same unauthorised persons had approached Lord Hatherton regarding Lichfield, as Monckton claimed that Dyott was sure of

(1). D 590/725 The Undertaking

"We having been empowered herewith on behalf of our respective parties do agree that the representation of the County of S. Staffordshire here be left as it now stands and that if two candidates shall be brought forward or supported on either side, it shall at once liberate the party against which such two candidates shall happen and this agreement shall be considered as relating personally to Lord Ingestre and Colonel Anson and that neither party shall be at liberty to change their men".

(2). D 590/720 Copy June 18th, 1841 John Hay p.p. T.W. Giffard to Edward Monckton.

(3). D 661/10/1/12 R. Hinckley to R. Dyott, n.d. 1841.

(4). D 661/17/10 Dyott to Monckton July 28th, 1841.

beating Lord Alfred Paget (1). and the original pact was for Paget to withdraw, and the Tories not to forward a second candidate in the southern division. Hatherton admitted that he knew little of party strengths in Lichfield, but he understood that Paget's friends thought the seat safe. But a close scrutiny of the register by R. Hinckley, P. Dyott, and G. Egginton, led them to believe that Richard Dyott's success was beyond doubt (2). However, in 1841 Lichfield remained the "prize gem in the jewel case of the Whig magnates" (3).

The tone of the Lichfield resolution was no doubt exacerbated by Dyott's quarrel with Ingestre and the failure of the Lichfield agreement rather than the suspicion that

(1). D 590/717 June 8, 1841 Memo. of Lord Hatherton. Paget was the sixth son of the Marquess of Anglesey, and in 1837 had been appointed Equerry to the young Queen as part of Melbourne's strategy of keeping Victoria subject to Whig influence. The Queen's latest biographer has suggested that the number of time she assured Melbourne she wouldn't marry a subject that she was not imperious to her subjects' charms, and gossip linked her name with that of Lord Alfred. Melbourne did not have too high an opinion of the Pagets, once remarking to the Queen that he did not understand all the fuss about education, as "none of the Pagets can read and write and they do very well". Marquess of Anglesey, "One Leg", Life and Letters of Henry William Paget, 1st Marquess of Anglesey K.G. 1768-1854". Cape, London, 1961, p. 309-10; Elizabeth Longford, "Victoria R.I.", London, 1964, p. 126, 75 & 138; David Cecil, "Lord M. - Later life of Lord Melbourne", London, 1954, p. 130.

(2). D 661/10/1/12 R. Hinckley to Richard Dyott, n.d.

(3). D. Southgate, "The passing of the Whigs, 1832-1886", London, 1962, p. 95.

"their rights as electors had been unduly tampered with"(1). This unrest was also due to the feeling that South Staffordshire could be won for the Tories; Briscoe had argued that if the Tories were forced to fight, "we should have to change in our favour" (2). As their resolution was printed in the Staffordshire Chronicle, a public row developed between Dyott and Monckton. Dyott denied that the Lichfield resolution was founded on a misconception of the facts for news of the agreement had been well circulated in the county, however he added that he regretted that Monckton saw the need for the public controversy (3).

Tory optimism may have been encouraged by their success in the Walsall by-election, when they had won the seat by 363 votes to 336 against J.B. Smith of the anti-Corn Law League. This was a pyrrhic victory for them, as the "Farmers' Journal" recognised that at Walsall by its intervention the League had proved itself formidable, "in so far as regards the influences at its disposal" (4).

-
- (1). D 661/17/10 Resolution in the Staffordshire Chronicle from a meeting in Lichfield 16 July 1841.
 - (2). D 590/724 mentioned by Edward Monckton in his letter 16th June to T.W. Giffard.
 - (3). D 661/17/10 Freeford July 28th, 1841 Richard Dyott to Ed. Monckton.
 - (4). See Norman McCord, "The Anti-Corn Law League; 1838-1846" Allen & Unwin, London, 1958, p. 83-90 for a full account of the Walsall election.

Although the League lost Walsall, the neighbouring constituency of Wolverhampton returned from 1834 until 1898 Charles Pelham Villiers, a Radical and a leading critic of the Corn laws (1).

The threat of urban Radicalism was recognised by Sir Robert Peel, whose intervention in the Reform Bill debate, secured the retention of the constituency of Lichfield at the expense of industrial Walsall. However, Walsall's nomination was successfully carried at a later stage (2). Peel wrote to General Dyott on July 9th 1832 that he was surprised that the county gentlemen did not see that the provision of an additional county member was, "a mere blind and make matters worse so far as the Representation of the Landed interest is concerned" (3).

-
- (1). W. O. Henderson, "Charles Pelham Villiers", History, Vol. XXXVII, no. 129, Feb. 1952.
 - (2). D 661/10/1/10 Whitehall, June 23, 1832, Sir Robert Peel to General Dyott. Walsall was the only industrial town in the South that had a charter of incorporation. F. C. Mather, "Public order in the age of the Chartists", Manchester, 1959, p. 65.
 - (3). D 661/10/1/10 Whitehall, July 9th 1832, Peel to General Dyott. Peel added "the towns not the land will return the members. Yet 71% of all M.P.s 1841-1847 were members (or related on the male side) of the gentry and aristocracy; W. O. Aydelotte, "The House of Commons in the 1840s.", History, Vo. XXXIX, no. 137, Oct. 1954, p. 254. There were still over 400 representatives of the landed interest in the Commons of 1865; see Sir Llewelyn Woodward, "The Age of Reform", 2nd. Edition, O.U.P. London, 1962, p. 92.

Despite these forbodings the gentlemen, both Whig and Tory, had their way in 1841, no contest disturbing the peace and partition of the county. Bonham, the leading Tory organiser, complained to Peel that at the Staffordshire meetings, no one connected with the general management of the Elections had been present or even consulted. (1) Yet Giffard, unable to leave his hall at Chillington, was kept in constant communication with the London negotiators (?), his neighbour Monckton from Somerford and his relative Wrottesley. This dominance by the gentry from the south west of the county, may also explain the Lichfield "revolt". The compact between the landed proprietors settled the election; however it was the absent Thomas William, with his Stow Heath mining interests, who perceived the long term trends, and advised consultations with the Conservative industrialists. ~~However~~ Although Staffordshire remained undisturbed, the Tories ended the elections with a majority of seventy-eight, and on August 30th, Sir Robert Peel of Draxton succeeded Melbourne as premier (2).

(1). Gash, p. 257.

(2). B. Kemp, "The General Election of 1841", History, Vol. XXXVII, no. 130, June 1952.

The 1841 election marked the peak of Giffard's political influence in county politics; there are few references to politics in the family papers following this date. However in 1846 John Hay asked Walker, the agent, for a cheque for £.27.6s.0d. to cover insurance and the squire's subscription of £.5 to the Conservative Society (1), and his interest in Conservatism was maintained in the fifties, when political alignments were being redrawn. In 1854 as Vice President of the Staffordshire Conservative Association he gave support to Viscount Ingestre and a (2) Paget, who unsuccessfully contested the Southern Division. In 1857 the Squire received information, from his solicitor George Robinson (3), that Mr. Foley had been selected as Tory candidate for the county, Lord Wrottesley having been outmanouvered by Hatherton. Thus two former Whig families having changed their allegiance fought for influence in the Tory ranks, but Hatherton had called on Ward at Himley, and the latter's support for Foley brought an end to the hopes of young Wrottesley. Robinson's concern indicated a new

(1). D 590/570/6 John Hay to Rob. Walker, Feb. 3rd, 1846.

(2). J. Hicks Smith, "Brewood", 1874, Wolverhampton, p. 52.

(3). D 590/685 Market Place, March 22nd, 1857. The vote was 26 to 19. Robinson blamed "Wrottesley and our friends" for the failure and signed himself "Yours respectfully in haste".

spirit of radicalism in the Tory party, he wrote, "but really if forty-five people, self elected and self meeting are to say who are to be members, things are come to a pretty pass" (1). This was a far cry from the spirit of 1841.

The appointment of W. Underhill of Wolverhampton, as a fulltime, professional agent to supervise the registration in 1859, also indicated the new approach to party organisation. The cost of the registration was estimated at £300-400 per annum and Giffard was approached by Charles Bagnall to contribute, "knowing your Conservative principle.....I need not say how much we shall value your patronage" (2).

Meanwhile, Lord Sandon, grandson of the first Lord Harrowby, and Whig member for Lichfield declared that he sat, "as an independent supporter of Lord Palmerston, whom I consider to be truly conservative in policy" (3). He confessed that Disraeli's tone of subservience to the House of Commons, the applause he constantly received from the Radical benches, and the Radical character

-
- (1). D. 590/685, Wolverhampton, March 22nd, 1857, G. Robinson to T. W. Giffard.
 - (2). D 590/685, Pattingham, nr. Wolverhampton, July 30th, 1859, Charles Bagnall to T. W. Giffard; The Earl of Dartmouth headed the list with £100, second was the Earl of Bradford with £10.
 - (3). D 661/10/1/13 Sandon Hall, Stone, April 3rd, 1858, Sandon to Col. Dyott declining to join the Carlton.

of his India Bill made him very apprehensive that under his guidance the acts of the new government would be anything but Conservative"(1). English Politics at the death of Thomas W. Giffard in 1861 were in confusion and flux and slowly power was slipping from the hands of such landed proprietors. Even the old divisions disappeared in 1867, being replaced by three two member seats, north, east and west, while Lichfield lost a representative and the industrial borough of Wednesbury returned a member for the first time (2). Perhaps the most significant result of the 1867 election was the breaking of the Whig monopoly at Lichfield by the return of a Tory, because of an increase in the electorate to 1,100; the Adullamite Anson was beaten by a Dyott (3).

The obituary of Thomas William in the "Guardian" wrote of him "In the days of Conservatism he was Vice President of the Staffordshire Conservative Association,

-
- (1). In 1857 the Times in its first account of election results simply divided the successful candidates into Palmerstonians and anti-Palmerstonians. Asa Briggs, "The Age of Improvement", p. 421.
 - (2). V.C.H., vol. I, "Political History" by W.R. Curtler, p. 273.
 - (3). D. Southgate, "The Passing of the Whigs, 1832-1886", MacMillan, London, 1962, p. 333.
H.J. Hanham in "Elections and Party management in the time of Disraeli and Gladstone", London, 1959, p. 410 listed Lichfield as a borough seat controlled by the Conservatives from 1868-85, naming the patron, as Colonel Richard Dyott.

and he gave a vigorous though unsuccessful support to Viscount Ingestre, when that noble Lord contested the Southern Division of that County with the present Earl of Uxbridge in 1854" (1). The obituary added that it was expected that his estates would pass to his brother Walter Peter Giffard of Bilbrook, who was a member of the Church of England (2). Significantly on the August 20th, 1861 the first Protestant Lord of Chillington was appointed a Deputy Lieutenant by Lord Hatherton, the Lord Lieutenant of Staffordshire (3).

-
- (1). J.H. Smith, "Brewood: A resumé, Historical and Topographical", Wolverhampton, Wm. Parke, 1874, p. 52.
 - (2). J.H. Smith, "Brewood", 1874, p. 52
 - (3). D 590/585; The Letters Patent of the award and a receipt for the fee of two guineas made out by R.W. Stand, Clerk to the Lieutenancy on August 24th, are amongst a bundle of papers primarily concerned with enfranchisements at Stow Heath.

CHAPTER IX.

Economic Difficulties 1780-1861.

When Thomas Joseph Giffard returned from his Grand Tour in 1785, he came of age and entered into his fortune, which he spent on the rebuilding of Chillington, and a life of great extravagance. The young dandy was described by George Selwyn as "a man of large patrimony, which he was rapidly dissipating" (1), and consequently by 1790 he was heavily in debt. The building scheme was but one of the many causes of Giffard's financial embarrassment, and was part of a long term reconstruction of the Hall and Park, originally initiated by his father and grandfather. Peter Giffard in 1724 remodelled the old Tudor Hall, and his South Front is described by Christopher Hussey in, "English Country Houses, Mid Georgian", as, "an excellent example of Early Georgian Provincial workmanship in pale red facing bricks with stone dressing" (2). His father had employed James Paine and Capability Brown (3), to landscape the great pool and the gardens, and

(1). Cited in S.H.C, vol.V, (N.S.), p.194. In many respects Thomas Joseph in 1785 was like Disraeli's Eustace Lyle, "a Roman Catholic, and the richest commoner in the County, for he had succeeded to a great estate early in his minority, which had this year terminated", Benjamin Disraeli, "Coningsby", Signet Classic, New York, 1962 p.148.

(2). Christopher Hussey, "English Country House; Mid Georgian", Country Life, London, 1956, p.223. H.M.Colvin in "A Bibliographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660-1840", John Murray, London, 1954, p.552 suggests that the architects were probably the Smiths of Warwick.

(3). Colvin, op,cit., p.433; Hussey, op.cit., p.223; Dorothy

when he died in 1776 at the early age of forty-one, he was considering designs by Adam for a new house on a site nearer the lake (1). This project was resumed by his son nine years later, but the commission was given to the young and comparatively unknown architect, John Soane (2).

It is not known why Giffard commissioned Soane, although Hussey suggests that possibly his father's connection with Brown led him to Henry Holland, who recommended his former assistant (3). Soane had only established himself in private practice in 1784, and Chillington was his first major work (4), but while working on this scheme, he was appointed architect to the Bank of England. His Chillington Saloon was a prototype for the Bank (5). Soane's design consisted of lengthening the main two storey front from

Stroud, "Capability Brown", Country Life, London, 1950, p. 96.

(1). Hussey, op.cit., p.223.

(2). Ibid.

(3). Ibid, p.223-224.

(4). John Gloag, "Georgian Grace; a Social History of Design from 1660 to 1830", Black, London, 1956, p.376. Soane worked for Holland from 1772 to 1778, and was then awarded a King's travelling studentship, when, like his patron Giffard, he toured Europe.

nine to eleven bays, "the additions at either end being of two storeys, thus giving the effect of terminal towers" (1). A stone Ionic portico was set against the facade, which remained in brick, although Soane had intended it to be stuccoed (2). Hussey thinks that "the radical junction with Smith's front is "incredibly clumsy" (3). The centre of the house which was originally to be occupied by a chapel and a library, was filled by the domed saloon (4).

The masons on the site were Bird and Brown and the slater Philip Kirkbride, (5) but the clearing of the site was done by Giffard's own labourers (6), including Anthony and G. Spicer who were still employed on the estate (7) in 1798. Unfortunately the workbook for the period is undated, however the tasks of building and reconstruction were noted, "levelling new kitchen, draining near the new Temple; Brick laying, Garden wall; brick laying new wall;

-
- (1). Dorothy Stroud, "The Architecture of Sir John Soane", Studio, London 1961, p. 32.
 - (2). Ibid.
 - (3). Hussey, p. 224.
 - (4). Stroud, op. cit. p. 32.
Soane in 1788 enlarged Lord Arundell's chapel at Wardour p. 198 and in 1792 designed an unexecuted plan of a library for John Throckmorton at Buckland, p. 159.
 - (5). Stroud, op. cit., p. 32.
 - (6). Work Book D 590/645.
 - (7). Spicer's Work Book D 590/574.

pulling down the old house, and moving rubbish, putting up cranes, making bricks, moulds, etc." (1). Soane's design was never completed (2); the restraining influence of Charlotte Courtenay, whom Giffard married in 1788, and his heavy debts prevented the interior decorations being finished (3). Significantly the name of, "Soane, architect", appeared on a schedule of Thomas Giffard's debts in July 1790, when Francis Flowden was ordered to pay him £400 (4).

This more extravagant style of life with its foreign travel, the London season, and building projects had begun with Giffard's father, and to a lesser extent with his grandfather, Peter, and reflected both the increase in the family's wealth, and their rise in social status. Both Thomas Giffards travelled in Italy, and both married the daughters of peers (5). The elder initiated the rebuilding of the Hall, and in some respects his scheme for a complete rebuilding and resiting was more lavish

-
- (1). D. 590/645 The Work Book.
 - (2). J. Hicks Smith, "Brewood", p. 44.
 - (3). Hussey, op. cit., p. 227.
 - (4). D 590/107, July 1790.
 - (5). Thomas Giffard's first wife was a Petre, and his son married the daughter of Lord Courtenay of Powderham Castle, Devon.
 - (6). Both had their portraits painted by Batoni, Esme Wingfield-Stratford, "The Squire and his Relations", Cassell, London, 1956, notes provided by T.A.W. Giffard to accompany the portraits on ps. 180-181.

than that of his son. Thomas had set up residence in London in 1774, and by June 17th his expenses had amounted, in less than six months, to £340. Partridge and poultry were sent down from Staffordshire for Giffard's London table, but most produce was bought locally at Covent Garden by his servant Brymar. Brymar's accounts shew that Giffard contributed each month "to the poor", although the amount varied from £.2.4.6. in February to only 9s. Od. in April (2). The Giffards also stayed at the fashionable resort of Bath, the residence of the Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, and the haunt of leading Catholic families such as the Arundells, Blundells, Dormers, Englefields, Langdales, Mostyns, Pastons, Sheldons and Stonors. (3) Thomas Giffard's third wife Frances was a Stonor, and her uncle John Stonor recorded meeting her at Bath in a letter to his nephew Charles, "When I was in town I did myself the pleasure of drinking a dish of coffee with Mrs. Giffard she had that day been bled for a very bad cold that had teased her much". (4).

(1). D 590/667 - Brymar's account.

(2). *Ibid.* other expenses included a hat for my mistress; 2s. to a coachman for watching the watch; a nosegay for 3/6 and scouring drops 1/-.

(3). J.A. Williams, "Bath and Rome", The Living Link, Bath 1963, p. 39.

(4). R.J. Stonor, "Stonor", Johns, Newport, ¹⁹⁶¹ p. 293.

Giffard, besides being a dandy, was a man of distinction and culture (1); Dr. Hooke wrote from Paris in 1785 in praise of, "the agreeable scenes and prospects you have so well set forth and painted in your poetical descriptions" (2). In the same letter Hooke declined an invitation to visit Chillington, commenting that it ill became a man of seventy-two to ramble the world, and added that, "you are surrounded by a number of young folks, and though one can't help loving 'les jeunes gens', yet I avoid them as being déplacé in their society" (3).

Presumably, "les jeunes gens"

-
- (1). "The Complete poetical works of William Cowper" ed. H. S. Milford, Henry Frowde/O. U. P., London, 1907, p. 383 & 393, Thomas' eldest sister, Maria, the wife of John Throckmorton, was also talented, and a close friend of the poet Cowper, who dedicated two poems to her, one entitled "on her beautiful transcript of Horace's ode, 'Ad Librum Suum'".
 - (2). D 590/666, Collège Mazarin, Dec. 10th, 1785, Hooke to Giffard. Hooke had kept all Giffard's letters, "in great order with the intention of putting them into your (Giffard's) hands".
 - (3). Ibid.

were assisting Thomas to waste his fortune.

However, in 1788 at the age of twenty-four he married Charlotte Courtenay, who brought with her a dowry of £6,000 (1). The marriage settlement was preceded by detailed negotiations. Francis Plowden, Giffard's lawyer, attended on him on May 30th and June 5th, to receive instructions with regard to discussions with Mr. (2) Ley, Lord Courtenay's agent. At this time Plowden was trying unsuccessfully to raise £.6,000 "on a temporary charge" on the estate from a Mr. Walmsly, and £.3,000 at $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ from Lord Porchester (3). The number of such charges, annuities and unpaid bills were mounting, and by 1790 Giffard's situation was desperate.

On March 22nd 1790 Thomas Giffard placed his lands in commission and entrusted his affairs to Lord Loughborough, Lord Chief Justice of ^{the} Court of Common Pleas, John Cote and his brother-in-law Throckmorton (4). The trustees were

-
- (1). D 590/290. 1788 Copy of the Settlement.
At the same time "previous to and in view and contemplation of my marriage" Giffard made a will, his executrix and executors were named as Charlotte, Francis Canning, John Giffard of Nerquis and Francis Plowden.
D 590/110.
- (2). D 590/666 His account with Francis Plowden.
- (3). Ibid. A Mr. Richards refused on behalf of Lord Porchester.
- (4). D 590/106.

empowered to appoint an attorney (1). to execute the terms of his marriage settlement and "generally for the said Thomas Giffard in his name to so execute and perform all other matters and things needful and expedient in and about the premises" (2). A schedule was attached, showing Giffard's income from lands and hereditaments as £5,871.5s.8d. (3). Another document detailed all the annuities and bonds chargeable on the estate, and his debtors both in London and in Staffordshire (4). The annuities

(1). D 590/106. The term of five years was post dated to commence from the previous Christmas, and Giffard appointed as, "his true and lawful attorney, Francis Plowden and in his name to appear in His Majesty's Court of Commons pleas".

(2). Ibid.

(3). Ibid.

Chillington and the Hyde	1331. 3.8
Blackladies and Hattons	1211. 8.6
High Onn and Orsloe	975.10.4
Walton and Bridgeford	686.10.0
Marston and Enson	990.12.2
Brewood Park, Chillington, Tithes & Leasehold.	675,11.0

£5871. 5.8

(4). D 590/107.

amounted in all to £990, including the £500 jointure of his stepmother Frances Cary (1), and the £100 paid to Dr. Berington (2). A further schedule listed all Giffard's bonds (3) including one of £10,000, to John Throckmorton, to be paid out of a sum of £12,000, due to Thomas on the death of his grandfather, Sir Robert Throckmorton. Other bonds made between 1786 and 1787 included £3,000 to Messers. Shortland, Ronson & Hammar, Bankers of Pall Mall, £4,000 to Francis Holyoake, £12,000 to Sir Martin Brown Foulkes and several bonds to Sir Robert Pigot and Sir Edward Stourton (4). In all he owed £47,000 in bonds.

The tradesmen's bills were considerable sums. Local (5) traders, such as grocers, chandlers, butchers and upholsters were owed £1,27.16.10. The London bills

(1). Burke, 1862 edition, p. 218, Frances married George Cary of Torr Abbey, Devon.

(2). D 590/107, others included £100 to Ann Fitzherbert, £140 to John Garden, and £150 to John Setsu.

(3). D 590/107. This was settled on Oct. 5th, 1795 see D 590/109

(4). D 590/107.

(5). Ibid.

included £.1,561.7.6 owing to Sedden & Co. upholsterers, £.1,600 to Codsall, a watchmaker, £.933.14.4 to Gray, a jeweller and £.534.19.11 to Winter & Shutt, a firm of tailors. (1). Another list, presumably of priority bills to be paid off by Francis Plowden, totalled a further £.957.12.9. (2). His London debts indicate another side to Giffard's extravagance; he owed £.17.11.0 to a Mr. Daugbiny, £.9.7.0 to Benjamin Harding and £.39.15.0 to Mr. White, all described as holders of clubs in St. James Street (3).

Giffard's former chaplain, Rev. A. Clough wrote, following a visit from Thomas , to Dr. Kirk that he doubted "whether Mr. Giffard will be able to live at Chillington on his present income, he had better go to some more retired place . Live in a saving manner for a few years until he has paid off his debts, and then return to Chillington and appear like the Lord of that Ancient Place" (4).

-
- (1). D 590/107 Hatters, perfumerers, furriers, potters, hosiers, doctors, coal dealers, drapers, brewers, milliners, wine merchants - all were included on the schedule.
 - (2). Ibid. This schedule included the payment to Soane. Cf. the Duke of Bedford's charges, annuities, bonds etc. totalling £.551,940 in 1839, when the net income from his estates was £.109,549. David Spring, "The English Landed Estate in the 19th. Its Administration", John Hopkins, Baltimore 1963, p.189-191.
 - (3). D 590/107.
 - (4). C 1117. Nov. 4, 1791, Clough to Kirk.

The young squire soon retired to Rouen, and his Steward Ellison wrote to inform him of the endeavours to pay off his debts (1). He had paid off the local debts and the trust deed, also the "country tradesmen's bills for things had in 1790", and the servants and board wages (2). However he did not know anything about affairs in London, except that he often had letters from Mr. Plowden for money to discharge the debts in the capital. Ellison promised his exiled master that he would forward Plowden the profits of a timber sale recently held on the estate but one of the timber merchants, Mr. Emery was left behind (3) with his payments! The steward was very happy with the results of the sale, as the three lots had realised £.2,905 (4).

(1). D 590/666 Undated Letter (1791?) Matthew Ellison to Thomas Giffard.

(2). Ibid.

(3). Ibid. Ellison to Giffard.

(4). Ibid. Lot 1 Emery £.1,750, Lot 2 Iddins, £.1,010, Lot 3 Mr. Price £.145.

A valuation was sealed up and laid on the table, if the biddings didn't reach that price, the sale was invalid, however the highest bidder might take the lot by private contract, at the sealed price.

D 590/574 one sale had been made to Emery in 1789 to Emery, the local Brewood Timber merchant, for £.2,570.

Besides utilising the expedient of cutting down Giffard's oak and ash, the Steward was attempting to increase the rental, which had already risen from £.5,167.6.9½ on his accession, to £.5,871.5.8 by the time of his marriage. Ellison hoped that it would soon reach £.6,700 (1). He had taken the advice of the surveyor Mr. Hill (2), who had looked over all the farms with him; their proposed increases included £.20 from their bishop, Talbot (3) and they had settled terms with some tenants, others were considering their proposals. Some tenants were not offered terms and the smaller farms were deliberately not let (4). This policy soon proved successful, as from 1791 rent receipts consistently exceeded £.6,300 (5). Timber however continued to be felled to shove up the tottering finances of Giffard. In 1793 Articles of Agreement were signed between Ellison, and Parsons of Newport, and Cox of Stonebridge, timber merchants for the sale of 598 oaks, 5 cypher and 109 ash at Rock's Coppice for the sum of £.4,400 (6). The smaller

(1). D 590/574.

(2). Mr. Hill; presumably Richard Hill, the Catholic Surveyor from Tixall, Staffordshire, employed by Thomas Giffard. DDCC 147/13.

(3). For Longbarth.

(4). D 590/666. Ellison to Giffard undated letter.

(5). D 590/602 1791, £.6,319.18.2; 1792, £.6,703.15.8
1793, £.6,709.5.8.; 1794, £.6,524.5.8.; & 1795, £.6,366.8.

(6). D 590/574 Articles and Agreement, 15 Feb. 1793.

sum of £.492 was raised in 1796, when William Hand, Wheelwright, Nathaniel Rogers, timber merchant, William Dudley, carpenter and William Horten, shoemaker signed their agreement with the Steward. The agreement was kept by the Wolverhampton bankers, Gibbons and Jesson, as security for the sum of the same amount, advanced to Mr. Giffard "for the discharge of several debts in London"(1). In 1798 he obtained £.1,200 on the signing of articles for the sale of timber, mainly oaks and ash from High Onn worth £.2,400, the other half to be paid later by Harding the timber merchant (2).

The Giffard's stay in Normandy was interrupted by the Revolutionary wars. As early as 1790 a fellow Catholic, Edward Sheldon had written from Liège that the city was very quiet, "although their army is encamped not far from here", but surprisingly there were a number of English Catholics in the Low Countries at that time including the Stourtons, Lady Smythe and Lady Clifford (3). By the summer of 1794 a French advance forced the Jesuits to evacuate their College in Liège, and remove their pupils to Stonyhurst,

-
- (1). D 590/574 Articles of agreement, 25th March 1796, lodged with the bankers 5th May 1796.
 - (2). D 590/574 Agreement of 24 Jan. 1798.
 - (3). DDCC 144/12 Edward Sheldon to Mr. Tunstall, Liège July 29th 1790.

on the Lancashire fells (1). Giffard had returned early as he made his Easter Communion at Blackladies in 1793 (2), and Chillington became a refuge for a number of emigrés, including Mademoiselle de Stein, Hippolite Francois and M. and Mme. du Jardin (3).

Women emigrés were usually successful in earning a living (4), and it is not surprising to find a "Henriette du Gardin" appearing on the 1805 Communion Lists styled, "the schoolmistress" (5). M. des Gardin, previously mentioned, was employed at Chillington Hall as a servant, but this did not prevent Giffard approaching him for a loan (6). On 11th March, Alexandre Des Gardins of Chillington aforesaid servant to the said Thomas Giffard "lent his master £.200 with lawful interest, the sum to be repaid within six months (7).

-
- (1). Hubert Chadwick S.J., "St. Omers to Stonyhurst", Burns & Oates, London 1961, p. 383-384.
 - (2). Communion Lists (St. Mary's Presbytery, Brewood); DDCC 147/14 a letter from F. Constable to Thomas Clifford Sept. 27, 1811 indicates that one of Giffard's Throckmorton relatives was held in a French gaol.
 - (3). Communion Lists (St. Mary's Presbytery, Brewood).
 - (4). Margery Weiner, "The French Exiles", John Murray, London 1960, p. 110. In all there were about 25,000 emigrés in Britain (Ibid. p. 1) and by 1792 Wilmot found it necessary to set up the Relief Committee (Ibid. p. 58).
 - (5). Easter Communion Lists.
 - (6). D 590/574.
 - (7). Ibid., to be paid by September 11th.

This modest loan from his French servant was one of many more loans and bonds that Giffard continued to raise. On 1 January 1806 he had to find £983.8s.3d. in interest (1), and in the following year at least a further £646.4s.0d; the rate was between $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ (2). These lists of gentlemen lending Giffard such large sums included relatives like Throckmorton, and fellow Staffordshire Catholics, such as Thomas Clifford (3).

When Thomas Giffard died in 1823, his executors (4) drew up, "a schedule of personal assessments", which amounted to £17,892.17s.2d., from which had to be deducted debts of £7,760.2.6 (5) and funeral expenses of £1,309.9.9 (6). The residue divided among the widow, Lady Charlotte, and

-
- (1). D 590/373 Headed Jan. 1st 1806 which included the sum of £281.5s.0d. to Sir James Mansfield.
 - (2). D 590/666 Receipts e.g. £90 - "Year's interest on sum of £4,000 loaned by Master Peter More to Thomas Giffard". A higher rate of $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ was taken on Thomas Walker's loan of £2,000.
 - (3). Ibid. William Throckmorton of Lincoln's Inn acted on behalf of Peter More. Clifford and John Throckmorton both loaned sums to Giffard, see D 590/373.
 - (4). D 590/110, in a will made in 1788, he named as his executors his wife, Charlotte Giffard, Francis Canning, John Giffard and Francis Plowden.
 - (5). D 590/572, Rough Account Book, "Sums owed by late Thomas Giffard" this includes sums owed to Thomas.
 - (6). D 590/589, "Executorship account of the late Thomas Giffard Esq."

the younger children were each provided with £735, 5s. 0d (1). A further sum of £16,000, plus £17,505, the "net produce of the sale of unsettled estates", provided an additional £3,045.18.7 for each younger child (2).

Thomas William came of age in 1810, and from that date was given^{by} his father an allowance of £150 per quarter (3). Thirteen years later he inherited Chillington, and his father's debts, but this legacy did not prevent him spending £63,095 between 1825 and 1826 on various farms, inns and properties (4). But at the same time he sold some lands at Stretton for £13,000, at Long Compton for £2,050 and at Gnosall for £1,600 (5). Besides buying and selling property, he also exchanged some land with Edward Monckton

(1). 590/589.

(2). Ibid.

(3). D 590/373; J. Hicks Smith in "Brewood", notes that the market cross fell down in 1810, just as preparations were being made for celebrating the majority of T.W. Giffard.

(4). D 590/583. Paper Headed "Estates purchased by T.W. Giffard, including Dairy House Farm for £12,000, lands at Hawkshutts for £7,000, and the Catchen's Inn, and the Lion Inn Brewood. D 590/565. Sale of Whitemoor.

(5). D 590/583.

at Stretton (1). An important purchase of 241a. at Belvide Fields was made by Giffard from George Monckton in 1833, some of which was later sold to the Birmingham and Liverpool Junction Canal Company (2). In the same year Giffard had been approached by a Barlaston man, J. Astbury about purchasing the latter's Kerrymore Green properties valued by the owner at £.2,600 with buildings worth £.7,000 besides "a good deal of growing timber" (3). Similarly, but on a lesser scale, an Attorney Turner in 1835 wrote that James Howell had suggested that Mr. Giffard might like to buy a small piece of his land, close to Mr. Icke's farm (4). In May of that year the squire did buy "Mr. Cope's property" at Codsall Wood for £.40 (5). The last major

-
- (1). D 590/565 Letter of Edward Monckton 12 May 1824 suggesting a meeting between their bailiffs to settle the matter. The Lands suggested by Monckton were 87a.Or.3p. of Giffard's, and 98a.2r.29p. of his own property. D 590/373 a note on the foot of a survey map states Long Compton sold 1825 to (Edward Monckton).
 - (2). D 590/17/83 See also the chapter of Industrial Enterprise
 - (3). D 590/570-2 J. Astbury, Barlaston, Aug. 29th, 1833
 - (4). D 590/570-2 2 letters, Henry Turner to T.W. Giffard - March 17, 1835 the other undated. However Howell was not prepared to spend the guinea or thirty shillings required for a genuine copy of his brother's will, by which he inherited the property.
 - (5). D 590/585 Note from G. Holyoake "My dear Squire, I have bought Mr. Cope's property at Codsall Wood for you for £.40" - 19 May, 1835.

estate bought by the Giffards was Peace Hay from Vaughton for £14,700, including "fixtures and everything except farming produce" (1). In the same year to assist the Brewood Catholics in building the new church, he gave £485.0.0 for the copy hold estate in Park Lane, Brewood belonging to Sedgley Park (2). The sale of the 237a.3r.3lp. of the Orslow estate in May 1834 for £8,700 foreshadowed the much larger sales in the forties, when Giffard struggled to salvage his estate (3).

Thomas William made a mortgage agreement for the penal sum of £800 on 24th July 1826 with Mr. James Perry of Graisle, Staffordshire (4). The agreement, witnessed by his sister Lucy, made the interest rate from 1827, "as £4.10s.0d for £100, or 4½%" (5). Perry died ten years later, but following the sales of 1847, his executors, his brother Thomas Perry, was paid in full £4,000 in Oct. 1848,

-
- (1). D 590/570/3 - March 22nd, 1843, G. Holyoake to T.W. Giffard, possession was to be within a month, but the tenant was allowed to stay for three months.
 - (2). Subscription List, St. Mary's Brewood, See also Ch. VII, "A Catholic of the Cisalpine sort".
 - (3). D 590/312/13 May 12, 1834 Copy agreement for sale of Orslow. Thomas W. Giffard to Humphrey Webb.
 - (4). D 590/10/49 26 July, 1826.
 - (5). Ibid.

and an indenture was drawn up to discharge the landowner (1). However not all of his mortgages were so easily paid off, in 1834 Giffard's bank paid out £.8,783.12s.5d. in principal and interest on his behalf (2). A document headed "Copy of Mr. Duval's opinion" and dated 16th August 1837 indicates that the Blackladies had been in mortgage since in the lifetime of Thomas William's father (3). In 1833 a mortgage of £.100,000 had been raised (4), and in 1837 when a further sum of £.20,000 was advanced, Daniel Smith Bockett was appointed receiver of the rents of the mortgaged properties. These included the Blackladies and the manors and lordships of Chillington and Gunston and the Hyde, Brewood, with their respective members, farms, and hereditaments. In all 4,180a.0r.32p. were involved in the transaction, and their annual value amounted to £.6,603.2.0 (5). Giffard was in mortgage to Charles Christopher, Lord Cottenham, Lord Abinger, and Sir John Campbell, who acted as

-
- (1). D 590/10/48 Indenture 25th Oct. 1848.
 - (2). D 590/583.
 - (3). D 590/309/4 Copy of Mr. Duval's opinion, Lincoln's Inn, 16 Aug. 1837.
 - (4). D 590 312/16 Copy dated 20 Sept, 1837. Appointment of Mr. Daniel Smith Bockett as Receiver also D 590/685 Letter of G. Robinson, written April 19, 1859.
 - (5). D 590/312/16 the farms included Longbarth, the old residence of the Vicar's Apostolic and the 1257a.2r.7p., comprising the "mansion, woods and Farm".

directors of the Life Assurance Company (1).

In 1847 Giffard, desperate to pay off some of the charges on the estates, sold his Walton estate to Viscount Anson for £42,000 (2), and the Marston properties to the elder statesman, the Earl of Harrowby, for £63,000 (3). Two years later, after the sales had been completed, Robinson provided Giffard with details of how the monies had been appropriated (4). Of the Marston purchase money, £30,406.0s.7d. was used to pay off mortgages (5); Bright was paid £12,395.8.11 in three instalments, and this redeemed a mortgage of £12,000 (6). A cheque for £5,700.18.9 was sent to a Mr. Tarratt paying in full his principal and interest (7). A sum of £5,766.18.9 paid to Messrs. J. & E. Walker reduced the principal of £12,000 on the Plas Ucha estate (8); and £7,142.7.2 sent to Mrs. Whitgreave's trustees reduced

-
- (1). D 590/312/16 Charles Christopher Lord Cottenham, Lord Chancellor; Rt. Hon. James Lord Abinger, formerly Sir James Scarlett, Baronet of the Court of Exchequer, and Sir John Campbell of the Inner Temple, Attorney General.
 - (2). D 590/45 28th June 1847 Agreement between T.W. Giffard Esq. and Viscount Anson.
 - (3). D 590/44 4th Sept. 1847 Agreement for the sale of Purchase of Walton.
 - (4). D 590/589, "Bundle of letters from Mr. Walker's Desk". Sale of Marston and Walton, Wolverhampton 30 March 1849.
 - (5). Ibid. £32,000 was retained from the sale, the other £31,000 was paid into the bank.
 - (6). Ibid.
 - (7). Ibid.
 - (8). Ibid.

that principal of £.25,000 (1). Anson's money for the purchase of Walton paid off the remainder of the Whitgreave mortgage (2), £.4,000 on Perry mortgage and £.2,880 to Miss Hincke (3). A balance sheet attached to the papers shows that on Sept. 29th, 1849 £.15,000 was paid to the Law Life Assurance Company (4). Some inroads had been made into the charges, but at the cost of depleting the annual income of the estate; the loss of the farms at Walton and Marston brought about a reduction of about £.3,000 in the Giffard's rental (5).

