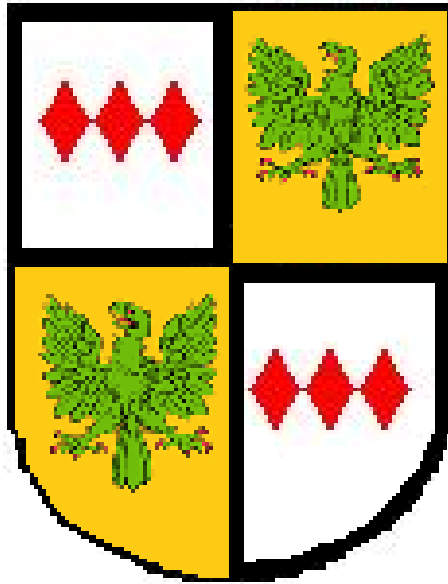


The Montagus of Lackham and their historical connections



by

Tony Pratt

and

Karen Repko

Last update : October 29, 2016

The Manor of Lackham Vol 3 : The Montagu family

This investigation of the history of the manor of Lackham, close to Chippenham and next to Lacock in Wiltshire, started with the current author's "*The Bluets ; a baronial family and their historical connections 1066- 1400*"¹ and was continued in "*The Baynards : a county family and their historical connections 1360 - 1650*"².

This work takes the story through the period of the Civil War and the Enlightenment to Canal Mania and on into the early part of the nineteenth century.

For biographies of the authors see the Introduction to Vol. 1 "*The Bluets*". Both of the previous volumes in this history, and others, are held by Wiltshire Libraries, the Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre in Chippenham and online at

<http://www.lackham.co.uk/history/documents.asp>

As always we owe enormous debts of gratitude to the people who helped by their willingness to give freely of their time, expertise and knowledge, and without whom this volume would not have been possible. Individual credits and thanks are given in the footnotes. Not credited specifically are the archivists and staff at all the record offices and libraries consulted and who were unfailingly helpful above and beyond that which might be expected. We are very lucky to have such dedicated and knowledgeable people around and we would express our very sincere gratitude to everyone who helped.

As previously this volume is a (much enlarged) development of a part, in this case the Montagu section, of the 2005 third edition of "*The Manor of Lackham*" by Tony Pratt. Information that is new to this edition (the majority of the work) is in blue, if viewing as an electronic file.

The electronic edition uses hyperlinks to allow you to move more easily through the work. The figure numbers in the Illustrations index will take you to the relevant figure, and clicking on the ** symbol there will return you to the index. At a few points in the text there is a link to elsewhere and the ** found at that location will return you to where you came from.

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¹ 2008 Lackham Museum of Agriculture and Rural Life Trust

² Tony Pratt (2009) Wiltshire College, Lackham

³ A credit could take the form Fig. X, © Pratt, T & Repko, K (2010) "*The Manor of Lackham vol III: The Montagus of Lackham and their historical connections*" Wiltshire College Lackham

The Manor of Lackham Vol 3 : The Montagu family

Comments, suggestions and further information are always welcome; you can contact the authors at Tony.Pratt@wiltshire.ac.uk and KarRpk@aol.com

The final volume, "*The Manor of Lackham Vol IV : Nineteenth & Twentieth Century Owners*", is in preparation and will hopefully be available in 2011.

Tony Pratt, Chippenham, Wiltshire, UK and
Karen Repko, Elyria, Ohio, USA November, 2010

The July 2012 update corrects some errors, particularly the fact that the "James Montagu IV" of the previous version was a mistake. If you have a previous edition all references to James IV should be read as James III, those to James V as James IV and James VI as James V. Our sincere apologies for making the mistake in the first place and for not picking it up until now in the second (if anyone noticed earlier... why didn't you tell us?!!)

There is new material and further investigation of other data and a number of the family trees have been completely re-drawn and updated.

Vol IV of the History of Lackham has now been published and can be found at <http://www.lackham.co.uk/history/documents.asp>

Tony Pratt, Chippenham, Wiltshire, UK and
Karen Repko, Elyria, Ohio, USA July 2012

Most of the new information in the 2016 update concerns the mid to late seventeenth century period, towards the end of the Montagu ownership of Lackham. It has mostly been necessary through the discovery of the correspondence of Edward Montagu, Master in Chancery, in the Wiltshire Archive and the information and links this contains. . Our very sincere thanks to Colleen McDuling for making us aware of these letters and for her invaluable assistance, in transcribing and investigating them. These investigations may result in a further volume in the future, but *when* is unknown.

Other sincere thanks are due to the staff at the Somerset History Centre (South West Heritage Trust), Taunton and the Devon Record Office, Plymouth, as well, of course, as the incredible staff at the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Chippenham

The number of pages is slightly less than previously, despite the new material because the font size has been reduced to a more sensible 11 point.

Further work on the life of Col George Montagu the Naturalist has resulted in a paper by one of us (TP) : *George Montagu of Kingsbridge and Lackham: Georgian Soldier, Naturalist and Libertine* [The Devon Historian](#) vol 85, 2016, 51-63 which includes information not included here

Tony Pratt, Chippenham, Wiltshire, UK and
Karen Repko, Elyria, Ohio, USA
November 2016

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By the seventeenth century the Wiltshire manor of Lackham, secure in its bend of the River Avon between Chippenham and Lacock, had only known two families since the Norman Conquest, the Bluets and the Baynards⁴.

In 1635 the Baynard heiress, Mary, married James Montagu I, the third son of the 1st earl of Manchester. This marriage transferred Lackham to what became the Wiltshire branch of the Montagu family, 6 generations of whom became Lords of Lackham "and so Lackham was lost to the Baynards"⁵.

James' line of the Montagu family bore the arms seen on the front cover

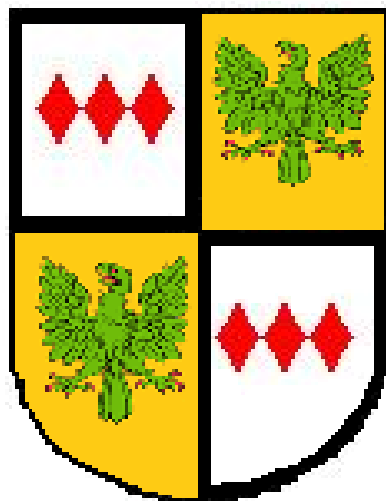


Fig. 1 Arms of the Montagu family **

It has been noted⁶ that

These arms (Montagu) either with or without the bordure sable, were borne by the Montacutes, Earls of Salisbury. John de Montacute, 2nd son of the 1st Earl of Salisbury, married the heiress of Monthermer and they appear, with the bordure sable on his tomb in Salisbury Cathedral⁷. He

⁴ For the histories of these two families see the authors' "The Bluets: a baronial family and their historical connections 1066-1400" (2008) and Pratt, T (2010) "The Baynards of Lackham: a county family and their historical connections 1360 - 1650". Both of these, and other works, can be read online at <http://www.lackham.co.uk/history/documents.asp>

⁵ Wiltshire Family History Society (hereafter WFHS) *Wiltshire Inscriptions*

⁶ Kite, E (1899) *Wilts Notes and Queries* Vol 3 p173 fn1

⁷ Brocklebank, Rev GR (1968) *The Heraldry of the Church of St. Cyriac in Lacock* The Uffington Press comments that "this tomb, in the 4th bay of the nave north side has three plain stone coats with no trace of colour - 1 plain Montacute, 2 Montacute impaling Monthermer and 3 Montacute quartering Monthermer. It is stated on the tomb that John " fought at Crecy and died 1390"

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died 1389/90, since which time all succeeding Montacutes, and on questionable authority the Montagus, have quartered the arms of Monthermer

It is frequently said that this line of the Montagu family were the result of a "fabulous descent from Simon, stated to have been the brother of John Montagu, 3rd Earl of Salisbury"⁸. However a different ancestry can be supported which has that they descended from the Ladde family who had been tenants in Northamptonshire since the fourteenth century. By the middle of the fifteenth century they were using the surname Montagu. The Hanging Houghton records do not mention them before 1355⁹. There may still be a link to the Montagus however; Cockayne speculates that some of the lands of John Montagu (who died in 1428 leaving only daughters) may have been inherited¹⁰ by a Ladde by marriage with one of his daughters. If so she could have been wife to either Hugh or William Ladde (see Fig. 2¹¹ below) but it is stressed that this is speculative.

The first for whom useful information is available was William Ladde, who witnessed a deed, with his son Richard, in 1441¹²

In 1447 Richard had a grant of land in Hanging Houghton from his father William "in free marriage to him and his wife Agnes"¹³. In February and March of the following

⁸ <http://www.tudorplace.com.ar/MONTAGUE.htm> although the "fabulous descent" and the information comes from Cockayne *Complete Peerage* vol 5 p260

⁹ Cockayne *GEC Complete Peerage* [hereafter CP] Doubleday, HA & Lord de Walden (eds) (1936) vol IX Appendix D *The Ancestry of Sir Edward Montagu of Boughton, Chief Justice of the King's Bench*

¹⁰ Or, to be accurate to Cockayne, *bought*

¹¹ The Ladde descent shown in this Figure is drawn from data in CP vol IX Appendix D