In 1853 Giffard attempted to obtain a further loan from the Law Life Assurance Society, to enable him to complete the purchase of "reversion in fee of the property held under the Bishop of Lichfield" (6). A sum not exceeding £.35,000 was considered on November 10th, 1853 and approved

-
- (1). D 590/589.
(2). D 590/589 and see above
(3). Ibid. The balance shows a total of £.2,963.18.6, interest of £.83.18.6 having to be paid.
(4). Ibid.
(5). D 590/630-2 Accounts Book.
Rents 1844-5 £.14,091.6.0
1845-6 £.16,235.17.8
1846-7 (£.7,974.10.0 - half year only)
1847-8 £.16,450.11.2
1848-9 £.13,899.16.10
1849-50 £.11,780.17.7
(6). D 590/309/3 Mr. D. S. Bockett's charges in relation to a mortgage for £.120,000 from T.W. Giffard Esq. to Law Life Assurance Society and a further loan of £.35,000.

by the Society's Board March 3rd, 1854, it was granted," on the security of the estates in mortgage to the society of the fee simple of the property now held under the Bishop of Lichfield provided the latter were shown to be a designate value." Therefore by 1854 the mortgage had increased by the huge sum of £.155,000 (1). In 1859 negotiations were opened to pay off the mortgage. Robinson provided Giffard with details of when the Law Life Securities had been raised (2), and in another letter explained that he had informed the negotiators that although there were some small estates not included in the Law Life mortgage, Giffard did not wish to sell and in his own opinion "ought not (had) to do so to effect a reasonable amount" (3). A Mr. Woollett had been engaged to find, Mr. Giffard £.155,000 at 3½% for ten years to pay off an existing mortgage on his estates in Staffordshire (4).

Nothing came of the Woollett's search, as on the succession of Thomas William's brother, the estate was burdened with charges of £.253,430, necessitating an annual

-
- (1). D 590/309/3. On March 3, it was agreed by the Board, and Bockett attended the office of Mr. Stubbs of Walsall to inspect the deeds.
 - (2). D 590/685 Wolverhampton April 19, 1859. Mr G. Robinson to T.W. Giffard.
 - (3). D 590/685 April 23rd, 1859 - Robinson to T.W. Giffard.
 - (4). D 590/685 5th July 1859 H. Heane.

outlay of £10,380 in interest. the largest sum being £6,587.10.0 paid the Law Life Assurance Society (1). Annuities to Mrs. Giffard, Mrs. Graham and Mrs. Bent (2) amounted ^{to} a further £720. W.P. Giffard had a net rental of £13,040 and was left with a clear income of £1,940 to which must be added farm profits, copyhold fines and Leeswood mining rents leaving the new squire with an income of £5,490 (3). However in 1863 Walker, the long serving Chillington agent, suggested to his new master a scheme to reduce the charges on the estate, and at the same time increase his income by £500. This sc^heme depended on the new squire adopting the policy, frowned on by his brother in 1859, of selling the smaller estates (4).

Walker hoped that the High Onn, Enson and Whiston estates and part of Chillington would realise £185,000 and another £5,430 obtained by enfranchisements enabling charges to be reduced by £63,000, and the annual interest payments to £2,520 which even with the annuities would leave a clear income of £4,385, increased to £5,935 by farm profits, timber and copyhold fines (5). Walker clearly

(1). D 590/581 Law Life's rate of interest was $4\frac{1}{2}\%$.

(2). Ibid.

(3). Ibid. Walker's note.

(4). D 590/581.

(5). Ibid.

saw the new Nerquis mines as a main source of revenue. He estimated that at least £.50,000 should be realised over the next twenty one years from the established pits at Nerquis and Leeswood, and he had hopes that another £.15-20,000 (1) might be obtained from the newly discovered Nerquis mines. The agent wrote that "these amounts capitalised will be sufficient with the enfranchisements to pay off whatever the sales do not reach the amount stated by £.10,000" (2). Optimistically, he wrote that Giffard would increase his income by at least £.500 p. a. if the scheme was adopted, and that his income would increase annually, "until the whole charge upon the Estate being paid he will have a clear income of nearly £.9,000 p. a." (3).

The inevitable second batch of sales took place by auction at the Bradford Arms, Ivetsey Bank, Bishop's Wood, the Lion and Giffard Arms, Brewood (4), and the important sales of High Onn, Whiston, Broomhall and the Dairy House Freehold estates at the Swan Hotel, Wolverhampton in July 1863. The sale raised £.82,057.18.0 on properties

(1). See Chapters on Wales and Industry.

(2). D 590/581.

(3). Ibid.

(4). D 590/581 (Sub-bundle) - Bishop's Wood; Freehold property and building land sold on 16th July, Brewood, Freehold copyhold - 10th July & Wolverhampton sale July 2nd.

whose annual rental was £2,201.1s.4d. (1). £78,753.6.0 of the profit was used for expenses (2) and to pay off various mortgages. Ward received £30,000; Law Life £33,000; Walker £8,000 and Morriss £6,100 (3). Charges had been slightly reduced, but W.T.C. Giffard, Thomas William's nephew, on inheriting Chillington faced interest payment of £2,370 for the half year to Law Life (4), and In 1896 Law Life was finally paid off and other smaller accounts by raising a loan of £126,000 from the Scottish Equitable Assurance Society (5). On the eve of the 1914-18 war, the Giffard's rental had shrunk to £9,271.10s.1d., but the estate was still having to find £5,212.18s.2d in interest on mortgages (6): the problem remained unsolved.

-
- (1). D 590/581 (Sub-bundle) - Whiston £35,901.18s.0d., High Onn £10,285 and £2,200, Dairy House Farm £7,940. Brewood £3,761.0.0 and Bishpps Wood £2,172.0.0.
 - (2). Ibid. expenses came to £1,653.6.0.
 - (3). D 590/581 (Sub-bundle)
 - (4). D 590/589. Paper headed, "W.P. Giffard deceased".
 - (5). D 590/347/6 At the same time the Lion and Bell Inns were sold raising £2,050. The Law Life Society received £100,000, Severness Trustees £7,300, Mrs. Eyre and Miss Giffard £19,800.
 - (6). D 590/612/28

CHAPTER X.

Agricultural Improvement and the Chillington
Estate.

An inventory taken on July 10th 1746 of, "all ye cattle, corn and grain, hay and all the implements of husbandry", of the late Peter Giffard provides an indication of the type of farming practiced on the home farm in the middle of the eighteenth century (1). The farm stock included five large oxen (2), five steers, eight lesser steers, ten milking cows, two three yearsheifers, eight two year old heifers, six weaning calves, five feeding bullocks, three feeding cows: in all fifty-two head of cattle and oxen worth £.153 (3). There were also twenty-two feeding sheep worth £.12 and six store pigs valued at ten guineas, plus several horses (4). The inventory was also an "appraisement", and the valuers noted stacks and ricks of wheat, and peas, and found amounts of wheat, oats, hay and rye in the barns and granary.

-
- (1). D 590/615 Guardian's disbursement Book.
 - (2). Ibid., also included were "one ox harrow and five pairs of small harrows".
 - (3). Ibid.
 - (4). The horses included, seven coach horses, three waggon horses, two waggon mares, two old blemished mares, four saddle horses and two saddle mares, two new broken colts, and two old ponies.

Some cereals remained "in the ground" awaiting harvesting (1). This reflected the typical pattern of (2) mixed farming. T.S. Ashton in, "The Economic History of England; the eighteenth century" states that in this period, "The raising of animals was complementary to the production of grain, most agriculturists had their own cattle and sheep" (3).

However, the soil and climate of Staffordshire are better suited to pasture and stock raising (4). On the stiff cold

-
- (1). D 590/615. Two wheat stacks were valued at £28, wheat growing was estimated at £25, while 2/3 piece of winter corn growing on Woolley farm and 2/3 piece Creswell's park amounted to £8 and £20. Oats in the barn and granary amounted to £18.15.0, £8 of new hay also lay in the barn, with £17 worth of wheat and rye threshed and unthreshed. One rick of pease was valued at £9, plus £2 worth in the barn. "Still growing" included £79.10.0 worth of barley. £24 worth of oats and £9.0.0 of pease.
 - (2). Dr. Mingay states that in the eighteenth century, "Most landlords therefore contented themselves with a home farm, which in the case of large owners at least, was little more than a convenient source of produce for the household.
G.E. Mingay, "English Landed Society in the eighteenth century", Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1963, p.169.
 - (3). T.S. Ashton, "Economic History of England", London, 1955, repri. 1961, p.54.
 - (4). V.C.H., Vol. I, p.278.

clayssin some parts of the county, the climate and terrain necessitated the cultivation of special varieties of beared wheat and hardy read oats (1). Even in the early eighteenth century, some Warwickshire estates were taking animals from Derbyshire, Staffordshire and Shropshire and fattening them on rye grass, clover and rich pasture before selling them at London (2). Many cattle came from the East Shropshire region of Albrighton and Shifnal (3), close to Chillington, and in 1749 John Pitt, Steward of Thomas Giffard sold five heifers, and a heifer and calf to Mr. Hall of Coventry, who intended driving them to London (4). John Bateman, author of "The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland" wrote in 1883 that in Staffordshire, "the position and respectability of a man is gauged by the number of cows, or rather "caaws", he milks" (5), and by 1936 a writer on agriculture stated that

-
- (1). Louis W. Moffit, "England on the Eve of the Industrial Revolution", Frank Cass, London, 1925, New Impression in 1963, p. 365.
 - (2). Mimiadiere, Thesis, p. 152.
 - (3). Ibid.
 - (4). D 590/600 Certificate for Sale.
 - (5). John Bateman, "The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland", London, (Harrison) 1883, p. 519; he also wrote of colliers holding four to eight acres to keep two or three cows.

"dairying had become the most general and important agricultural enterprise in the East Shropshire - Mid Staffordshire region" (1).

Even in 1746 the Giffards had "ten milking cows" among their stock of fifty-two cattle and oxen at Chillington, (2) and by 1858 the dairy herd had increased to forty-one milking cows (3). This increase occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century, as in 1842 there (4) were only nineteen "milking cows" at Chillington and in 1848 the herd totalled only a modest twenty-four dairy cows (5). As the herd increased in size its quality was improved by the introduction of new breeds; the Farming account books list in 1850 one Alderney cow valued at £.10, and another Alderney two year old heifer in calf worth £.7 (6). In 1858 the herd also included a Guernsey cow (7). The herd necessitated the employment of a girl as a dairy maid, and in 1848 an A. Plant received £.16 for her year's wages (8) and ten

-
- (1). F.S. Dennis in Ch. XI "The West Midland Counties in "Regional Farming", ed, J.P. Maxton, Unwin, London 1936, p. ?
- (2). D 590/615 Disbursement Book.
- (3). D 590/639.
- (4). D 590/642.
- (5). D 590/643.
- (6). Ibid. The herd in the account for 1851 was listed as 35 cows and 2 Alderneys.
- (7). D 590/643.
- (8). Ibid.

years later the Farming Accounts note £. 9.16.0 paid in wages to C. Moreton Dairy maid (1). Much of the dairy produce, both milk, cream, butter and cheese was consumed by the household (2), and in 1866 a surplus described as the "extra" was sent to Somerford (3). However much of the produce was sold commercially to firms such as Harwick and Company, & D. Lovelock, and some distributed "at market" (4).

The Dairy Accounts (5) cover the period from 1847 to 1870, and the details of production can be supplemented from the Farming Account Books (6). In 1847 dairy sales realized £. 307.0s.6d. (7), a figure to be doubled by 1858 when £. 682.4s.5d. was raised. This exceptionally large sum was the result of the increase in the herd, and the biggest single items were the sales of six hundred and twenty-one cheeses weighing five tons, plus another fourteen cwt. and

(1). D 590/643.

(2). D 590/639 Dairying Accounts.

(3). Ibid.

(4). D 590/642 record of a Lady L. Vaughan being supplied with 9lb. of butter for 10/6d.

(4). D 590/642 - Farming account for 1848-9

Towards the end of the century the consumer demand shifted from bread and towards meat and dairy produce, therefore the market for pasture produce was growing more quickly than that for wheat. J. C. Chambers & G. E. Mingay, "The Agricultural Revolution", Batsford, London, 1966, p. 209.

(5). D 590/639 2 books.

(6). D 642 & D 643.

(7). D 643.

26 lb. of cheese for £382.15s.9d., and £177.7s.2d. worth of butter (1). In 1854 the herd of thirty-six cows earned £497.16s.3d. (2), and in 1860, although the herd had only increased by one, profits rose to £644.5s.6d. (3).

The Farming accounts include annual payments for cattle insurance; £11.15s.6d. was paid in 1855 (4), and two years later the premium rose to £26.9s.0d. (5). This outlay indicates that insurance was a very necessary precaution against such periodic disasters as cattle plague. In 1745 a cattle plague, which lingered for thirteen years, first appeared in the country and by 1749 Staffordshire was seriously affected

(1). D 639 individual slip inside the book	
Cheese sold best	£382.15s.9d.
Cheese skim	£ 11.18s.9d.
Butter sold	£177. 7s.2d.
Used in House	£ 35. 9s.2d.
	£ 69.13s.7d.
Curd for pheasants	<u>£ 5.0s. 0d.</u>

41 cows £682. 4s.5d.

D 643; in 1855 a Mr. Anslow bought 39 cwt. of cheese for £131.2.0.

(2). D 643.

(3). Ibid.

(4). D 590/643.

(5). Ibid.

(6). T.S. Ashton, "Econ. History of England", op.cit., p.53.

"A certificate for sale" (1) of that year indicates the precautions taken by the authorities to prevent the spread of the infection, "raging among the horned cattle" (2). John Pitt, steward of young Thomas Giffard, having sold five heifers, and a heifer and calf to a Mr. Hall of Coventry had to produce a certificate from a magistrate that the cattle were free of plague, as they were to be driven to London. A 'honest man' William Lloyd witnessed that not only were they uninfected, but also that they had not been within one mile of any infected place (3).

In 1825 a veterinary surgeon, Mr. Perry, referred to in the account as a "cow doctor", was paid £. 6. 12s. 8d. for his services at Chillington (4). The most serious outbreak of plague occurred in 1846, when Robinson wrote to Walker conveying the opinion of a Mr. Ward, a veterinary surgeon, that, "to fire cattle is not only absurd but useless cruelty, as it can only affect the skin and make a weakening sore" (5). His report maintained that once the cattle's lungs were congested there was no cure, but if the

-
- (1). Certificate for sale D 590/600.
 - (2). Ibid.
 - (3). D 590/600 Certificate for cattle sold.
 - (4). D 590/565 Bill paid Jan. 13th, 1825.
 - (5). D 590/570-7 Tettenhall, 13 July 1846 - Robinson to Walker.

infection was caught in its early stages, the best remedy was to keep the animals warm with blankets, and so produce profuse perspiration. This should relieve the lungs, "and consequently might cure the incipient congestion" (1). The plague continued into the following year, when Mr. Simpson, an Insurance Inspector, discovered cattle suffering from plague. He reminded Walker that the Company's rules stated that no addition should be made to the stock, until the herd was free of the disease for three months (2).

These years 1846-7 also saw the devastation of the potato blight. Giffard's estate office received a catalogue from Chivas, a Chester seedsman, offering directions for the use of Keigenbusch and Company's Remedy for the Potato Disease (3). Meantime the double effect of plague and crop disease meant that some unfortunate tenants were unable to pay Giffard's their rents. Davenport of Hawksheads informed the squire that he could not pay his portion of rent

-
- (1). D 590/570-7 Tettenhall, 13 July 1846 - Robinson to Walker.
 - (2). D 590/570/7 Wolverhampton, 6 May 1847, Simpson to Walker
 - (3). D 590/5707/7 Chivas' catalogue.

"in consequence of bad harvests"... I beg to inform you I shall be able to pay in a month or a few weeks" (1).

Cattle (2) were not the only stock kept at Chillington, as in 1842 stock in hand included pigs worth £.84.17.0 (3), twelve horses (4) and many sheep worth in all £.330.19.0 (5). They included 80 store ewes, 81 lambs, 10 Dorset Ewes, 3 rams, 37 feeding wethers and 35 feeding ewes (5). In 1856 the flock was composed of 96 ewes with 143 lambs, 6 barren ewes, 118 yearling sheep, 39 two-year-old wethers and two rams. Many of the beasts were slaughtered "for the House", between September 1842 and May 1844 over forty ewes, six lambs and over a hundred wethers were so butchered (6). The

-
- (1). D 590/570-6 Davenport, Hawkshutts, Feb. 2, 1846.
 - (2). D 590/642 Cattle in 1842 included besides the dairy cattle, 13 feeding cows, 2 "shvoter" cows, 11 two-year heifers, 5 yearlings, 9 calves, 3 feeding calves and 12 Scotch oxen. In 1862 there were 10 Scot Bullocks on the farm D 590/643.
 - (3). Ibid. Dairying and pig rearing tended to go together as pigs could be fed on skimmed milk and whey. - Chambers & Mingay, op. cit., p. 16.
 - (4). Ibid. The horses, draught animals, included the names of Duke, Captain, Surly, Boxer, Bibs, Merryman & Smiler.
 - (5). Ibid.
 - (6). Ibid. - In the year ending March 1851, 4,740 lbs. of Mutton fetched £.118.10.0.

importance of the stock by 1862, the year after Thomas William's death, can be seen in that of 272a.Or.lp. of the home farm, only 76a.2r.16p. were arable lands (1). Some acres were still devoted to wheat and barley (2), and some grain was consumed at Chillington (3). Barley was fed to the poultry and game birds, and oats to the horses. J.G. Chambers and G.E. Mingay in, "The Agricultural Revolution" comment that, although in the period between 1750 and 1846, the western half of the English lowland region was largely given over to grass,"enclaves of arable still persisted in parts of Staffordshire (4)".

"Improvement" was introduced slowly to the county, and in 1796 Pitt in his report to the Board of Agriculture states that, "upon the whole ~~to~~ the eye of the intelligent agricultural stranger, it would convey the idea of a country just emerging from a state of barbarism" (5). Pitt was a native of Pendeford, a few

(1). D 590/643.

(2). Ibid.

(3). D 590/642.

(4). J.G. Chambers & G.E. Mingay, "The Agricultural Revolution", op.cot., p.107.

(5). V.C.H., Vol.I, p.293.

miles to the south of Chillington near to Codsall, and he made his own contribution to "improvement" with a design of a reaper in 1787 (1). His criticism of his fellow Staffordshire agriculturists was tempered by the observation that their lack of initiative stemmed from a "want of education and reading, though they are not wanting in readiness to adopt established improvement" (2). But farming remained, "of all trades the one in which an accurate knowledge of what things should be done and the best manner of doing them is most necessary. And it is one also for success in which a capital is indispensable" (3). The novelist was correct, both knowledge and capital were indispensable, and although Pitt thought that the best improving farmers were proprietors of two or three hundred acres, farming their own land (4), the agricultural societies in the counties looked to the aristocracy and

-
- (1). The reaper was a toothed cylinder revolving horizontally before a cart, motion being produced by gear wheels moved by a belt from a pulley on the ground wheel of the cart. G.E. Fussell, "The Farmers' Tools", Melrose, (London), 1952, p. 116.
 - (2). V.C.H., Vol. I, p. 293.
 - (3). Anthony Trollope, "An Autobiography", Intro. J.B. Priestly (f.p. 1883), Fontana, London, 1962, p. 25.
 - (4). Ernie, op. cit., p. 294.

gentry for patronage, and tenant farmers to their landlords for initiative. In the nineteenth century the Giffards were to make a modest contribution to the introduction of new methods and techniques both on their home farm and on those of their tenants.

As early as 1812 an attempt had been made by "some patriotic gentle men" in the county to launch an agricultural society. The aims of the society were to introduce, "a more productive system of husbandry" to the benefit of the public as it would increase production, and of advantage to landowners, as it would increase the value of their land (1). A further attempt was made to establish a County Agricultural Society in 1836 when Mr. J. Smith and Harvey Wyatt, as secretaries of the Association, sought T.W. Giffard's membership. The annual minimum subscription was only the small sum of ten shillings, but the letter discreetly disclosed that the Earl Talbot and the Earl of Lichfield headed the list with annual subscriptions of £.5 (2).

-
- (1). DDCC 147/14 Letter of Edward Blount of Bellamour, Rugeley to Thomas Clifford of Tixall. Aug. 29th, 1812. Clifford had in 1810 bought some meinos, "none such were ever seen in this kingdom. They are of the escunal Flock".
 - (2). D 590/570-2, Rugeley, 23 Feb. 1836. J. Smith & Harvey Wyatt to T.W. Giffard.

The following year the squire was invited to support the Rugeley Agricultural Society, formed principally for, "the improvement of the breedings and feedings of the cattle generally and by means of annual premiums rendered open to general competition" (1). The Society also sought to reward agricultural servants (2). Giffard was told that if he thought that the objects of the society, "worthy of that consideration, which the committee feel themselves confident they deserve, they respectfully beg leave to request your patronage and support" (3).

Giffard's two noble neighbours, Hatherton and Wrottesley were both deeply interested in agricultural improvement. Hatherton ran a free agricultural school on his estate, where thirty boys were educated, dividing their time between farm work and studies (4). In 1845 he launched the Cannock Agricultural Association for tenant farmers living

-
- (1). D 590/570-2, Oakfield, Rugeley, May 4, 1837, Rupert Bakewell to T.W. Giffard.
 - (2). Ibid. Servants were to be judged with, "reference to honesty and industry and length of service combined with good moral conduct and general character, and also with reference to the number of children brought up without parochial relief - together with other objects tending to encourage and benefit agriculture generally.
 - (3). Ibid.
 - (4). M.W. Greenslade & D.G. Stuart, "Staffordshire", Darwen & Finlayson, Beaconsfield, 1964, p. 41.

within eight miles of the town (1). Wrottesley was a good practical farmer, a distinguished scientist and in 1854 President of the Royal Society (2).

Giffard was also interested in new methods, and like Hatherton (3), seems to have made drainage one of his main concerns. As early as 1823 he received a price list for bricks and tiles from Mr. Jenks of Ironbridge (4). Draining tiles were 25 shillings per thousand and duty free (5), an exemption gained by Wrottesley, when he was a member of the Commons (6). In the following year Walker was informed by Mr. John Wilson of Stafford that Holford, a brick maker, wished to manage the brickyard at High Onn in preference to the one at Walton (7). F.M.L. Thompson in, "English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century" states
state

(1). V.C.H. Vol. V, p.60.

(2). D.N.B. Vol. LXIII, p.167.

(3). James A. Scott Watson & May Elliot Hobbs, "Great Farmers", Faber & Faber, London, 1951, p290 state "On Lord Hatherton's estate in Cannock Chase, thirty years earlier a tract of worthless undrained waste, the drainage of a swamp had been used to provide irrigation and power and to turn the land into a rich and fertile domain".

(4). D 590/565, Ironbridge, 25th Sept. 1823.

(5). H. Shannon, "Bricks and Trade Index, 1785-1849" in "Essays in Economic History", vol.III, ed. E.M. Carus Wilson, Edward Arnold, London, 1962, p.180.

(6). D.N.B. Vol. LXIII, p.167.

(7). D 590/565 Stafford, 22nd Nov. 1824, John Wilson to Walker.

that it was quite usual for "an active estate (to operate) lime kilns, and very occasionally a brick kiln, and again fairly commonly a number of tileries producing earthenware drain pipes for estate needs" (1). Production was comparatively simple, and by the elimination of freight charges costs were kept down. Giffard appears to have produced his own draining pipes and tiles by 1830, ~~85~~ a lease for a Whiston farm refers to the tenant being allowed, "all repair draining tiles....at the manufactory" (2).

In 1846 Walker enquired of Thomas Scragg about his patented "pipe machine" (3), which considerably reduced manufacturing costs. At first machines produced 1,000 tiles per day at a cost of 21 shillings, but soon models were designed, which were capable of making 20,000 per day at a cost of 6 shillings per 1,000 (4), prices considerably cheaper than those quoted in Shropshire in 1823, indeed by 1848 no less than 34 different tile machines were

(1). F.M.L. Thompson. "English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century", Routledge, and Kegan Paul, London, 1963, p.171.

(2). D 590/583.

(3). D 590/570-6 May 5th 1846, Thomas Scragg to Walker; Lord Ernle. "English Farming Past and Present", New Intro. G.E. Fussell & O. McGregor, New Edition. Heinemann & Cass, London, 1961. p.361.

(4). Scott Watson & N. Elliot Hobbs. op. cit., p.21.

demonstrated and completed at the York meeting of the Royal Society (1). Agents were often the promoters of innovation (2) and on this occasion Walker's initiative resulted in Scragg advising the agent to visit the farm of a Mr. Trolley "somewhere near you" (3), where he could see the machine and make his own judgement on its performance. The kilns on the estate did not provide the squire with all his wants, as in 1847, Walker was reminded by a Mr. Tomlinson of Cannock of an outstanding bill for some "quarries" taken from his brickyard for repairs on Giffard's farms (4). Proposals ten years later to erect a kiln near Somerford drew angry protests from Mr. Monckton (5).

In 1846 arrived the first consignment of "guano" at Chillington (6). Earlier in the century, according to

-
- (1). Cited from Royal Agricultural Society's Journal of 1851, which also remarked how twelve years previously draining tiles were made by hand, costing 50 to 25s. per 1,000 by Chambers & Mingay, op. cit., p. 175.
 - (2). D 590/570-6 May 5th, 1846 Scragg to Walker.
 - (3). Ibid.
 - (4). D 590/570-6 Oct. 30th, 1847 Tomlinson to Walker.
 - (5). D 590/685.
 - (6). D 590/570-6 Invoice of W. Ironmonger W'ton, May 6, 1846. The first cargo of Peruvian Guano arrived in Britain in 1841, six years later 300,000 tons were being imported. Chambers & Mingay, p. 174-5. By the 1850s Palmerston had the admiralty searching for deposits of guano and phosphates in the rainless regions of the tropics. Scott Watson & Elliot Hobbs, "great Farmers", op. cit., p. 242-3.

"William Waller's work book" (1) Giffard's labourers had followed the common Staffordshire practice of marling, and the same book indicates that lime was spread as a fertiliser along with the natural manure, farmyard dung (2). In 1848 two deliveries of guano were made costing £.8.15.0 and £.38.2.6, and a further £.10 was spent on Imperial Compost (3). Ten years later ten tons of bones and one ton of guano were purchased for £.89.15.0 (4), the price of improved yields of wheat and grain (5).

Besides an increasing use of artificial fertiliser, the 1840s also saw an increase in new machinery on the estate. Also in 1846 a new plough was received from the Albion Foundry, Rugeley (6). The plough had to be collected from Four Crosses, and Mr. Hatfield, the manufacturer hoped that it would prove heavy enough for Giffard's land. Enclosed with the letter was an advertisement for Hatfield's Staffordshire Plough, "an excellent implement either for strong or light soils" (7). By the death

(1). D 590/648 details from the year 1808.

(2). Ibid.

(3). D 590/643.

(4). Ibid.

(5). Chambers & Mingay, op. cit., p. 174.

(6). D 590/570-6 Thomas Hatfield, Albion Iron Foundry. Rugeley, Sept. 1st, 1846.

(7). Ibid.

of T.W. Giffard the home farm had amongst its implements, three iron plough, a ridge plough, a subsoil plough, a turnip scuffle, an iron cultivator, a chain harrow, a horse rake, a set of three horse harrows, a turnip engine, a tibbling mill, a straw engine, a cake crusher and a winnowing machine (1).

When Landlords spoke of improvement they had in (2) mind usually an "improved rental", and in pursuit of this end many introduced enclosure. In the 1760s Thomas Giffard obliterated the small village of Chillington to extend his park (3). The village had thirty houses in 1680 but by 1834 only five were left in addition to the Hall (4). A different form of enclosure took place at Marston in 1757, when the open field township was enclosed by voluntary agreement between Thomas Giffard and nine of his tenants (5).

(1). D 590/643.

(2). Mingay, op. cit., p. 172.

(3). Green, Slade & Stuart, "Staffordshire", op. cit., p. 40.

(4). V.C.H., vol. V, p. 18.

(5). D 590/289. The agreement was made by William Sands, John Tomkinson, John Lycett, George Hill, Charles Lees, Sampson Bold, Frank Godwin, (who made a mark) Samuel Ward and Thomas Underhill on 26 Sept., 1727.

D 590/594 contains a record of a Manor Court held at Marston on Oct. 26, 1696, including fines on Joseph Bold for putting more cattle in Westfield, on Richard Dix for not scouring his ditch at the little Portfield, Edward Bradford for ploughing up the Common footpath and John Coldwell for moving a common walk in the common fields

The tenants agreed that "all lands lying in the Common Field of Marston and all our rights of Common in the Common called ~~Enston~~ Moor in the Parish of Stafford, which we hold and enjoy under as tenants to the said Thomas Giffard shall and may be enclosed and divided into several grounds and closes, in such manner and such time as the said Thomas Giffard shall think fit and proper" (1). They further agreed to accept such proportion of land, Giffard would allot them after the enclosure, from the common fields and the common moor. All agreed not to hinder the work of enclosure, not to demand "any abatement of rate" on account of the enclosure or the planting of trees, and hedges and fencing (2). However the enclosure was to be achieved without any damage being done to the corn growing in the common fields. The enclosure was carried out with the consent of the tenants, but they had given their Lord of the Manor a carte blanche to enclose as he thought fit. Pitt had reported to the Board that "the most considerable portion of the cultivated land (of the County) was by that

(1). D 590/289 The agreement.

(2). Greenhalgh & Stuart, op. cit., p. 39 - has a plan of the open fields of Marston c.1722.

time enclosed" (1). Indeed by 1808 there remained only 1,000 a. of open field in Staffordshire, "generally imperfectly cultivated and exhausted by hard tillage" (2). Therefore by the nineteenth century there remained little waste or field to be enclosed on Giffard property. However two enclosure awards were made affecting it, one at Codsall Wood and the other at Bishop Wood.

The Codsall Award was made by the Commissioner, Thomas Pearce of Syndall, Shropshire, on 13 Dec., 1820 (3). The Highway surveyors of the parish were allowed 1a.1r.7p. as a public gravel pit, from the 40a. to be enclosed. As the Lordship of the manor lay with the Deanery of Lichfield and the lessee was the Earl of Darlington, Thomas Giffard's interest was as one of the other "persons and owners or proprietors of divers lands, tenements and hereditaments in the said parish in respect whereof claimed right of common". The award allowed Giffard 4a.2r.2p. to be sold him at the rate of £.45 per acre. (4).

-
- (1). V.C.H., vol. I, p. 293 - Pitt in 1817 reported 200,000 a. in Tillage in the County, another 50,000 acres of open field had been enclosed during the 18th century.
H.R. Thomas, "Enclosure of open Fields and Commons in Staffordshire", S.H.C., vol. 1931, p. 79.
- (2). Ernle, p. 227.
- (3). D 590/578.
- (4). D 590/578 Codsall Wood Inclosure. Award carried out in 1824, shortly after Thomas William's accession, Giffard's portion No. 5 on copy of award map.

The more substantial enclosure at Bishops Wood was made between 1844-5. In 1834 the land was described as an open common with a few cottages built on the waste (1). T.W. Giffard's interest and right lay in his lordship of Brewood manor, leased from the Bishop of Lichfield (2), and as proprietor in fee simple of lands amounting to 732a.Or.8p. at Blackladies and Peace Hay (3). The enclosure was made on Sept. 29th, 1844 when, "the said Bishop of Lichfield and Thomas Giffard" did agree that Giffard should "forthwith at his own expense proceed to enclose the said common of 95a.Or.19p. Giffard received 70a.3r.8p. plus the Lord of the Manor's share of 5a.3r.3lp., while the bishop was allotted 18a.1r.20p."

While landowners were interested in drainage, enclosure, dairying, turnips and guano, their main concern was to increase their rentals, and in this respect the Giffards were no exceptions. In 1729 when negotiating the terms of the settlement of his marriage to Barbara Throckmorton, Peter Giffard had written to Sir Robert about his estate. He explained to his fellow recusant that he might be under a misapprehension as to the value of the Giffard properties,

(1). V.C.H., vol. V, p. 18.

(2). B/A/21/123780 & D 590/578.

(3). Ibid.

as although his rental was rumoured to be in excess of £.3,000 p.a., in fact it little exceeded £.2,000. However he disclosed that "they are very old rents indeed and consequently very improvable" (1). The estate was indeed to prosper in the eighteenth century, and by the time of the marriage of his heir Thomas Giffard to Barbara Petre, daughter of Lord Petre, in 1760 the rental had increased to £.3,042.5s.8d. (2). The great increase however occurred during the latter part of the eighteenth century, and the early nineteenth century, in 1793 the rental totalled £.6,709.5s.8d. (3) and by 1833 it had almost doubled, rising to £.12,038.2s.8d. (4).

Peter Giffard did introduce some new leases, but most of his tenants remained tenants at will on yearly rents. One David Martin, who farmed at Gunston did have a twenty-one year lease dated from 1742, (5) and the same yeoman farmer in 1741 had entered into a bond of £.200 with

-
- (1). Throckmorton Papers - Peter Giffard to Sir Robert Throckmorton, 17 Sept., 1729. In 1748 the rental was only £.2,310.23s.11½d. D 590/600.
 - (2). D 590/94 Seulement. Thomas Giffard/Barbara Petre.
 - (3). D 590/602.
 - (4). D 590/630-1.
 - (5). Q RR p.4. Particulars of Papists' Estates returned to the Clerk of the Peace; 6th Oct., 1755 Thomas Giffard's Particulars.

Peter Giffard that he would not sow any flax, seed, hemp, rape seed or "any other seed generally reputed impoverishing seeds over and above one acre in any one without the consent and license ofPeter". If Martin abused the lands again, he would be fined £.5 per acre, and this would be levied by the "distress and sale of goods and chattels" (1). Peter's executors who acted as his son's guardians, the baronets Sir Windsor Hunlocke and Robert Throckmorton, through the Steward of the estate Pitts, began to pursue a mere vigorous policy. A tenant, with three years rent in arrears, was given notice to quit his farm on September 26th, 1749, unless the sum of £.98.18s.0d. was paid.. "either the said guardians or.. their steward by the next Lady Day" (2). From 1750 an account was kept of the tenants, and the date when their leases would expire; when leases terminated the date in the book was crossed through, and presumably new leases negotiated (3).

In 1768 Thomas Giffard initiated a move to increase his rental substantially, and the results of this policy

-
- (1). D 590/560 Agreement made 28 Oct. 1741 witnessed by William Bromley and Thomas Dodd.
 - (2). D 590/600.
 - (3). D 590/599 An account of leases to expire e.g. Robert Powell Lady Day 175X2, John Cooper Lady Day 175X6, John Green of Broomhall Lady Day 1765, David Martin Blackladies 175X2....David Martin for Gunston Lady Day 1764.

were noted under the heading "Valuation and the Rents improved, regulated and settled within the Townships of Chillington, Brewood, High Onn, Orsloe and Walton. Made in the year 1768, from Lady Day 1769" (1). The Chillington farm rents were raised from £.971.1.0 to £.1,373; the Brewood lands in lease from the Bishop £.322.17.10 to £.574; High Onn and Orsloe, £.266.0s.3d. rental was raised to £.455, and Walton £.489.8.0 from £.365 (2). This was an increase on these properties close of £.714.0.11. Some tenants asked for time to consider the improved rent (3), another John Picklin at Walton was so "greatly in arrears that it was" needless to do business with him" (4); Boodle at Chillington was allowed ten pounds for each of the first five years for repairs (5), and Widow Smith of Walton "being very poor and in a bad state of health" and sixty-six years of age hoped that Mr. Giffard would not raise the rent during her life time (6). New leases were negotiated, although even in 1785, when young Thomas Giffard

(1). D 590/808.

(2). Ibid.

(3). e.g. Miles and Emery at Walton D 590/808.

(4). Ibid. His rent was only £.4 p.a.

(5). Ibid.

(6). Ibid. Elizabeth Smith's rent was to be increased from £.14.18.0 to £.26.3.0.

difference presumably lay in the proximity of Stow Heath to the markets of industrial Wolverhampton. However in 1838 a Mr. Tomlinson of Cliffville Stoke, advised by W.G. Holyoake applied to Walker, for details of the rents of the tenants at Whiston as he understood that "the whole of the tenants were from year to year" (1). No matter the accuracy of that report, by the 1840s. most of the Giffard tenants were substantial farmers, like Dickson of Langley Lawn, leasing 218a. 2r. 15p. at a rent of £. 280, which was to be paid half yearly on the understanding that the buildings and the house would be kept in good repair and that, "the tenant (was) to keep them so" (2). On the expiration of his lease in 1833, one tenant, Thomas Carless, asked Walker to consider, compensation, for the improvements he had made on the house and garden including the erection of new gates and the making of an asparagus bed (3). When in 1824 William Blakemore of Whiston owed £. 766. 13s. 4d. for arrears of rent, an agreement was made between the defaulter, and Hon. Charlotte Giffard, the widow and an executor of Thomas

-
- (1). D 590/570-2 Wyndham Lodge, Monday 3 June, 1838.
(2). D 590/570-3 Walker to Dickson, 24 March, 1842.
(3). D 590/570-2 Carless, 1833, Park Cottage, he also wanted for Mrs. Carless to take a few young nut plants and gooseberry plants.

Giffard, by which the rent was secured by £1,215.5s.11¹/₂d. worth of 3% consuls, expected by Blakemore on the death of a John Masefield (1).

In the eighteenth century the supervision of the estate was the responsibility of the family's stewards, Davis, Pitt, Partridge and Ellison. However, J. Hicks Smith in "Brewood, a Résumé, Historical and Topographical" describes Mr. Coffin, who resided at Blackladies in the 1780s. as, "the late agent of the family" (2). Robert Walker, who was appointed in the early nineteenth century, was certainly a resident land agent or clerk, and worked from an office at Chillington. The agent, or steward was assisted by a bailiff, who organised the home farm (3), and a gardener (4), and planter (5), each with their separate responsibilities. Four or five labourers were employed around the houses on the home farm (6) and

-
- (1). D 590/564 Deed proven 14 June, 1824.
 - (2). J. Hicks Smith, "Brewood, A Résumé, Historical and Topographical", Wolverhampton, 1874, p.44.
 - (3). D 590/650-1. Joseph Icke entered service as bailiff in 1823, and in 1835 had a salary of £23.8s.0d. D 590/570-6, in April 1846 Thomas Evans of Ranton applied for the post.
 - (4). D 590/650-1. In 1834 the gardener Graham earned £100 p.a. but, D 590/650-2, in 1872, Henry Clifton only received £30.
 - (5). D 590/650-1 Mr. Mercer the planter received a salary of £53.11s.0d.
 - (6). D 590/574 Anthony Spicer's Work book for the 1790s.
D 590/648 William Waller's Work Book for the first decade of the nineteenth century.

in the woodland. At harvest time the labour force was supplemented by the hiring of women, and other casual labour (1).

Matthew Ellison appears to have been the last Catholic to supervise the Giffard's estate (2). He began his career as butler, and was steward at the critical time, when the estate was in commission, and Thomas Giffard forced to live abroad. He was instrumental, with the lawyer Plowden, in saving the estate (3). Ellison left Chillington in 1802 to enter the service of Bernard Edward Howard, later Duke of Norfolk, and was placed in charge of his Glossop office (4). He did not give up all interest in the affairs of the Giffards, as he wrote to Walker early in 1824

-
- (1). D 590/574 Hay Maker's Accounts: in 1802 women hay makers were paid at a rate of 8d. per day.
 - (2). Blackladies Communion Lists. St. Mary's, Brewood. His name appears as a communicant, fulfilling his "Pascal duty" in the 1790s.
 - (3). D590/666.
 - (4). C. Hadfield, "A History of St. Marie's Mission and Church, Norfolk Row," Sheffield, 1889, p.55, Ellison's son, Michael, was also a land agent; in 1814 he entered the service of the Hon. L. Petre at Stapleton, Pontefract, and two years later he was appointed to the Norfolks' Worksop office.

that he would, "at all times be ready to give the best information with regards to Mr. Giffard's property" (1).

David Spring in "The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century" explains the duties of a resident land agent as the administration of the estate, the collection of rent, the keeping of accounts and the management of the tenantry, and in the main this describes Walker's activities (2). However the family solicitor Mr. George Robinson of Wolverhampton dealt with the purchase and sales of properties, the arrangement of mortgages and general financial matters, therefore acting in a general supervisory capacity. In 1843 the lawyer wrote to Mr. Wyley of High Onn inviting him to act as "an independent Land Agent", and view each of Giffard's farms reporting on the state of buildings, the cultivation of the land, and to distinguish in his reports between repairs to be done by the landlord and those to be undertaken by the tenants. Robinson suggested a payment of £.100 for the first year and £.75 the second for the work (3). Outside advice had been taken by the Giffards before; in 1811 Mr. Wakeman had

(1). D 590/565 27 Jan. 1824, Glossop, Ellison to Walker.

(2). David Spring, "The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century, Its Administration", John Hopkins, Baltimore, 1963, p. 4.

(3). D 590/566 - Oct.25, 1843 G. Robinson to T.W. Wyley.

been paid £.723.10s.6d. for "surveying, valueing and re-
letting the several estates belonging to Thomas Giffard
Esq." (1). Wakeman worked from an office in Upper Baker
Street, London, and produced a most detailed and
comprehensive report (2). In the 1840s. Spring states
that estates of between 5,000 and 19,000 acres felt the
inadequacy of rudimentary organization, and instances
Sneyd's estate of Keele, as one which employed a resident
agent, an auditor, and occasionally a firm of mining
engineers as consultants (3). In a county which saw the
work of such great land agents as James Loch and Andrew
Thompson, it is no wonder that the Giffards with over
10,000 acres (5) decided to reorganize their administrative
structure at this time. Wyley was to act in a supervisory

(1). D 590/373.

(2). D 590/354; Wakeman was probably a member of the recusant family from Essex, one Henry Wakeman was employed as Land Steward to Lord Petre in 1780, he had a son also Henry, see "Watching Lord Petre III", Edward S. Worrall, Essex Recusant, Vol.7, No, 3. December 1965.

(3). Spring, op. cit., p. 6-7.

(4). James Loch, the Marquis of Stafford's agent was described by Ralph Sneyd as "Loch the Infallible", and Lord Wharncliffe's eldest son described a few minutes' conversation with him as worth "guineas of manuscripts". Spring, op. cit., p.89. Andrew Thompson, Sneyd's agent was another Scot, and also worked as an Assistant Commissioner under the Public Money Drainage Act, Spring, op. cit., p. 104.

(5). D 590/354, Wakeman's survey, 10,281a.2r.31p.

capacity, and Walker was "to carry to the tenants any observation or objections" he made (1). Later when the Welsh properties were added to the Giffard's possessions and the Nerquis mines were developed they, like the Sneyds, employed a mining engineer consultant, a Mr. Cottingham of Mold (2).

Wyley made his first report in 1843 (3), and his survey included the Home Farm, where he found "the pasture and meadow in good state of cultivation except No. 534" (4) which would be much improved by draining." He described the arable land as in "regular course" (4). Six years later the Home Farm was still in his estimation "in a very good state of cultivation" (5). However all the farms were not in the same condition; in his first report he drew Giffard's attention to tenants (6) failing to scour open drains,

-
- (1). D 590/566 Robinson to Wyley, 25 Oct. 1843.
 - (2). D 590/638 Reports of Cottingham begin in 1865.
By 1883 and the accession of T.W. Giffard's nephew W.T.C. Giffard the collection of rents etc. was in the hands of S.H. Ashdown & Sons, Land Agents of Shrewsbury.
 - (3). Although supposedly an "independent" agent, Wyley himself leased 340 a. himself at High Onn from Giffard and Walker also had 97 a. "in a good state", at Brewood.
D 590/566 1843 report.
 - (4). Presumably the reference on the estate map.
 - (5). D 590/566 Mr. Wyley's report of 1849.
 - (6). Ibid. Rodenhurst's drain, he said, would soon be covered with rushes of not attended to.

which consequently choked and injured meadows and prevented under drains emptying from the fields (1). Lowe's pasture at Brewood was considered "wet", and Joseph Wilson farming in the same township was in need of tiles to drain a ditch (2). Another tenant was criticised for not growing his years quantity of turnips; a Marston farmer, Greensmith, for his very foul seeds, and for "taking two crops in succession before sowing seeds", and at Walton, Hampton's farm was in "a state," because he had taken, "two crops before seeding down to grass" (3). Wyley recommended that Wilson, farming at Chillington, should have some stalls provided for him at Giffard's expense and a wall built around his yard. He also thought that one of Wilson's neighbours, Bright should have his outbuildings tiled (4). On the whole the new agent considered the lands let at their full value; many tenants had promised to alter their system of farming as he considered, "it impossible to pay under the old system with present prices" (5).

Despite his optimism in 1843, six years later out-buildings on some farms were still in a bad condition and

(1). D 590/566 Mr. Wyley's report of 1849.

(2). Ibid.

(3). D 590/565 Mr. Wyley's report of 1843.

(4). Ibid.

(5). Ibid.

drains stopped by full ditches and some of the offenders were the old culprits (1). Mr. Mercer he thought incapable of looking after his farm properly, and Davenport of Hawkshutts with his farm still in a very rough disgraceful state "lacked the capital to improve significantly". He noted of Derry's farm, "there is a very great improvement in this farm from a change of tenant" (2). Many professional agents favoured a hard attitude towards tenants. Henry Morton, Lord Durham's agent, in 1854 told his master that "I intend to weed the farmers every year" (3). Wyley had neither managed to remove Davenport nor improve his farm by 1853, when "a greater part of this farm (was)foul" (4). Another common fault amongst Giffard's tenants was their failure to manure their land. In 1853 Wyley specified a Mr. Parkes of Chillington, as not purchasing any lime or heavy manure, and the result was poor crops, and a Mr. John Darling as failing to drain his quantity of manure, entered into his agreement (5).

These annual surveys and reports and subsequent action no doubt helped to improve the condition of Giffard's

(1). D 590/566 Wyley's report of 1849 - Thomas Ingram's lands and buildings were described as in a very rough bad state; in 1843 "the land was not in a good state".

(2). Ibid.

(3). Spring, p. 110-111.

(4). D 590/566 Wyley's 1853 report.

(5). D 590/566 1849 Report. A situation which made

farms and in particular the vigorous campaigns for the draining and the manuring of the land. However by 1846 the Giffard's legacy of debt and mortgage had begun to lead to the sale of properties and from that date both their estate and rental were contracting. In this very different situation in 1883 Thomas William's nephew W.T.C. Giffard handed over the collection of rents and general administration to a Shrewsbury firm of Land Agents, S. H. Ashdown & Sons (1). By 1880 the depressed state of agriculture led W.T.C. Giffard to make permanent reductions of £.559 on some properties and allow 10% on all other (2).

a sharp contrast from the purchases on the Home Farm of guano, bone fertiliser, compost and lime.

(1). D 590/612=1.

(2). D 590/689 - the 10% allowance amounted to £.664.

CHAPTER XI.

The exploitation of timber resources, 1760-1861.

The Giffards' income was substantially supplemented by the timber profits from the exploitation of the estate's woodland (1), In 1760 these profits were £978.19s.0d. but, in the exceptional circumstances at the end of the century timber sales realised over £4,000 p.a. (2). The heavy fellings of the seventeenth nineties were necessitated by Giffard's debts, but they coincided fortuitously with the sharp increase in timber prices, brought about by the French wars, and the demands of industry (3). A timber shortage led to the formation of "a Commission on Forests, which encouraged reafforestation, and the plantings of fir and larch (4), and the Giffards gradually developed a more scientific

-
- (1). V.C.H. Vol.V, p.18; H.L. Edlin, "England's Forests", Faber & Faber. London, 1958, p.162; this woodland was part of the medieval royal forest of Brewood, disafforested in 1204.
- (2). D 590/574 & 601.
- (3). W.B. Court, "A Concise Economic History of Britain from 1750 to Recent Times, C.U.P., Cambridge, 1958, p.145; Phyllis Deane and W.A. Cole, "British Economic Growth 1688 to 1859; Trends and Structures", University of Cambridge, Department of Applied Economics, Monographs 8, Cambridge, 1964, p.51, Table 15.
- (4). Steven Watson, "The Reign of George III", Clarendon, Oxford, 1960, p.522.

forestry policy (1).

During his visit to Chillington in 1783, James Paine, the architect, was impressed by the fine plantations, bordering the pool, mixed with "groves of venerable stately oaks" (2). The tourist, Byng, came to Chillington seven years later and noticed not only the larch and beech plantations, but also that every tree along the avenue was marked for felling (3). He wrote, "surely Mr. G. must be in a great lack of money, or taste" (4). The young squire was indeed, "in great lack of money", and his property was in commission (5). The fellings were part of an attempt to salvage the estate. About this time

-
- (1). Edward Hughes in "North Country Life in the Eighteenth century; Cumberland and Westmorland, 1700-1850", University of Durham, London, 1965, p. 234-5 notes that by the end of the century, "planting had become a feature of every well managed estate in northern England".
 - (2). Christopher Hussey, "English Country Houses, Mid Georgian", Country Life, London, 1956, p. 224.
 - (3). "Torrington Diaries", edited with an introduction by C. Bruyn Andrews, and abridged into one volume by Fanny Andrews, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1954, p. 447-8.
 - (4). Ibid. p. 448.
 - (5). D 590/106.

Matthew Ellison reported to his master at Rouen on an auction of timber, which had raised £2,905. This sum was sent to Plowden to discharge Giffard's London debts (1).

The timber accounts from 1759 until 1775 (2) indicate that in this period the wood was felled mainly in High Onn and Chillington. The heavy fellings of the seventeenth eighties and seventeenth nineties were concentrated in Renshaw Wood and Chillington, but at the turn of the century and the beginning of the nineteenth, timber was cut throughout the estate, from Rock's Coppice, Walton, High Onn, Longbirch, Calf Heath, Hattons, Whiston, and Hungry Hill Farm (3). The timber account book assessed the wood under the following headings: converted timber, timber in the round, bark and cord (4), while the valuation of Renshaw Wood was under the following heads: -, "growing at best, decaying, much decayed, building, board, navy" (5). A number of points were laid

-
- (1). D 590/666 Chillington M. Ellison to Thomas Giffard, n.d., c.1792.
 - (2). D 590/601.
 - (3). D 590/574 Various bills, vouchers and valuations.
 - (4). D 590/601.
 - (5). D 590/656.

down to guide the valuer of Renshaw. He was to mark with a 'B' any tree unlikely to get better, if the tree was likely to improve a 'Pr', 'W' was to indicate a tree likely to get worse, and if the tree was going to decay 'MW' was to be painted on the trunk (1). This particular wood was divided into quarters, and valued at £.1,557.1s.11d; £.1,994.18s.0d; £.1,443.8s.4d. and £.1,210.12s.0d. : a total of £.6,206.0s.3d. (2).

The purchasers included the local timber merchant, Mr. Samuel Emery (3), the tenant of Brewood Hall, who paid £.2,570 in 1789 for eight hundred oaks, seventy-six ash and other timber (4), and in 1792 he purchased timber worth £.1,061 (5). Another local tradesman, Vaughton, the Brewood tanner, obtained a constant supply of bark from the estate (6). But during this period timber merchants came from Birmingham, Stourbridge, Newport (Salop) and

(1). Ibid.; Valuations varied - trees marked navy were the most expensive, eg. 1st. Quarter, tree No. 52 £. 6. 5s. 0d; 2nd. Quarter, No. 74 £. 6. 14s. 6d. Whereas trees for building eg. 3rd. Quarter No. 42 £. 0. 10s. 9d. and 4th Quarter 397 £. 1. 10. 4 were much lower in price, as were "Board, eg. in 1st Quarter, a tree No. 26, marked "at best", was only valued at £. 1. 11s. 0d.

(2). D 590/656.

(3). V. G. H. vol. V, p. 20

(4). D. 590/574 6th March 1789.

(5). D 590/666 Chillington nd Ellison to Thomas Giffard

(6). D 590/601; Many tenant farmers made small purchases e.g. Mr. Knight paid £. 22 for some ash and John Howell 6s. 9d. for oaks, while in the same account there are general entries like "several sundry faggots £. 14. 9s. 3d, and sundry tenants £. 2. 16s. 0d. for gates".

Stafford to buy Giffard timber (1).

One of these merchants was John Iddins of Birmingham, who with his father, a Stourbridge gentleman, made an agreement with Ellison, acting on behalf of the trustees, to purchase 364 oaks, 1 cypher and 72 ash, plus a further 16 cypher from Blackladies for £.1,010 (2). This agreement was made on March 31st 1791, following the auction, mentioned by Ellison in his letter to Thomas Giffard, referred to above (3), but the purchase had been made in face of the great opposition of Mr. Emery. The agreement stated that Iddins should complete his payment by 26th July 1792, and that the merchant had until Christmas 1792 to fell stock and saw the timber (4).

(1). Ibid.

(2). D 590/575 Agreement dated 31 March 1791.

(3). D 590/666, Chillington n.d. Ellison to Thomas Giffard.

(4). D 590/575 Iddins was granted permission for his waggons and carts to have access to the wood, and for his men to make "saw pits and hearths, to get turves, earth and sand from any of the wasteland within the manor of Chillington". In turn he promised to do the least possible damage to Giffard property taking only marked trees and filling in saw pits: D 590/575, Agreement with Mr. Prattman; this too contained similar clauses e.g. that if he had not removed all the timber he had purchased from Chillington Timber yard by May 1st 1789, he would have to forfeit £.40 to Giffard.

Later timber sales were made to raise immediate cash (1), as in 1796 when "articles of agreement" between William Hand and others of Stafford and Ellison, for the sale of timber worth £.492 were lodged with Giffard's bankers, Gibbons and Jessons, as security for the sum of £.492, advanced, "for the discharge of several debts in London" (2). In 1798 Thomas Harding of Aston advanced £.1,200 to Giffard on the signing of an agreement for the purchase of oak, ash and underwood at High Onn for the sum of £.2,400 (3). Similarly in 1805 Randle Walker found a person, who was willing to advance the squire £.500 or £.1,000, "if (he) would have valued timber to the amount of two thousand pounds on a fair valuation" (4).

Sales continued in the first decade of the nineteenth century on a modest scale, but were usually preceded by a valuation, usually given by Randle Walker, although he occasionally purchased timber from Giffard (5). The timber

-
- (1). Ibid. Another large sale was that of Parsons of Newport and Cox of Stourbridge, whose purchases were worth £4,400.
 - (2). D 590/574, Agreement, 25th March 1796; and letter Wolverhampton May 1796 Francis Holyoake to T. Giffard.
 - (3). D 590/574 Agreement of 24th January 1798.
 - (4). D 590/574 Wolverhampton April 28th 1805 Randle Walker to T. Giffard.
 - (5). D 590/574 On occasions Emery made valuations. At an auction held on Jan. 26th 1804 Walker and Prattman bought lots of timber worth £.298.14s. Od.

included , "underwood", birches, hazel and "the tops of brush of elms", as well as oak and ash (1). At this time Giffard began to interest himself in reafforestation and the planting of spruce, fir and other coniferous trees. While in 1805 Walker introduced a new development in the marketing of timber, when after valueing sixty-two oaks at Ainsley for £.220, he informed the squire that he had sent an advertisement about the sale at Ivetsey Bank to the Birmingham newspapers (2). He explained further that he had written to some potential customers in the Newport District, "for fear they omit seeing the advertisement in the paper" (3).

Further proof of a new approach to the sale of timber is seen in a printed advertisement of 1824 which stated that on application to William Johnson at Chillington various lots of timber, poles and cordwood at Chillington, the Hyde and Woolley Farm could be viewed (4). Two years later further lots of oak and ash at Codsall Lodge, the Rookery and Coven Heath were valued by Randle Walker at

-
- (1). D 590/574 - The valuations were normally sent to Mr. Jebb, the bailiff.
(2). D 590/ 575 April 21st. 1805, Randle Walker to T. Giffard.
(3). Ibid.
(4). D 590/565 The timber was valued at £.487.

£.1,062.4s.0d., and was put on sale with another £.545.14s.6d. worth of timber, mainly for poles (1).

The approach of the railway in the eighteen thirties brought a demand for sleepers, and on April 3rd, 1835 Thomas Brassey (2), the railway contractor, wrote to Chillington, asking for a supply of temporary sleepers (3). The sleepers had to be made to Brassey's precise instructions; they were to be 7ft.6in. to eight feet in length, and sawn from poles six inches thin at the small end (4). On May 10th 1835, Brassey wrote to the estate office, stating that he hoped that a quantity of temporary sleepers would be prepared as quickly as possible as "we begin to put in the rail roads this week and shall take a considerable quantity for

-
- (1). D 590/570-1 Valuation of Randle Walker, dated July 1826.
 - (2). Michael Robinsons, "The Railway Age", Penguin, Harmsworth 1965, p.29, describes him as, "not an engineer but the greatest of the race of railway engineering contractors".
 - (3). D 590/570-2 Penkridge, April 3, 1835. T. Brassey to Robt. Walker. D 590/658, Book of tickets and counterfoils, on which was printed, "Chillington Wood 183-, and delivered to Mr. Wilson". From 1835 Wilson is crossed out and Brassey written in instead.
 - (4). D 590/570-2 Penkridge, April 1835, T. Brassey to Robt. Walker.

commencement" (1). The sleepers were required at Penkrige, the local headquarters of the builders of the railway line from Birmingham to Warrington (2).

During this period Giffard began to deal directly with large timber merchants such as Mr. Dimmock, who in 1834 bought timber worth £.1,575.8s.0d. (3). In the following year Robert Walker informed Dimmock that the squire was not going to cut any oak that year (4), while the timber merchant advised the agent on the best market for bark in Cheshire and Staffordshire (5). A little later Dimmock wrote from Gailey Warf, to ask Walker for some plank timber, at market prices, as he was, "having orders from every quarter" (6).

-
- (1). D 590/570-2 Liverpool, May 10th 1835; Thomas Brassey to Walker. Robbins, op.cit, p.34. In 1846-50 over 12 million timber sleepers, with a "life" of only twelve years, were required for new lines alone.
 - (2). D 590/583, Giffard also provided timber for the mines at Rough Hills.
 - (3). D 590/570-2, April 4th 1834, Dimmock to Walker.
 - (4). D 590/570-2, March 2nd 1835, Dimmock to Walker.
 - (5). D 590/570-2, May 8th 1835, Dimmock to Walker; he reported that bark at Nantwich was £.7.10s.0d. per ton, £.8 at Knutsford, and £.7 in Staffordshire. He advised Giffard to ask for prices well above £.6 and £.6.10s.0d. spoken of by some tanners.
 - (6). D 590/570-2 July 14th 1835 Dimmock to Giffard.

So timber continued to be an important source of income for the Giffards, and between 1829 and 1860 timber profits only fell below £.1,000 on eight occasions (1). The highest yearly figure was £.3,892.17s.4d. raised in 1833 (2). But profits fluctuated considerably after 1860, slumping to only £.50.8s.7d. in 1888 (3), and as little as £.5.0s.0d. was raised in 1909 (4).

The large profits made during the early nineteenth century were accompanied by a continuing interest in reafforestation, planting and preservation. Most sales of land included provisions about timber (5). When Thomas William bought forty-two acres at Whitemoor in 1824 for

-
- (1). D 590/630-1, & D 590/630-2 - These lean years were 1834, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1847, 1849, 1851 & 1853. See Appendix XII for a full list of timber profits 1759 to 1920.
 - (2). D 590/630-1.
 - (3). D 590/612-4 In a year when £.171.14s.11d. was spent on woodland.
 - (4). D 590/612-23. D 590/612-23. In the first year of the first World War profits soared to £.1,712.19s.6d., and Robin H. Best & J.T. Coppock in "The Changing Use of Land in Britain", Faber, London, 1962, p.100-101, state that during the blockade in the war over 450,000 acres of conifer woodland was felled.
 - (5). D 590/570-1, Chillington, Oct. 2nd 1826 T.W. Giffard to John Rogers of Somerford; the squire ordered the yeoman not to sell, lop, cut or shred any timber, oak trees, saplings or fruit trees on the land, he had recently bought from Rogers.

£. 2,550 he paid an additional £. 66. 16s. 0d. for timber (1). When he was negotiating for an exchange of land at Stretton with Edward Monckton, the latter suggested that Giffard should make up the difference of 2a. 3r. 32p. by including the small trees upon his land in the exchange (2). Monckton also suggested that they should both keep their own trees, which were above six inches in girth (3). Similarly the terms of the purchase of Belvide from G. Monckton included a sum of £. 300 paid by Giffard for all timber on the 204 acres (4), and the big sales of Marston and Walton by Giffard in 1847 included "all the trees growing on the estate". (5)

Concern with planting began in the eighteenth century, and the timber accounts of the seventeen nineties make reference to the nursery, and in 1797, 10,910 seedlings were planted, including 500 Scotch firs; 150 larch plus some spruce larch (6). The account book records that in the

-
- (1). D 590/565 Neachill, July 2nd 1824, Geo. Bishton to Robt. Walker.
 - (2). D 590/565 Somerford, May 12 1824 E. Monckton to T.W. Giffard.
 - (3). Ibid.
 - (4). D 590/17/83 Articles of Purchase, George Monckton and T.W. Giffard Aug. 21, 1832.
 - (5). D 590/44 sale of Marston £. 63,000: D 590/45, Sale of Watton, in fact an additional sum of £. 264. 11s. 0d. was paid for timber.
 - (6). D 590/575.

following year the Chillington gardener planted 1,600 mature plants in October and at the same time he transplanted 4,600 seedling larches (1). In March 1799 500 large ash were taken up from the nursery in the garden, and in July 1,300 Spanish chestnuts were planted (2). The routine work in both the nursery, woods and timber yard is recorded in William Waller's Work Book. In 1808 the labourers at Chillington spent some time from January to April planting trees, "getting up trees", and loading cordwood (3).

The timber account for the turn of the century records numerous consignments of conifer seedlings from two firms of nurserymen, Brunton and Hunter, and William Lowe (4). Later in 1826 Lowe supplied the estate with a variety of trees, Spanish chestnut, Norway Spruce, larch and fir, laburnum and American Dogwood (5). Giffard paid £.49.2s.6d.

(1). Ibid.

(2). Ibid.

(3). D 590/648 Waller's Work Book, e.g. Jan.7, 1808, three men leading hay and planting trees 6s.2d. January 8th, 1808 three men loading cordwood and one man hay in stable, 8s.2d. February 4th, 1808, 2 men helping to get up trees.

(4). D 590/575.

(5). In 1958 5.4% of Staffordshire was forest i.e. 39,000 acres, with 9,000 acres of oak, 8,000a. of birch, 4,000 a. Scots pine, 1,800 a. of Corsican pine, 1,400 a. European larch and 800 a. of Japanese larch. H.L. Edlin in "England's Forests", Faber, London, 1958, p.68 states "Broad leaved trees far exceed conifers".

for this supply of 17,600 trees and Saplings (1). Dickson of Chester provided a number of Saplings for Giffard in 1833. Dickson requested Walker to send a cart to the stable-yard of the White Lion Inn, Whitchurch, where, "he would find the trees he (Dickson) had forwarded" (2). Giffard's interest in planting was recognised by Mr. McMuntill, the Earl of Lichfield's agent (3), who wrote to Walker to inform him that a sale was to be held at Shughborough on January 5th 1837 of all the Earl's nursery stock of "forest trees" (4). The letter contained a covering note stating, "if you are going to do any planting this season, they are in excellent condition for all kinds of planting" (5).

Despite his woodland resources Giffard occasionally bought timber, although usually the purchases were small and of expensive and special woods, such as memel balks, red and yellow pines (6). These particular woods were suitable

-
- (1). D 590/570-1 March/July 1826 seeds bought of William Lowe.
 - (2). D 590/570-2 Chester 22 Feb. 1833, Dickson to Robt. Walker.
 - (3). Presumably a Scot like his fellow Staffordshire land agent, Andrew Thompson who served Ralph Sneyd of Keele, David Spring, "The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century. Its Administration", Baltimore, 1963, p. 98.
 - (4). D 590/570-2 Shughborough c. Jan 1837, McMuntill to Walker.
 - (5). Ibid.
 - (6). D 590/570-1 Stone, April 18th 1827, H. Turner to T.W. Giffard.

for floors, doors and window frames (1), and were presumably used in the decoration of Chillington.

Spane's plans were never completed and Thomas William did undertake some decoration and rebuilding of the house, which had proved so expensive to his father (2). Indeed the rebuilding and other extravagance had caused Thomas Giffard and later his trustees to begin large scale felling on the estate.

-
- (1). "Essays in Economic History", Vol. III ed. E. Carus Wilson, Arnold, London, 1962, T. S. Ashton, "Some Statistics of the Industrial Revolution," p.
 - (2). Christopher Hussey, "English Country Houses, Mid Georgian", Country Life, London, 1956, p. 227 states that the library and drawing room were decorated by Thomas William Giffard.

CHAPTER XII.

The Giffards' Industrial Interest.

The Giffards in the nineteenth century also enjoyed a considerable income from industrial sources and in particular the royalties from their coal and ironstone mines in Staffordshire and Flintshire (1). There was some early industrial development on the estate. Walter Giffard in 1669 leased a forge at Brewood to Philip Foley, the great Stourbridge ironmaster (2). By 1717 there were two forges in the parish (3), but in 1753 "the Lower forge" was derelict (4). The other continued to be worked until 1841, when it was converted into a corn mill (5).

By the nineteenth century industry was rapidly developing in the

-
- (1). In 1842 the Flintshire properties of Nerquis and Plâs-Ucha were inherited by Thomas William Giffard.
 - (2). V.C.H. Vol.V, p.20-1. There had been a forge at Brewood in 1485. Sulphur was mined at Gunston and in Brewood Park. The mineral was used to cure "scab and itch", and in brewing and baking.
 - (3). Ibid. and W.H.B. Court, "Rise of Midland Industry, 1600-1838", O.U.P., London, 1938, reprinted 1953, p.138,
 - (4). D590/354 Wakeman, the Surveyor, in 1810 referred to a ruined forge, "in its present state cannot be estimated at above £10 a year.
 - (5). V.C.H. Vol.V, p.21.

south of the county, where the Giffards owned mines in Stow Heath, Wolverhampton. In 1824 Giffard made plans to sell his iron stone workings there, and was advised by Mr. Abel Whitehouse to sell them in five lots. Whitehouse wrote that, "iron has advanced since you sold the Rough Hill mine £.2 per ton and it is known it will make a difference in the value of your mine from £.150 to £.200 per acre (1). He assured the squire that as the demand for iron was greater than at any time before many people would be ready to purchase at that price (2). Giffard still retained a colliery at Rough Hills, and the profits for the two quarters ending on October 13th 1830 amounted to £.758.7s.1d. (3). Two years later a Mr. Wardloe wrote to Walker, the Chillington agent, to account for coals valued at £.89.10s.0d., which had been distributed to the "Sutton Co., the Wolverhampton Gas Company and the Eagle Furnance

-
- (1). D 590/565 West Bromwich, September 27th 1824, Abel Whitehouse to T.W. Giffard.
(2). Ibid.
(3). D 590/583 Rough Hills Colliery Acct. Oct. 13th 1830 - Expenditure £.1,683.16s.9½d.; income £.2,442.3s.10d., profit £.758.7s.1d.
July 18th 1831, expenditure £.3,030.8s.11d., income £.3,659.18s.10d. - profit £.629.9s.11d.

Company"(1). He added that the principal part of the ironstone from Rough Hills would be sent to the Birmingham Coal and Iron Company (2).

In the middle of the following decade Thomas William initiated a plan to exploit the presumed coal resources of other parts of his estate, and had shafts and bore holes sunk at Enson and Marston. Whether or not the scheme was a result of the heavy burden of mortgage upon the estate, that led in 1847 to the sale of Marston and Walton, it was a hasty and ill prepared enterprise. Advice was taken, but too late. In reply to an enquiry from Walker, Mr. Houcester wrote in September 1846 that the agent was misinformed as no shafts had been sunk at neighbouring Dilhorne (3). In the same month Mr. Edward Lees of Worcester

-
- (1). D 590/570-2 Etingshall, Dec. 5th 1832 Mr. Wardloe to Robt. Walker.
 - (2). Ibid. W.H.B. Court, in "Rise of Midland Industry, 1600-1838", op. cit., p.166 states that the expansion of the Midland coalfield was "an enormous business built upon the exploitation of the iron deposits" and cites Hawkes Smith who wrote in 1836 that "The coal of this district is positively inexhaustible by the most rapid operations of any succeeding number of ages of which a conception may be formed"
 - (3). D 590/570-6 Longton, Sept. 1, 1846, John Houcester to Robt. Walker. He also told the agent that Mr. Heathcote did not own any property in the area.

wrote to the squire and advised that "it is wiser economy to spend five guineas to know what you are about than fifty in boring on uncertain data" (1). He explained that he could not give his opinion without viewing the lower beds, and suggested that until a professional geologist had been consulted, it would be wise to stop all work on the site (2). Lees further remarked that he would be prepared to meet Giffard or Walker at the Birmingham Philosophical Institution to examine a sample of the lower beds (3).

By the end of the year the borings at Enson had reached a depth of 182 yards. The last bed of Red Sandstone was reached at 179 yards, but the next three yards produced a light grey rock which was so saturated that water flowed out of the top of the borehole (4). Mr. Southam, a Bilston mining engineer, reported that he thought that the springs

-
- (1). D 590/570-6 Kenwick, near Worcester, Sept. 10th 1846, Edward Lees to T.W. Giffard. "An experiment for coal in an unproved district... should never be attempted till a scientific geologist form an inspection of the country and has pronounced the project to be hopeful. Many persons go to great expenses in coal searching and then desire what they should at first have called for a professional opinion free from any local bias".
- (2). Ibid.
- (3). Ibid.
- (4). D 590/570-6 Boatman's Hill, Bilston, 11 December 1846 J. Southam to Robt. Walker.

on the east and north of Enson, "appeared to be of mineral character", and that if he had chosen the site, he would have sunk a shaft close to the eastern boundary (1). He added, "were it my property I should bore thirty or forty yards upon that part of the estate even now" (2). But he insisted, if the present boring reached sandstone again within a few days, the hole would have to be abandoned (3).

A week later Southam reported that eight and a half yards of light grey rock had produced more water, but it was not until February 1847 that work ceased at Enson (4). Borings were also made at Marston in 1847, and Southam promised to visit the area to measure the hole and make a report (5). The Staffordshire search proved fruitless, so in May 1847 Southam visited Plas Ucha to commence trial borings in the developing North Wales coalfield (6).

(1). Ibid.

(2). Ibid. He suggested that Lord St. Vincent, one of Giffard's Enson neighbours, might be approached to share the cost of the experiment.

(3). Ibid.

(4). D 590/570-6, Bilston, 18 Dec. 1846, J. Southam to T.W. Giffard.

(5). D 590/570-6, Bilston, February 24th 1847 J. Southam to T.W. Giffard.

(6). D 590/570-7 Bilston May 21, 1847 J. Southam to T.W. Giffard. Southam asked for a note of authority to survey a colliery near Mold and for one of his men to have a bed "at one of your farmhouses near the colliery".

Southam's plans were to indicate the position of the shafts and workings and the estimates of coal and ironstone to be extracted (1). Arrangements were made for a Mr. Smith to bore two holes at Plâs Ucha(2), and by 1848 the enterprise had cost £.335.18s.4d. (3).

Thomas William already had an agreement with Edward Oakely, for the royalties and rents of the existing pits at Nerquis-Plâs Ucha. Leeswood was the most remunerative pit and had been in production before 1844 (4). However ominous words appeared in the Coal Accounts for 1854, "no

(1). Ibid.

(2). D 590/570-7 Bilston 19 Oct. 1847, J. Southam to T.W. Giffard.

(3). D 590/589 Boring at Plâs Ucha, 1846.

£.157. 9s. 2d.	First hole
£.124. 8s. 4d.	Second hole
£. 15. 6s. 8d.	Tyler, balance of boring
£. 20. 0s. 0d.	Superintendence
£. 13. 00s. 0d.	Blacksmith
£. 2.19s. 7d.	Carriage of materials
£. 2.14s. 0d.	Hughes, timber
£.335.18s. 7d.	TOTAL EXPENSES

(4). D 590/638; D 590/570-2, Albrighton Hall, Shrewsbury, April 31st 1847 Edward Oakely to T.W. Giffard - a cheque for £.194.3s.11d. was sent to Giffard by Oakely, who requested that the receipt be sent to Cold Talon, Mold.

coal has been got since 20th May" the coal pit having been worked out" (1). A memorandum of the colliery manager, Harrison, dated 1855 explained that the main coal had been worked out in previous years, and that the remaining coal lay between two faults, "down cast badly and in the deep of the mine all under water and it cannot be worked until such time and money has been expended getting to it" (2). The pits were in production again by August 1859, when Mr. W.L. Jones visited Wolverhampton to negotiate new leases for the Nerquis mines with Mr. George Robinson, Giffard's solicitor (3). The leases dated February 29th 1860 were drawn up on the basis of payment per acre (4).

The Welsh pits played an important part in the salvation of the estate from debt and mortgage. When Walter Peter inherited the estates, a paper was submitted to him, entitled "scheme for the present reduction and ultimate payment of the whole of the mortgages and other

(1). D 590/583, 1855, C. Harrison, manager.

(2). Ibid.

(3). D 590/685, Wolverhampton, August 1859 G. Robinson to T.W. Giffard.

(4). D 590/638 Royalty accounts, with W.H.H. Jones, C.H. Jones and William Dickinson, eg. Main Coal £.400 per acre; Brassey Coal £.150 p.a.; Cannel Coal £.110 p.a.; 5ft. coal £.65 p.a., and Wall & Bench £.80 p.a.

charges upon Mr. Giffard's estate" (1). This scheme suggested that the Leeswood mines and those at Nerquis could over the twenty-one years from 1863 realise at least £.50,000 while the new mines at Nerquis should produce a further £.15,000 (2). Although this proved over optimistic, considerable profits accrued from the mines. At this time Thomas Cottingham, a Mold engineer, undertook the supervision of the mines, and his reports and letters are preserved among the Giffard papers (3). The mines remained in Giffard hands until the early twentieth century, and in 1914-15 the profits from the pits totalled £.428.13s.5d. (4).

-
- (1). D 590/581; D 590/565 in February 1861 Walker had to ask Jones for an estimate of the time it would take for the Royalty to be paid on the Leeswood Coal, "as in consequence of the death of the late squire, an early settlement is urgently requested by the executors".
 - (2). D 590/581. If this estimate was a little optimistic, royalties were at this time quite large, see D 590/638. e.g. in Sept. 1873 C.H. Jones paid £.3,029.19s.5d. on 27a.2r.7 $\frac{1}{2}$ p. of main coal at £.110 p.a., and Dickinson paid £.1336.10s.0d. for 16a.2r.33p. of Wall & Bench of-rem 1869-75.
 - (3). D 590/638, Bundle of letters, 1865-77, Reports from Thos. Cottingham, e.g. July 20th 1865, Dear Sir, "I make the total quantity of main coal extracted by Messrs. Craig, Taylor and Craig out of Mr. Giffard's land during the past quarter, 5,100 tons, less slack and waste, = 4,080 tons.
 - (4). D 590/612-29.

The Giffards were interested in a small way in quarrying, and owned a four acre stone quarry at Brewood near to the Birmingham and Liverpool canal. The stone was used in the building of the Catholic Church of St. Mary's, Brewood, and the Anglican Churches at Bishop's Wood and Coven. It was also used in the restoration of Lapley Church^{and} in many local farm buildings (1).

Thomas William held shares in the Grand Junction Railway Company (2), which linked Liverpool, and Manchester with Birmingham, and was opened in June 1837 (3). Giffard held ten shares at £.10 per share and on August 14th 1835, he was reminded that he was in arrears on the fourth call, made in the previous March (4). After a seventh call in the following year, Giffard was still in arrears and was warned that he was liable to interest at the rate of 5% p.a., as

(1). V.C.H. Vol.V, p.20.

(2). The estate in 1835 supplied Thomas Brassey, the railway contractor, with temporary sleepers.

(3). Michael Robbins, "The Railway Age", Penguin, Harmsworth, 1965, p.29. V.C.H. Vol.I, p.392.

(4). D 590/570-2, Liverpool, Aug. 14, 1835, Mr. Chorley, the Company's treasurer. In an essay in "The English Catholics 1850-1950", ed. George Beck, Burns & Oates, London, 1950, p.225, David Mathew states "There were few Catholics among the class of new investors for the squires were as a rule conservatives in this matter, preferring to put their money into house property or land".

long as the call was unpaid (1). Later he was threatened with the forfeiture of his shares if he remained in arrears(2).

In 1846 Giffard had Grand Junction stock worth over (3) £.1,500, but his financial situation forced him to sell the shares. They were disposed of by John Hay, described as a share broker. The sale realised £.5,896.5s.0d.(4). However Giffard did not give up all interest in railway stock, as he purchased in the same year fifty shares in the Birmingham and Stour Valley Company (5). The sale of the stock, like the borings at Enson and Marston demonstrated the crisis facing the Giffards in 1846, which led to the sale of Marston and Walton, in an attempt to settle some of their mortgage liabilities.