¹² CP vol IX Appendix D ref IL0164

¹³ CP *ibid* ref B v/53

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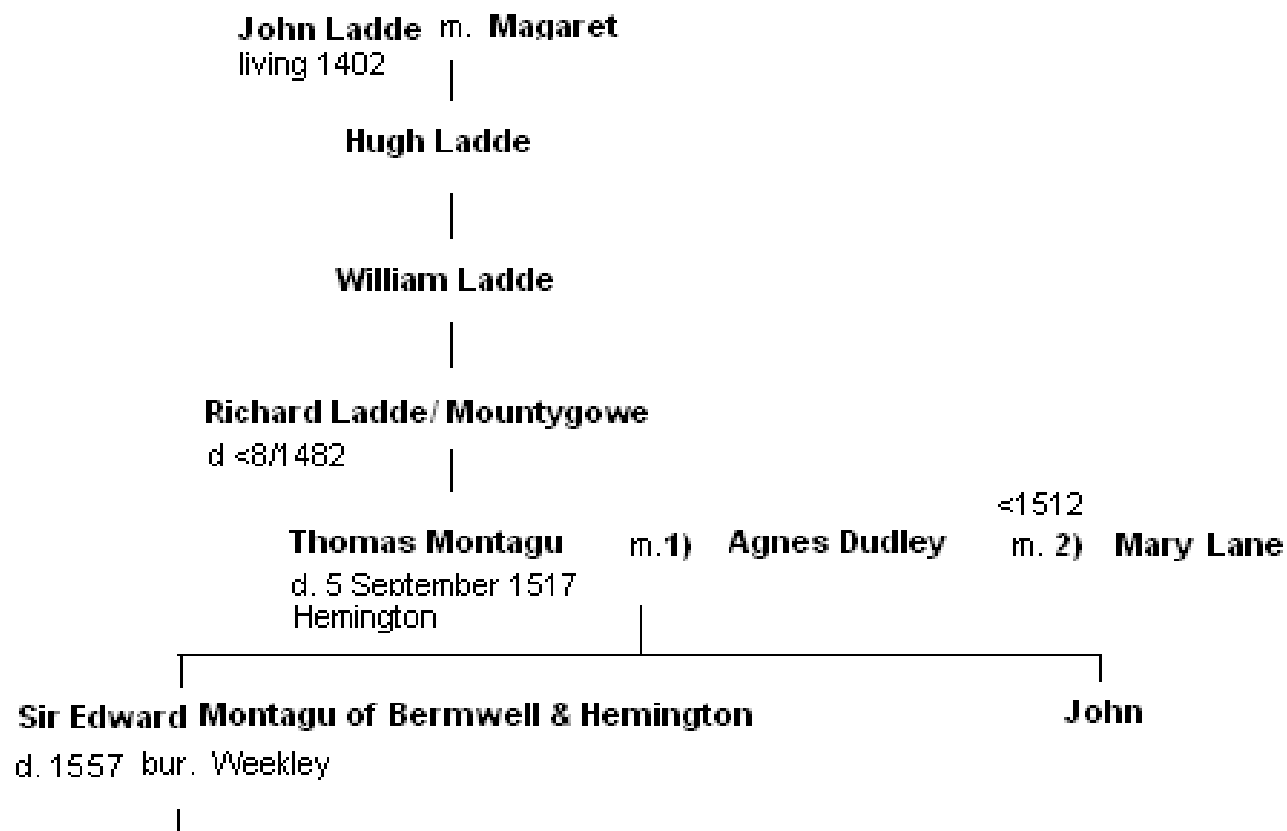


Fig. 2 Ladde / Montagu descent **

year Richard witnessed deeds at Hanging Houghton¹⁴ and Cottesbrook and in 1453 he acquired more lands in Hanging Houghton. The deeds give him, for the first time, as Richard Montagu and he "appears to have used the name Montagu continuously from then on"¹⁵

In 1471

*Richard Mountygowe of Hanging Houghton, husbandman, alias Richard Ladde alias Richard Montagu, yeoman, who appeared in 1471 in a plea of debt, may have been identical with Richard Montagu, the father of Thomas*¹⁶

Richard received a pardon for this debt on 25th Oct 1471¹⁷. The multiple names were included so that further action could not be taken against any of the names by which he was or had been known. Richard died before September 1484 when land rights were released to his son Thomas, but it might have been as early as 1482 when Thomas was "dealing with property in Hanging Houghton"¹⁸

Thomas Montagu went to Oxford - Cockayne records that the Boughton records included a letter from him to Richard and Agnes "wretton at Oxenford in the morne aftur sechaddy's day last wasse"¹⁹ asking for the money he needed to pay his

¹⁴ A hamlet of the parish of Langton, Northants.

¹⁵ CP *ibid* refs IL 1060-1064 B v/54 He bought the lands from *Simon Ladde of Crensley*.

¹⁶Victoria County History (hereafter VCH) *Northampton* (1937) Vol IV fn82 which cites *Bridges History of Northamptonshire* vol II p197. See also Whalley, Rev P *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire. Compiled from the manuscript collections of the late learned antiquary J. Bridges, Esq.* However it is noteworthy that the major part of this reference is a direct quote from the CPR record, see next fn.

¹⁷ Calendar Patent Rolls Edward IV Henry VI 1467 - 1477 HMSO 1900 p256 it wasn't just a pardon :

Richard Mountygowe of Hangngh Houghton co Northampton, husbandman, alias Richard Ladde alias Richard Montagu, yoman, for not appearing to answer John Clyff touching a debt of 40s and to answer a plea that he tender 10l to Anne, duchess of Buckingham late the wife of Humphrey duke of Buckingham and Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury and brother of the said duke executors of the said duke

¹⁸ CP Vol IX Appendix D p25 ref B v/10 64

¹⁹ CP Vol IX Appendix D p26

The Manor of Lackham Vol 3 : The Montagu family

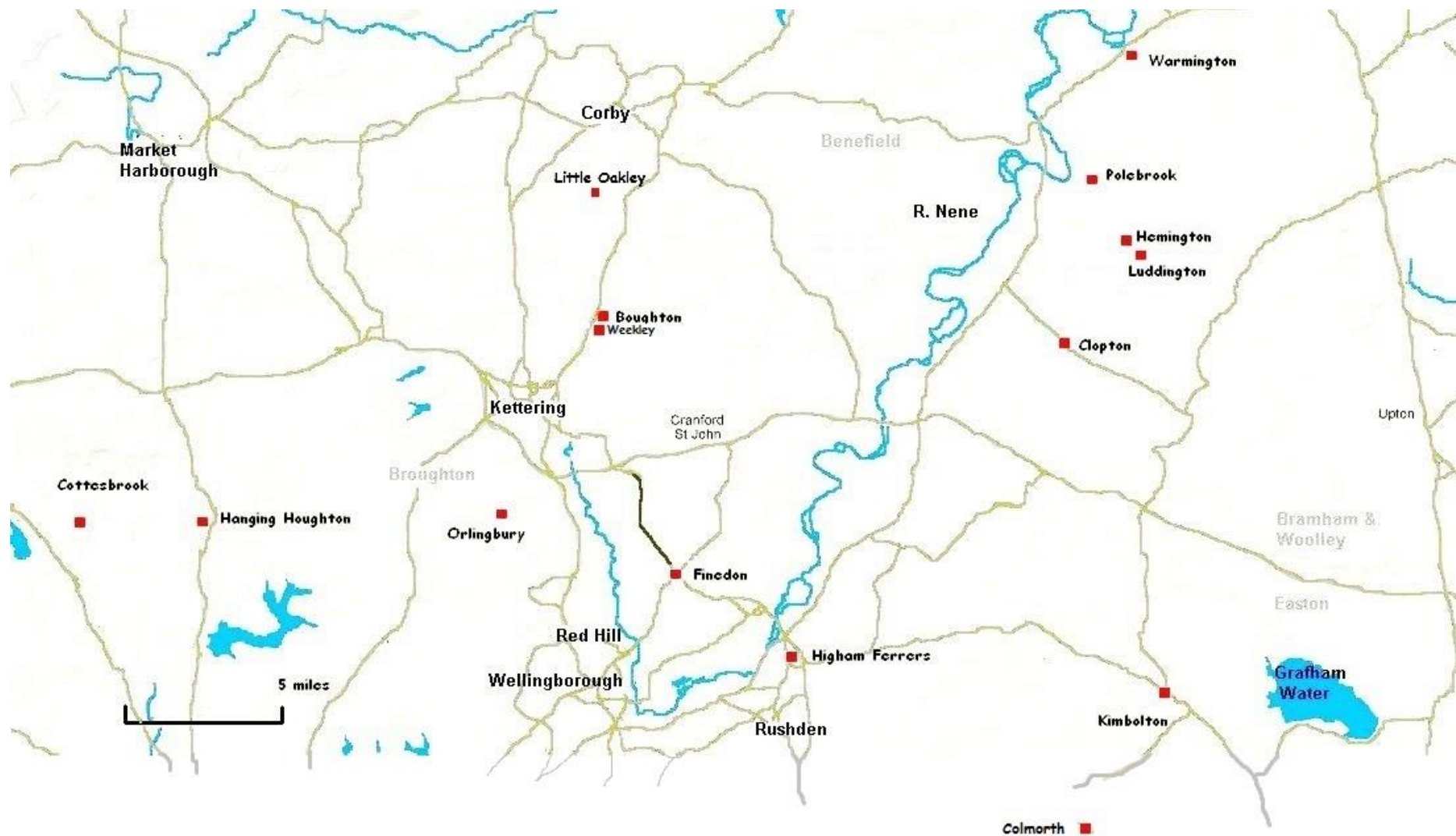


Fig. 3 Locations mentioned in Northants **

college bills. Some things never change.

Thomas owned the manor of Hemington²⁰ but probably moved there from Hanging Houghton. Bell²¹ maintains that he was originally from Clopton and bought Hemington in 1489. His wife was another Agnes, the daughter of William Dudley, also of Clopton Northants²². Agnes died before her husband and he then married Mary Lane²³, the daughter of William Lane of Finedon. They had no children and nothing more is known of her

Thomas died 5th September 1517²⁴ and he and Agnes are buried in the church of St Peter and St Paul, Hemington. They are commemorated by a lovely brass in the nave

²⁰ VCH Northampton (1930) Vol 3 p80 '*This [was] the second Northamptonshire home of the Montagus, [and] was surrounded by a moat, inclosing 8 acres*'

²¹ Bell, T (1853) *The Rural Album* p91

²² CP *ibid* Married on or before Sept 1485

²³ CP *ibid* B v/72x in or before September 1512

²⁴ Bell, T (1853) *The Rural Album* 5th September 1517



Fig 4 Thomas Montagu and Agnes Dudley, St Peter and St Paul, Hemington **

which shows the

*figures of Thomas Montagu and his wife Agnes (Dudley), and a shield in each of the four corners. The male figure is bareheaded, with long flowing hair and wears a large cloak and gown edged with fur; the lady is habited in a tight-fitting gown and wears a pedimental headdress*²⁵