Thomas William had in 1856 a modest interest in the Wolverhampton New Waterworks (6), and in December 1857 he

-
- (1). D 590/570-2 Liverpool Sept. 9th 1836, Chorley to T.W. Giffard.
 - (2). D 590/570-2 Liverpool, Oct. 18th 1836, Chorley to T.W. Giffard.
 - (3). D 590/570-6 Wolverhampton, Feb. 25th 1846, John Hay to T.W. Giffard. He wrote "the amount obtained for the portion I first sold was the highest price quoted and was only obtained, I believe, on that one occasion."
 - (4). Ibid.
 - (5). D 590/570-6, 1846, John Hay, Birmingham & Stour Valley Company.
 - (6). D 590/685, Wolverhampton New Waterworks, Darlington St. December 1846 J.P. Underhill to T.W. Giffard.

was required to pay £.12.10s.0d. on a call of 12s.6d. per share (1). His daughter, Charlotte Josephine, paid £.13.2s.6d. on her shares (2). By 1860 a return was made at 4%, less 9d. in the pound income tax, but as the squire had fallen into arrears on his calls, 18s.9d. was deducted from his dividend, and he received only £.2.18s.3d. (3). This was a very modest enterprise compared with his interest in canals earlier in the century.

He was particularly interested in the development of the Birmingham and Liverpool Junction Canal, not only because he was a shareholder, but as it was cut through his property, he was able to utilise one of the estate's natural resources namely water. Giffard was invited by the Company's Secretary, Thomas Eyre Lee in 1826 to add his name to an advertisement, calling a general meeting

-
- (1). D 590/685, Wolverhampton New Waterworks, Darlington St., J.P. Underhill to T.W. & C.J. Giffard.
 - (2). Ibid. These modest shares were part of the company's 20,000 £.5 shares.
 - (3). D 590/685, Wolverhampton New Waterworks, Darlington St., C. Tomlinson to T.W. Giffard. It is interesting to note that when in the interest of Public Health the Corporation of Wolverhampton built a sewerage works at Barnhurst in 1873, and disposed of its waste in Pendeford Brook, W.P. Giffard protested and demanded compensation for his tenants and himself. See D 590/347.

of the proprietors at Newport, Shropshire, that was to be attended by Thomas Telford, the engineer (1). As a member of the Committee, Giffard received a copy of (2) Telford's progress report for 1827, in which the engineer stated that he had inspected all the works, and thought, "they have been carried on with great regularity and dispatch, the progress having been to the full as much as could be expected, the season being favoured and much heavy work has been performed" (3).

At a meeting of the Company at Newport on July 18th 1833, chaired by Viscount Clive, it was reported that the company had a balance of £. 21,912. 8s. 3d. (4). The committee included Giffard's neighbours Sir John Wrottesley and Edward Monckton of Somerford, and several local Members

-
- (1). D 590/570-1, Birmingham 4th July 1826, T. Eyre Lee to T. W. Giffard.
 - (2). L. T. C. Rolt, "Thomas Telford", Longmans. London 1958, p. 178, states that the directness of his routes have been "unmatched by either road or rail". D 590/570-1, Birmingham, Nov. 14th 1827 T. Eyre Lee to T. W. Giffard. Telford's report to Eyre Lee, dated London, Nov. 12th 1827 was printed and enclosed in the letter.
 - (3). Ibid. Telford's Report. He explained that all matters requiring immediate attention should be dealt with by the Resident engineer, Mr. Easton. V. C. H. VOL. 1, p. 317 & 320 states that the sudden rise in the population of the villages of High Offley, Church Eaton, Lapley & Gnesall in the 1831 census was due to the numbers of workmen employed on excavating the Canal.
 - (4). D 590/570-2 Printed minutes of the Canal Company's meeting at Newport on July 18th 1833.

of Parliament (1). In December 1833 Giffard was invited by Eyre Lee to join the other committee members in an inspection of the work at the junction of the company's canal with the Staffordshire and Worcester, before proceeding to the Royal Victoria Hotel, Newport for a meeting (2). The inspection was to be conducted by Mr. Gabbit, deputising for Telford, who was at this time seriously ill (3).

In the following year the Company agreed to a resolution that it should apply to Parliament for, "an act to enable the Company of Proprietors of this Canal Navigation to provide by means of contribution among themselves, or by loan, a sum not exceeding £.150,000" (4).

-
- (1). Ibid. Giffard seconded Sir Edward Kynaston's motion thanking Wrottesley for his work while he was treasurer. Other committee members included, The Marquis of Stafford, Viscount Clive M.P., Sir Rowland Hill M.P., Sir Edward Kynaston, James Loch M.P., Thomas Lee, C.H. Molineux, John Batho, Rev. P. Hamilton, Francis Denning, William Hazeldine, and William Lewis.
 - (2). D 590/570-2 Birmingham, Nov. 27th 1833 T. Eyre Lee to T.W. Giffard.
 - (3). Rolt, op.cit., p.184. D 590/570-2 Birmingham, Sept. 29th 1834. T. Eyre Lee to T.W. Giffard, Telford died on Sept. 2nd 1834, his last visit to Shrewsbury being the March of the same year, Gabbit succeeded Telford at the post.
 - (4). D 590/570-2 Printed Minutes of the meeting at the Jerningham Arms, Shifnal, April 11th 1834.

On February 20th Giffard received from his bankers the receipt of his shareholders bond, and the first half yearly payment on his £. 750 investment was £. 18. 15s. 0d. (1). An urgent committee meeting was called in May to discuss the Birmingham Canal Bill, as the Secretary felt that two clauses proposed by the Staffordshire and Worcestershire Canal Company, might affect the interest of the Birmingham and Liverpool Company (2).

The next reference in the Estate Correspondence to a Company meeting is a summons to a General Assembly, at the "Talbot", Shrewsbury, on Monday September 4th 1837 (3). In the following January Thomas William was rebuked for failing to attend a committee meeting; in fact so few proprietors turned up the meeting had to be adjourned (4). Eyre Lee wrote, "You will easily believe that the members of the Committee and other proprietors who do attend the meetings feel somewhat annoyed at being obliged to attend a second time. If you do not intend to appear personally, perhaps you will be so good as to sign and send me a proxy

-
- (1). D 590/570-2 Birmingham, February 20th 1835. T. Eyre Lee to T.W. GIFFARD.
 - (2). D 590/570-2 Birmingham, May 10th 1835 T. Eyre Lee to T.W. Giffard.
 - (3). D 590/570-2 Birmingham, August 21st 1837, T. Eyre Lee to T.W. Giffard.
 - (4). D 590/570-2 Birmingham, January 22nd 1838. T. Eyre Lee to T.W. Giffard.

according to the form annexed" (1). Significantly there are no further references in the Correspondence to any more summonses to the Company's Committee meeting.

However Giffard's main interest in the canal was not as a proprietor nor as a committee member, but as a land-owner whose properties were intersected by the canal. According to a valuation made in August 1830, he agreed to sell to the Company 38a. Or. 6p. at Tettenhall, Brewood and Hattons for £. 3,048. 6s. 8d. (2). A memorandum attached to the valuation stated that Giffard agreed to sell to the Company, which was to pay him in return £. 4 per cent per annum until the transaction was completed (3).

The Company also required a supply of water to keep

(1). Ibid.

(2). D 590/302 Memorandum, August 30th 1830, T.W. Giffard & T. Eyre Lee. The annual value of the land was valued at £. 74. 4s. 2d., and sold at forty years' purchase. D 590/583, 1833, Admeasurement of the Birmingham and Liverpool Canal through the Chillington estate shows a slightly larger area

	Canal	Spoil	Plantation
	38a. 1r. 2lp.	18a. 1r. 4p.	4a. 2r. 29p.
Feeder	2r. 25p.	1a. Or. 18p.	--- --- ---
Waste	--- 1r. ---	--- --- ---	--- --- ---

(3). D 590/302 Memorandum, August 30th 1830 T.W. Giffard to T. Eyre Lee. The transaction did not run too smoothly. In 1835 Thomas Eyre Lee reported that six writs had been served against the company by various tenants of Giffard who received compensation of over £. 169. 10s. 0d. Later complaints were made about a leakage from the canal near Pendeford. See D 590/570-2 Birmingham, June 15th 1835 T. Eyre Lee to T.W. Giffard and Birmingham, January 23rd. 1836 T. Eyre Lee to T.W. Giffard.

the canal to the top level of the Staffordshire and Worcestershire Canal, which joined the Birmingham and Liverpool at Autherley Junction (1). In 1832 Giffard sold part of his Belvide estate, which he had recently purchased from George Monckton (2), to the Company to provide for a reservoir. The agreement dated September 29th stated that £.16,710 was paid for the 202a.2r.3p. (3). The Company agreed to rebuild certain farmhouses and buildings that would be displaced by the reservoir, and grant to Giffard and his heirs exclusive fowling and fishing rights on the water (4). A further agreement made in 1833 clarified the terms of the agreement (4), and by July 1833 the contractors had begun to build the damhead at Belvide (5).

In 1838 Giffard sold a further 7a.2r.3p. at Belvide to the Company for £.90l.10s.0d., so that the reservoir

-
- (1). L. T. C. Rolt, "Thomas Telford", op. cit., p.178, 183 & 184.
 - (2). D 590/17/81 & D 590/17/83.
 - (3). D 590/302 Sept. 29th 1832.
 - (4). D 590/302 Feb. 14, 1833 estimated value, £.14,62l.5s.8d. was paid for the land plus five years' purchase at £.417.15s.0d. allowed "for diminution of the remainder by severance" making in all £.16,710. The buildings were Birts Farm and Hawkshutts farm and building, which were to be demolished when the reservoir reached a depth of 25ft. The company agreed to be rebuilt them at its expense.
 - (5). L. T. C. Rolt, "Thomas Telford", op. cit., p.184.

could be extended (1). A further 28a.3r.17p. were let by the squire at a rate of £.101 per acre, to facilitate the work of extension, and rights of access across Broomshall Farm were granted to the company (2). At the same time a new agreement was negotiated for the rebuilding of Hawkshutts Farm. Giffard accepted £.2,000 and released the Company from its obligation to rebuild the farm (3).

The construction of this reservoir did not solve all the Company's supply problems, and in January 1843 Thomas William gave his permission for water to be run from Pendeford Mill race stream, when Mr. Jones, the miller, could spare it (4). While in the following year Giffard and Mr. Edmund Wigano of Lapley agreed to let the Company take water from Stinking Lake Brook for the reservoir and the canal. The brook was converted into a culvert, and

-
- (1). D 590/302 Memorandum dated Dec. 26th 1838 - the land included Shutt Green Piece, Dam Head Fields and part of Big Meadow; the land was required to build a larger and stronger dam.
 - (2). Ibid., Giffard agreed in return to pay all "tithes, rates and assessments", and the company consented to farm the land "in a husbandlike way." The Company was to be answerable for their workmen with regard to trespass and the game laws.
 - (3). D 590/302 Agreement, Dec. 26th 1838 Erection of the new farm House, Hawkshutts.
 - (4). D 590/570-3 Stretton, January 18th 1843, A.W. Easton to T.W. Giffard.

Giffard received £.52.10s.0d. p.a. for the water, and a further 70 shillings per acre p.a. for all the land required to make and maintain the culvert(1). In 1845 he sold the water in Chillington Pool to the Company for the sum of £.1,000 (2).

The Giffards had built a canal, or "a private navigation" on their estate in the eighteenth century, to transport fuel and other heavy articles from the Park to the House (3). In the early nineteenth century much of Giffard's supplies of wine and timber were carried by canal to either Birmingham or Wolverhampton (4), so when

-
- (1). D 590/302 Agreement, October 31st 1844 between T.W. Giffard and Edmund Wigan and the Company. - the two landowners agreed to the Company making, "an open culvert, feeder or watercourse" to lead the water to the reservoir.
 - (2). D 590/302 Agreement Sale of Water in Chillington Pool, April 26th 1845. Eyre Lee for the Company agreed to protect the fish in the pool, and "repair all plugs, sluices and watercourses belonging to the said pool", and to protect the mill at Pendeford.
 - (3). Dorothy Stroud, "Capability Brown", London 1950, p. 96; H.M. Colvin, "Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660-1840", John Murray, London, 1954, p. 433, V.C.H. Vol. V, p. 29. The architect James Paine designed a bridge with urns, niches and sphinxes to cross the water.
 - (4). D 590/570-1 Mincing Lane, London, Dec. 5th 1827, Raikes and Newbury to T.W. Giffard; a Pickford's boat brought the merchants best claret and Moselle to Birmingham for the squire.

the Birmingham and Liverpool was cut through his property, the squire inquired of Easton, how much it would cost to build a wharf at Chillington (1). By 1851 there were "commodious wharves and warehouses" at both Brewood and Chillington (2).

In 1846 the Birmingham and Liverpool Junction Canal Company closed its account, and the Shropshire Union took over the running of the canal (3). By this date Thomas William had between 1830 and 1845 sold to the company land and water for £. 23,659, and received some considerable rents from land at Belvide and along the Stinking Lake Brook. Although it needs to be remembered that he had purchased Belvide from Monckton prior to the transaction with the canal company. However the cutting of the canal proved to be for Giffard both a beneficial and a profitable enterprise.

-
- (1). D 590/570-2, Market Drayton, April 19th 1834, the estimate was £. 315. 11s. 0d.
 - (2). V.C.H. VOL. V, p. 19.
 - (3). D 590/570-6 Stretton, August 3rd 1846 A. Easton to T. W. Giffard and September 7th 1846 A. Easton to T.W. Giffard.

CONCLUSION.

The social rôle of the squire, as patron, benefactor
and counsellor.

Catholic gentlemen of property and territorial influence, like the Giffards, although deprived of ~~the~~ public office by penal legislation, were able to expend their talents and energies in ecclesiastical politics and in the exercise of their considerable patronage within the English Church. Similarly their bequests and gifts were generally to fellow Catholics, to the support of priests and religious on the mission and to convents, seminaries and monasteries on the continent. However in the eighteenth century some Catholic gentlemen were accused of using their wealth in an attempt to win conversions. The Justices of Essex complained in 1720 that fifty converts, including children, had been made in the county by the use of charity in this way (1), and in 1732 Thomas Stonor was similarly accused (2). But the typical Catholic bequests were those of Catherine Winford of Holborn, who in 1698

-
- (1). J. A. Williams, "Some eighteenth Century Conversions", Essex Recusant Review, Vol. 3, No. 3, Dec. 1961, p. 129.
 - (2). Dom. R. J. Stonor, "Stonor", Johns, Newport, 1951, p. 288. In the nineteenth century Lord Colchester accused the Downside Benedictines of purchasing converts. Prior Barber wrote to the Smythes of Acton Burnel that the peer, "dignifies us, as reported in the courier, as a large establishment. It is clear that we must not make too much noise" see Dom. Henry Birt, "A History of Downside School", Kegan, Paul, Trench & Trubner, London, 1902, p. 192.

left her "residuary estate to be employed in binding poor Catholic apprentices" (1), and Bishop Bonaventure Giffard, who left £.20 to the poor Catholics of Wolverhampton and district (2). Most Catholic gentlemen were therefore patrons and benefactors within the Catholic community.

The Catholic community was based generally upon the estates and houses of the Catholic squires, where squire, servants, tenants and neighbours were bound together by the strong ties of a common faith. Dr. John Bossy in his article, "The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism" has shown that seigneurial household religion brought some advantages to the recusant gentry (3). These advantages applied also in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but by the nineteenth century the situation changed dramatically. In the Giffards' case, the Protestant

-
- (1). J.O. Payne, "Records of the English Catholics of 1715", Baker, London, 1900, p.112.
 - (2). Dom. Basil Hemphill, "The Early Vicars Apostolic in England, 1685-1780", Burns & Oates, London, 1954, p.182
 - (3). John Bossy, "The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism", Past & Present, Number 21, April 1962, p. 21 states Catholicism bound "together gentlemen, servants and tenants in the unity of the seigneurial household, to establish loyalty to it as practically superior to all other loyalties, to confirm the position of the gentleman as mediator between his dependents and public authority".

marriages and the closing of the Chillington chaplaincy destroyed the unity of the Catholic household, and by 1851 White's "History Gazeteer and Directory of Staffordshire" noted that Mr. Giffard "has only three or four tenants of the Romish persuasion" (1). The gazeteer suggests that this was the result of Thomas William's "liberal views", but David Mathew in an article in, "The English Catholics, 1850-1950", wrote of Catholic estates that "there appears to have been little effort in the nineteenth century to attract Catholics to fill vacancies" (2). Similarly Dom. R.J. Stonor wrote in his family history, "Stonor", that by 1951 only one of the old recusant farming families remained on the estate (3).

The gentry who lived upon their estates exercised great influence, Joseph Berington praised the Catholic gentlemen, "who live wholly in the country, not dissipating but doing much good with the produce of their estates, and their doors are encompassed by the blessings of their neighbours" (4).

-
- (1). William White, "History, Gazeteer & Directory of Staffordshire", Sheffield, 1851, p.446.
 - (2). "The English Catholics, 1850-1950", edited G. Beck, Burns & Oates, London, 1950, p.223.
 - (3). R.J. Stonor, op. cit., p. 371.
 - (4). Joseph Berington, "State and Behaviour of Catholics", London, 1791, p.124; another contemporary witness William Wilberforce praised "the character of a nobleman or gentleman who lived on their properties, improved their lands, executed the duties of the magistracy exercised hospitality and diffused comfort, order, decorum, moral

Although Thomas Giffard was forced to close Chillington for a brief period in the seventeen nineties (1), the Hall provided employment for many of the children of the local families, and the consumption of the household, when the squire was in residence, was of great benefit to local tradesmen. On the other hand the fact that Thomas Giffard in 1790 owed local tradesmen £.1,127.16s.0d. illustrates not only the scale of the expenditure, but also demonstrates that the benefits depended on the bills being met (2).

The Chillington Registers reveal the names of the Giffard servants. Over twenty Catholic servants are entered between 1720 and 1730, including Mr. Robert Dodd, the butler,

improvement and religion too throughout his circle", cited, G.F. A. Best, "Temporal Pillars, Queen Anne's Bounty, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Church of England", C.U.P. Cambridge, 1964, p.169.

(1). See Chapter V and VIII.

(2). D 590/107. Some individual tradesmen's bills were large e.g. in 1812 Giffard's bankers received a receipt for £.565.3s.4d. from the butcher, Edward Owen, D 590/625-3; Thomas William too had reminders sent of outstanding bills, e.g. he was reminded in December 1836 that his name appeared as a debtor to Thomas Minstrel, an insolvent Chester Fishmonger, and in 1837 he was asked by the Wolverhampton Postmaster for £.22.8s.5d., D 590/570-2, Chester Dec. 14th 1836 & Wolverhampton, Dec. 13th 1837

Mr. Thomas Dodd, the bailiff, Gilbert Dixon, "gentleman to Mr. Giffard", Francis Sutton, the coachman and William Smith, the chief gardener (1). The female servants employed at Chillington in this period included, Mrs. Parr, the housekeeper, Mary Robinson, "Mrs. Giffard's chambermaid", Hannah Straw, the cook, and several under-cooks and maids (2). In all a compact Catholic community, and the chaplain was always able to find one of the servants to stand as a godparent or a witness of a marriage (3).

In 1775 Thomas Giffard employed eighteen servants. John Patridge, the steward, was the headservant with a salary of £.40 p. a., and the senior woman servant, the housekeeper, Ann Fielding, received £.21 p. a. (4). Most

-
- (1). Staffordshire Parish Registers, 1958-9, Roman Catholic Registers, p.16, p.21, p.22 & p.26.
 - (2). Ibid. p.17, 22 and 26.
 - (3). Ibid. p.26. On Oct. 13th 1727 William Bromley, Peter Giffard's servant, witnessed the marriage of Christopher Lane and Isabel Lyon at the Chillington chapel.
 - (4). D 590/334 The male servants included, Steward, butler, bailiff, gardener, coachman, groom, Gamekeeper, Under Butler, and postillion; the females, housekeeper, "Mrs. Maid", two nursery maids, two housemaids, undercook and a dairy maid. Wages varied, the groom was paid £.15 p. a. the under-butler £.10 guineas p. a., the housemaids seven guineas and the dairy maid £.6.

of the servants were Catholics, and significantly Ann Howell, one of the nursery maids, was a member of the staunchly recusant Brewood family (1). The Protestant marriage had its effects even in the servants' quarters, and in 1804 only eight of the twenty-two servants at Chillington were Catholics (2). However it is interesting to note that six of the eight were Thomas Giffard's menservants (3).

The nineteenth century saw a further decrease in the number of Catholic servants, although overall the size of the household increased (4). The wages ledger of 1834 lists forty-one posts and the total outlay on wages amounted to £.692.17s.2d. (5). The ledger also contains the dates of entry of the servants, and indicates that some of the men had been with the family a long time, for instance Clifton, the valet, had entered in 1810, but of the female servants, only Ann Higgins, the poultry woman,

(1). Ibid.

(2). D 590/334.

(3). Ibid. Another indication of Thomas Giffard's attachment to his religion.

(4). Subscription List, St. Mary's Presbytery, in 1844, a maid of Thomas William's Protestant wife gave five shillings to the building fund of St. Mary's.

(5). D 590/650-1.

had served for more than four years (1). Indeed the Giffards had three housekeepers in the space of two years (2). In 1870 the staff at Chillington totalled twenty-one servants, and the wages bill amounted to £494 (3).

Thomas William's accession brought great changes to life at Chillington. It was no longer so firmly part of a closed Catholic world, which even if not parochial in a geographical sense, had been restricted and narrow. He was able to enjoy the role of sportsman (4), county politician and proprietor, with the help of the largest rental ever at the disposal of a squire of Chillington. To keep this position, he employed a butler, valet, usher, underbutler, footman, coachman, postillion, undercoachman, stud groom, and five grooms, and when he required a "fowler"

-
- (1). Ibid. Clifton's salary was £60 p.a. plus £5.10.0, "in lieu of clothes", and Ann Higgins received 8 guineas p.a. No dates were given for the beginning of some servants' entry, but against some names it is written "in service at the death of Mr. Giffard" i.e, 1823.
 - (2). D 590/650-1 Mrs. Cockerill resigned in 1835, her successor Mrs. Sophie Nicholson was replaced after twelve months by Mrs. Booth.
 - (3). D 590/650-2. In 1870 Thomas Gwilliam was coachman, forty years earlier he had been the postillion. Servants' wages were very stable, a scullery maid in 1870 was paid £7.0.0, but in 1834 the same post paid 10 guineas, and even in 1775 Housemaids were paid 7 guineas.
 - (4). See Appendix XIII - Game and Sporting activities.

for the Pool, he placed advertisements in papers in Lincolnshire and Rutland (1). Further he continued to act as protector and counsellor of his tenants and other local people. However squires were not always given deference; when his father, Thomas Giffard, in 1813 was £.10.7s.9¹/₄d. in arrears with his poor levies, the Church Eaton overseer threatened to summon him before a magistrate (2).

Local officials usually sought the assistance of the Lords of Chillington, and in 1837 Peter Lowe of Marston asked Thomas William, if he would speak to his tenants on rent day, and persuade them to pay their rate for the maintenance of the roads (3). He also sought permission to take gravel, "from the pit in the field, where the workhouse is being built", to repair the road that crossed the common(4).

-
- (1). D 590/570-2. Letters of application for the position, June/July 1833.
 - (2). D 590/373. June 24th 1813 James Martin to Thomas Giffard.
 - (3). D 590/570-2 Marston December 20th 1837, Peter Lowe to Thomas Giffard; Christopher Savage "An Economic History of Transport", Hutchinson, London, 1959, p.11, a Parish had to appoint a surveyor annually from its inhabitants, and the labour and equipment needed for the Maintenance of the road had to be provided by the parishioners.
 - (4). Ibid. & D 590/356 Peter Lowe was himself a tenant of Giffard paying a rent of £.232 p. a. for his farm at Marston.

Similarly he was asked in 1846 as he was a large rate payer, to meet his demand quickly, as there were heavy commitments to be covered (1).

His influence and support was often sought in local affairs, especially with regard to patronage. In 1846 John Hay submitted the names of four men to Robert Walker, the Chillington agent, to recommend to Giffard for the Board of Guardians, and Hay hoped that the squire might nominate Walker's father for the office of District Surveyor (2). When a local court was established in the Poor Law Union in the following year, Hay asked Giffard to use his influence with the local M.P.s, to prevent it being situated at Penkridge, because, "Brewood is not only the more important town, but it is the real capital of the union" (3). In 1853 he was asked to approach Colonel Anson M.P., to ask him to contact the Post Master General with

-
- (1). D 590/570-6. Feb. 13, 1846, John Faulkner to T.W. Giffard.
 - (2). D 590/570-6. March 28th 1846, John Hay to Robert Walker. The names submitted were Beech or Joe Wilson, Austin, Walker Snr. and Icke. Hay wrote of the position of Surveyor, "only I don't want the squire to nominate Heath who has already been nominated".
 - (3). D 590/570-6. Jan. 4, 1847 John Hay to T.W. Giffard. The M.P.s were Lord Ingestre, and Col. Anson. Hay had already taken the liberty of using Giffard's name in a letter to Ingestre. The court was situated at Brewood, see D. 590/741.

reference to the position of the widow of Thomas Greene, late Post Master of Brewood (1).

The squire was also approached by private individuals. A Wolverhampton perfumerer, who was facing bankruptcy, asked him to buy a ticket in a lottery, to help dispose of his stock (2). He was asked by George Robinson, the family's solicitor, to caution the driver of the "Chester Emerald", who drove recklessly down High Green Wolverhampton (3). In 1834 he was troubled with the domestic affairs of Mrs. Light, whose illegitimate niece stood to gain a legacy of £.500, left by her grandfather, provided she married in her right name, but Mrs. Light claimed that the child's mother was trying to prevent this happening (4). She had

-
- (1). D 590/585 Brewood, February 22, 1853, Charles Greene to E.W. Giffard. Even Sir Robert Peel concerned himself with Post Office patronage; in 1841 he reminded a Mr. Freemantle that Fazeley was in his constituency of Tamworth, and that the Post Office and the master's salary of £.30 p. a. was in his gift, see N. Gash, "Politics in the age of Peel" Longmans, London, 1953, p. 362.
 - (2). D 590/570-6, Wolverhampton, July 18th 1846, Richard Robinson to T.W. Giffard.
 - (3). D 590/570-2, Wolverhampton, May 17th 1834, G. Robinson to T.W. Giffard.
 - (4). D 590/570-2 Worton Bank, September 1834, Mary Light to T. W. Giffard. The girl was to marry a George Hampson, a tenant of Giffard.

mentioned the case to the Clerk of Adbaston, but added, "I think your mentioning the case he will pay the more attention" (1).

The squire also made annual contributions to the county asylum and the infirmary, and served the community as a trustee of the Brewood Grammar School (2), the Newport and Stonnall Turnpike, and the Penderell Trust, and as a patron of the "Chillington Association for the

-
- (1). Ibid. The estate correspondence reveal also cases of generosity of Giffard to people in distress. In 1835 he helped John Crossley obtain his release from the Hussars and in 1846, a J.W. Shidell, also of the Hussars, enclosed a postal order, in a letter of thanks for the amount Giffard had lent him in a time of necessity; D 590/570-2 1835, & D 590/570-6 Ipswich Barracks, Feb. 12 1846 J.W. Shidell, 7th Hussars to T.W. Giffard.
- (2). D 590/570-2 March 18th 1837 H. Kempson To T.W. Giffard, Kempson asked Giffard to sign a memo. on behalf of the trustees, on the appointment of new lessees, & D 590/685, Teddesley March 15th 1860, John Hay to T.W. Giffard, he was informed of the resignation of the headmaster and asked if May 29th would be a convenient date for the appointment of a successor.

prosecuting of felons", and of local Agricultural societies. The nature of the prestige accruing to local organisations by the support of the gentry can be gauged by the invitation to Giffard in 1828 to serve as Vice President of a Saving's Bank at Wolverhampton: one of the promoters of the venture wrote that he was anxious to obtain the support of "gentlemen of high respectability" (1).

Both Thomas William and his father were trustees of the Wolverhampton to Gailey Turnpike (2), and the estate correspondence contains letters to the former from Andrew Phillips of Shifnal about the Newport Turnpike Trust. A meeting at the 'Four Crosses' Inn in 1834 was called to audit the trust's accounts in accordance with "an act passed in the last session of Parliament", and to hear a report on the effects of the turnpike of a change in the

(1). D 590/570-1 Wolverhampton, June 15th 1828 D. Mannix to T.W. GIFFARD. In the true spirit of improvement, Giffard helped to build a reading room at Brewood in 1857, at the cost of £.258.17s.9d. In 1860 it was described as having a "small but select library, as well as newspapers and periodicals", and in 1865 gas fittings were added to the amenities, see D 590/631/1 Estate ACCOUNT chiefly repairs, analysed 1849-1881 - Brewood Reading Room p.115 & 197 and V?C.H. Vol.V, p.20; it still existed in 1896.

(2). J. Hicks Smith, "Brewood", p.54.

proposed route of the Grand Junction Railway (1). Two years later the trustees met at the Bradford Arms, Ivetsy Bank to consider the provision of a further £. 50 to complete the alterations at Eveston Hill (2). There is a further reference to a meeting of the trustees at Ivetsy Bank in 1845 (3).

The squire was elected Treasurer of the "Chillington Association for the prosecuting of felons" in 1830, two years after its foundation, but he rarely attended meetings and left this business to his agent (4). A. J. Peacock in "Bread and Blood, the Agrarian Riots in East Anglia, 1816", states that such associations were mainly concerned with preserving game (5), but the Chillington association was

-
- (1). D 590/570-2 Shifnal, Jan 10th 1834, Andrew Phillips to T.W. Giffard. The surveyor Wedge was to attend the meeting with, "a map and section". The railway eventually crossed the road at Gailey.
 - (2). D 590/570-2. Shifnal, Nov. 30th 1836, Andrew Phillips to T.W. Giffard.
 - (3). 590/570-6 Shifnal, October 20th 1845, Andrew Phillips to T.W. Giffard.
 - (4). D 590/741, the Treasurers Book of the Association.
 - (5). A. J. Peacock, "Bread and Blood, the Agrarian Riots in East Anglia, 1816", Victor Gollanez, London, 1965, p. 38, 53 & 54.

concerned with the prosecution of all crimes, and substantial rewards were offered to witnesses whose evidence led to a successful prosecution (1). Mr. Giffard was prepared to use the facilities of the Association, and in August 1850 the committee instructed Mr. Turner to prosecute before Penkrige magistrates some boys accused of "breaking trees in the Avenue at Chillington" (2). Two years later, and a few days before Christmas, "a quantity of fowls were stolen from Chillington, hand bills were ordered to be printed and circulated, but no discovery was made" (3). In 1855 two of Giffard's game-keepers caught James Higgs with three fowls stolen from Mr. Cliffe: they shared the reward of four pounds and Higgs

-
- (1). D 590/741 The Chillington Association Minute Book - the first meeting was held in the "Fleur de Lilys," Brewood on Thursday December 2nd 1828, attended by Giffard's tenants, such as John Green and Cadivaller Evans. The rewards were determined at a meeting on December 15th 1828 and ranged from £.21 for a capital offence to two guineas for the stealing of tools or the damaging of waggons. The association allowed women to join, and also co-operated with the local constables; in 1852 the committee presented Constable Botkin with a cutlass, engraved with gold and mounted with silver, worth £.6.15.8.
- (2). D 590/741 Ibid., Minute Book.
- (3). Ibid.

received a sentence of four years' penal servitude (1). So although the association was largely organised by the tenant farmers, it did receive the full support of the squire.

The Giffards had been trustees of the Penderell Grant ever since its foundation, in 1675 (2), but unfortunately only the accounts for the period 1884-1910 are among the Giffard Papers at Stafford (3). However there are references in the estate correspondence to the administration of the trust in the earlier period. James Penderell wrote to Thomas William in 1843 from Jersey to complain of "the delay which is taking place of late in the payment of the annuities upon the said estate. He was anxious as he hoped to emigrate shortly to the "North American Colonies", and he had not

(1). Ibid. The gamekeepers were Tomkinson and Courtney.

(2). See Chapter III and Appendix IX.

(3). D 590/700. Letters and accounts from the Receivers, Walker and Charles Inge to W.T.C. Giffard. Laurence Meynell in his introduction to "The Hunted King", Bodley Head, London 1959, wrote that when he was an articled pupil of a land agency after World War one, he worked for a time at Chillington. One day "a man came into the office and said without explanation or preamble, "my name is John Penderell and I have come for the money for saving the King. He was in fact a lineal descendent of the Penderells, who befriended Charles and I paid out the requisite annuity to him".

received a reply from Mr. Ellison, who administered the trust (1). Walker, the agent, investigated the problem and reported to the steward, Bell, that the squire had paid his ten shillings on the trust's property at Orlow, but the management of the trust was entirely in the hands of Ellison (2). Walker added that if there had been any death among the annuitants, fresh arrangements would have to be made, as had happened twelve years previously, when "Mr. Ellison had a great deal of trouble with these people"(3).

Like Ellison before him, Walker continued to supervise the detailed administration of the trust after his retirement from the service of the Giffards (4). He was replaced in 1888 by Charles Inge, who was surprised that, "there

-
- (1). D 590/570-3 Jersey, January 30th 1843, James Penderell to T.W. Giffard.
 - (2). D 590/570-3 Chillington, February 3rd 1843, R. Walker to James Bell.
 - (3). D 590/570-3, Chillington, Feb. 3rd 1843, R. Walker to James Bell.
 - (4). D 590/700, Walker's letters were headed 7, Clifton Terrace, Winchester, on May 23rd 1887 he complained, "I have been too ill to make up the accounts sooner. The weather here keeps miserably cold and I am suffering more in consequence. Inge wrote from Lichfield on June 1st 1888, having taken over the office of receiver. Other pensioners besides James Penderell mentioned above, had emigrated, in 1884 a Mr. Walker resided in New Brunswick, Canada and a Mr. Hornblower had disappeared in New Zealand.

should be only one annuitant of the old name of Penderell" (1). This was a Charles Stuart Penderell, who had an annuity of £.24.0s.4d. p.a. but in 1906 there were two pensioners named J. Penderell Broadhurst and J.A. Penderell Gould (2). However by the end of the nineteenth century the Trusteeship of the Penderell Grant, the family's sole public office in penal times, was appropriately one of the Giffards' few links with their recusant past.

An interesting example of public action by the squire was his intervention in the affairs of the London and North Western Railway Company in 1858. Lord Hatherton wrote to Thomas William asking for a meeting to discuss the alterations in the railway services, and the proposed

(1)¹/₂ Ibid. Broom Leasowe , Whittington, Lichfield, June 1, 1888 Charles Inge to W.T.C. Giffard.

(2). D 590/700. In 1908 Mr. Allan Fea, author of the "Flight of the King", (London,1897) took up the case of Mr. George Washington Penderell, who claimed that on the death of his father, William Penderell, he was entitled to his annuity. The trust maintained that William Penderell had sold his annuity to a Mr. Rober Bill. Strict enquiry was always made into the claims of descent, for instance in October 1885 William Rice received £.21.0s.1d. in arrears for his annuity.

closing of the stations at Four Ashes and Penkrige. Hatherton explained that, "to you (understandably it may not signify much) but to our tenants and neighbours it is a frightful inconvenience". He added, "I should like to very much know what you think should be done" (1). What is interesting is that Hatherton thought that the combined pressure of himself as a "seigneur" and Giffard as a gentleman was insufficient to affect the policy of the company. He wrote from London that, "the persons the Railway Directors fear most are members of Parliament" (2). A most significant comment on the changing pattern of influence and authority.

Thomas William, like all the previous Lords of Chillington, served the local community. With his assistance to Father Richmond in the building of St. Mary's, Brewood, he continued his family's traditional service to the Catholics of the district, but he also extended the social rôle of the Chillington squires by serving on more public

(1). D 590/685, Teddesley, May 4, 1858 Hatherton to T.W. Giffard

(2). D 590/685, St. Thomas' Hotel, London, May 8th 1858 Hatherton to T.W. Giffard - Hatherton obtained a vague promise that, if practical the stations would be opened in June, but he noted "the stoppages are made with some others to expediate the trains in the race with the Great Northern, for that purpose their small stations are sacrificed".

bodies and interesting himself in local and county politics. When he died in 1861 the people of the whole area showed their respect; a muffled peal of bells was rung in Brewood and Wolverhampton, and on the day of his funeral, the shops were closed in both towns (1).

(1). J. Hicks Smith, "Brewood", p. 52.

APPENDIX I.

La Giffart.

Walter Giffard, who fought at Hastings was certainly one of the inner circle of the Conqueror's barons, and was lavishly rewarded by him (1). Walter came from Longueville-la-Giffart, a castle, which was the centre of the Giffard honor in Normandy (2). In England he served William in such capacities as "Domesday Commissioner for Worcestershire" (3), and one of his sons was created the Earl of Buckingham, but the title died with the second earl in 1164 (4). However two baronial Giffard lines remained, those of Brimpsfield, Gloucestershire and Fonthill, Wiltshire, and Anthony Wagner in "English Genealogy" argued that the Peter Giffard who inherited Chillington in 1178 was descended from the Fonthill Branch (5).

-
- (1). D.C. Douglas, "William the Conqueror", Eyre & Spottiswoode London, 1963, p.269.
- (2). "Origins of Some Anglo Norman Families", by the late Lewis C. Lloyd and edited by Charles Travis Clay and David C. Douglas, Harleian Society Publications 1951, p.103
- (3). R. Welldon Finn, "An Introduction to Domesday Book" Longmans, London, 1963, p.54.
- (4). Anthony Richard Wagner, "English Genealogy", Clarendon, Oxford, 1960, p.61.
- (5). Ibid. p.63-4.

Chillington, which surprisingly had been surveyed under Warwickshire in the Domesday Book (1), was given to Peter by William Corbuco, when Giffard married his sister Margaret (2). Certainly the Giffards have remained at Chillington since Corbuco's grant, and Anthony Haden Guest in an article in "The Week End Telegraph", of January 7th, 1966, cited L.G. Pine as stating that the Giffards were one of only four families able to claim descent from knights, who fought at Hastings (3). On the other hand Anthony J. Camp in a letter to the "Daily Telegraph" on 14th January 1966 questioned the proven descent of the Giffards (4). It is interesting to note that the present Mr. Giffard's heir is named, Peter Richard de Longueville Giffard (5).

-
- (1). P. Wheatley in "Staffordshire", in "The Domesday Geography of Midland England", edited H.C. Darby and B. Tervet, C.U.P., Cambridge, 1954, p. 161.
 - (2). S. Erdeswicke, "Survey of Staffordshire" plus some observations upon the possessors of monastery lands in Staffordshire, by Sir Simon Degges, MDCCXVII, p. 60.
 - (3). Week End Telegraph, No. 67, Jan. 7, 1966. Anthony Haden Guest "The Conquerors".
 - (4). Daily Telegraph 14 January 1966, Letter of Mr. Anthony J. Camp.
 - (5). Burke's Landed Gentry, MCMLII, p. 913.