²⁵ Hudson, F *Brasses of Northampton* referenced and quoted in *VCH Northampton* (1930) vol III p81

It is noted that the lower right shield is now missing, but the heraldry shown in those remaining is interesting. Thomas's arms are not those now used and Agnes' show her arms with her husband's



Fig 5 Arms of Thomas and Agnes Montagu ²⁶ **

The arms here show the *fusils* and *bordure sable* of the Montagus; the griffin is more problematical but might come from the arms of the early Salisbury line. It is unclear where exactly these arms originate. The Dudley arms look to be those given for the Dudley's of Clopton, Northamptonshire as *Azure, a chevron between three lions heads erased or* ²⁷. As Agnes Dudley was the daughter of William Dudley of Clopton and Christiana Darrell then the cross, with the roses between the arms of the cross, are probably the arms of the Darrell family, but this has not been verified. Burke ²⁸ doesn't list the arms seen but he does describe a couple of Darrell arms that feature roses on them.

Thomas and Agnes' son Edward I inherited Hemington on Thomas' death and another son, John, is mentioned in Thomas' will. This Will also provided for "*suitable chambers for his wife and her maid in the manor house at Hemington*" ²⁹ but she released her

²⁶ Our sincere thanks to Lyn Jones, who kindly opened Hemington church early one August morning so that TP could see the brass and the lovely church there. Thanks also to the Revd Catherine Ievins, vicar of Polebrook, for helping to make the visit possible at very short notice (like the night before!). For a good review of the church see

<http://robschurches.moonfruit.com/#/hemington/4530366402>

²⁷ Grazebrook, HS *The Heraldry of Northamptonshire* pp176-7

²⁸ Burke (1999 edition) *The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales* vol 1 p264

²⁹ CP Vol IX Appendix D p27

rights to these rooms to her step son in the autumn of 1516 and probably lived at Polebrook³⁰.

Sir Edward Montagu I was born in or before 1488³¹. He was educated at Cambridge University and entered Middle Temple³². He bought the manor of Weekley in 1528³³

He was made Sergeant at Law in 1531, King's Sergeant in 1537³⁴ and was knighted³⁵ by Henry VIII in the same year. He was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in the following year, which post he held until 1545, when he was made Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas³⁶. He was made very wealthy by Henry VIII and the king settled the manor of Barnwell in Northamptonshire, with its castle, on him in 1540, although he had been steward of the manor for the previous 20 years³⁷. He was one of the 16 executors of the king's will and was a governor to the young Edward VI.

He was instrumental, with the earl of Northumberland, in drawing up the will of Edward VI³⁸ which "*settled the crown on the beautiful, accomplished but unfortunate lady Jane Grey*"³⁹. This did not endear him the Queen Mary and on her accession she removed him from his office and threw him into the Tower of London for six weeks⁴⁰. After his release he retired to his seat at Boughton, where he died in 1557⁴¹ and was buried in St Mary the Virgin, Weekely⁴².

³⁰ She is described as being of Polebrook in her will of 1524 CP *ibid*

³¹ He was aged 29 or more when his father died in 1517 CP vol IX p28.

³² Venn, J & Venn JA (1924) *Alumni Cantagrienses* part 1 Vol III p201

Admitted 22 May 1505

³³ Whellan, F (1874) *the History and Topography of Northamptonshire* p812

³⁴ Venn, J & Venn JA (1924) *Alumni Cantagrienses* part 1 Vol III p201

³⁵ Venn, J & Venn JA (1924) *ibid* 18th October 1537

³⁶ Bell, T (1853) *The Rural Album* p92

³⁷ VCH *Northamptonshire* vol 3 (1930) p76

³⁸ died 6th July 1553

³⁹ Bell, T (1853) *ibid* pp92-3

⁴⁰ VCH *Northamptonshire* *ibid* maintains that "A few months later he was imprisoned for his opposition to the succession of Lady Jane Grey" but given that he helped draw up the will that put her on the throne..... Venn, J & Venn JA (1924) *Alumni Cantagrienses* part 1 Vol III p201 indeed confirm that he was "deprived for his support of Lady Jane Grey"

⁴¹ Venn, J & Venn JA (1924) *Alumni Cantagrienses* part 1 Vol III p201

10th February 1557. He was buried 19 days later 29/2/1557 [Weekley Parish Registers Northampton Record Office, hereafter Weekley PR]

⁴² The village south west of Boughton House. St Mary's is a lovely church and contains some of the earliest Montagu monuments around. Our sincere thanks to Judith Turner, the Churchwarden, who made one of TP very welcome when he was able to visit. Much of the information on the monuments is taken from her excellent guide "A Short History of St Mary the Virgin Church and the Village of Weekley Northamptonshire" (Weekley PCC) and from personal observations

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He married three times; the names of two of these wives are debatable and the order in which he married them has been contested as well. We are not entirely certain of the exact sequence of events but find the descent shown in Fig. 3 the most likely ⁴³.

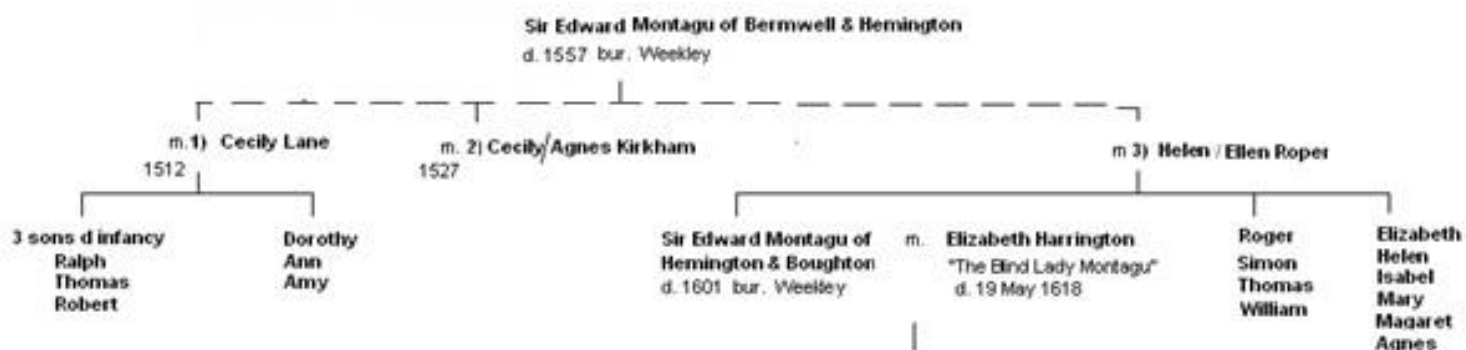


Fig. 6 Families of Edward Montagu **

Edward's first wife was probably either Elizabeth or Cecily Lane the daughter of William Lane of Orlingbury ⁴⁴ in 1512. Most of the genealogies available have Elizabeth but Bridges, who was after all working from the Montagu archives, says that Thomas made

⁴³ And which follows that given in CP Vol IX *ibid*

⁴⁴ CP vol IX Appendix D p26 ref B xxv/38 has September 1512

a settlement of lands [at Hanging Houghton] on Edward Montagu and his wife Cecily, daughter of William Lane of Orlingbury, in 1512-13 ⁴⁵.

and this is also the name that Cockayne gives, and so this is what is shown in Fig. 6 above. Whatever her name actually was they had 6 children but all three sons died in infancy ⁴⁶. At least one of the daughters survived longer, the burial of *Mrs Anne Montagu* is recorded on 4th July 1553 ⁴⁷. It is noted that Edward's father Thomas also married a Lane, either in the same year or very slightly previously. It seems very likely that there was some link between the two Lane girls. They both had a father called William, and although they are given as being from different places ⁴⁸ the two manors are only four miles apart. Did father and son marry two cousins? Some relationship seems more likely than not, however no link has so far been found.

Edward married his second wife Cecily, or Agnes, Kirkham in 1527. She was the daughter of George Kirkham of Warmington, Northants ⁴⁹. They had no children together. Her date of death is unknown but Edward then married Ellen Roper ⁵⁰ before May 1533 ⁵¹ and possibly before 1532. There are sources which name her Helen ⁵², and Helen is often a diminutive for Eleanor at this period, both Ellen and Helen are shown in Fig. 7. She was the eldest daughter of Sir John Roper ⁵³ and his wife Jane, who was the eldest daughter of Sir John Fyneux, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. ⁵⁴ Her brother William, the eldest son, was married to Sir Thomas More's eldest daughter, Margaret ⁵⁵.

Edward and Ellen were married when Sir Thomas More was executed in 1535 and she was at that time a widow, she had two previous husbands; the first was John Moreton ⁵⁶ with whom she had a daughter Mary. John Moreton died in 1521 ⁵⁷.

Ellen then became the second wife of William Digby before marrying Edward Montagu, the third marriage for both of them. When Edward died he left from his marriage

⁴⁵ Bridges *History of Northamptonshire* vol II p117, referenced in VCH Northampton (1937) Vol IV p197 fn84

⁴⁶ Montagu, H (1864) *Court and Society from Elizabeth to Anne* p267

⁴⁷ Weekley PR

⁴⁸ Mary daughter William Lane of Finedon; Cecily daughter of William of Orlingbury

⁴⁹ CP vol IX Appendix D p26 ref B xviii/51 m

⁵⁰ <http://www.tudorplace.com.ar/MONTAGUE.htm> and CP

⁵¹ CP Vol IX Appendix D p26

⁵² Montagu, H [Duke of Manchester] (1864) *Court and Society from Elizabeth to Anne* p267

⁵³ Attorney General 1521-24

⁵⁴ 1495

⁵⁵ See [Appendix 1](#) for a fuller discussion on the Roper - More connection

⁵⁶ CP Vol IX Appendix D born 1499

⁵⁷ 21st Aug 1521 CP Vol IX Appendix D p26

with Ellen his heir Edward ⁵⁸ and 4 more sons ⁵⁹ as well as six daughters ⁶⁰. Some of the daughters appear in the Weekley registers; Helen married Robert Goodwyne on 4th October 1550 and Isabel married Richard Tailor 6th April 1557, just after her father's death ⁶¹.