APPENDIX II.

William Giffard, Archbishop of Rheims.

Although Thomas Fuller in his "Worthies of England" argued that William Giffard was of the Staffordshire family declaring, "I have satisfied myself in fixing him here as an extract of the Chillington family" (1); he in fact came from Gloucestershire. William was the son of John Giffard of Weston-sub-edge and Elizabeth daughter of Sir George Throckmorton of Coughton. He was, at one stage in his career, a close friend of Gilbert Giffard, whose short life was blighted by political intrigue, and many people have confused their relationship. As Gilbert's grand-mother was a Throckmorton, their kinship derived from this connection, rather than their common name (2), and Fr. Clancy in, "Papist Pamphleteers" correctly refers to William as simply, "a distant cousin of Gilbert" (3).

However Fr. Morris in "The Letter Books of Amias Paulet" describes William as Gilbert's uncle (4), and

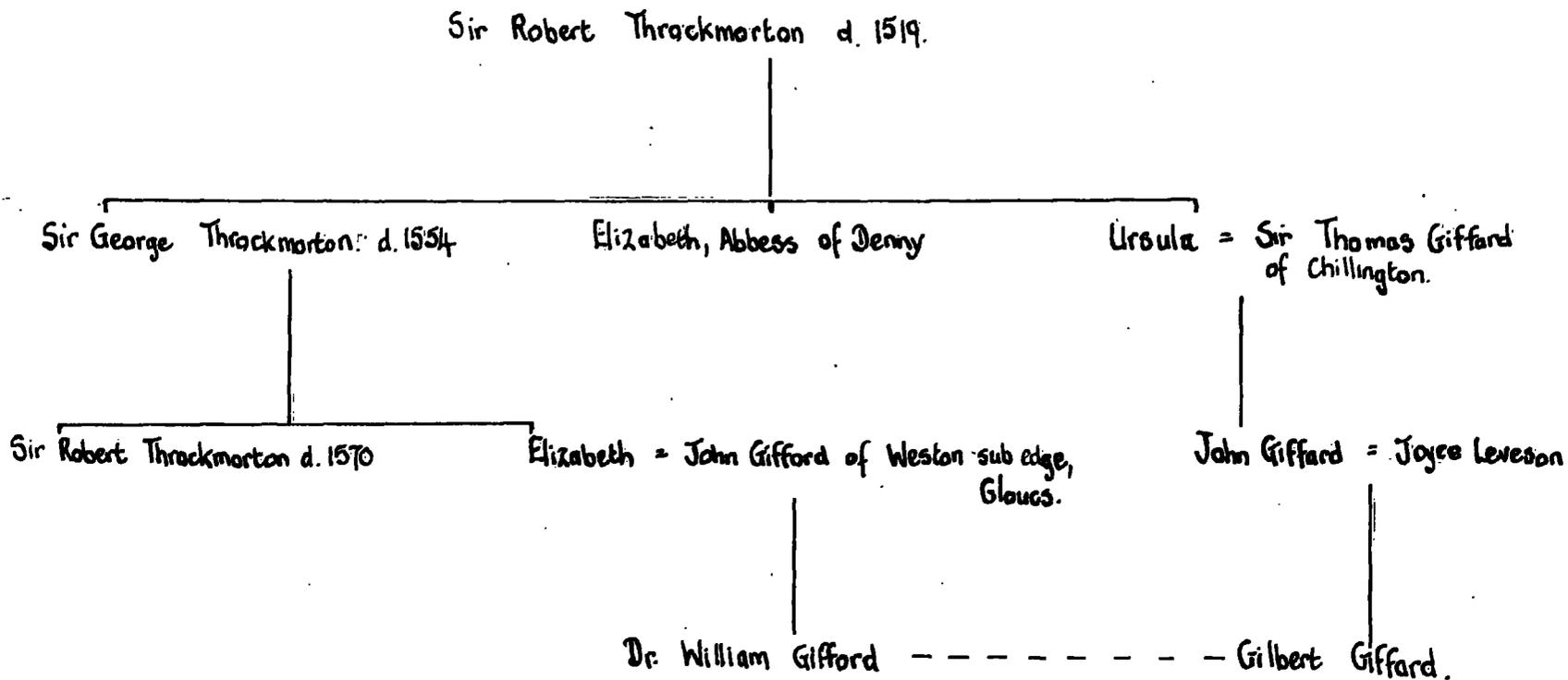
-
- (1). Thomas Fuller, "The Worthies of England", edited by John Freeman, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1952, p.519.
 - (2). Dom. Aidan Hamilton, "Chronicle of English Canonesses of St. Monica's at Louvain, 1625-1644", Sands & Co., Edinburgh, 1906, p.72; Dom. Henry Birt, "Obit Book of the English Benedictines from 1600-1912", Edinburgh, 1913, p. 11.
 - (3). T.H. Clancy, S.J., "Papist Pamphleteers", Jesuit Studies, Loyola University Press, 1964, p. 59.
 - (4). Ed. John Morris, S.J., "Letter Book of Amias Paulet", London, 1874, p.380.

Dom. C. Almond in his "History of Ampleforth", refers to Gilbert as a nephew of William (1). Fr. Devlin in his biography of Robert Southwell writes of, "Gilbert's cousin, William Giffard" (2). Mac Nalty in, "Mary Queen of Scots; the daughter of debate" is totally confused; he states that, "John Giffard was imprisoned in London as a stubborn recusant.... of his sons, two, George (William ?) and Gilbert were Jesuits in the seminary at Rheims. George inveighed against the Queen of England, advocated her assassination and was given £900 by Parma, it was alleged, to get it done by his brother, who was a member of the Queen's body guard" (3).

William. later became a Benedictine, and restored the community at Dieulwart, and founded a monastery at St. Malo (4). He was appointed coadjutor to the bishop of Reims in 1618, and succeeded him four years later, as "Archbishop, Duke of Reims and first peer of France" (5).

-
- (1). Dom. Cuthbert Almond, "A History of Ampleforth Abbey", Washbourne, London, 1903, p.62.
 - (2). Christopher Devlin, "The Life of Robert Southwell, Poet and Martyr", Longmans, London, 1954, p.53.
 - (3). Sir Arthur S. McNalty, "Mary Queen of Scots; the daughter of debate", Christopher Johnson, London, 1960, p.173.
 - (4). "Olivers Collections", Charles Dolman, London, 1857, p.484 & 486.
 - (5). Dom. Henry Birt, op.cit., p.11.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WILLIAM AND GILBERT GIFFARD. (FIG. 11)



APPENDIX III.

Giffard Religious and Priests.

Members of the Giffard family, who entered the Religious life in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century.

1. Bridget Giffard, professed at the Convent of the Augustinian Canonesses at Louvain in 1621.
2. Ann Giffard, sister of Bridget, entered Louvain at the same time.
3. Mary Giffard, a daughter of Peter Giffard and niece of Sister Bridget and Sister Ann, professed at Louvain in 1625.
4. Joyce Giffard, a daughter of Richard Giffard of Cosford, assumed her confirmation name of Ursula, when she professed as a nun at Louvain in 1625⁽¹⁾. One of her brothers, Edward, became a Jesuit father and another a Knight of Malta. Their mother, a Levison, had been married previous to her marriage to Richard Giffard. Her first husband was not a Catholic, and at his death, because of her religion, she lost one third of her jointure (2). Mrs. Giffard was

(1). Dom Adam Hamilton, "A Chronicle of the English Canonesses of St. Monica's at Louvain, 1625-1644", a continuation, Sands & Co., 1906, p.18.

(2). Ibid.

a pious lady, who prayed late into the night, and was charitable to the poor and needy, often leaving her house at night to assist women in childbirth (3). This she did regardless of rank, and as she had "some little skill in surgery", she never refused to dress the most loathsome sores of the poorest persons which came to her (4).

(3). Ibid.

(4). Ibid. p.20.

5. Anne Vavasour, who professed at Louvain in 1638 was another niece of Ann and Bridget (1).

(1). Hamilton, a continuation, op.cit., p.94 & 109; Anne was a daughter of Sir Thomas Vavasour of Hazlewood, Yorkshire and Ursula Giffard. Other Vavasours, who entered religious life at this time included Henry, a priest, John, a Jesuit lay brother, Francis, a Franciscan, Mary, a nun at Brussels, and Margaret and Catherine at Cambrai. Foley, Vol.III, p.234.

6. In the Giffard Pedigree printed by Dom. Adam Hamilton an Elizabeth Purcell, daughter of Mary Giffard, the youngest daughter of Richard Giffard of Cosford is mentioned as professing at Louvain in 1656 (1).

(1). Hamilton, op. cit. 1.

7. Sister Anne Brooke of Madeley, Shropshire who entered the

Poor Clares at Gravelines in 1596, was the daughter of John Brooke and Anne Shirley of Staunton Harold, Leicestershire, Anne Shirley's mother was Dorothy Giffard, daughter of John Giffard of Chillington (1).

(1). C.R.S. 1914 Mis. IX, "English Poor Clares at Gravelines, 1608-1637" edited Joseph Gillow, p.33.

8. Sister Ann Teresa Sandford of Rossall, Shropshire, was the daughter of Humphrey and Jane Sandford. Jane was a daughter of Edward Giffard of Whiteladies (1). Sister Ann Teresa professed as a Poor Clare at Gravelines in 1619, aged 28 (2).

(1). C.R.S. 1914 Mis. IX, op. cit., p. 51.

(2). Ibid.

9. Dorothy Giffard, the second daughter of Peter Giffard, professed at Gravelines in 1626, aged twenty-two, assuming the name of Dorothy Joseph, and died in 1673. She held the office of Infirmarian in the community, and was frequently ill herself, "which she bore with a singular patience and conformitie to ye divine will". Dorothy was described also as, "an exemplar modell of vertues, suiting to her vocation, namely a great neglect to herself, sweetness in conversation, and an assiduous well spender of time" (1).

(1). C.R.S. 1914, Miscell. IX, op. cit., p. 62.

10. Ursula Giffard. Peter's fourth daughter, professed at Rouen in 1630, taking the name of Ursula Collette. She died fifty nine years later aged 81 on 4th March 1688, when she was described as "very mild, humble and sweet in her comportment and conversation" (1).

(1). C.R.S. 1914 Miscell. IX, op.cit., p.66.

11. Elizabeth Giffard, the sixth daughter of Peter, professed as Elizabeth Frances, at Rouen in 1633. She died in 1688 and the community noted her patience in a "languishing and painful infirmity" (1).

(1). C.R.S. 1914 Miscell. IX, p.66.

12. Winifred Giffard, Peter's seventh daughter, also professed at Rouen in 1633, and died in 1706, having been Abbess of this house of Poor Clares for thirty years (1).

(1).

(1). C.R.S. Misc. IX, op.cit., p.92. See also Chapter V.

13. Mary Giffard, a daughter of Walter Giffard of Chillington entered the community of the English Teresians at Antwerp on April 8th, 1681, aged forty-two, adopting the name of Sister Mary of

the Martyrs (1).

(1). Hamilton, "Continuation", op. cit., p. 77; Thaddeus. "The Franciscans in England 1600-1850", 1898, p. 68.

14. Frances Poulton, the daughter of Ferdinand Poulton of Desborough, Northants., and Mary Giffard, the daughter of John Giffard of Blackladies, entered the Benedictine convent at Dunkirk, professing as Dame Mechtildis. She died in 1694. Her sisters Gertrude and Elizabeth also professed at Dunkirk (1).

(1). "A History of the Benedictine Nuns of Dunkirk", The Catholic Book Club, London, 1957, p. 40.

Many members of the family became priests and religious during the same period.

1. Gilbert Giffard and 2. George Giffard were both seculars, and are treated in chapter one.

3. Edward Giffard O.S.B., was the son of Humphrey Giffard of Blackladies. Edward was a pupil of the Jesuit martyr, Father Oldcorne, before he entered Valladolid College in 1600. He later became a Benedictine monk (1).

(1). Dom. Adam Hamilton, "Continuation", op. cit., p. 72; Foley Vol. IV, p. 203 & 244; C. R. S., vol. 30, "The English College at Valladolid, 1589-1862", ed. E. Henson, p. 64.

4. Peter Giffard O.S.B. of Whiston, Staffordshire, joined the Benedictines in 1640, when he professed at St. Edmund's, Paris (1), but he died in England in 1650, before his ordination (2).

(1). Birt, op.cit., p. 21.

(2). Downside Review, No. 76 (New Series VII) March 21, 1907, Gilbert Dolan, ch. XXII, "The Benedictine Associations of Staffordshire", p. 53.

5. Edward Giffard S.J. was educated at St. Omers and the English College Rome, where he received minor orders in 1620 (1). On entering the College in 1618 he stated that "some of my relatives are heretics, some Catholics" (2). In 1625 he returned to St. Omers as a master, and seven years later returned to England, where he died in 1640 (3).

(1). Foley, Vol. VI, p. 288, and Vol. II, p. 301.

(2). Foley, Vol. I, p. 652; C.R.S. Vol. 37, 1940, "Liber Ruber of the English College, 1579-1630" edited Wilfred Kelly, p. 188-189.

(3) Foley, Vol. I, p. 652.

6. Peter Giffard S.J., alias Walker (also known as Richard Giffard) was one of the Cosford branch of the family. He entered the Society in 1633, was ordained at Liège in 1642, and served as Prefect and master at St. Omers,

before being sent to the Lancashire District in 1644. Later he was made Rector and Procurator of St. Chads College, the Staffordshire District (1). Peter was arrested in 1681, and held in Stafford Gaol (2). During a Jacobite Scare in London in 1694, the priest was seized by pursuivants at his London Lodgings, who discovered in their search a box of vestments and ornaments. The eighty-one year old priest replied readily to the intruders' questions and admitted he was a priest; the pursuivants surprisingly left him and his property unmolested. He died three years later(3).

(1). Foley Vol.VII, p.301-2.

(2). Roberts, art. cit., p.10.

(3). Foley, Vol.V, p.305-6.

7. Joseph Giffard, alias Walker, the youngest brother of Peter, entered the society in 1640 (1). Ten years later he appears to have wished to serve in the West Indies, as Father Barton wrote from Madrid to Risle in Paris "Where is F. Harcourt and F. Jos. Walker? These desired the Indies and as I heare were stopped" (2). Instead he returned to England, and served in Oxford, London, Hampshire and Suffolk, where he died in 1673 (3). Although Foley recorded him as a member of the Staffordshire family, Mr. Roberts makes no reference to him

in his article (4).

-
- (1). Foley, Vol. VII, p. 361.
(2). C.R.S. Vol. 29, 1929, "The English College at Madrid, 1611-1767" edited Canon E. Henson, p. 300-301.
(3). Mrs. Bryan Stapleton, "A History of Post Reformation Catholic Missions in Oxfordshire", London, Frowde, 1906, p. 339.
(4). Roberts, art. cit.,

8. William Ireland S.J. claimed at his trial in 1678 to be related to the Giffards and the Penderells (1).

(1). Foley, Vol. VII, p. 395.

9. Daniel Coulster S.J. alias Giffard, the stepson of Colonel Giffard, was admitted to the society by the Provincial Father Warner in 1679 (1). William Carlos, the son of Colonel Carlos of Brewood, another royalist officer and protector of Charles II, made his full profession in the same year (2).

(1). Foley, Vol. VII, P. 300.
(2). Foley, vol. VII, p. 115.

10. Francis Pershall, the son of Francis Pershall and a Mary Giffard, although born in Berkshire, was brought up in Staffordshire by his mother's family. On entering the English College in 1644 he declared that he was

the son of "gentle but impoverished parents". Encouraged by the advice of a Jesuit friend, he decided to become an ecclesiastic, but he died shortly after entering the College in 1644 (1).

(1). Foley, vol.V, p.430-1; C.R.S. Vol.LV,1963, op.cit,p.482.

11. Walter Pershall S.J., the half brother of Francis, adopted the alias of Giffard, when he served in England. Ordained in 1651 he was admitted into the Society in 1679 (1).

(1). Foley, vol.VII, p.589.

12. Henry Cassy S.J., as a boy was educated in Staffordshire and claimed to be related to the Giffards. He was ordained at Rome in 1628 and died there in 1633 (1).

(1). Foley, vol.IV, p.427.

13. Christopher More S.J. and 14. Thomas More S.J. were nephews of Peter Giffard, being sons of Catherine Giffard of Blackladies and Thomas More of Barnborough, Yorkshire (1). Thomas was appointed by Bishop Challenor, Vicar General with responsibilities for the former

Jesuits. Both Fathers served in Bath, where Thomas died in 1795 (2).

-
- (1). Foley, Vol. V, p. 703 & Vol. VII, p. 520.
(2). Kirk, p. 169-170 & J. A. Williams, "Bath & Rome", Bath, 1963, p. 73.

15. Peter Giffard, son of Thomas Giffard of Wolverhampton, although Kirk's draft adds that the "Register of Lisbon calls him Salopiensis". He entered Lisbon College in 1647, where he later taught Classics before he was appointed the College's procurator in 1652. Following his ordination in 1653, he studied in France, but after two years returned to Lisbon. After the restoration he came to England and served at Towneley, Lancashire. In 1682 he was chosen as Vicar General of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, Yorkshire and Durham. Peter died about 1689 (1).

(1). Kirk, p. 101.

16. Andrew Giffard, son of Andrew Giffard of Wolverhampton (1).

(1). Kirk, p. 98; Gillow, II, p. 451-2.

17. Augustine Giffard, brother of Andrew and Chaplain at

Chillington 1711-1722 (1).

(1). Dom. ~~Adam~~ Hamilton, "Continuation", op. cit., p. 75 $\frac{1}{2}$

18. Bonaventure Giffard, brother of Augustine and Andrew, Vicar Apostolic of the Midland and London Districts (1).

(1). The Bishop and his brother Andrew are dealt with in the chapter "The Giffard's contribution to Religious Life".

19. Thomas Giffard of Cock St. Wolverhampton, was described by Hamilton as "a priest", living in the late seventeenth century (1).

(1). Dom. ~~Adam~~ Hamilton, "Chronicles of the English Augustinian Canonesses of St. Monica's, Louvain", Giffard Pedigree.

20. Pierce Parry, the son of John Parry and Mary Giffard was another of Peter Giffard's nephews who became a priest (1). He served at Oscott from 1759-1785, and his area included Walsall and Handsworth (2). When Bishop Hornyold tried to remove him in 1763, his congregation successfully petitioned for his return, claiming that "he was assiduous in preaching, in instructing his flock, and in visiting the sick" (3). Disabled by paralytic strokes, he resigned in 1785, and retired to

nearby Aldridge where he died in 1792 aged 76 (4).

(1). Kirk, p.177.

(2). C.R.S. Vol.13, 1913, No.XI, "The Rev. Pierce Parry's
Private Baptismal Registers at Claxby and Oscott
1755-1766" edited J. Gillow, p.290-291.

(3). Ibid. p.289.

(4). Ibid. & C.R.S. Vol. 12, 1913, p.39.

APPENDIX IV.

Wolverhampton Chapel, Building Account.

"An account of what money Peter Giffard Esq. hath received upon the building of the new house in Wolverhampton.

Given by Peter Giffard Esq.	£. 100. 00. 00
Dec. 1727 Recd. Bhp. Giffard	£. 100. 00. 00
Aug. 10, 1728 Recd. Sir Winsor Hunlocke	£. 010. 00. 00
Oct. 20, 1728 Recd. from Mr. Stanford	£. 005. 05. 00
Recd. more from Bhp. Giffard	£. 200. 00. 00
Recd. more from profits made from said 200,	£. 060. 06. 04
Recd. Timber sold at Wolverhampton	£. 004. 05. 09
Recd. for Rent of Margaret Glover	£. 001. 00. 00
Recd. from Mr. Dicconson	£. 076. 12. 05
July 11, 1729 Recd. Mrs. Ann Manning	£. 002. 10. 00
" Recd. of Mrs. Ellenor White	£. 002. 08. 09
Nov. 27th 1729, Recd. more from Bhp. Giffard	£. 100. 00. 00
Sept. 30th 1731 Recd. of Cousin Giffard	£. 105. 00. 00
widow of Longburch, by ye hands of Mr. Brockholes	
Oct. 30, 1731 Recd. more of Bhp. Giffard	£. 050. 00. 00
Sept. 9, 1732 Recd. more of Bhp. Giffard	£. 050. 00. 00
Nov. 27th Recd. of Mr. Brockholes of ye handself Mr. Hayes a legacy left by Mrs. Kempson widow	<u>£. 050. 00. 00d.</u>
	£. 917. 18. 03d.

I acknowledge to have received ye above sum of one thousand

sixty nine pounds two shillings according to ye particulars for ye receipts above mentioned upon ye account of building ye new great house in Wolverhampton. I said received same by me 20th day of July 1734.

Peter Giffard Esq.	Acct.	1069.02.9 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Recd.	<u>917.18.3</u>
		151. 4.6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

We whose names are written superiors of ye clergy in Staffordshire do by ye special appointment and direction of Bishop Stonor for ye time being of Staffordshire acknowledge to have received of ye above Peter Giffard ye sum of one thousand and sixty nine pounds two shillings and two pence half penny in full for ye above mentioned sum of disbursements. I say received by us the 20th day of July 1734.

John Johnson

Thomas Berington

Thomas Brockholes (1).

(1). D 590/634

APPENDIX V.

Chaplains; Chillington, Blackladies, Longbirch & Brewood.

The Chillington Chaplains.

Unfortunately little is known of the chaplains at Chillington during the early recusant period, but clearly priests were kept at the house.

1) One such anonymous priest was referred to by Bridget Giffard as being at Chillington in 1621. When Ann Giffard left Staffordshire for St. Monica's Louvain, Bridget feeling she too had a vocation, "asked of their priest whether he thought her vocation was good". He answered her it was right and that she ought to follow it (1).

(1). Dom. Adam Hamilton O.S.B., "Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses of St. Monica's at Louvain, 1548-1625", Sands & Co., Edinburgh, 1904, p.201: In 1610 it was estimated that in England there were 300 secular priests, 30 Benedictines, 3 friars minor, and about 40 Jesuits, in Staffordshire there resided Mr. Stanford, Mr. Sutcliffe, Mr. Alon, Mr. Butten, Mr. Hassels, Mr. Sargent, Mr. Berington, Mr. Richardson, Mr. Grysall and Mr. Dorington; one of these may have been the priest at Chillington in 1621. "A Catholic Directory of 1610, from the Archives of the Old Brotherhood" compiled by Thomas More IV edited D. Shanahan, Clergy Review. ✓

2) The next mention of a priest at Chillington, is of a Jesuit, which is rather surprising at a mission which was served by regular priests. An "unnamed Jesuit" managed to evade arrest at Chillington, during a search at the time of the Popish Plot (1).

(1). Foley, Records, vol.V, p.433.

3. Andrew Bromwich, a priest from the Lisbon seminary, was resident at Chillington in 1692, according to the report of Mr. Robert Fitzherbert for the Archdeaconry of Staffordshire, Derbyshire and Cheshire (1). Bromwich was born, according to Kirk, of "a respectable family at Oscott", and that "he was accused of being a priest and convicted, but though condemned was not executed". On his release from prison, he returned to Oscott, where he died in 1702 (2).

(1). C.R.S. Vol. IX Miscell. VII. London, 1911, No. III, Particulars of priests in England and Wales, 1692. Contributed by the Rev. Raymond Stanfield;

(2). Kirk, p. 35.

4. John Johnson was chaplain at Chillington, 1693-1718, when he retired to Longbirch. Johnson, a Yorkshireman, was Administrator of the Common funds of the clergy, and founder of the still existing Johnson fund (1).

(1). Staffordshire Parish Registers Society; Roman Catholic Registers, Intro. M.E. Rowlands, p. 10, and C.R.S., Vol. 28 1928, p. 8.

5. Francis Dodd, another Lisbon College priest was at Chillington in 1702, and Miss Rowlands suggests that he may have been, "an itinerant priest under the" Fitter bequest (1). The Chillington registers record the activity of Dodd, e.g. in 1721 he baptised the son of John Jervis, and in

August 1727 Thomas Kempson's son, whilst in 1728 he even baptised Anne Giffard, and he also baptised two children in the month of July 1733. Dodd was buried at Brewood in 1734 (2).

- (1). Staffordshire Parish Registers, Roman Catholic Registers,
opp. cit., p.10.
(2). Ibid. pp.16,25, 28 and p.34.

6. Augustine Giffard, brother of Bonaventure and Andrew Giffard was chaplain to his cousins Thomas Giffard and Peter Giffard at Chillington until his death in 1721. (1). This Augustine may have been the Augustine Giffard who was commissioned as a Lieutenant in Captain Aylmer's Company in 1686 (2).

- (1). Lichfield R.O. Wills; Augustine will made in 1719 was witnessed by the Giffard's butler and bailiff, Robert and Thomas Dodd.
(2). Cal. S.P. (Dom.) James II, Vol.II, Jan.1686-May 1687, London 1964, (H.M.S.O.) prepared by Mr. F. Bickley, p.323.

7. Edward Dicconson, a former Vice President of Douay College, was brought back from that seminary by Peter Giffard to be his chaplain (1). Dicconson was the fourth son of Mr. Hugh Dicconson of Wrightington Hall, Lancashire, where he was born in 1670. Dom Basil Hemphill wrote of him that "he was a man of great ability, he always stood high in the

estimation of the clergy, but unfortunately he was inflicted with a stammer, which prevented him from preaching" (2). In 1730 he left Chillington, and served for a time at Rome, as "agent extraordinary of the secular clergy of England" (3). In 1740 he was appointed Vicar Apostolic of the Northern district and consecrated at Ghent in the following year. The bishop died at Finch Mill, Lancashire in 1752 (4).

- (1). C. R. S. Vol. 28, 1928, "Seventh Douay Diary", p. 100.
- (2). Dom. Basil Hemphill, "The Early Vicars Apostolic in England", 1685-1750, Burns & Oates, London, 1954, p. 141.
- (3). M. Brady, "Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy", Rome, 1877, p. 258.
- (4). Ibid., p. 258-259.

8. Thomas Brockholes, who succeeded Dr. Dicconson at the Giffards' chapel at Chillington in 1730 remained with the family until his death in 1758. Brockholes was the son of a Lancashire gentle man, John Brockholes of Claughton Hall, and a nephew of the priests Thomas Brockholes, Senior, and Roger Brockholes. He was ordained in 1706 at Douay, where he served as General Prefect, and Procurator, before going on the Mission in 1722 (1). Brockholes served at Wolverhampton before going to Chillington, and was one of the priests appointed by Bishop Stonor to supervise the building of the Wolverhampton Mass House (2). He was a member of the Chapter, Vicar General to Stonor, and in 1754

Archdeacon of Staffordshire, Cheshire and Derbyshire (3).

In 1758 he died at Chillington and was buried at Brewood (4).

(1). C.R.S. Vol. 28, 1928, op. cit., p. 22.

(2). D 590/634.

(3). Kirk, p. 35.

(4). C.R.S. Vol. 6, 1909, Miscell. V, No. III "A List of Convicted recusants in the reign of Charles II", J.S. Hanson, p. 195n.

9. Anthony Clough, another Douay priest, served the Giffards from 1758 until 1791. Clough, a nephew of Bishop Hornyold, was born at Myndtown in Shropshire, and interestingly enough (1), he was at Douay when young Thomas and John Giffard entered the College themselves in 1748, although he had joined the seminary in 1742 (2). Kirk described Clough, "as the respected and beloved pastor of that congregation (Chillington) for thirty-three years" (3). When the Chillington Gatehouse Chapel was destroyed in 1787, "the service was removed" to Blackladies and that part of Blackladies which had been the residence of the late agent of the family Mr. Coffin, was fitted up for the priest, the Rev. Anthony Clough (4). Following an argument with the new young squire, Thomas Joseph, over the young man's debts and his marriage to the Protestant Lady Charlotte Courtenay, Clough left Blackladies in 1791 to become chaplain at Heythrop (5). Although reconciled to young Giffard, he did not accept his offer to return

to Chillington, but he did move in 1793 to Oscott, where he died in 1793. He was buried at Brewood (6).

- (1). C.R.S. Vol. 28, op.cit., p. 232-3.
- (2). Ibid. p. 232. 254, 255 & 257.
- (3). Kirk, p. 49.
- (4). J.H. Smith, "Brewood", p. 44.
- (5). See the chapter on "The Staffordshire Clergy Controversy".
- (6). Kirk, p. 49.

10. James Appleton was the last family chaplain to the Giffards, and resided at Chillington from 1791 until c.1793 (1). Appleton was the author of many works, including "Theophilus or the Pupil instructed in the obligations and Resources of the Roman Catholic Religion"(2).

(1). Kirk, p. 4.

(2). Gillow, vol. I, p. 54.

After the departure of Appleton, the Giffards were served from Blackladies Mission.

Blackladies Chaplains

1. Leyburn's list of Catholic gentlemen and chaplaincies mentions Mr. Giffard of Blackladies as supporting a Jesuit priest (1). This father was Robert Collingwood S.J. who resided at Blackladies from 1694 until 1715. After 1715 he removed to Boscobel, but returned to Blackladies sometime between 1727-1734. Collingwood died at Boscobel

in 1740 (2). Letters addressed to him were left with the recusant Mr. Murson (3) at the Star Inn at Wolverhampton (4).

(1).

(1). Westminster Archives, A. Vol. XXXVIII No. 2.

(2). Staffordshire Catholic History, No. 3, Spring 1963, "The Society of Jesus in Staffordshire", Frank Roberts, p. 7.

(3). Estcourt & Payne, "English Catholic Non Jurors of 1715", Burns & Oates n. d., p. 244. Thomas Marson, a victualler of Wolverhampton.

(4). C. R. S. Vol. 7, Miscell. VIII, 1913. "Addresses of the Stations in England served by the Jesuits Fathers" 1727-1734 contributed by Richard Trappes-Lomax, p. 187.

2. Anthony Clough, as already mentioned, served at Blackladies from 1787 until 1791.

3. John Roe succeeded Clough at Blackladies in 1791 and remained there until his death in 1838 (1). Roe was a signatory of the Protest, and a member of the "Staffordshire Clergy" (2). His nephew Thomas Richmond, the Codsall schoolmaster, kept a diary in which many references are made to him. Roe apparently read the "Gentleman's magazine", "The Orthodox", "The Catholic Magazine", and "The Catholic Miscellany", but he also interested himself in his garden, providing his nephew with lettuce and cauliflower plants and eggs on occasions. Thomas in return gave the priest briar and holly walking sticks and mended his umbrella

and chairs (3). In 1823 he attended Thomas Joseph Giffard on his death bed (4). Roe himself died in 1838 and was buried at Whiteladies alongside his friend the Rev. Stone (5).

-
- (1). Kirk, p. 200.
 - (2). B. Ward, "Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England, 1781-1803", vol. II, Longmans, London, 1909, p. 243. Roe did not retract until 1801.
 - (3). Richmond's Diaries; Wolverhampton Reference Library.
 - (4). Ibid.
 - (5). Kirk, p. 200. & C.R.S. Vol. 12, 1913, p. 226.

4. Henry Richmond succeeded his "Uncle Roe" at Blackladies in 1838, and remained there until the opening of St. Mary's Brewood in 1844, when the Mission closed (1).

-
- (1). Staffordshire Parish Registers: Roman Catholic Registers, op. cit., p. 9. Gillow, vol. V, p. 415. See also the Richmond Diaries.

The Parish Præbets of St. Mary's, Brewood, which replaced the Missions of Blackladies and Longbirch in 1844 (1).

- (1) This list is taken from that printed in J.H. Smith's "Brewood, A résumé: Historical and Topographical", Parke, Wolverhampton, 1874.

1. Robert Richmond of Longbirch was the builder and first Parish Priest of St. Mary's, but he died suddenly five days after the opening of the chapel (1).

-
- (1). Gillow, vol. V, p. 415; V.C.H. Vol. V, p. 45.

2. William Richmond succeeded his uncle at Brewood, and was parish priest until his death in 1848. William had been brought up as a Protestant, until his uncle Robert took charge of his education in 1799. William was ordained in 1824, and before his transfer to Brewood, he served as chaplain at Swynnerton (1).

(1). Gillow, vol.V, p.417; See also "Letters of Archbishop Ullathorne", ed. Mother Frances Raphael, O.S.D. London, Burns & Oates, 1892, p.6.

3. James Jones, a Canon of St.Chads, Parish Priest, 1848-1855, then he removed to Cheadle (1).

(1). Smith, op.cit.

4. T. Kavanagh resided at Brewood from 1855-1857, then he moved to S.S. Peter & Paul, Wolverhampton (1).

(1). Smith, op.cit.

5. Michael O'Sullivan, Parish Priest, for three years from 1857 until 1860; afterwards he removed to Stafford, and Smith noted that he was in 1876 Vicar General of the diocese (1).

(1). Smith, op.cit.

6. Henry Davey was in charge of the parish from 1860

until 1864, when he moved to Dorchester on Thames.

Fr. Davey must have been the priest who attended Thomas William on his death bed, as Smith wrote of the late squire "On his death bed he received the rites of the Church according to the Roman formula, and the same were celebrated over his body before it left Chillington" (1).

(1). Smith, op.cit., p.52.

Longbirch Chaplains and Priests (1).

1. In 1692 according to the report of Robert Fitzherbert, a Mr. Moore, described as " a Roman" resided at Longbirch.

(1). C.R.S. Vol. IX, Misc.III, p.X.

2. When Mrs. Giffard retired to her dower house at Longbirch, on the death of her husband Thomas in 1718, Mr. Johnson, who had been chaplain at Chillington, joined his mistress at Longbirch and served her as chaplain until his death in 1739. According to Kirk, Johnson was held in great esteem among his brethern. In 1714 he was chosen Archdeacon and from 1723 was a member of the Chapter; for many years he was administrator of the fund for "superannuated and

disabled clergymen", the present day Johnson Fund (1).

(1). Kirk, p.141.

3. John Hornyold, a member of the Blackmore Park, Worcestershire family, succeeded Johnson as Mrs. Giffard's chaplain at Longbirch (1). In 1751 Hornyold was appointed coadjutor bishop to Stonor, and succeeded him as Vicar Apostolic in 1756. After the death of Mrs. Giffard in 1753, Longbirch became the home of Hornyold, and consequently the episcopal residence for the Midland Vicars Apostolic. Hornyold died in 1778, and was buried at Brewood (2).

(1). Kirk, p.125.

(2). Brady, "Annals", op.cit., p.208-214.

Hornyold was assisted in his work by a number of priests during his time as Vicar Apostolic.

They included John Manning, who was at Longbirch in 1763 (1).

(1). Rowland's thesis, appendix, & Kirk, p.157.

Francis Hinde also worked at Longbirch with Hornyold in 1764 (1).

(1). C.R.S. Vol.XIX op.cit.,p.135n; Kirk, p.119.

John Stonor, who was educated at Douay, died at Longbirch on May 13th, 1765 (1).

(1). C.R.S. XII, 1913, p.11.

Philip Mark Perry, born in Staffordshire, assisted Bishop Hornyold at Longbirch in 1768 (1). In 1767 Perry became the first secular Rector of Valladolid College (2).

(1). C.R.S. Vol.XIX, p.134n & Kirk, p.180.

(2). C.R.S. Vol.XXX, pp.vii, li etc.

A William Hartley is mentioned in Kirk as being at Longbirch in 1772 (1).

(1). Kirk, p.112

Robert Beeston also lived at Longbirch for some years with Hornyold but he left in 1775 to become chaplain to Roland Eyre Esq. at Eastwell, Leicestershire, where he remained until his death in 1832 (1).

(1). Kirk, p.15. ***

James Chester (vere) Lolli, described by Kirk, as "of an unsettled disposition" as appears from his living at Mawley, Longbirch, Paynesley, Heythrop, and other places, and never settling in any. Finally he quitted his profession and conformed. (1).

(1). Kirk, p.43.

Francis Jakeman, who had served at the Mission at Shrewsbury, retired to Longbirch, where he died in March 1778 (1).

(1). Kirk, p.136; C.R.S. Vol. XII, 1913, p.19, gives the date as 1779.

Hornyold's successor as Vicar Apostolic was Thomas Talbot a younger brother of the Earl of Shrewsbury and another brother, James, was the Vicar Apostolic of the London District. Talbot was made coadjutor to Hornyold in 1776 and succeeded him two years later. Talbot died in 1795 at Bristol, and was buried in the Trenchard St. Chapel (1).

(1). Brady, op.cit, p.214-215.

Edward Eyre moved to Longbirch about 1780, soon after Talbot moved there, from Great Haywood, and assisted him until the latter's death in 1795 (1). Eyre was another member of the "Staffordshire Clergy" (2).

(1). Kirk, p.71; B. Ward, "Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England, 1781-1803", vol.II, Longmans, London,1909,p.148.

The Rev. John Wright died at Longbirch in 1796 (1).

(1). C.R.S. Vol.XII, 1913, p.57.

Dr. Charles Berington, who was consecrated bishop at

Longbirch in 1786, served as coadjutor to Talbot, and became Vicar Apostolic on the latter's death in 1795 (1). Berington, who had obtained a Doctorate at the Sorbonne, (2), acted as tutor to Thomas Giffard on his Grand Tour from 1783-1785 (3). Berington served on the Catholic Committee and was deeply involved with the Cisalpine party during the difficulties over the preparations for the 1791 Relief Act, but this and the refusal of Propaganda to grant him his full faculties until he had retracted his subscription to the Condemned Oath, have been described in a chapter above (4). Berington died of a heart attack on the road from Wolverhampton, following a visit to Sedgley Park in 1798 (5). The Bishop was interred in the Anglican Parish Church (7).

(1)

(1). Kirk, p.16.

(2). C.R.S. Vol.19, 1917, p.150 & 151.

(3). Kirk, p.16 and Gillow, Vol. I, p.186.

(4). See Chapter on "The Staffordshire Clergy", also Kirk, Gillow, also D.N.B., Vol.IV, 1885, p.337, and Brady, 216-218;

(5). Brady, p.218.

(6). C.R.S. Vol.XII, p.63 & Brady, p.218.

(7). J.H. Smith, "Brewood", p.24.

Dr. John Kirk, the historian, left Sedgley Park in 1797 to live at Longbirch with Berington, as his chaplain and Secretary. He remained at the house after the bishop's death, until the appointment at Stapleton, and his own

removal to Lichfield in 1801 (1).

(1). Kirk, p.145.

Dr. Gregory Stapleton, the seventh son of Nicholas Stapleton of Carlton, Yorkshire, was Berington's successor as Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, and was consecrated in 1801. Stapleton however died very shortly afterwards, when visiting St. Omers, where he had himself been President (1).

(1). Brady, p.219-221.

Dr. John Milner, Stapleton's secretary, succeeded him as Vicar Apostolic in 1803, but in the following year Milner moved his residence to Wolverhampton (1).

(1). Brady, p.221f. Gillow, vol.V, p.15f.

In 1810 the tenant of Longbirch according to Wakeman's survey was the Rev. Thomas Southworth (1).

(1). D 590/354.

Robert Richmond, born in 1781 and ordained in 1807, served at Longbirch from 1808-1811, 1819-1821 and finally from 1838-1844. Richmond was also in the eighteen thirties Professor of Divinity and Vice President at Oscott College, the Midland Seminary. In 1844 Longbirch was

closed and St. Mary's opened.

(1). Gillow, vol.V, p.415.

Samuel Jones, born at Wolverhampton, was at Longbirch from 1820 until 1824. Three of Jones' brothers, William, James and Charles were also priests (1).

(1). Gillow, vol.II, p.667.

APPENDIX VI.

The Chillington Congregation.

A great deal of information about the Catholics attached to the Chillington chapel can be gleaned from the registers kept by the chaplains between 1720-1737, and 1762-70, which have been transcribed by Miss M.E. Rowlands and printed by the Staffordshire Parish Registers Society, in "Roman Catholic Registers, Chillington, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Cresswell". Parish Registers have been used increasingly by Historical Demographers, but Dr. E.A. Wrigley in "An introduction to English Demography" recognises that, "Experience of the use of Catholic, Non-Conformist and Quaker records, whether used separately or to supplement parish registers, is also limited, and may again prove important in the future" (2). Yet, another contributor to the same volume, D.E.C. Eversley wrote that "Jews and Roman Catholics form in most districts such an insignificant part of the total that they may be largely disregarded" (3), and cites the Catholics of the Highlands and the London Jews as "settlements of local significance"(4). Regardless of the size of the Catholic population of the eighteenth century, Catholic registers are worth studying

-
- (1). Staffordshire Parish Registers, Roman Catholic Registers: "Chillington, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Cresswell", ed. M.E. Rowland et al. Willenhall 1958-9.
- (2). "An introduction to English Historical Demography" edited E.A. Wrigley, Wadenfield & Nicholson, London, 1966, p.153.
- (3). Ibid. p.53.
- (4). Ibid.

in themselves especially as P. Laslett and John Harrison writing in "Historical Essays, 1600-1750" presented to (1) David Ogg" state that "any user of the English registers will find it almost impossible to believe that it is usual to find in France the maiden name of the mother, as well as the names of the godparents, in the case of baptisms the parentage of both bride and bridegroom as well as the names of witnesses, with once more the maiden name of the widow (where appropriate) in the case of burials". English Catholic Registers, whilst not quite so detailed as French registers, do provide a great deal of information. Thus the baptismal entries in the Chillington registers normally gave the father's occupation, the mother's maiden name, the names of the godparents, and their relationship to the child, and the date of birth as well as the date of the christening of the child. Similarly a marriage entry gave addresses of both parties, often both their occupations, and the names, addresses and occupations of the witnesses, plus the time and place of the service. The Registers record between 1720 and 1735 one hundred and six baptisms and twenty-eight marriages, of which all but

(1). "Historical Essays, 1600-1750, presented to David Ogg", Edited H. E. Bell & R. L. Ollard, A. & C. Black, London, 1964; P. Laslett & John Harrison, "Clayworth & Congenhoe" p. 161.

five were celebrated either in the Gate house chapel or in the home of a local Catholic. In this period there was a yearly average of 7.57 baptisms, but between 1762 and 1770 there were registered one hundred and fifteen baptisms, that is a yearly average of 14.27. Confirmations were made at Chillington in 1721, 1724, 1728 and 1734 by Bishop Stonor (1), and in 1764 and 1768 by Bishop Hornyold (2), but Catholics from other congregations such as Longbirch, Boscobel, Linley, Madeley, Longford and Wolverhampton, came to Chillington for confirmation.

This Catholic community, perhaps because of its "closed nature", adhered strictly to the code of sexual morality laid down by the Church, and it is interesting to notice the treatment of those who deviated from these principles. For example, on June 22nd. 1725 the daughter of John Beech, and Isobel Barlett, his "reputed wife" was baptised. Beech, a non-Catholic, agreed that the child be brought up as a Catholic (3). The marriage was regularised on July 13th in the privacy of the home of Charles Collins of Brewood Lane (4). The couple had previously worked together at

(1). Staffordshire Parish Registers, 1958-9, op. cit., p.16, p.19-21, p.23, p.28 & p.31-33.

(2). Ibid. p.39 & 44.

(3). Ibid. p.21.

(4). Ibid.

the house of Mr. Hill, a Recusant of Pépper Hill, Shropshire (1). In March 1729 the bastard son of Anne Taylor was baptised and the mother claimed George Rawlins, the Brewood wood sawyer was the father, and "he owns the same"(2). The following January, once again pregnant, Anne Taylor was married privately in Brockhole's own chamber with only Mr. Dodd, the Steward & Robert Dodd, the butler as witnesses (3). When Frances Causer produced an illegitimate child in 1726, "none of her relations.... would stand godfather to (4) the child", and so it was christened with only a godmother. What was remarkable was that Frances had her child baptised on the day after its birth, and when the child of her first bastard son, Thomas Kempson was born on August 27th 1727, she baptised her grandchild herself as the baby was in danger of death (5). Kempson had married on April 10th with his wife four months pregnant (6). Similarly John Evans married one of Kempson's relatives Catherine Causer on September 23, 1721, and their first child was beenborn on the 10th November, seventeen days later (7).

Peter Laslett in "The World we have lost" commented

- (1). Ibid.; Estcourt & Payne, op.cit., p.20,78, 247, in 1715 Hill had property in Cheshire and Herefordshire, besides Pépper Hill.
(2). Ibid. p.29.
(3). Ibid. p.30 and 31. (4). Ibid. p.22. (5). Ibid.p.26.
(6). Ibid. p.25 & 26. (7). Ibid. p.16; Ibid. p.35, April 2, 1734 Brockholes baptised Frances, daughter to Henry Cope & - kent to be his wife, it being a bastard child.

that two observations could be made with some confidence about bastardy, that it "seems to have been commoner in Protestant England than in Catholic France, and that it was no more characteristic of life in the world we have lost that it is of our own life today" (1). It would appear that English Catholics were more prone to produce illegitimate children than their French coreligionists, but that there does appear to have been less irregular births among Catholics than among their Protestant neighbours. At Chillington the illegitimate births amounted to an average of 3.77% between 1720 and 1737, and 1.74% between 1762 and 1770; this is very poor when compared with figures of 0.3 - 0.4 from 1650-1750 in St. Lambert des Leves, Maine et Loire, and 0.5 for the Paris Region 1740-1789 (2). Indeed it compares unfavourably with the figures of 0.99, and 0.00, from the same periods 1720-1737 & 1762-1770 recorded at Winchester Catholic Chapel (3), or those of 1.46% and 1.59% recorded at Brindle Catholic Chapel in Lancashire over the same periods (4). However it would appear that the figures for non-Catholics were worse, e.g. at Ludlow, Shropshire,

(1). Peter Laslett, "The World we have lost", University Paperback, Methuen, London, 1965, p.136.

(2). Laslett, op.cit., p.134.

(3). C.R.S. Vol.I, 1905, p.189f. A calculation based on one case of illegitimacy in 101 births 1720-1737, and none in 77, 1720-1737.

(4). C.R.S. Vol.23, 1922, p.11f.

7.8% of births 1748-1755 were illegitimate (1), as were 5.54% of those at Stourton, Wiltshire 1780-1800 (2), and at Letherington, Suffolk, 1701-1750 3.33%, 1751-1800 4.76% and 1801-1812 10.00% of births were illegitimate (3).

Therefore in this respect the Chillington Catholics were no worse, indeed rather better, than their Protestant contemporaries.

Almost all the baptisms, recorded in the registers, were of children whose parents were members of the Chillington Congregation, although in March 1733 Brockholes had to baptise, "a stranger's child, both father and mother of Liverpool" (4). Most of these baptisms were performed within a few days of the child's birth, e.g. in the year 1727, Joseph Evans was baptised two days after his birth (5), both Agnes Causer and young master Peter Giffard were baptised on the same day as they were born (6), and John Kempson, having been baptised by his grandmother, who thought the child on the point of death, was conditionally baptised forty-eight hours later (7). This promptness to see that children were given the sacraments, indicates not only the fervour of the parents, perhaps the vigilance

(1). Laslett, *op. cit.*, p.134.

(2). "Stourton Parish Register" ed. John Henry Ellis, London 1888.

(3). J.C. Cox, "Parish Registers of England", Methuen, London, 1910, p.72.

(4). *Ibid.* p.34; *Ibid.* p.27, in 1728 the son of Edward Serplace, a London shoemaker was baptised at Chillington - he however had relatives in Brewood.

(5). *Ibid.* p.24. (6). *Ibid.* p.25. (7). *Ibid.*

of the priests, but also the rate of infant mortality, and hence the urgency of ensuring the benefits of the sacrament (1). Often children in danger of death, or still born children were immediately baptised by a lay person, as in 1723 when Peter Taylor a newly born child fell into convulsions "and being at death's door, Bridget Reynolds baptised it with Holy Water in the Name of... this being a valid baptism". Early in 1728 Catherine Pearson, who acted as midwife to her fellow Catholic, Mrs. Carrington, saw that the boy was "just alive" and christened it with the name of Francis: the child died nine days later (2). Nearly all other baptisms took place at Chillington Chapel, but in May 1729 Thomas Boyden was baptised in the house of a Margaret Roberts of Codsall Wood, as he "could not safely be brought to Chillington" (3). As baptisms were performed at the Hall, the Giffards' servants were often called upon to act as godparents, as in 1721, when a godmother failed to turn up for Sara Smith's baptism, the child was held over the font by Catherine Davis, chambermaid of Chillington Hall, who stood as godmother (4). Dr. Dicconson's

(1). In all twelve of the children registered at Chillington 1720-1737 died under the age of three, and nine were either stillborn, died within days, or lived a few months. I.e. 11.3% of the children died within three years, indeed 8.48% did not survive six months. In 1797 Mr. Carter baptized a boy aged two and he wrote "Successor of mine if thou art young learn that bad Catholics are worse and more slothful in religion than those of any other denomination, Corrupto optimi pessima" Ibid. p. 55.

(2). Ibid. p. 26-27.

(3). Ibid. p. 29: and also in 1725 Francis Careless had been

(4). baptised at his father's house in Standiford, ibid. p. 21. Ibid. p. 15.

own servant Woolrych was frequently used as witness or godfather (1).

Of the twenty-eight marriages mentioned in the register, five were conducted at the request of the Chillington chaplain at places outside the Chillington area, in four cases at Wolverhampton, and the other, concerning one Book, at an unknown place. Another two marriages were of members of the Longford congregation and conducted with the permission of Mr. Griffith. Fifteen marriages seem to have been conducted at the chapel at the Hall, but in seven cases marriages were celebrated in private houses. Joseph and John Causer, and John Grey of Newport, a former servant of the Giffards, were married in the summer of 1723 at the house of Thomas Cresswell of Chillington Town (2). Two marriages were celebrated in the house of Charles Collins in Brewood Lane;(3). In 1727 Henry Cope was married to Catherine Spillersbury in the house of Hall of Chillington Town (4), whilst in the same year George Cresswell married Mary Rock at his father's home, Woolley Farm (5). Another private marriage was that

-
- (1). Ibid. p. 22 & 25.
 - (2). Ibid. p. 18.
 - (3). Ibid. p. 21 & 25.
 - (4). Ibid. p. 24.
 - (5). Ibid.

conducted by Brockholes in his own room at Chillington for Anne Taylor and George Rawlinson (1). Of these eight marriages, it is noticeable that two couples had lived together previously in illicit unions, and four were mixed marriages (one of these had also been an illicit union). It was more normal for a Catholic marriage to take place at the chapel, although the times of weddings seem to vary. Many are described as "very early in the morning", or "early in the morning", whilst several were specifically stated to be at 7 a.m. (2), but in 1724 Mr. Cartwright and Elizabeth Barber married "after 10 o'clock prayers" (3), and George Butler and widow Purcell married at Collins' House at 5 o'clock in the evening (4).

The six mixed marriages contracted made up 21.43% of all marriages, but in three cases the non Catholic promised to be received into the Church. Martha Joannes, who married Joseph Causer in June 1723, later became a Catholic, as an entry in the register stated "The bride afterwards became a Catholic and is so, Whit Sunday, 24 May 1724" (5). Elizabeth Barbew, a Protestant bride, was described as "in purpose of becoming a Catholic" (6), and George Butler,

(1). Ibid. p.30.

(2). Ibid. p.27.

(3). Ibid. p.19.

(4). Ibid. p.25.

(5). Ibid. p.18.

(6). Ibid. p.19.

a bridegroom, in 1727 was "a Protestant but resolved to be a Catholic" (1). However not all mixed marriages resulted in conversions; George Cresswell married Mary Rock of Elmley, Worcestershire at Wooley Farm in the presence of several Protestant witnesses, and was described simply as a Protestant (2). Interestingly enough her brother William Rock, the Brewood Apothecary, also married a Catholic, Mary How of Boswobel, and remained a Protestant. Rock's first child had as his godparents Peter Giffard himself and Mrs. Fitzherbert of Swynnerton (3).

In four cases, one of the partners had previously been married , and when Joseph Causer married Mary Ward in May 1729, he was marrying for the third time (4). Sometimes marriages concerned the members of the same household, e.g. on July 10, 1727 Richard Baddiley, a shoemaker of Chillington Town married Mary Hill, a former servant of Richard's father; Mary Baddiley gave birth to her first child on October 20th, the same year (5). Many other people whose names appear upon the registers were servants, and not only in service with the Giffards, but also

-
- (1). Ibid. p. 25.
(2). Ibid. p. 24.
(3). Ibid. p. 27-8.
(4). Ibid. p. 29.
(5). Ibid. p. 25 & 26.

servants of other recusant houses such as Pepperhill, Longford, Harvington, Longbitch, Dearnsdale, and Spetchley. However most householders kept servants, from substantial farmers like Thomas Cresswell (1) to the humble Richard Baddiley, whose son was a shoemaker (2).

The entries concerning the Giffards themselves have already been mentioned, but it is interesting to note that the squires only acted as godfathers on two occasions, once in 1728 when Peter stood for William Rock (3), and in 1769 when Thomas Giffard, and the Hon. Mrs. Heneage were godparents to Mary Catherine Fielding (4).

-
- (1). Ibid. p. 20.
(2). Ibid. p. 25.
(3). Ibid. p. 28.
(4). Ibid. p. 45.

APPENDIX VII.

Brewood Manor & Chillington Tithes.

The Giffards did not own all their properties, for the Manor and Park of Brewood were leased from the Bishops of Coventry and Lichfield. Little is known of the early leases prior to the Civil War, as they and their counterparts were destroyed during the assaults upon Chillington and the taking of the Bishop's castle of Eccleshall (1). However, in 1646 a survey was made by Edward Chamberlain, Abraham Bonne, George Smith and John Whitworth, which discovered from the evidence of the officers of the bishop and the Brewood tenants, and the viewing of the leases made by Peter Giffard that Peter Giffard held Brewood Manor and Park for his own life, and those of John Giffard, eldest son of Richard Giffard, and Peter's son and heir, Walter Giffard (2). According to their evidence, Peter's lease of the Park was for eight pounds to be paid at Michaelmas and a brace of bucks and a brace of does "in their season, and for the rest of the Brewood properties, he was to pay £. 58. 3s. 0d. (3).

During the Interregnum, Sir Roland King acquired the manor, and in 1651 he complained that he was being

(1). B/A/21/123783. A Survey of the Manor of Brewood
22nd March Anno Domino 1646.

(2). Ibid.

(3). B/A/21/123783.

deprived of "the rent due from tenants to whom the state had given leases". The Victoria County History states that "By 1670 Peter Giffard's son, Walter, was holding the manor. The Giffards thereafter retained a leasehold which seems to have afforded them a status and rights equivalent to a Lordship" (1). In 1672, an indenture was made between the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and John Giffard, described as of Woodhall in Staffordshire, "gentleman, son and heir apparent of Walter Giffard; this indenture was made in consideration of the surrender of a former lease heretofore made by Bishop Richard..... unto Walter Giffard, late of Chillington, aforesaid Esq. deceased great grandfather of the said John Giffard" (2). The grant included, the manor and Lordship of Brewood, plus "all other lands, tenements, rents and where ever they be lying and being in the township and parish of Brewood, Chillington, Hyde, Broomhall, Horsebrook, Ingleton, Somerford, Gunston and Hatton:... with all franchises, court leets, requisites, waifs, estrays, felons, goods, liberties,

(1). V.C.H. Vol.V, p.25: Cal for the Proceedings of Compounding Part IV, ed. Mary Everett Green, London, 1892, p.2711 - the petitioner, King, declared that there was no deer in the park, which was ploughed up.

(2). B/A/21/123766 2/11

profits and commodities.... gifts of patronage, prebends, parsonages, chantries, belonging to the said manor. The whole Park of Brewood with herbage and other profits and liberties - also the great timber wood ... in the said Park" (1). The lease was to hold "untō the said John Giffard, and his heirs and assigns ... and during the lives of Walter Giffard, Esq. father of the said John and of him the said John Giffard and Thomas Giffard, his son and heir apparent, and for and during the life of the longest liver of them", and that they would pay a rent of fifty eight pounds three shillings to the bishop (2). A similar indenture concerned with the lease of Brewood Park was made, and the rent agreed at eight pounds per year, plus the brace of bucks and does (3).

In October 1694 a further lease was made for the manor and park, between John Giffard and the bishop of Lichfield, for the life of John Giffard, Thomas Giffard and Peter Giffard, and the sons of "the said John Giffard and the life of the longest liver of them" (4), on the same terms of £. 58. 3s. 0d. and £. 8 and a pair of bucks and does. A Terrier, "given upon oath unto Chancery" by John Giffard in 1694 reveals that the income from the

(1). B/A/21/123766 2/11.

(2). Ibid. (3). B/A/21/123773 1/11.

(4). B/A/21/123773 7/11. Indenture B. of Lichfield & John Giffard for the lease of Brewood Park; B/A/21/123766 4/11 Indenture between William, bishop of Coventry & Lichfield and John Giffard.

manor of Brewood and the Park was £. 366. 6s. 2d. (1), and in 1695 the total rental including fines was £. 415. 2s. 3d. but the net rental, following the deductions of the land tax, chief rents and bailiff's fees, amounted to £. 333. 18s. 3d (2). This income was from the 1,337 acres 1 rood 24 poles in Giffard's possession, of which the largest part, 871a. 2r. 30p. was the park described as "being greatest part poor land" (3).

John Giffard was later involved in a dispute with the the bishopric over the Brewood Lease, and his answer to the charges is preserved at Lichfield. He stated that he had laid down the particulars of the manor in the terrier, and that his grandfather Peter, and his father Walter had held the manor and park "by several leases for lives.....and under the qualifications usual in church leases" (4). Further he maintained that his predecessors had always paid their rents and performed the covenants, and that the present bishop had demised the properties to the defendant in October 1694 (5). The crux of the dispute can be seen in the fact that John stated that

(1). B/A/21/123773 7/11; Terrier given upon oath in Chancery by Mr. Giffard 1694.

(2). B/A/21/123788 - A perfect record of all such chief rents etc.

(3). Ibid.

(4). B/A/123773 4/11 The answer of John Giffard, c.1695.

(5). Ibid.

he had never claimed any estate in the manor and park except by the terms of the lease and former leases, and only those properties listed in the terrier. The recusant gentleman stoutly denied that he had permitted any additions to be made to the boundaries of the lands, which he had leased "to confound the right of the Church..... as in the said Bill and falsely set out". He also denied that he had increased fines, or impoverished the manor and park; on the contrary he and his ancestors, had constantly improved them (1). Finally, he repudiated the charge that he had pretended to own Brewood Manor, except by the terms of the lease, or that he had concealed lands worth £.200 p. a. (2).

Giffard kept his beneficial lease from the Bishopric, and in 1717 a copy of Thomas Giffard's registration of his estate, which had been delivered to the Clerk of the Peace for Staffordshire, was lodged in the diocesan archives "as far as (it) may concern ye B. of Lichfield". The copy listed Giffard Properties at Brewood, Chillington, Longbirch, Gunston and Hattons (3). In 1722 Edward, Lord bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, renewed the lease of

(1). Ibid.

(2). Ibid.

(3). B/A/21/123702.

the Giffards, for the lives of Peter Giffard of Chillington Esq., Mary Giffard, Thomas Giffard's widow, and Basil Fitzherbert Jnr. of Swynerton (1). On March 15th 1727 a further lease was made, for the lives of Peter Giffard, Mary Giffard and Charles Fleetwood (2). A survey made in April 1747, shortly after the death of Peter Giffard, gave the present value of the properties at Brewood as £.415.3s.7½d., set against an 'improved value' of £.471.18s.1½d. (3).

Further leases were negotiated in July 1748 by Sir Robert Throckmorton, who was the only surviving trustee of the settlement made by Peter Giffard on 11th February 1731, and also an executor of Peter's will, sharing this task with Sir Windsor Hunlocke. The new leases were made for the lives of old Madam Giffard of Longbirch, then aged eighty-nine, Henry Hunlocke, Sir Windsor's twenty-three year old son, and Edward Blunt the young heir of Sir Edward Blunt of Morley, Shropshire, for the usual rents (4). Sir Robert negotiated new leases for his ward Thomas Giffard in 1753, for the lives of the now Sir Henry Hunlocke aged twenty-eight, Edward Blunt and William

(1). B/A/21/123766 7/11 - the Park was leased 17 Dec. 1722,
B/A/21/123773 6/11.

(2). B/A/21/123776 8/11; the Park separate lease B/A/21/123773
8/11.

(3). B/A/21/123767. Survey of the Manor and Park of Brewood, in
Holt of Bishop of Lichfield & Coventry, 15th April 1747.

(4). B/A/21/123766 10/11; B/A/21/123773 10/11.

Sheldon of Weston, Warwickshire, and in January 1754, John Pitt, an attorney, acting on behalf of Sir Robert, received the manor of Brewood from Edward Antrobus, who had "taken peaceable and quiet possession" of the Manor, for the Bishop of Lichfield (1). The lease was surrendered by Sir Robert and Thomas Giffard on 9th July 1767, and witnessed by Lucy Throckmorton, John Orme, and Edmund Plowden. The new lease dated 5th October 1767 was made between Frederick, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and Thomas Giffard of Chillington, during the natural lives of Sir Henry Hunlocke, William Sheldon, and the said Thomas Giffard for the usual fifty-eight pounds three shillings (2). It is interesting to notice the number of recusant landowners and lawyers concerned on the Giffard side in these indentures, involving the property of the Church of England.

Further leases had been made in 1777, after the accession of Thomas Joseph, as a lease of that date, signed by Frances Giffard, Thomas' widow, who had married a Mr. Cary of Torr Abbey, Sir Robert Throckmorton and

(1). B/A/21/123768.

(2). B/A/21/123770 $\frac{1}{2}$; B/A/21/123777 $\frac{1}{2}$; V.C.H. Vol.V, p.25, state that in 1758 Thomas made over his lease for lives to Thomas Prowse, "in order to avoid prosecution as a papist". Courts were held in the name of John Prowse from 20th July 1767 16th May 1768, and in the name of Thomas Giffard again from August 8, 1768.

John Stonor, was surrendered on 28th Dec. 1805 (1). A renewed lease was made in the following year unto the said Pierce Joseph Taylor of Denbury, Co. Devon, and the lives of William Sheldon of Brailes, Warwickshire, Thomas Giffard, aged "forty or thereabouts", and Thomas (William) Giffard aged "sixteen years or thereabouts", for the same yearly rent of £.58.3s.6d. (2).

Wakeman's survey of 1810 indicated that, 1,429a.2r.24p. were held on lease for lives under the Bishop of Lichfield, and that their annual ~~value~~ amounted to £.1,665.5s.0d. (3). Over a decade later a valuation of "lands held under the bishop" was made at five years purchase, and 1284a.Or.19p. were valued at £.7,754, also 45 acres at Bishop's Wood at 20/- per acre £.225, and cottages at Bishops Wood at £.45 per acre were also valued at £.225, making a gross valuation of £.8,204 (4). In the same year 1824 another lease had been made between Thomas William Giffard and the Church authorities, as it was mentioned in a letter of John Mott in 1835, who wrote asking for the Squire's help, as he had to make a return to the Church Commissioners of the annual income of the Prebendal estate of Brewood,

(1). B/A/2/ 12377½.

(2). B/A/2/ 123772

(3). D 590/354.

(4). D 590/583.

"part of which was leased to T.W. Giffard in 1824" (1). He wanted to know the gross annual income of the land under the lease, and the "amount of outgoings" (2). The estate correspondence also contains a note from T.W. Hand, of Stafford to Walker, T.W. Giffard's agent in 1847, asking for the rent due to the bishop of Lichfield at Michaelmas last, which had increased, as the half years rent was £48.17s.7d., plus £1.8s.6d. property tax (3). According to the "Victoria County History", T.W. Giffard brought the revisionary interest of Brewood from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1852 (4).

The Brewood Manorial Court brought a useful amount of money to the Giffards. An account c.1694 indicates that the average fines over the previous five years in Brewood manor were £88.5s.1d., and the expenses of the Court Leet amounted to some £1.6s.6d. (5). The Guardian's account for 1746-7 shows that Mr. Dodd, the steward was paid 1s.6d. for his charges at Brewood Court and that John Phipps was paid one pound for the dinner at the Court Leet. However the fines and surrenders amounted

(1). D 590/570-2, Lichfield Close, April 16th 1835, John Mott to T.W. Giffard.

(2). Ibid.

(3). D 590/570-7, Stafford Oct. 27, 1847. R.W. Hand to T.W. Giffard.

(4). V.C.H. V. p. 25.

(5). B/A/21/123788.

to only £.61.8s.6d. for the year (1). Later rentals for 1761 and 1763 gave figures of £.161.6s.0d. and £.124.9s.0d. from fines respectively, while in 1767 they totalled only £.13.16s.5d., and in 1770, £.68.16.4s. (2). In 1776 the Guardians Account for Thomas Joseph showed receipts of £.58.1s.6d. from fines (3), in 1785 they had risen to £.203.5s.0d., and in the following year to £.367.15s.3d. However the amount did fluctuate and in 1792 Brewood fines only totalled £.70.14s.3d. compared to £.446.10.3½d. in fines from the moiety of Stow Heath (4).

The Giffards also benefited from the leasing of tithes. In 1747, Thomas Giffard's guardians paid £.60.6.0 to the Dean of Lichfield for the "Tythe of Chillington". In 1777 an indenture made by Sir Robert Throckmorton, John Stonor of Bath, and Frances Giffard, Stonor's sister, of Hampstead, Middlesex, the trustees of young Thomas Joseph, and the Dean of Lichfield, the Rev. Baptist Proby D.D., with regard to the "tithes of all manner of corn, grain and hay, which now is or hereafter shall arise, increase, grow (5) or be with in the Lordship of Chillington". The agreement was made for the natural lives of Sir Henry Hunlocke, William (1).

(1). D 590/615 Guardians disbursement book.

(2). D 590/601.

(3). D 590/62

(4). D 590/602

(5). D 590/615.

Sheldon and Thomas Giffard, then aged thirteen, for an annual rent of £. 3. 6s. 8d. (1). A new lease was negotiated between Thomas William Giffard and Dean Woodhouse on 11th Dec. 1823, "subject and without prejudice to an annuity of £. 1,000 limited to Charlotte Giffard, widow of... Thomas Giffard". The lease with an annual rent of £. 3. 6s. 8d. was for the lives of Thomas William, himself, Charles Cotes of Woodcote, Shropshire and Edward Lloyd Gatacre, also of Shropshire (2). Tied to the parchment is a receipt signed by Dean Woodhouse, acknowledging the sum of £. 1,400 paid by Giffard, through his banker Francis Holyoake for "the fine and renewal of the lease of the tithes of Chillington" (3). In 1862 a lease was made between Dean Howard and the trustees of Walter Peter Giffard, of the tithes of Chillington Township, and also "the rent charge" which has or have been given or awarded in lieu or respect of the same under or by virtue of the Act or Acts of Parliament for Commutation of Tithes in England and Wales" (4).

(1). DC/A/21/126182.

(2). DC/A/21/126/184; what is noticeable is that commission from the trustees and "lives" of any recusant name - indeed Charles Cotes in 1862 was Rector of Stourton, Wilts.

(3). DC/A/21/126.

(4). DC/A/21/126 185.

Giffard was affected in various other ways by the commutation of tithes. Lord Hatherton wrote to George R. Robinson, in 1837, informing him that he intended to sell the tithes he owned to the local landowners. Hatherton wanted to know from the solicitor whether Mr. Giffard intended to suggest a parochial or partial commutation of the tithe (1). Hatherton told Robinson that a partial commutation would be impossible; as "other landowners might consider separate commutations unjust, in as much as the sum total of uncommuted tithes, when ascertained for an entire district is to be apportioned on the separate fields according to the existing value of each" (2). He thought that in such circumstance other owners might think that their charge would have been lighter, "if other lands had (not) been subtracted from the map by separate agreements" (3). On October 21st 1837, Robinson wrote to Mr. Giffard to inform him that a Mr. Lewis would be in Wolverhampton, on the following Monday, to meet some Codsall landowners about the commutation of tithes, and suggested a Mr. Walls should attend to see "what is proposed on your behalf" (4). The solicitor

(1). D/590/570-2. Grovesnor Place, May 26th 1837, Hatherton to T.W. Giffard.

(2). D 590/570-2 *ibid.*

(3). *Ibid.*

(4). D 590/570-2; Wolverhampton, Oct. 21st 1837, Robinson to Walker.

thought that by the terms of the Act, the tithe owner had only to show his seven years average for the whole parish and then the owners afterwards had to apportion the sum amongst themselves with the assistance of "two valuers conversant with tithes laws" (1).

J.H. Smith in "Brewood: A Resumé, Historical and Topographical",² wrote that Brewood tithes were commuted in 1842, and that the "annual income to lessees were settled as

T.W. Giffard Esq.	£. 452. 12s. 0d.
C.Wade & J. Favier, Executors of Joseph Smith of the Forge	£. 99. 3s. 0d.
William Icke	£. 100. 9s. 0d.
Sir R.H. Inglis & C. Bouchier (Trustees of Somerford)	<u>£1275. 13s. 1d.</u>
	£1,927. 17s. 1d. (2)

Despite paying their double land tax, and having to register their estates, the Catholic Giffards had not been prevented from enjoying some of the fruits of the established Church, its tithes as well as its lands.

(1). Ibid.

(2) J. Hicks Smith, "Brewood: A Resumé, Historical and Topographical".
Wolverhampton, 1874, p 6.

APPENDIX VIII.

Bishop Giffard's Letter Book.

A collection of letters and scattered papers found in Bishop Giffard's closet (1).

(1). Beverley Record Office. D.D.E.V. 60/83.

1. The feast of St. Matthew (sermon)
2. Letter headed St. Matthew's day, addressed to Dear Sir.
3. Letter to a Lady of Quality, March 10th 1788/9.
- 4). A Letter from the Bishop to his mother.
5. Letter to a Lady of Quality, Oct. 23rd 1696
6. Letter to "Hon. dear Sir" Feb. ye 23rd 1702
7. Letter to a Person of Quality, "My Lord", Monday in Holy Week.
8. Letter to a Person of Quality, Dear Sir, 1701, Nov. ye 29th.
9. Letter to -- Feb. ye 8, 1706
10. Letter to a Lady of Quality, Feb. ye 20th 1701
11. Letter to a Lady of Quality -- Oct. ye 20.
12. A letter to a priest - who being recovered of a dangerous sickness, desired some instructions as to a more perfect life.
13. Letter to a Lady in France, Whitsun Monday
14. To ----
15. Letter to Lord Derwentwater
16. Letter to --- Nov. ye 14th 1698
17. To a Lady of Quality ---
18. Letter to My Lady --- 2 Oct. 1694
19. Instructions to a Religious woman

20. Letter to my Lady.

21. Letter to dear Lady March 19th

22. Letter to -- Low Sunday.

APPENDIX IX.

The Penderell Account, 1884.

Statement of Penderell rents and annuities received and paid for the half year to Lady Day 1884 (1).

(1). R.H. Walker to W.T.C. Giffard
7, Clifton Terrace, Winchester, June 18th.

March 28.	A.F. Dawson	half year rent	£. 5. 2s. 2d.
	Lady Hood	"	£. 9. 14s. 11d.
	Lord Acton	"	£. 1. 15s. 5d.
	Lord Forester	"	19s. 11d.
	W. O. Foster	"	£. 8. 11s. 8d.
	H. W. Foley	"	£. 1. 17s. 9d.
	Leicester Corporation	"	£. 1. 19s. 7d.
	Mrs. Phillips	"	£. 1. 10s. 9d.
	Lord Scarsdale	"	£. 1. 14s. 5d.
March 29.	Lord Berwick	"	£. 1. 16s. 9d.
	M. B. Clive	"	£. 3. 6s. 11d.
	Parker Jervis	"	£. 3. 15s. 6d.
	R. Jasper More	"	£. 2. 3s. 6d.
	Burgesses of Warwick	"	£. 2. 17s. 1d.
March 31.	Rector of Swynerton	1 year rent	£. 1. 14s. 10d.
	C. Bill	half year rent	£. 1. 1s. 4d.
	Earl Bromlew	"	£. 2. 18s. 2d.
	Lord Wenlock	"	£. 2. 16s. 0d.
	Arthur Sparrow	1 year rent	£. 3. 15s. 8d.
April 1st.	Duke of Cleveland	half year rent	£. 4. 6s. 8d.

(1). D 590/700

	Dean & Chapter of Hereford	$\frac{1}{2}$ year rent	£. 2. 1s. 16d.
	Harry L. Powys Keck	one year	£. 4. 4s. 1d.
	George Eld	half year	£. 4. 3s. 4d.
April 3rd.	Lord Hatherton	"	£. 17s. 1d.
	Thomas Salt	"	£. 1. 4s. 4d.
	Lord Stafford	"	£. 2. 8s. 1d.
April 7th.	Lord Sandys	"	£13. 6s. 0d.
April 9th.	Duke of Sutherland	"	£57. 18s. 1d.
April 10th.	Duke of Devonshire	"	£. 1. 14s. 7d.
April 12th.	Lord Donnington	"	£. 1. 8s. 11d.
	F. & J. Shilcock	"	£. 1. 19s. 6d.
April 14th.	St. Vicent Jervis	"	£20. 4s. 1d.
April 16th.	Earl Ferrers	"	£. 1. 12s. 5d.
	H. C. Littlewood	one year	£ 19s. 4d.
	W. Smith	half year	£. 1. 12s. 5d.
April 18th.	Viscount Mill	one year	£. 1. 16s. 7d.
April 19th.	Drapers Coy. Salop	half year	£. 1. 15s. 1d.
May 9th.	E. H. Davies	"	£. 1. 18s. 1d.
May 13th.	Rector of Church Eaton	"	£. 4. 4s. 8d.
May 29th.	W. Saunders Later Executors	"	<u>£. 1. 3s. 9d.</u>
			£191. 6s. 10d.

Annuities paid out.

March 31.	James Reeves	half year annuity	£. 4. 10s. 9d.
-----------	--------------	-------------------	----------------

Coleman & Co. half year annuity		£. 9. 1s. 6d.
Marika Parsons	"	£. 4. 10. 9d.
H. C. Deedes	"	£. 4. 10. 9d.
H. C. Owen	"	£12. 2. 2d.
C. Broadhurst	"	£12. 2. 2d.
April 1st. Robt. B. Barrett	"	£. 4. 10. 9d.
James Fitz. Patrick	"	£. 4. 10. 9d.
April 7th. Charles Stuart Penderell	"	£24. 4. 5d.
April 10th Walter Robinson	"	£36. 6. 7d.
Lowry Mann	"	£24. 4. 5d.
Maj. Gen. Adlam	"	£. 4. 10. 9d.
To Deposit Acct. W. & J. Bank	"	
Late Rice	£. 4. 10s. 9d.	"
" Wardhough	£. 4. 10s. 9d.	"
" Hornblower	£. 4. 10s. 9d.	"
June 11th Recd. Wm. Walker		£. 4. 10. 9d.
Bal.		<u>£27. 18. 1d.</u>
		£191. 6. 10d.

"Rice and Wardhough are dead and of present their heirs have not proved their title. Hornblower emigrated to New Zealand twelve years ago and has not since been heard of. The amount due to each of these parties is in the Bank".

The Michaelmas Account,

included in the receipts, besides the half years rent above,
yearly rents from

Oct. 1st. Earl of Bradford	£. 1. 17s. 0d.
Thomas Bagnet Esq.	8s. 0d.
John Yardley	<u>£. 6. 16s. 8d.</u>
Totalling	£188 6 s. 11d.

of the annuitants Martha Parsons had died, and the
balance was £. 25. 8s. 2d.

APPENDIX X.

The Welsh Connection.

The Giffard's connection with Wales began early in the eighteenth century with the marriage of Mary Giffard of Blackladies to Mr. John Parry of Twyssog, Denbighshire(1). Her brother, Peter, married for his third wife, Helena Roberts of Plâs Ucha, Flintshire (2). These two families were closely connected, as there is an interesting but undated letter, from Mary to "her cousin Roberts of Nerquis", about her son's inheritance. She declared that she was afraid to open legal proceedings, but suggested that the case might be referred to "Bishop Giffard or some able priests of a lower class to avoid the interposing of lawyers or Protestants" (3).

John Giffard, Peter's third son, maintained his family's links with Wales; he not only inherited his mother's property at Plâs Ucha, but increased his property on his marriage to Elizabeth Hyde, daughter and heiress of

-
- (1). Kirk, p.101; Payne, "English Catholic Non Jurors of 1715" Burns & Oates, London, p.29, states that in 1715 John Parry had a life estate at Henllan, Abergele worth £.80.1s.6d. p.a.
- (2). Kirk, p.101 & 102.
- (3). 590/373/2 n.d. Mary Parry to "her cousin Roberts of Nerquis, written in haste". Robert Robson in "The attorney in the Eighteenth Century", C.U.P., Cambridge, 1959, p.75 states that "their (Catholics) position was never secure and they depended much on legal advice".