Edward's widow, as Dame Helen Montagu, made a verbal will in May 1563 and died almost immediately afterwards ⁶².

Two notices of a will appear in the records, both in May 1563; in the first ⁶³ a grant by "Dame Helen Montague of Boughton widow to son Roger Montague" which was voided May 21st. The next day she included Edward Montague as well as Roger ⁶⁴. Roger only appears in one other record, when Burke notes ⁶⁵ that he was executor to his niece

⁵⁸ Born 1533?

⁵⁹ CP Vol IX Appendix D p26 Roger, Thomas, William and Simon.

The "shadowy figure" of William has left few traces but "he appears to have spent most of his time on his estate at Little Oakley, Bedfordshire, where the church contains his monument with an epitaph that records that he 'lived 73 years a bachelor and soe died 29th September 1619' " [Oman, C & Mayne, J (1947) *Six Elizabethan Silver Gilt Plates* The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs Vol 89 No 532 p182]

⁶⁰ Burke (1866) *A Genealogical History of the Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited and Extinct Peerages of the British Empire* p374

Elizabeth, Eleanor, Isabel, Mary, Margaret and Agnes. Burke is incorrect with Eleanor, she was known as Helen, see above.

⁶¹ All Weekley PR

⁶² Weekley PR Lady Ellen Montagu burial 6th May 1563

⁶³ *Administration in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1559-1571* abstracted by Glencross, RM (1912) Vol 1 p38 dated May 7th:

⁶⁴ *Administration in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1559-1571* *ibid* is given as "Dame Helena Montague wid to son Edward M esq with Roger Montagu admo" [administrator] and the gloss states that "this grant in full is addressed to Edward Montague esq son of Dame Helena wid. dec. late wife of Edward M kt late of Boughton, Northtn"

⁶⁵ Burke (1866) *A Genealogical History of the Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited and Extinct Peerages of the British Empire* p374

Elizabeth's husband, one Hugh Hughes, in 1603⁶⁶. It is possible that he is the Roger Montagu who was owed 2364l⁶⁷ by the King in 1603 but this is not certain.

As was seen above Sir Edward died in 1557 and was buried in the church of St Mary the Virgin in Weekley, Northants. Sir Edward's altar tomb is surmounted by his recumbent alabaster effigy and the Montagu arms are displayed in the centre panels of the side and head of the tomb. They bear the motto "*Pour une pleasoir mille dolours*"⁶⁸. Now a striking white figure traces of the original colouring can still be seen, in particular a deep red in the folds of the robe.