Mr. Robert Hyde of Nerquis (1). He too found himself embroiled in legal and family disputes. His mother-in-law was a rabid Protestant, who caused him much trouble, eventually placing his eldest girl in the hands of the Lord Chancellor. So John fled to the continent with his youngest daughter and put her in the care of a Paris Convent, only returning to Nerquis on the death of his mother in law (2).

John had returned by 1791, because in that year he was able to offer his chaplaincy to Dr. John Bew, the former superior of St. Gregory's, Paris, where he had stayed during his exile (3). In the following year, John, Dr. Bew and two yeomen, Robert and Nathaniel Griffith took the oaths of Allegiance, Abjuration and Declaration at the Quarter Sessions, and at the same time Nerquis was registered as a place of worship (4). Father John Howell, a member of the Brewood family, served the mission in the early nineteenth century, and he died at Nerquis in 1811 (5).

(1). Kirk, p.101 & 200. Gillow, vol.II, p.457 & C.R.S. vol.28, 1928, p.254.

(2). Kirk, p.101.

(3). Kirk, p.24, C.R.S., Vol.19, 1917, "Register Book of St. Gregory's, Paris," ed. Rev. Edwin Burton, p.98.

(4). Flintshire R.O. Quarter Sessions, January 12th, 1792.

(5). C.R.S. Vol.XII, 1913, p.107, and C.R.S. Vol.XXX, 1930, p.204.

However, despite the great shrine of Holywell, there were few Catholics in the area, and in 1851 there were only four missions and 354 Catholics in Flintshire. Therefore a great deal of influence devolved on the Giffards of Nerquis. John died in 1797 (1), but left no male heir and his two daughters both died unmarried (2). When the last survivor of the Nerquis Giffards died in 1842 her property reverted to her cousin Thomas William Giffard of Chillington (3).

A Mr. Edward Tyler wrote from Nerquis Hall in March 1843 and claimed to be acting for Mr. Giffard, "as I have done the same since Miss Giffards decease" (4). Thomas William at this time was well enough established to receive petitions and requests. Within a few days of Tyler's note, he was asked by Mr. Price, the parson of Treuddyn to contribute to his school building fund (5).

(1). C.R.S. Vol. XII, 1913, p. 59.

(2). Burkes Landed Gentry, 1862, 4th edition, p. 549.

(3). D 590/589

A paper headed "The late Miss Giffard of Nerquis,"
Lists "Account of funeral expenses, legacies
& debts" £. 4,283. 2s. 10d.
available personal-ty £. 2,985. 10s. 2d.
£. 1,297. 12s. 8d.

(4). D 590/570-3 Nerquis, March 6th, 1843, Mr. Edward Tyler to R. Walker.

(5). D 590/570-3 Treuddyn, March 15th 1843, Rev. John Price to T.W. Giffard.

Although an absentee landlord, the squire was an interested proprietor and benefactor.

The new properties came into Giffard's possession at a crucial time, when the heavy mortgages were soon to lead to sales of considerable acres. The farmland on the Nerquis-Rhytalig plateau was poor (1), and Mr. Price in his school appeal, described his parish as, "this poor district" (2). This poor corner of North Wales was opened up at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the discovery of the coalfield, which resulted in the growth of industrial enterprises at Leeswood. For instance "cannel coal" mined in Giffard's and other local collieries was distilled to provide oil, and formed the nucleus of a chemical industry (3).

As Nerquis was far from Chillington, there were some initial difficulties over the administration of the estate. Although, as noted above, Tyler claimed to be in charge of Nerquis and had accounted to Mr. Bell, at the last rent day, his position was not clear. He wrote

-
- (1). "Wales, a Physical & Regional Geography" edited G. Bowen, Methuen, London, 1967, p. 547.
 - (2). D 590/570-3 Treuddyn, March 15th 1843, Rev. John Price to T.W. Giffard.
 - (3). "Wales, a Physical and Regional Geography", ed. Bowen, op. cit., p. 451-2.

to Robinson, Giffard's solicitor that as "a professional man and a gentleman", Robinson should not let him serve "so respectable a gentleman as Mr. Giffard without a fair remuneration" (1). Robinson shortly afterwards visited Nerquis, and wrote to Walker, the agent, that he had gone over the estate by himself, adding, "I never said anything to Mr. Tyler to make him suppose he either was or would be employed by Mr. Giffard" (2). However Tyler appears to have established himself at Nerquis, as he wrote from there to Walker in 1845, on behalf of the tenants asking for the rent audit to be postponed, because of the bad harvest (3).

Distress continued in Flintshire, for two years later Tyler wrote to Walker again asking for the rent day to be postponed. This time "in consequence of there being a large Friendly Society Club at Nerquis", which did not meet until after the audit, and several tenants were members of the club (4). The rents were never very great, and in 1862 totalled only £.267.15s.9d. As over £.200 was spent on repairs from 1861 to 1870 it will be

-
- (1). D 590/570-3, Nerquis, March 6th 1843, Ed. Tyler to George Robinson.
 - (2). D 590/570-3, Kiddermore, March 18th 1843, Geo. Robinson to Robt. Walker.
 - (3). D 590/570-6, Nerquis, October 11, 1845, Ed. Tyler to Robt. Walker.
 - (4). D 590/570-7, Nerquis, May 15th 1847, E. Tyler to T.W. Giffard.

appreciated that profits were small (1). However the Giffards did take considerable profits from their collieries, which from 1860 were managed by a local engineer, Mr. Cottingham, who had offices at Mold and Chester (2).

There was another connection between Chillington and the Welsh. A number of Welsh names appear on the list of servants, including Price, the gamekeeper (3). By 1823 the servants with Welsh names, included John Evans, under butler, Joseph Hughes and Henry Jones, undercoachman, Thomas Gwylliam, postillion, William Thomas, gamekeeper and Elizabeth Price, scullery maid (4). Similarly there were some tenants with obvious Welsh names such as Cadwaller Evans of Langley Lawn. This profusion of the Welsh, both in the Hall and on the estate, is probably explained by the proximity of

(1). D 590/630-2, D 590/631-1, Building Repairs, Plas Ucha. In 1914 the rent was £. 506. 11s. 8d., D 590/612-29.

(2). D 590/638, Reports from Thos. Cottingham.

(3). D 590/583. The Welsh servant seems to have been a feature of eighteenth century society; Dorothy Marshall in "The English Domestic Servant in History", Historical Association, London, 1949, p.17-18 cites a Mr. Grosley who in 1792 noted that his landlord paid "to a fat Welch girl, who was just come out of the country and scarce understood a word of English was capable of nothing but washing, scouring and sweeping the rooms, and had no inclination to learn anymore (than) six guineas a year, besides a guinea for the tea, which all servant maids either take in money or have found for them twice a day."

(4). D 590/650-1

Shropshire and the Marches, and the effects on Welsh peasant society of an acute "land hunger" (1), rather than by the Giffard's property in Flintshire, as Welsh servants appear to have been employed before Nerquis came into the family's possession (2).

(1). F.M.L. Thompson, "English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century", Routledge, Kegan Paul, London, 1963, p. 318

(2). D 590/650-2 By 1870 Gwyllion had been promoted to coachman, and at this time there were employed a Charles Jenkins, a Elizabeth Evans, and Fanny Thomas & a Mary Meredith.

APPENDIX XI.

The Giffards' Rentals 1652-1861.

Rents 1653 - 1861.

Rental, D 590/593.

- 1653 - £. 1,127. 7s. 7d.
1655 - £. 1,069. 11s. 1d.
1663 - £. 977. 1s. 7d.
1669 - £. 1,238. 19s. 9d.
1673 ?- £. 1,170. 7s. 4d.
-

Rental - D 590/596 see also D 590/595.

- 1714 - £. 1,126. 13s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.
1715 - £. 1,263. 16s. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.
-

New Rents D 590/600

- 1748 - £. 2,310. 13s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
-

Account Book 1758-1775, D 590/601

- 1758 - £. 2,932. 3s. 6d.
1759 - £. 2,795. 5s. 2d.
1760 - £. 3,017. 15s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
1761 - £. 2,846. 7s. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.
1762 - £. 3,114. 3s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
1763 - £. 3,136. 16s. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.
1764 - £. 3,101. 10s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.
1765 - £. 3,551. 5s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
1766 - £. 3,726. 13s. 0d.
1767 - £. 2,915. 19s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
1768 - £. 3,181. 19s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

1769 - £3,393. 11s. 1½d.
1770 - £3,917. 3s. 9¾d.
1771 - £4,709. 1s. 10d.
1772 - £4,704. 2s. 7d.
1773 - £4,736. 13s. 4d.
1774 - £4,742. 7s. 10d.
1775 - £4,806. 3s. 11d.

Account Book 1776-1797, D 590/602

1777 - £4,793. 15s. 11¼d.
1778 - £4,916. 1s. 11½d.
1779 - £4,815. 15s. 9½d.
1780 - £4,740. 15s. 8d.
1781 - £5,017. 2s. 4d.
1782 - £5,234. 5s. 2½d.
1784 - £5,215. 16s. 11½d.
1785 - £5,150. 4s. 11½d.
1786 - £5,171. 5s. 7½d.
1787 - £5,846. 4s. 11d.
1788 - £5,815. 8s. 6d.
1789 - £5,779. 11s. 8d.
1790 - £6,004. 5s. 2d.
1791 - £6,519. 18s. 2d.
1792 - £6,703. 15s. 8d.

1793 - £6,709. 5s. 8d.
1794 - £6,524. 5s. 8d.
1795 - £6,366. 8s. 8d.
1796 - £6,431. 18s. 8d.
1797 - £6,485. 7s. 8d.

Wakemans Survey 1810. D 590/354

Acreage, 10,281a. 2r. 3lp. Total new rents £13,978. 18s. 6d.

See also D 590/373.

Account Book 1829 - D 590/630-1

1829-1830 £11,647. 14s. 0d.
1830-1831 £11,731. 5s. 5d.
1831-1832 £11,330. 14s. 5d.
1832-1833 £12,038. 2s. 8d.
1833-1834 £13,969. 14s. 8d.
1834-1835 £13,433. 12s. 8d.
1835-1836 £14,244. 17s. 2d.

Account Book 1844-1862, 630/2

1844-1845 £14,091. 6s. 0d.
1845-1846 £16,235. 17s. 8d.
1846-1847 -----
1847-1848 £16,450. 11s. 2d.
1848-1849 £13,899. 16s. 10d.

1849-1850	£11,780.17s.7d.
1850-1851	£12,255.12s.3d.
1851-1852	£12,003.15s.3d.
1852-1853	£11,844.13s.0d.
1853-1854	£11,716.6s.9d.
1854-1855	£12,579.7s.7d.
1855-1856	£13,370.7s.2d.
1856-1857	£13,441.18s.3d.
1857-1858	£13,375.1s.11d.
1858-1859	£13,687.19s.0d.
1859-1860	£13,356.7s.3d.
1860-1861	£9,614.7s.3d.
1861-1862	£14,250.16s.4d.

APPENDIX XII.

The Giffards' Timber Accounts 1758-1861.

Timber profits.

Income from Timber Sales.

1758 - 1796, D 590/601.

1758 - £. 672. 18s. 11d.

1759 - High Onn £. 667. 7s. 10½d)
Chillington £. 204. 6s. 8d.) £. 871. 14s. 6½d.

1760 - High Onn £. 413. 11. 0 ()
Chillington £. 565. 8. 0 () £. 978. 19. 0

1761 - High Onn £. 116. 4. 5)
Chillington £. 461. 12. 4) £. 577. 16. 9

1762 - High Onn £. 1301. 1. 2 ()
Chillington £. 219. 12. 9 () £. 349. 13. 11

1763 - Converted Timber £. 140. 10. 9½)
Timber in round £. 660. 17. 6) £. 987. 0s. 3½d.
Bark & Cord £. 185. 12. 0)

1764 - Timber £. 685. 13. 0 ()
Bark & cord £. 398. 1. 6 () £. 1. 083. 14. 6

1765 - Timber £. 575. 18. 0

1766 - Timber & cord £. 105. 14. 0

1767 - Timber & cord £. 153. 8. 8

1768 - Timber & cord £. 61. 8. 9

1769 - Timber & cord £. 371. 13. 9

1770 - Timber & cord £. 777. 8. 1

1771 - Timber & cord £. 531. 15. 8½

1772 - Timber & cord	£. 493. 19s. 0d.
1773 - Timber & cord	£. 447. 17s. 8d.
1774 - Timber & cord	£. 487. 12s. 9d.
1775 - Timber & cord	£. 422. 15s. 0d.

Income from Timber Sales

1776 - 1796 , D 590/602

1777 -	£. 17. 16. 0
1778 -	£. 41. 5. 10
1779 -	£. 298. 6. 5
1780 -	£. 34. 10. 4
1781 -	£. 194. 6. 5
1782 -	£. 389. 10. 9
1783 -	£. 96. 5. 4
1784 -	£. 97. 4. 4
1785 -	£. 113. 19. 8
1786 -	£. 2,234. 3. 1
1787 -	£. 3,220. 13. 6
1788 -	£. 2,569. 1. 11
1789 -	£. 4,759. 2. 9
1790 -	£. 1,147. 19. 9
1791 -	£. 3,951. 14. 8
1792 -	£. 4,365. 19. 0½d.
1793 -	£. 3,323. 0. 8½d.

1794 - £. 3. 940. 12. 6

1795 - £. 995. 1. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$

1796 - £. 236. 14. 6

Wood Accounts D 590/630-1
1829 - 1841

	<u>Expenditure</u>	<u>Income</u>
1829	£. 66. 183 $\frac{1}{2}$	£. 1,564. 3. 11
1830	£. 805. 1. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	£. 1,628. 0. 7
1831	£. 839. 4. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	£1,900. 14. 7
1832	£. 554. 7. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	£. 1,322. 18. 3
1833	£. 525. 18. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	£. 3,892. 17. 4
1834	£. 467. 18. 3	£. 799. 9. 4
1835	£. 699. 4. 4	£. 2,579. 7. 1
1836	£. 630. 13. 2	£. 911. 13. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1837	£. 424. 8. 6	£. 556. 7. 3
1838	£. 296. 10. 0	£. 507. 8. 5
1839	£. 339. 13. 9	£. 2,254. 5. 11
1840	£. 398. 4. 8	£. 3,553. 7. 3.
1841	£. 524. 5. 10	£. 3,452. 0. 10

Woods Account, D 590/630-2

	Expenditure	Income
1845	£. 406. 2. 4	£. 2,220. 4. 0
1846	£. 435. 19. 4	£. 2,170. 7. 0
1847	£. 242. 12. 0	£. 884. 10. 5

	<u>Expenditure</u>	<u>Income</u>
1848	£. 376. 17. 2	£. 2,785. 0. 7
1849	£. 345. 6. 7	£. 872. 4. 5
1850	£. 324. 6. 7	£. 1,619. 7. 10
1851	£. 300. 6. 4	£. 987. 1. 3
1852	£. 371. 17. 5	£. 1,279. 0. 5.
1853	£. 295. 4. 6.	£. 578. 12. 4
1854	£. 473. 16. 0	£. 1,636. 9. 5
1855	£. 441. 4. 2	£. 2,049. 0. 8
1856	£. 400. 15. 8	£. 1,241. 14. 8
1857	£. 363. 0. 11	£. 1,866. 12. 5
1858	£. 427. 1. 11	£. 1,125. 14. 0
1859	£. 425. 16. 11	£. 1,198. 9. 0
1860	£. 502. 14. 8	£. 1,109. 9. 7
1861	£. 368. 5. 7	£. 849. 12. 0

APPENDIX XIII.

Game & Sport.

Eighteenth century recusant gentlemen, like other members of their social class were interested participants in the traditional English field sports: indeed Wallace Notestein in "English Folk" suggests that in Lancashire sport provided a cover for assemblies of recusants and the saying of "prayers" (1). Thomas Tyldesley of Fox Hall Lancashire hunted foxes, deer and otters, coursed hares and attended cock fights and race meeting (2)., while in the south of the county Molyneux of Wooton and Blundell of Grasby also hunted and enjoyed shooting (3). In the East Riding, Sir Marmaduke Constable's chaplain, Father Thornton, kept his patron informed of local race meetings and hunts, during his absences from Everingham (4). While in the south of England, Lord Arundell's hounds at Wardour were so famous that his puppies were in great demand (5).

Recusancy was no bar to Catholic gentlemen enjoying the tastes and pleasures of a country gentleman, so that it is not surprising that the Giffards surrounded by woods and parkland also indulged in field sports. One Giffard, young Peter, in 1749 met his death on the hunting

(1). Wallace Notestein, "English Folk", Cape, London, 1938, p. 169.

(2). Ibid. p. 170-173.

(3). "Blundell's Diary and Letter Book, 1702-1728", ed. Margaret Blundell, Liverpool, 1952, p. 126 & 142. Kirk, p. 166.

(4). M.D. Leys, p. 210.

(5). Ibid.

field (1). Despite such hazards, some female Giffards hunted; in 1770 Mrs. Frances Giffard and Miss Parry rode with the hounds for many hours near Boscobel (2).

A gamekeeper was employed at Chillington as early as 1763 (3), and by 1775 the then keeper Thomas Price received a salary of £.20 p.a. (4). About this time Henry Stonor wrote to his brother Charles from Cadiz of a greyhound called "Chillington", and Dom. R.J. Stonor in "Stonor" suggests that the dog was probably bought from Thomas Giffard (5). As the dog was described by Henry as the best greyhound that he had obtained from England; it appears that Giffard kept a good kennel (6). His son continued to interest himself in sport, as in 1810 he purchased a hunting whip (7). In 1812 both Thomas Joseph and his son Thomas William paid £.3.4s.0d. for a game licence, while £.2.4s.0d. was paid for two keepers' licences (8).

(1). C.R.S. Vol.28, 1928, n.p.222.

(2). J.L. Randall, "A History of the Meynell Hounds & Country, 1780-1901", Vol.I, Manton, London, 1901, p.2.

(3). Staffordshire Parish Registers 1958-9, Roman Catholic Registers, p.37.

(4). D 590/583.

(5). R.J. Stonor, "Stonor", Johns, Newport, 1951, p.315-316.

(6). Ibid.

(7). D 590/570-1 Invoice from Crowther and Callon, Whip manufacturers, 179, Regent Street, London.

(8). D 590/625-3 Years assessed Taxes. Licences taken out on April 5th 1812.

Thomas William continued this sporting tradition, and had for a friend, and later as brother-in-law, the famous sportsman and eccentric Jack Mytton, who carried out some of his most daring exploits in the grounds of Chillington. Mytton's biographer "Nimrod" in the "Memoirs of the Life of John Mytton" explained "that there was great intimacy, as well as congeniality between the brothers of the second lady (Caroline Giffard), and himself, who could see nothing but what was congenial in their brother sportsman and friend" (1). This claimed "Nimrod" accounted for the marriage, despite rumors that Mytton had treated his first wife badly (2). Eventually Caroline left him and sought shelter at Chillington, but Mytton pursued her to the Hall, and in a skirmish there he knocked down four servants, before the constables managed to handcuff him (3).

The account books from 1828 to 1874 indicate that a considerable amount of money was spent on game, and in 1837

(1). "Nimrod" (Charles James Apperly), *Memoirs of the Life of John Mytton*, Methuen, London, 1903, p.113.

(2). *Ibid.* p.114. Also D.N.B. Vol.XL, London, 1894, p.215.

(3). "Nimrod", *Memoirs*", *op.cit*, p.123.

the figure soared to £.1,082.19s.1d. (1). But expenses only reached four figures again in 1846, 1858, 1859 and 1860 (2). The money was dispensed on guns, powder and shots, net, twine, trap, fish hooks, caps and wadding (3). The rearing of pheasants was an expensive item, and in 1827 the agent, Walker, even inquired of a Liverpool corn merchant the price of damaged raisins. The incredulous merchant quoted a figure, but suggested that Indian corn would be a more appropriated food for pheasants (4). By 1858 the game birds were being supplied with curd from the dairy (5), and the Squire even bought a cow especially for this purpose (6).

Clifton, the ~~big~~ gamekeeper was paid £.50.14s.0d p. a. in 1823 (7), and ten years later Gymer, who held the same position received £.60 (8). However a short entry in the Wages ledger indicates the hazards of the profession: the statement declares that a William Ore, having served the Giffards for three years died on August 10th 1835

(1). D 590/630-1 & D 590/630-2.

(2). D 590/630-2

(3). D 590/630-1

(4). D 590/570-1. Liverpool, Nov. 29th 1827, Earles & Carter to Robt. Walker.

(5). D 590/639 Dairy Accounts.

(6). D 590/643 Farm accounts for 1857.

(7). D 590/583.

(8). D 590/650-1.

having "shot himself by accident with his own gun" (1). When Giffard in 1833 required a new keeper to take charge of the pool and the decoys, he advertised the post, in the "Stamford Mercury" and other papers in Lincolnshire and Rutland (2). Replies came from men in Peterborough, Saltby, Boston, Spalding, Splilsby and Hull, who all claimed they all were experienced freshwater fishermen, wild fowlers and doghandlers (3).

As the estate lay so close to the "Black Country", Giffard had many requests from parties to visit the Park, and on occasions people sought permission for a little shooting. One request came from an Edward Hill of Tipton Green Ironworks, who was informed by the Squire's agent that only Mr. Giffard shot in the grounds of Chillington (4). But some favoured tenants and friends were permitted some shooting on the estate, e.g. Mr. Astbury of Barlaston in 1837 was allowed a few days pheasant shooting (5). From 1846 some of the shooting rights were let, and the squire received four guineas

(1). Ibid.

(2). D 590/570-2. Letters of application for decoy post, June/July 1833.

(3). Ibid.

(4). D 590/2 Tipton Green, Mr. Edward Hill to T.W. Giffard.

(5). D 590/570-2. Barlaston, September 27th 1837, J. Astbury to T.W. Giffard.

appropriately enough from young Mr. Mytton, Mr. Bosworth had the letting from 1848 to 1866, and in 1857 paid £.266.9s.6d. for the rights (1). In 1880 Messrs. Briscoe and Crane, the joint lessees, paid £.276.6s.0d (2), and by the eve of the First World War sporting rents raised £.409.17s.2d. (3).

The amount of water on the estate was considerably increased by the creation of the reservoir at Belvide. The agreement with the canal company in 1832 gave the squire and his heirs, and anyone whom he licensed, full fishing and fowling rights (4). Within two years the reservoir was stocked with 6,146 fish, at a ratio of 50 perch, 42 tench and 10 carp per acre (5), and when it was extended in 1838 the company insured that "all hedges, trees, stumps and stones" would be removed so as to prevent "net fishing being impaired" (6). When the water from Chillington Pool was sold in 1845, special provisions were made to prevent the escape of fish (7).

(1). D 590/630-2.

(2). D 590/689; S.H.C. N.S.V p.194 W.T.C. Giffard married in 1879 the daughter of Richard Holt Briscoe.

(3). D 590/612-28, and in 1821 sporting rents raised £.124.4s.4d. see D 590/612-34

(4). D 590/302 Articles of Agreement, Sept. 29th 1832. The rights also included permission to erect a boat house on the lake.

(5). D 590/583. Note, March 22, 1834: V.H.C. Vol.V, p.19 states that in 1860 the reservoir was noted for its pike.

(6). D 590/302 Articles of Agreement, Dec. 26th 1832.

(7). D 590/302, Agreement for Sale, April 20th 1845.

Chillington Pool itself covered sixty six acres and had been landscaped by "Capability Brown" (1). Thomas William gave large parties on the banks of the Pool to crowds from Wolverhampton (2). Many people wrote to him asking permission to bring small parties of friends to visit the Pool (3), but from 1851 the whole Park was open to the public, "with triffling restrictions", during the summer months (4): the main attraction was the fleet of boats on the Pool, ranging from large yachts to small skiffs (5).

W. W. Eyton wrote to Giffard from Portsmouth in 1834 informing him that his cutter had been refitted and admired by several naval officers, and he added that he was sure that Giffard would be well pleased with her (6). In the following year the squire received a letter from Mr. Henry Robinson in London, who expressed his pleasure that Giffard liked his brig, adding "I only wish you would

-
- (1). Dorothy Stroud, "Capability Brown", Country Life, London, 1950, p. 96.
 - (2). Esme Wingfield Stratford, "The Squire and his relations", Cassell, London, note to Plate IV by T. A. W. Giffard, p. 180-1.
 - (3). E. G. Mr. Richards of Coven and Mrs. T. Benson Elley, see D 590/570-2, Coven July 30th 1837, Mr. Richards to T. W. Giffard & D 590/570-6, August 22nd 1846 Mr. Benson Elley to T. W. Giffard.
 - (4). William White, "History, Gazeteer and Directory of Staffordshire", Sheffield, 1851, p. 446.
 - (5). V. C. H. Vol. V, p. 29.
 - (6). D 590/570-2 Portsmouth, December 3rd 1834, W. W. Eyton to T. W. Giffard.

allow me to send you the frigate and her remaining boats, which I am sure would please you much more because she is so very perfect in her way" (1).

Robinson offered the frigate, brig and schooner for £.100, and in anticipation of a favourable reply he wrote that if he heard nothing to the contrary, he would send the frigate to Chillington by canal (2).

Although he allowed the park to be opened to the public in the summer, the squire did not tolerate anyone taking advantage of his generosity by organising trips to the Park without his permission. For instance in 1849 a Mr. Nicklin of Wolverhampton, who had delivered rockets, Bengal lights and other fireworks to Chillington, was told to remove them in two days, or else the squire would have to consult his solicitor (3). On another occasion, Walker had to complain to a Mr. Cattel, who was advertising regular trips from Wolverhampton and Birmingham to the Pool (4). Walker explained that although Giffard permitted private parties to his ground, he could not tolerate them, "being made in so public a manner the resort of all

-
- (1). D 590/716, London, December 24th 1835, Henry Robinson to T.W. Giffard.
(2). Ibid., Robinson was anxious to be rid of the frigate as it was kept "in a small dressing room" see also D 590/670-2 Gosport, Dec. 15th 1838, Mr. Cross to T.W. Giffard.
(3). D 590/566, Chillington, April 7th 1849 Robt. Walker to J.H. NICKLIN.
(4). D 590/566 Chillington May 1st 1850 Robt. Walker to Mr. Cattel.

induced by a cheap trip to make it their place of recreation every Sunday" (1).

Among a bundle of estate papers, there is an advertisement of a Gypsy Party "to be held at Chillington and Wolverhampton at Whitsun (1850)" (2). The party was to begin at 9.30 a.m. with a procession from the "Golden Fleece" Union St., Wolverhampton to Chillington, and on the return in the evening a dance was to be held at the inn. Attached to the hand bill is a note from Walker to Mr. Burrows, the organiser of the party conveying the squires' annoyance, "Mr. Giffard never allows parties collected by advertisements to visit his grounds..... yours will not be allowed to enter the Park" (3). Giffard was not prepared to exploit his Park and Pool in such a vulgar way.

Thomas William's own prowess was rewarded in 1833, when he was appointed Secretary to the Shrewsbury Hunt. But the clerk of the Hunt, Mr. Hicks had to write to him twice, before obtaining the necessary permission for the formal use of Giffard's name (4). This was not the

(1). Ibid.

(2). D 590/566, tickets were advertised as 2s. single and 3/6 double.

(3). Ibid.

(4). D 590/570-2, Shrewsbury, Oct. 14th 1833. C. Hicks to T. W. Giffard.

last occasion the Clerk was kept waiting for a reply from Giffard, for in 1846 the secretary reminded him that he owed the Hunt fifteen guineas in subscriptions (1). Giffard did not pay, and in 1847 stood in arrears of twenty-one guineas (2).

He took a great interest in the "Turf" and particularly in local meetings. He gave £.67.12s.0d. in fees and stake money in 1826 to the Wolverhampton Race Committee (3), and in 1832 he lent his marquee for "a refreshment tent for gentlemen" to the same meeting (4). By 1834 Giffard was a trustee of the Lichfield races (5), but his interest extended beyond the country, for in the same year he contributed £.58.8s.9d., including half the steward's expenses, to the important Chester meeting (6).

-
- (1). D 590/570-2, Shrewsbury, Oct. 13th 1846, C. Hicks to T.W. Giffard.
 - (2). D 590/570-7, Shrewsbury, October 4th 1847, C. Hicks to T.W. Giffard.
 - (3). D 590/570-1 Memo. Wolverhampton Races; his brother-in-law Mytton owed the committee over £.35 in stake money arrears.
 - (4). D 590/570-2, Wolverhampton, August 1st 1832, Mr. Giles to T.W. Giffard.
 - (5). D 590/570-2, Notice dated April 16th 1834 calling a meeting of the trustees at the Three Crowns, Lichfield.
 - (6). D 590/570-2, Chester, May 10th 1834 J. Jackson to T.W. Giffard. It is interesting to note that small matters dogged the squire; in 1834 he received two plaintive letters from the widow of Thomas Hampson of Wolverhampton, in which she claimed that Giffard owed her husband's estate six guineas, for three years subscription to Albrighton Races Fund, which Hampson had paid for the Squire. D 590/570-2 Wolverhampton, March 17th & April 29th 1834 Mrs. Hampson to T.W. Giffard.

At this time Giffard kept and raced his own horses, and by 1837 their fame had reached Paris from (1) where Henry Cutler inquired after "Traveller", one of his leading horses. Cutler felt that from his reputation and description, "Traveller" was ideally suited to French conditions (2). However the horse remained in Giffard's possession and won £.50 at Chester, a further £.70 and the Shrewsbury Cup in the 1837 season (3).

His horses were in the care of Mr. W. Dilly of Hednesford, who was paid by Giffard a salary of £.120 p.a. (4). The trainer's account books show that between (5) 1834 and 1838 Thomas William spent £.2,548 on racing, but with the exception of "Traveller" his horses were not very successful. However they were entered at meetings at Liverpool, Manchester, Chester, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Buxton, Wenlock. Bridgnorth, Stourbridge, Stafford, Lichfield and the local meeting at Hednesford (6). The

(1). D 590/570-2 Rue de Rivoli, 34 Paris, Feb. 27th 1837, Henry Cutler to T.W. Giffard.

(2). Ibid.

(3). D 590/676. Dilly's Account.

(4). D 590/676, Dilly's Account.

(5). Ibid.

(6). Ibid.

heaviest item of expenditure was fees and stake money, on which £.442.14s.0d. was spent in 1835, compared with only £.91.12s.6d. on the wages of stable boys, £.8.19s.9d. for the vet and £.14.6s.9d. on the local blacksmith (1).

Dilly's account closed in 1838, and this seems to mark the end of his active participation in racing, although he was reminded in 1845 by William Bamford of Stafford to pay his promised £.5 towards the Stafford Race Fund (2). Indeed during the eighteen forties the Squire withdrew from all active sports, and began even to let his shooting. This was a result both of ill health and financial difficulties.

(1). Ibid.

(2). D 590/570-6, Stafford, Wm. Bamford to T.W. Giffard.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- a) Primary Sources.
- b) Printed Primary Sources.
- c) Unpublished Theses.
- d) Articles.
- e) Books, Essays, etc.

PRIMARY SOURCES.

1) The Giffard Papers, Staffordshire Record Office, D 590

- 9/9. R.C. Church property in Brewood, 1842.
- 10/48 & 10/49. The mortgage with Mr. Perry.
- 17/81, 17/83 & 17/85. Articles and agreements concerning the purchase of Belvide Fields, 1833.
- 21/1. Abstract and Title to Copyhold premises, Park Lane, Brewood, belonging to Sedgley Park College.
44. Agreement for purchase of Marston by the Earl of Harrowby, 1847.
45. Agreement for the purchase of Walton by the Viscount Anson, 1847.
62. Article and Indenture, Peger Giffard and Walter Giffard, 1663.
- 71/1. John Giffard's letter of attorney, 1688.
- 71/2. Indenture between Walter Giffard and John Giffard, 1688
94. The marriage settlement of Thomas Giffard and Barbara Petre, 1761.
106. The trustees grant of power of attorney to Francis Plowden, 1791.
107. Schedule of debts of Thomas Giffard, 1791.
109. Discharge of Thomas Giffard from his bond with his sister Maria Catherine Throckmorton, 1795.
110. The draft will of Thomas Giffard.

252. Reply of the County Committee to the petition of the sons of Peter Giffard, 1652.
254. Petition of Thomas Palmer of Marston to the Commissioners for the Compounding with Delinquents, 1652.
258. Indenture between Sir Robt. Holte et al. and Peter Giffard et al. concerning the manor and Park of Brewood, 1663.
277. Peter Giffard's Registration, as a papist, of his estate, 1717.
289. The Enclosure of Marston, 1757.
290. The copy of the settlement made between Charlotte Courtenay and Thomas Giffard.
302. Valuations, Agreements etc. concerning the Liverpool and Birmingham Junction Canal Company.
305. Schedule of Deeds, 1786-1840.
309. Copy of Mr. Duval's Opinions etc. concerning the mortgages on the estate. Law Life mortgages etc.
332. John Giffard of Blackladies complaint to the Lord Keeper of ye Great Seal, c.1663.
334. Account of Catholic & non-Catholic servants, 1804.
336. Peter Giffard v. Webbe, South Sea Stock, 1721.
337. Papists Liability for Militia Horse etc., 1721.
340. P. Giffard v. the heirs of John Betham. Lord Façonberg and his wife.

- 347/3. W.P. Giffard v. Wolverhampton Corporation.
- 347/6. Law Life Assurance & Scottish Life Insurance Mortgages.
354. Valuation and survey of the estates belonging to Thomas Giffard by Henry Wakeman, 1810.
373. Book kept by Messrs. Thomas Gibbons, John Gibbons, and Benjamin Gibbons, Wolverhampton bankers, c.1803.
374. Estate Maps.
560. Articles of agreement between Peter Giffard and David Martin, 1741.
561. Articles of Agreement between Peter Giffard and George Sawyer et al. 1742.
565. Miscell. Correspondence c.1824.
566. Miscell. Correspondence, including the reports of Mr. Wyley, the land agent c.1852.
- 570/1, 2 etc. Estate correspondence 1825 to 1861, during the agency of Mr. Robert Walker.
572. Rough Accts. Sums owed by the late Thomas Giffard.
- 573/4. Survey of lands at Longbirch belonging to the R.C. Church, 1859.
574. Miscell. Correspondence; Timber, and letters from the Cannings of Foxcote.
575. Timber Accts. c.1797.
576. Memo. Book, including the registration of Thomas Giffard as a papist, 1791.

- 578. Codsall Wood Enclosure, 1820.
- 581. Scheme for the present reduction and ultimate payment of the whole of the mortgages and other charges upon Mr. (W.P.) Giffard's estate, 1863.
- 583. Miscell. Corres. including Rough Hill's Colliery Accts. Notice for Registration of voters at Brewood etc.
- 589. Bundle of letters from Mr. Walker's desks, including a statement of the purchase monies for Marston and Walton and the appropriation of it.
- 593. Rents, 1653-1673.
- 594. Rents c.1713, Wm. Davis received of Thos. Butler.
- 595. An acct. of what all ye chief rent amount to Belonging to Thomas Giffard Esq. Lord of ye manor of Brewood.
- 596. Rents received of Wm. Davis, 1713-1715.
- 599. Rents, 1749-1753.
- 600. Rent & memoranda book 1749-1751.
- 601. Rental Ledger 1758-1775.
- 602. Rental Ledger 1776-1797.
- 611. Rental 1878-1882.
- 612/1 to 34 Rents 1883-1921.
- 613. Acct. of monies received and disbursed by Mr. Thomas Powell, 1679-1689.
- 615. Thomas Giffard's Guardians' Disbursement Book 1746.
- 625. Vouchers, Bills, Taxes etc. 1812.

- 630/1. Accounts Book, Rents, Timber, Housekeeping etc.
1829-1841.
- 630/2. Accounts Book, 1845-1874.
- 631/1. Estate Accts. chiefly repairs, 1849-1881, including
an account of Brewood Reading Room.
637. Rough Hill's Colliery Acct. 1832.
638. Flintshire Collieries Acct. 1844 onwards. Royalties &
Bundle of Letters of Thomas Cottingham, 1865-1877.
639. Dairy Accts. 1847-1859.
640. Dairy Accts. 1860-
- 642 & 643. Farm Accts. 1842 onwards.
645. Anthony Spicer's Work book.
648. William Waller's Work book.
- 650/1. Servants Wages Ledger c.1832.
- 650/2. Servants Wages Ledger c.1870.
656. Valuation of Trees etc. Renshaw Wood.
658. Acct. of Sleepers etc. delivered to Mr. Wilson &
Mr. Brassey.
666. Lawyers Bills and other papers, including a letter to
Thomas Giffard from Dr. Hooke of the Sorbonne, 1785.
667. Disbursements in London, 1774.
676. Thomas W. Giffard's account with Mr. W. Dilly, Trainer
of Hednesford.
684. Inland Revenue, Corresp. re. Double Land Tax 1847-1850.
685. Miscell. Corresp. mainly political 1853-1858.
689. W.P. Giffard. deceased. papers relating to

succession duties etc.

700. Penderell Trust Account.
707. Restoration of monies to Peter Giffard from Edward Tooke etc. 1663.
712. Indenture between Thomas Giffard and Mary Giffard of Antwerp. 1698.
715. Letter from Paris to Mr. Giffard à Munich.
716. The "Little Navy", 1835.
- 717, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, Correspondence between T.W. Giffard and Edward Monckton, re. the General Election of 1841 and the representation of S. Staffordshire.
- 732 & 733, Seventeenth Century Catholic Sermons.
736. The marriage certificate of Thomas W. Giffard and Charlotte Laintol Earl & other certificates.
737. Copy of Thomas W. Giffard's baptism, at the Royal Portuguese Chapel, 1789.
741. Chillington Association for the Prosecution of Felons, Minute Book & Treasurers Book, 1828-1855.
- 2) Bell Tree Registers, Bath.
- 3) Birmingham Archdiocesan Record Office, St. Chad's,
Birmingham
- a) Papers referring to Rev. James Appleton
 - b) The Correspondence of Rev. Anthony Clough with

Rev. John Kirk and Dr. Charles Berington.

4) Brewood, St. Mary's R.C. Presbytery.

The Communion Lists for Chillington, Blackladies & Longbirch.

The List of Subscribers for the Catholic Chapel.

The Deed of Gift of silver candlesticks to Blackladies Chapel, 1792.

Letter re. candlesticks from George Robinson, 23rd. March 1844.

5) British Museum,

B.M. Ad. M/s 5416 B 9. The Printed Minutes of the Catholic Committee, 1791.

5) Chichester-Constable Papers, East Riding County Record Office, D. G. G.

The Letters of Edward Sheldon c.1790.

The Letters of Thomas Clifford c.1810-1812.

6) Clifton Diocesan Record Office, St. Ambrose's Leigh Woods,

The Papers of Bishop Walmesley.

The Papers of Bishop Sharrock.

7) The Dyott Papers, Staffordshire County Record Office,

D 661.

The Correspondence of General Dyott with Sir Robert Peel, 1832-1833.

The Papers of Richard Dyott relating to the representation

of Lichfield and South Staffordshire, 1839-1842.

8) Flintshire Record Office, Hawarden,

Quarter Session Rolls,

Registration of Nerquis as a Catholic Chapel, Jan. 12th
1792.

9) Lichfield Joint Record Office.

The wills of George Giffard, Frances Giffard and
Augustine Giffard.

An exact account of the number of papists in the
parish of Brewood, 1706.

The Enclosure Award re. Codsall Wood.

Surveys, Indentures and other papers relating to the
Manor of Brewood and Brewood Park, 1646-1862.

10) Constable Maxwell Papers, East Riding Record Office, DEV.

A collection of Letters and Scattered Papers found
in Bishop Giffard's closet.

11) Richmond Diaries, Wolverhampton Reference Library.

The diaries of Thomas Richmond of Codsall, 1821-1824.

12) Staffordshire Record Office.

Quarter Session Rolls,

Enrolled Registration of Papists' estates, 1715-16

Particulars of Papist Estates returned to the Clerk
of Peace.

Registration of Priests and Chapels, 1791.

13) Throckmorton Papers, Coughton Court, Alcester, Warwicks.

Letters of Catherine & John Giffard to Sir Robert Throckmorton.

Correspondence of Sir John Throckmorton with Rev. Joseph Wilkes and Dr. Charles Berington.

14) Westminster Archdiocesan Record Office,

A. Vol. XXXVIII. No. 2.

Bishop Leyburn's List of Catholic gentlemen and nobles c.1701.

PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES.

Letters & Papers, (Foreign and Domestic), Henry VIII, Vol. XIV. Pt. I, ed. James Gardiner and R.H. Brodie, 1894.

Letters & Papers (Foreign & Domestic), Henry VIII, Vol. xiv, Pt. II, ed. James Gardiner and R.H. Brodie, 1895.

Letters & Papers, (Foreign & Domestic), Henry VIII, vol. XV, 1896, ed. James Gardiner and R.H. Brodie, 1896.

Letters & Papers, (Foreign and Domestic), Henry VIII, Vol. XVI, ed. James Gardiner & R.H. Brodie, 1898.

C.S.P. (Dom) of the reigns of Edward VI, Mary & Elizabeth, 1547-1580, ed¹/₂ Robert Lemon, 1856.

C.S.P. (Dom) James I, 1603-1610, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green, 1857.

- C.S.P. (Dom), Charles II, 1679-1680, ed. F.H. Blackburne Daniell.
- C.S.P. (Dom) Charles II, May 1, 1684-Feb. 15, 1685, ed. F.H. Blackburne Daniell & Francis Bickley.
- C.S.P. (Dom) James II, Vol. I, Feb-Dec. 1685 ed. F. Bickley & E.K. Timings, 1960.
- C.S.P. (Dom) James II, Vol. II, Jan. 1686-May 1687, F. Bickley & J.D. Cantwell, 1964.
- C.S.P. (Dom) William & Mary, Feb. 1689-April 1690, ed. William John Hardy, 1895.
- C.S.P. (Dom) William & Mary, May 1690-Oct. 1691, ed. William John Hardy, 1898.
- C.SP. (Dom) William & Mary, Jan-Dec. 1698 ed. Edward Bateson 1933.
- C.S.P. (Foreign) Sept. 1585-May 1586 ed. Sophie Crawford Lomas, 1921.
- C.S.P. (Foreign) June 1586-June 1588, ed. Sophie Crawford Lomas, 1927.
- C.S.P. (Spanish), 1580-1586, Vol. III, ed. Martin A. S. Hume, 1896.
- C.S.P. (Venetian), 1581-1591, Vol. III, ed. Horation F. Brown, London, 1894.
- A.P.C. New Series, Vol. XII, 1580-1581, ed. John Roche Dasent, 1896.
- A.P.C. New Series, Vol. XIII, 1581-1582, ed. John Roche Dasent, 1896.
- A.P.C. New Series, Vol. XIV, 1586-1587. ed. John Roche Dasent.

C.T.B., 1672-1675, ed. William A. Shaw, 1909.

C.T.B. 1685-1689, ed. William A. Shaw, 1923.

C.T.B. 1689-1692, ed. William A. Shaw, 1931.

Historical Manuscript Commission, Eleventh Report, Appendix

Pt. II, The M/s. of the House of Lords, 1678-1688, London, 1887

Cal. of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding,

1643-1660, Cases July 1650-Dec. 1653, ed. Mary Anne

Everett Green, 1892.

Cal. of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding,

Cases Jan. 1654-Dec. 1659 ed. Mary Anne Everett Green, 1892.

Cal. of the Proceedings of the Committee for the Advance of

Money Pts. I & II, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green, 1888.

C.R.S. Vol. I, 1905, "Lists of prisoners for religion, 1562-80"

ed. J.H. Pollen S.J.; Registers of St. Peter's, Winchester,

ed. Rev. Dr. E Burton.

C.R.S. Vol. 2, 1906, "Official lists of Prisoners during the

reign of Elizabeth cont." ed. J.H. Pollen S.J., "Memoirs

of Robert Persons" ed. J.H. Pollen S.J.

C.R.S. Vol. 3, 1906, "Catholic Registers of St. Joseph's

Chapel, Trenchard st., Bristol", ed. J.H. Hanson; "Life

and Martyrdom of Mr. Maxfield 1616", ed. J.H. Pollen S.J.;

"Catholic Registers of Holywell, Flintshire, 1698-1829",

Rev. Paul Hook.

C.R.S. Vol. 4, 1907, "Memoirs of Fr. Persons, cont. &

concluded", ed. J.H. Pollen, S.J.

C.R.S. Vol.6, 1909, "List of convicted Recusants in the reign of Charles II.

C.R.S. Vol.7, 1909, "The Bedingfield Papers, 1646-1794", J.H. Pollen. S.J.

C.R.S. Vol. 8, 1910, "The Diary of the Blue Nuns (Paris), 1658-1810 ed. Joseph Gillow and Richard Trappes Lomax.

C.R.S. Vol.9, 1911, "Some Correspondence of Cardinal Allen, 1579-85" ed. Rev. Patrick Ryan S.J.; Particulars of Priests in England and Wales, 1692" ed. Rev. Raymund Stanfield.

C.R.S. Vol.12, 1913, "Obituaries of Secular Priests, 1722-83" ed. Rev. Raymund Stanfield; "Obituaries from the Layty's Directory 1773-1839" ed. J.S. Hanson, & "Catholic Memorial Inscriptions" ed. J.H. Matthews.

C.R.S. Vol. 13, 1913; Records of the English Benedictine Nuns at Cambrai, 1620-1793" ed. J. Gillow; "Minute Book of the Roman Catholic Club, 1793-8", ed. J.S. Hanson, and "Registers of the Rev. Pierce Parry at Claxby & Oscott, 1755-66" ed. J. Gillow.

C.R.S. Vol.14, 1914, "Registers of the English Clares at Gravelines, 1608-1837" ed. J. Gillow.

C.R.S. Vol. 18, 1916, "Recusant Roll, No.1, 1592-3" ed. M.M.C. Calthrop.

C.R.S. Vol. 19, 1917, "Register Book of St. Gregory's

- College, Paris, 1667-1786" ed. Rev. E. Burton.
- C.R.S. Vol.21, 1919, "Ven. Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, 1557-95", ed. J.H. Pollen S.J. & William McMahon S.J.
- C.R.S. Vol.22, 1921, "Diocesan Returns for England & Wales 1577, Rev. P.Ryan S.J.; Registers of Costessey or Cossey, Norfolk, 1785-1821" ed. Rev. E. Burton & J.S. Hanson.
- C.R.S. Vol.23, 1922, "Brindle Registers", ed. J. Gillow.
- C.R.S. Vol.25, 1925, "English Dominican Papers, 1619-1829" including an obituary, Robert Bracey, O.P.
- C.R.S. Vol.28, 1928, "Seventh Douay Diary, 1715-1778" ed. Rev. E. Burton & Canon E. Nolan.
- C.R.S. Vol.29, 1929, "Records of the English College at Madrid" ed. Canon Henson.
- C.R.S. Vol.30, 1930, "Registers of the English College at Valladolid, 1589-1862" ed. Canon Henson.
- C.R.S. vol. 37, 1940, "Liber Ruber Venerabilis Collegii Anglorum de Urbe", ed. Rev. Wilfrid Kelly.
- C.R.S. Vol.54, 1963, "The English College Rome", Responsa Scholarum, 1598-1685", edited Anthony Kenny.
- C.R.S. Vol.56, 1964. "Papers from Lambeth Palace Library" ed. Carson I.A. Ritchie.
- C.R.S. Vol.57, 1965, "Recusant Roll, No.2, 1593-94" ed. Dom. Hugh Bowler.
- "Debates of the House of Commons, 1667-1694", Collected by

the Hon. Aunchutell Grey, Vol. VII, London MDCCLXIII.

Harleian Society, 1900, "Musgraves Obit, G to K" ed. Sir George Armytage.

Harleian Society, 1912, "Staffordshire Pedigrees" 1604-1700" ed. Sir G. Armytage & W. Harry Rylands.

The Harleian Miscellany 1924, ed. Henry Savage & Cecil Palmer, Harleian Society, 1951, "Origins of Some Anglo Norman Families" ed. Charles Travis Clay & David C. Douglas

Lincolnshire Record Society, vol. 53, 1959. G.A.J. Hodgett, "The State of ex Religious & former Chantry priests in the diocese of Lincoln, 1547-1574".

S.H.C. 1902. "Maj. Gen. the Hon Geogge Wrottesley", The Giffards from the Conquest to the present time.

S.H.C. 1925, W. Fowler-Carter, "Staffordshire Family Notes"

S.H.C. 1931, H.R. Thomas, "Enclosure of opennFields & Commons in Staffordshire".

Staffordshire Parish Registers Soc. 1932, "Wolverhampton Parish Registers" Pt. I, ed. Adams.

Staffordshire Parish Registers Soc.. 1958-9, "Roman Catholic Rrgisters" ed. M.E. Rowlands.

Victoria County History, Staffordshire, Vol. I ed. William

Page, London, 1908.

Victoria County History, Staffordshire, Vol.V, "East
Cuttlestone ed. M. Midgley & M.W. Greenslade.

Warwickshire Parish Registers Soc. "Franciscan Registers".

Yorkshire Archaeological Soc. Record Series, vol.LXXVII,
1930, "Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns, 1743,
vol IV" ed. S.L. Ollard & P.C. Walker.

UNPUBLISHED THESES.

A. M. Mimardière, "The Warwickshire Gentry, 1660-1730",
M.A. thesis, Birmingham, University, 1963.

M. E. Rowlands, "Catholics in Staffordshire from the
Revolution to the Relief Acts; 1688-1791", M.A.
thesis, Birmingham, 1965.

SECONDARY SOURCES.

Articles.

Altholz J. "The Political Behaviour of the English Catholics,
1850-1851" Journal of British Studies, vol.IV, No.1,Nov.1964.

Aydelotte, W.O., "The House of Commons in the 1840's",
History, Vol. XXXIX, No.137, Oct.1954.

Bossy, J."The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism", Past
& Present, No.21, April 1962.

Cornwall, J. "The Early Tudor Gentry", E.H.R. 2nd. Series,
Vol.XVIII, No.3, April 1965.

Dickens, A.G. "The first stages of Romanist Recusancy in
Yorkshire, 1560-1590", Yorkshire Archaeological Journal,
Vol. 35, 1940-43.

Dickens, A.G. "The extent and Character of Recusancy in
Yorkshire", Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, Vol.37,
1948-51.

Dodd, A.H. "A Welsh Conspirator, 1538-1618", History Today,
Vol.XII, No.5, May 1962.

Dolan, Gilbert "The Benedictine Associations of Staffordshire"
Downside Review, New Series VII, No.76, March 21st 1907.

Douglas, D.C. "Companions of the Conqueror", History,
Vol.XXVII, No.18, 1943.

Doyle, P.J. "Patrons and Protégées, Thomas Clifford and
Catholic Education", Staffordshire Catholic History Journal,
Winter 1966.

Foster, A.M.C. "Ven. William Southerne, another Tyneside
Martyr", Recusant History, Vol.4, No.5, 1958.

Guest, Anthony Haden, "The Conquerors", Weekend Telegraph,
No. 67, January 7th, 1966.

Hammersley, George, "Revival of the Forest Laws under
Charles I", History, vol.XLV, no.154, June 1960.

Henderson, W.O., "Charles Pelham Villiers", History, vol.
XXXVII, No.129, Feb.1952.

Hicks, L., "Fr. Robert Persons and the Book of Succession",
Recusant History, Vol.4, No.3, Oct. 1957.

Hicks, L., "The exile of Dr. William Giffard from Lille in
1606", Recusant History, Vol. 7 , No.5, April 1964.

Jones, E.L., "Agricultural Land Market", Ec. H. R., New
Series, Dec.1964.

Kemp, B., "The General Election of 1841", History, Vol.XXVII,
No.130, June 1952

Leonard, Jean, "La déchristianisation en Angleterre vers le
milieu du XIX siècle", Cahiers d'histoire publiés par les
Universités de Clermont, Lyon et Grenoble, n.d.

Trappes Lomax, Brig. T.B., "The Englefields and their
contribution to the survival of the faith in Berkshire,
Wiltshire, Hants. and Leicestershire", Biographical Studies,
Vol.I, No.2, 1951

Trappes Lomax, Brig. T.B., "Bishop Leyburns visitation in
1687", Newsletters for Students of Recusant History",
No.4, 1962.

Machin, G.I.T., "The Catholic Emancipation Crisis of 1825",
E. H. R., Vol.LXXVIII, No.308, July 1963.

Meredith, Rosamund, "A Derbyshire Family in the Seventeenth
century"- the Eyres of Hassop; their forfeited estates",
Recusant History, Vol.8, no.1, Jan.1965.

Paul, John E., "Hampshire Recusants in the time of
Elizabeth with special reference to Winchester", Proceed-
ings of the Hampshire Field Club, Vol.XXI, Pt. II, 1959.

Roberts, Frank, "The Society of Jesus in Staffordshire",
Staffordshire Catholic History Journal, No.3, 1963.

Rogers, D.M., "Ven. Robert Sutton of Stafford, - a note on
his family and early life", Biographical Studies, 1534-1829"
Vol2, No.2, 1953.

Rowlands, M.E., "Iron Age & Double Taxes", Staffordshire
Catholic History Journal, No.3, 1963.

Thomas J. Alun, "The System of Registration and Development
of Party Organisation, 1832-1875", History, Vol.XXV, Nos^{123 &}
~~124~~ Feb. / June 1950.

Williams, J. Anthony, "Some eighteenth century conversions",
Essex Recusant Review, Vol.3, No.3, Dec.1961.

Williams, J. Anthony, "Bishops Giffard and Ellis and the
Western Vicariate", J. of Ecclesiastical History, Vol.XV,
No.2, Oct.1964.

Worall, E. S., "Watching Lord Petre", III , Essex Recusant
Review, Vol7, No.3, Dec.1965.

BOOKS, ESSAYS, etc.

Lord Acton, "Lectures on Modern History", intro. by Hugh Trevor Roper, Fontana, London, 1960.

Dom. Cuthbert Almond, "A History of Ampleforth Abbey", Washbourne, London, 1903.

Joseph Altholz, "The Liberal Catholic Movement in England, 1848-64", Burns & Oates, London, 1962.

W.J. Amherst, "The History of Catholic Emancipation", Kegan, Paul, Trench & Co., London, 1886.

ed. C. Bruyn Andrews, "Torrington Diaries", Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1954.

Marquess of Anglesey, "One Leg; Life & Letters of Henry William Paget, First Marquess of Anglesey", Cape, London 1961.

Geoffrey Anstruther, "Vaux of Harrowden", Johns, Newport, 1953.

Herbert B.J. Armstrong, "Armstrong's Norfolk Diary", Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1963.

Walter Arnstein, "The Bradlaugh Case", a study in Late Victorian Politics, Clarendon, Oxford, 1965.

Maurice Ashley, "England in the Seventeenth Century", Pelican, Harmsworth, 1956.

Maurice Ashley, "The Greatness of Oliver Cromwell", Hodder, & Stoughton. London, 1959.

T.S. Ashton, "Economic History of England", London 1955, reprinted 1961.

- ed. Trevor Aston, "Crisis in Europe", Routledge, Kegan & Paul, London, 1965.
- Dom. Hugh Aveling, "Northern Catholics", Geoffrey Chapman, London, 1966.
- Dom. Hugh Aveling, "Statistics of Catholicism in the North Riding in Penal Times", n.d. reprinted from Ampleforth Journal.
- G.E. Aylmer, "The King's Servants", Routledge, Kegan, Paul, London, 1961.
- T.C. Barnes, "Somerset, 1625-1640" A County's Government during the Personal Rule", O.U.P., London. 1961.
- John Bateman, "The Great Landowners of Great Britain", Harrison. London, 1883.
- "The autobiography of Richard Baxter", introduced by J.M. Lloyd Thomas, Everyman, London, 1931.
- A.C. Beales, "Education under Penalty", Athlone, London, 1963.
- ed. G.A. Beck, "The English Catholics, 1850-1950", Burns & Oates, London, 1950.
- ed. H.E. Bell & R.L. Ollard, "Historical Essays presented to David Ogg", A. & C. Black, London, 1964.
- ed. John Beresford, "The Diary of a Country Parson, James Woodforde", O.U.P., London, 1926.
- ed. W. Beresford, "Memorials of Old Staffordshire", George Allen, London, 1905.

Joseph Berington, "State and Behaviour of English Catholics",
London, 1781.

G.F.A. Best, "Temporal Pillars; Queen Anne's Bounty, the
Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Church of England",
C.U.P. Cambridge, 1964.

Robin Best & J.T. Coppick, "The Changing use of Land in
Britain", Faber, London, 1962.

ed. S.T. Bindoff et. al., "Elizabethan Government and
Society", Essays presented to Sir John Neale, Athlone,
London, 1961.

Dom. Henry Birt, "A History of Downside School", Kegan, Paul
Trench & Trubner, London, 1902.

Dom. Henry Birt, "Elizabethan Religious Settlement", Bell,
London, 1907.

Dom. Henry Birt, "Obit Book of the English Benedictines
1600-1912", Edinburgh, 1912.

Ed. Margaret Blundell, "Blundell's Diary and Letter Book,
1702-1728", Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 1952.

Catherine Drinker Bowen, "The Lion and the Throne, Life &
Times of Sir Edward Coke, 1552-1634", Hutchinson, London,
1957.

ed. G. Bowen, "Wales, a Physical and Regional Geography"
Methuen, London, 1967.

Mazière Brady, "Annals of the Hierarchy", Rome, 1877.

- Asa Briggs, "Age of Improvement", Longmans, London, 1959.
- ed. Arthur Bryant, "Letters, Speeches & Declarations of King Charles II", Cassell. London, 1935.
- J.W. Willis Bund, "The Civil War in Worcestershire", London, 1905.
- A.H. Burne & Peter Young, "The Great Civil War", Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1959.
- "Bishop Burnet's History of his own times", abridged by Rev. Thomas Stackhouse, Everyman, London, 1906.
- Edwin Burton, "Life and Times of Bishop Challenor", 2 vols. Longmans, London, 1909.
- Cuthbert Butler, "Life and Times of Bishop Wllathorne, 1806-1884", Burns, Oates & Washbourne, London, 1926.
- Dom. Bede Camm, "Lives of the English Martyrs, Martyrs under Elizabeth", Burns & Oates, London, 1905.
- P. Caraman, "The Hunted Priest: The Autobiography of John Gerard", Fontana, London, 1959.
- P. Caraman, "Henry Morse; Priest of the Plague & Martyr of England", Fontana, London, 1962.
- P. Caraman, "The Years of Siege", Longmans, London, 1966
- Thomas Carlyle, "Oliver Cromwell, Letters & Speeches", Chapman & Hall, London.
- David Cecil, "Lord M. or the later Life of Lord Melbourne", Constable, London, 1954.

- Hubert Chadwick, "St. Omers to Stonyhurst", Burns & Oatēs,
London, 1962,
- R. Challenor, "Memoirs of Missionary Priests, Pt. II",
Fullaton, London, 1878.
- J.D. Chambers & G.E. Mingay, "The Agricultural Revolution",
Batsford, London, 1966.
- T.H. Clancy, "Papist Pamphleteers, Jesuit Studies",
Loyala University Press, 1964.
- G. Kitson Clark, "The Making of Victorian England",
Methuen, London, 1962.
- Arthur Clifford, "Tixall Poetry", Edinburgh, 1813.
- Arthur Clifford, "A History of Tixall", Paris, 1817.
- H.M. Colvin, "A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects
1660-1840", John Murray, London, 1954.
- Timothy Patrick Coogan, "Ireland since the Rising", Pall
Mall Press, London, 1966.
- W.C. Costin and J. Steven Watson, "The Law and Working of
the Constitution, 1660-1783", Black, London, 1952.
- W.H.B. Court, "The Rise of Midland Industries, 1500-1838",
O.U.P. London, 1955.
- W.H.B. Court, "A Concise Economic History of Britain from
1750 to Recent Times", C.U.P., Cambridge, 1953.
- J.C. Cox, "Parish Registers of England", Methuen, London, 1910.
ed. H.C. Darby, & B. Tervet, "The Domesday Geography of
Midland England", C.U.P., Cambridge, 1954.

- Powell Mills Dawley, "John Whitgift & the Reformation",
A. & C. Clark, London, 1955.
- Phyllis Deane & W.A. Cole, "British Economic Growth,
1688-1859", Univ. of Cambridge, Dept. of Applied
Economics, Monographs 8, 1964.
- Daniel Defoe, "Tour through the whole island of Great
Britain", intro. by G.D.H. Colen D.C. BROWning,
Everyman, London, 1928.
- Christopher Devlin, "The Life of Robert Southwell, Poet
& Martyr", Longmans, London, 1956.
- Christopher Devlin, "Hamlet's Divinity and other Essays",
Ruper Hart Davies, London, 1963.
- B. Disraeli, "Conigsby", Signet, N. York, 1952.
- D.C. Douglas, "William the Conqueror", Eyre & Spottiswoode,
London, 1963.
- C.S. Durant, "Flemish Mystics and English Martyrs", Burns &
Oates & Washbourne, London, 1925.
- H.L. Edlin, "England's Forests", Faber, London, 1958.
- ed. John Henry Ellis, "Stourton Parish Registers", London,
1887.
- G.R. Elton, "The Tudor Constitution, Docs. & Commentary",
C.U.P. Cambridge, 1960.
- Sampson Erdeswicke, "Survey of Staffordshire, plus some
observations upon the possessors of monastery lands in

- Staffordshire", ed. Sir Simon Digges, MDCCXVII.
- Lord Ernle, "English Farming Past & Present", New Intro.
G. E. Fussell & O. R. McGregor, New Edition, Hienneman
& Cass, London, 1961.
- E. E. Estcourt, "The English Catholic Non Jurors of 1715",
London, n. d.
- A. M. Everitt, "The County Committee of Kent in the Civil
War", Leicester University Press, 1957.
- A. M. Everitt, "The Community of Kent and the Great
Rebellion 1640-60", Leicester University Press,
Leicester, 1966.
- M. E. Finch, "Five Northamptonshire Families", Northants.
Record Soc., Vol. XIX, Oxford, 1956.
- R. Welldon Finn, "An Introduction to Domesday Book",
Longmans, London, 1963.
- B. Fothergill, "Nicholas Wiseman", Faber & Faber, London, 1963.
- ed. Roger Fulford, "Grevilles Memoirs", Batsford, London, 1963
- Thomas Fuller, "The Worthies of England", intro. John
Freeman, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1952.
- G. E. Fussell, "The Farmers Tools", Melrose, London, 1952.
- Father Gallwey, S. J., "Salvage from the Wreck", Art Book
Co., London, 1903.
- S. R. Gardiner, "History of the Great Civil War", vol. I,
Longmans, London, 1893.

- N. Gash, "Politics in the age of Peel", Longmans, London, 1953.
- A. Gasquet, "A History of the English College Rome",
Longmans, London, 1920.
- "Life and Death of Blessed Edmund Gennings by his brother
John Gennings", C. T. S., London, n. d.
- J. Gillow, "St. Thomas' Priory", Burns & Oates, London, n. d.
- John Gloag, "Georgian Grace, a Social History of Design
from 1660 to 1830", Black, London, 1956.
- V. H. Green, "Religion at Oxford and Cambridge", A History
c. 1160-1960", S. C. M., London, 1964.
- M. W. Greenslade & D. H. Stuart, "A History of Staffordshire",
Darwen Finlayson, Beaconsfield, 1965.
- Peter Guilday "The English Catholic Refugees on the
Continent, 1558-1793", Vol. I, Longmans, London, 1914.
- Walter Gumbley, "Obit, notices of the English Dominicans,
1555-1952" Blackfriars, London, 1955.
- Dom. ~~Adam~~ Hamilton, "The Chronicle of the English Canonesses
of St. Monica's, Louvain, 1548-1625", Sands, Edinburgh,
1904.
- Dom. ~~Adam~~ Hamilton, "A Chronicle of the English Canonesses
of St. Monica's, Louvain, 1625-1644, a continuation",
Sands, Edinburgh, 1906.
- H. J. Hanhon, "Elections & Party Management in the time of
Disraeli and Gladstone", London, 1959.

- Paul Hardacre, "The Royalists during the Puritan Revolution", Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1955.
- Alfred Harvey, "Bristol, a Historical & Topographical Account of the City", Methuen, London, 1906.
- M. J. Havran, "The Catholics in Caroline England, O.U.P. London, 1962.
- M. V. Hay, "The Jesuits and the Popish Plot", Kegan, Paul, London, 1934.
- Dom. Basil Hemphill, "The Early Vicars Apostolic in England, 1685-1780", Burns & Oates, London, 1954.
- Ursula Henriques, "Religious Toleration in England, 1787-1833" Routledge, Kegan & Paul, London, 1961.
- F. A. Hibbert, "Dissolution of the Monasteries", Pitman, London, 1910.
- Les Hicks, "An Elizabethan Problem: some aspects of the careers of two exile adventurers", Burns & Oates, London, 1964.
- Christopher Hill, "Puritanism and ^aevolution", Secker and Warburg, London, 1958.
- Christopher Hill, "The Century of Revolution", Nelson, London, 1961.
- J. W. F. Hill, "Tudor and Stuart Lincoln", C. U. P. Cambridge, 1956
- E. Hobsbawn, "Age of Revolution, 1789-1848", Mentor, N. York, 1964.
- E. J. Homeshaw, "The Corporation of the Borough and Foreign

- of Walsall", Walsall, 1960.
- W.G. Hoskins, "Devon", Collins, London, 1954, 3rd Imp. 1957.
- E. Hughes, "North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century", Vol. II, Cumberland and Westmorland, 1700-1850", Univ. of Durham, O.U.P. London, 1965.
- Philip Hughes, "The Catholic Question, 1688-1825", Sheeo & Ward, London, 1929.
- Joel Hurstfield, "Elizabeth I and the Unity of England", English Universities Press, London, 1960.
- Christopher Hussey, "English Country Houses, Mid Georgian", Country Life, London, 1956.
- W.H. Hutton, "A History of the English Church from the accession of Charles I to the death of Queen Anne", Mc Millan, London, 1903.
- Francis Goldwin James, "North Country Bishop: A biography of William Nicholson", Yale, 1956.
- D.A. Johnson & D.G. Vaisey, "Staffordshire and the Great Rebellion", Staffordshire Co. Council, Stafford, 1964.
- W.P.M. Kennedy, "Elizabethan Episcopal Administration", Vol. I, Mowbray, London, 1924.
- J.P. Kenyon, "Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland", Longmans, London, 1958.
- J.P. Kenyon, "The Stuart Constitution", C.U.P. Cambridge, 1966.
- M.M. Knappen, "Tudor Puritanism; a chapter in the History of Idealism", Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, 1938, reprinted 1965.

M.D. Knowles, "The Religious Orders in England, Vol. III,
"The Tudor Age", C.U.P. Cambridge, 1959.

Jane Lane, "Titus Oates", Andrew Darkers, London, 1949.

Peter Laslett, "The World we have lost", Methuen, London, 1965.

James Leasor, "The Plague and the Fire", Allen & Unwin,
London, 1962.

Maurice Lee Jr., "The Cabal" Univ. of Illinois, Urbana,, 1955.

Shane Leslie, "Henry Edward Manning, his life and labours",
Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1921.

M.D.R. Leys, "Catholics in England", Longmans, London, 1961.

Elizabeth Longford, "Victoria R", Weidenfeld & Nicholson,
London, 1964.

Katherine M. Longley, "Heir of Two Traditions, the Catholic
Church of St. John the Baptist, Holme on Spalding Moor,
1776-1966, privately printed, 1966.

Michael Trappes Lomax, "Bishop Challenor" Longmans, London, 1936

G.I.T. Machin, "The Catholic Question in English Politics,
1820-1830", Clarendon, Oxford, 1964.

Brian Magee, "The English Recusants", Burns & Oates,
London, 1938.

G.P. Mander, & N..W. Tildesley, "A History of Wolverhampton",
Wolverhampton, 1960.

Dorothy Marshall, "The English Domestic Servant in History",
Historical Association, London, 1949.

F.X. Martin, "Friar Nugent", Methuen, London, 1962.

F.C. Mather, "Public Order in the age of the Chartists",
Manchester Univ., Manchester, 1959.

David Mathew, "Catholicism in England: a Portrait of a
minority", Longmans, London, 1936.

David Mathew, "The Jacobean Age", Longmans, London, 1938.

David Mathew, "The Social Structure in Caroline England",
O.U.P., London, 1938.

Garret Mattingley, "The Defeat of the Spanish Armada",
Cape, London, 1959.

ed. J.P. Maxton, "Regional Farming", Unwin, London, 1936.

Vincent Alan McClélland, "Cardinal Manning, His Public Life
and Influence, 1865-1892", O.U.P., London, 1962.

James Kelsey, McConica, "English Humanists & Reformation
Politics under Henry VIII & Edward VI," Clarendon,
Oxford, 1965.

Norman McCord, "The Anti Corn Law League, 1838-1846", Allen
Unwin, London, 1958.

K.B. McFarlane, "John Wycliffe & the Beginnings of English
Non-Conformity", English Universities Press, London, 1952.

Sir Arthur S. McNalty, "Mary Queen of Scots, the daughter of
debate", Christopher Johnson, London, 1960.

Lawrence Meynell, "The Hunted King", Bodley Head. London, 1959.

ed. H.S. Milford, "The Complete Poetical Works of William
Cowper", Frowde/O.U.P., London, 1907.

ed. Humphrey Milford, "Cowper, Poetry & Prose", Clarendon, Oxford, 1953.

G.E. Mingay, "English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century", Routledge, Kegan, Paul, London, 1963.

L.W. Moffit, "England on the Eve of the Industrial Revolution", Frank Cass, London (1925), New Impression 1963.

J. Morris, "Troubles of our Catholic Forebears", Burns & Oates, London, 1872.

ed. J. Morris, "The Letter Book of Sir Amias Poulet", Burns & Oates, London, 1874.

J. Morris, "Catholic England in Modern Times", Burns & Oates, London, 1892.

Douglas Newton, "Catholic London", Robert Hale, London, 1950.

Nimrod (Charles James Apperley), "Memoirs of the Life of John Mytton", Methuen, London, 1903.

Wallace Notestein, "English Folk", Cape, London, 1938.

David Ogg, "England in the reigns of James II and William III", Clarendon, Oxford, 1955.

David Ogg, "England in the reign of Charles II", Vol. II, O.U.P., London, 2nd edition, 1956.

Oliver's Collections", Charles Dolan, London, 1857.

Richard Ollard, "The Escape of Charles II after the Battle of Worcester", Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1966.

J.O. Payne, "Old English Missions", Burns & Oates, London, 1889.

- J. O. Payne, "Records of the English Catholics of 1715",
Bake, London, 1900.
- J. O. Payne, & E. E. Estcourt, "Catholic Non Jurors of 1715",
London, n. d.
- A. J. Peacock, "Bread and Blood, The Agrarian Riots in
E. Anglia, 1816", Victor Gollancz, London, 1965.
- Peacock, "A List of Roman Catholics in the Co. of York",
John Camden Hotten, London, 1872.
- D. H. Pennington & I. A. Roots, "The Committee at Stafford",
Manchester, University Press, Manchester. 1957.
- R. T. Petersson, "Sir Kenelm Digby; The Ornament of England",
Cape, London, 1956.
- S. Pepys, "His Majesty Preserved: King Charles II's own
account of his Escape after the battle of Worcester",
Intro. by William Rees Mogg, Falcon Press, London, 1954.
- M. D. Petre, "The Ninth Lord Petre", S. P. C. K., London, 1925.
- Pitt, "History of Staffordshire", Newcastle, 1817.
- J. H. Pollen, "Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot",
Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1922.
- . J. L. Randall, "A History of the Meynell Hounds and Country
1780-1901", Manton. London, 1901.
- Mother Francis Raphael, "Letters of Archbishop Ullathorne",
Burns & Oates, London, 1892.
- Conyers Read, "Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the policy of
Queen Elizabeth", 3 vols., Clarendon, Oxford, 1925.

Conyers Read, "Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth", Cape,
London, 1960.

Robert Robson, "The Attorney in the Eighteenth Century",
C.U.P., Cambridge, 1959.

Michael Robbins, "The Railway Age", Penguin, Harmsworth, 1965.

L.T.C. Rolt, "Thomas Telford", Longmans, London, 1958.

Hugh R. Trevor Roper, "Historical Essays", McMillan,
London, 1957.

ed. Hugh. R. Trevor Roper, "Gibbon Decline and Fall of the
Roman Empire & other selections from the writings of
Edward Gibbon" New English Library, London, 1966.

A.L. Rowst, "Raleigh and the Throckmortons", McMillan,
London, 1962.

A.L. Rowst, "The England of Elizabeth", McMillan, London, 1964.
Chirstopher Savage, "An economic History of Transport",
Hutchinson, London, 1959.

George Scott, "The R.C.s", Hutchinson, London, 1967.

Robert Simms, "Bibliotheca Staffordiensis", Lichfield, 1894.

J. Hicks Smith, "Brewood; a Resumé Historical & Topographical"
Parke, Wolverhampton, 1874.

Lacey Baldwin Smith, "Tudor Prelates and Politics, 1536-1558",
Princetown Univ. Press, Princetown, New Jersey, 1953.

ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith, "Leland's itinerary in England &
Wales", Vols. II, IV, & V, Centuar Press, London, 1964.

David Southgate, "The Passing of the Whigs, 1832-1886",
MacMillan, London, 1962.

David Spring, "The English Landed Estate in the nineteenth
century: its administration", John Hopkins, Baltimore, 1963.

Granville Squiers, "Secret Hiding Places", Stanley Paul,
London, 1934.

Mrs. Brian Stapleton, "A History of Post Reformation
Catholic Missions in Oxfordshire", Froude, London, 1906.

Lawrence Stone, "The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641",
Clarendon, Oxford, 1965.

Dom. R.J. Stonor, "Stonor", Johns, Newport, 1951.

Dorothy Stroud, "Capability Brown", Country Life, London, 1950

Dorothy Stroud, "The Architecture of Sir John Soane", Studio,
London, 1961.

Thaddeus, "The Franciscans in England, 1600-1850", London, 1898

F.M.L. Thompson, "English Landed Society in the Nineteenth
Century", Routledge Kegan Paul, London, 1963.

J.A.F. Thomson, "The Latter Lollards, 1414-1520", O.U.P.,
London, 1965.

David Thornley, "Isaac Butt & Home Rule", McGibbon & Keel,
London, 1964.

W.R. Trimble, "The Catholic Laity in Elizabethan England"
1558-1603", Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press,
Cambridge Massachusetts, 1964.

- Anthony Trollope , "An Autobiography", intro. J.B. Priestly,
Fontana, London, 1962.
- ed. A.S. Tuberville, "Johnson's England", Vol.I, Clarendon,
Oxford, 1952.
- Alec Vidler, "The Modernist Movement in the Roman Church",
C.U.P., Cambridge, 1934.
- A.R. Wagner, "English Genealogy", Clarendon, Oxford, 1960.
- B. Ward, "Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England, 1781-1803",
2 vols., Longmans, London, 1909.
- ed. B Ward, "St. Edmund's Menology", C.T.S., London, 1909.
- B. Ward, "The Eve of Catholic Emancipation", 3 vols.
Longmans, London, 1912.
- E.I. Watkin, "Roman Catholicism in England", O.U.P.,
London, 1957.
- Steven Watson, "The Reign of George III", Clarendon, Oxford,
1960.
- C.V. Wedgwood, "The King's War, 1641-1647", Collins, London, 1958
- Margaret Weiner, "The French Exiles", John Murray, London, 1960
- R.B. Wernham, "Before the Armada, The Growth of English
Foreign Policy, 1485-1588", Cape, London, 1966.
- R.J. White, "Waterloo to Peterloo", Hienemann, London, 1957.
- William White, "History, Gazeteer, & Directory of Stafford-
shire", Sheffield, 1851.
- J. Anthony Williams, "Bath & Rome", Bath, 1963.

- F.W. Willmore, "Records of Rushall with a transcript of the old Parish Register & extracts of the Churchwardens' accounts", London, 1892.
- ed. E.M. Carus-Wilson, "Essays in Economic History," vol.III, Edward Arnold, London, 1962.
- W.P. Wincutt, "Return to Reality", S.P.C.K., London, 1954.
- Esmé Stratford Wingfield, "The Squire and his relations", Cassell, London, 1956.
- G.W.O. Woodward, "The Dissolution of the Monasteries", Blandford, London, 1966.
- Sir Llewelyn Woodward, "The Age of Reform", O.U.P. London, 2nd Edition, 1959.
- Austin Woolrych, "Battles of the English Civil War", Batsford, London, 1961.
- ed. E.A. Wrigley, "An introduction to English Historical Demography", Werdenfeld & Nicholson, London, 1966.
- George Yule, "The Independents in the Civil War", C.U.P., Cambridge, 1958.