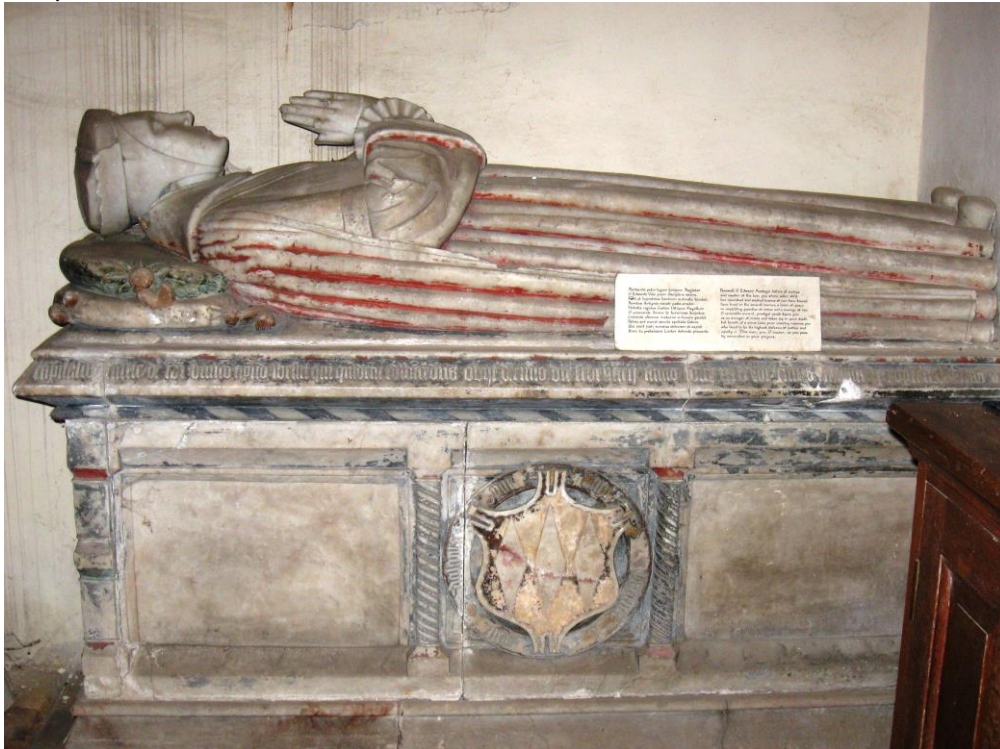


Fig.8 Tomb of Sir Edward Montagu, St Mary the Virgin, Weekley **

⁶⁶ It is believed that Hugh Hughes the elder, died 1609, was the founder of the fortunes of the Plas Coch estate, Anglesey. He was admitted to Lincoln's Inn, was Queen's Attorney for North Wales and a member of the Council of the Marches. He was M.P. for Anglesey from 1597 to 1601, and High Sheriff of the county three times in 1581, 1592 & 1600. Also known as Hugh ap David Lloyd ap Hugh ap Llywelyn ap Evan ap Madoc ap Evan ap Hoel ap Gwyn, he was the first to assume and stabilise the surname, Hughes. Hugh Hughes was also responsible for the building of Plas Coch, which was also known by the old name of Porthamel Isa. In 1588 he married Elizabeth Montagu, daughter of Simon Montagu of Brigstock in Northants. The marriage brought him considerable influence. It is noted that the date given here is at odds with that mentioned by Burke. Source: Context notes to [Bangor University Plas Coch manuscripts](#)

⁶⁷ Green, MEV (ed) (1857) *Calendar of State Papers Domestic : Series James I 1603-1610* p425 dated April 29 1603 noted an "obligation by the king to pay Roger Montague 2000l in --- years" The details were firmed up in a later entry (p427) when a warrant was issued "to pay Roger Montague 2346l due by the king in three instalments before June 1610"

⁶⁸ "For one pleasure a thousand sorrows"

On the foot of the tomb is an inscription which reads:

*Montacute pater legume jurisque Magister
O Edwarde Vale quem disciplina severa
Forit et Improbitas hominum sclerata timebat.
Moribus Antiquis vixisti pacis amator
Virtutis rigidus Custos Uitiique flagellum
O venerande Senex te luxuriosa Juventus
Criminis ultorem metuene in funere gaudet
Patria sewd meret sancto spoliata Catone
Qui vixit justus summus defensor et acquii
Hunc tu preteriens Lector defende precando* ⁶⁹

Edward and Helen's son Edward ⁷⁰, who inherited Hemington and Boughton, married Elizabeth Harrington ⁷¹.

He represented Huntingdonshire in the first Parliament of Elizabeth I, and was made a justice of the Peace in 1564 ⁷² was knighted in 1567 and was sheriff of the county in 1570.

As one of the knights running the county on the king's behalf Edward was involved in making post mortem inquisitions to decide what land a deceased land owner held in the county. For example, in 1570 ⁷³ he was one of four knights, including the *feodary* of Huntingdonshire ⁷⁴, who were commissioned to undertake the Inquisition post mortem of Mary Brooke, the daughter and heir of Robert Brooke, she being a minor in the Queens ward.

⁶⁹ "Farewell, O Edward Montagu father of Justice and master of the Law, you whom sober skill has nourished and wicked knaves of men feared have lived in the ancient manner, a lover of peace and an unyielding guardian of virtue and scourge of vice. O venerable ancient, prodigal youth fears you as an avenger of crime and takes joy in your death but bereft of pious Cato your country mourns you who lived to be its highest defence of justice and equity- this man, reader, as you pass by, remember in your prayers" Taken from the translation given in St Mary the Virgin, Weekley

⁷⁰ born 1532

⁷¹ Bell, T (1853) *The Rural Album* p93 the daughter of Sir James Harrington of Exton, Rutland

⁷² *Calendar Patent Rolls Elizabeth I* vol III 1563-1566 HMSO 1960 no 131 commission dated I June 1564

⁷³ *Calendar Patent Rolls Elizabeth I* vol V 1569-1572 HMSO 1963 no 255 commission dated 11 February 1570

⁷⁴ William Rudde

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In the same year Robert Forrest and his wife Agnes had licence to alienate (ie lease) "lands in Wassingley and Calcott alias Caldecott co Hunts to Edward Montagu, knight for 13s 4d"⁷⁵

In January 1603 Edward Montagu bought the entail of Barnwell from Queen Elizabeth I for £153 3s 9d⁷⁶. He died the same month and in his will he gave "all my householde stuff in my Castell of Barnewelle"⁷⁷ to Elizabeth. He was also buried at Weekley and a fine altar tomb was erected by his sons after Elizabeth's death. Edward and Elizabeth are both represented on the tomb, Edward is shown in armour and Elizabeth in Tudor costume.

It is possible that the effigies are lifelike rather than representational; Edward has the characteristic hook nose of the Montagu family and Elizabeth is just too hard faced for it not to be from life!



⁷⁵ *Calendar Patent Rolls Elizabeth I* vol V 1569-1572 HMSO 1963 no 1235

⁷⁶ *Cal. Pat. Roll.* 44 Eliz. pt. 15, m. 12 quoted in *VCH Northamptonshire* vol 3 (1930) p76

⁷⁷ *P.C.C.* 1 Mountague quoted in *VCH Northamptonshire* *ibid*



Fig. 9 Edward Montagu and Elizabeth Harrington **

This is a far more elaborate tomb than that of his father; it is a six-poster structure with three Corinthian columns and three pilasters covered in strapwork ⁷⁸.



Fig. 10 Tomb of Sir Edward Montagu and Elizabeth Harrington, Weekley **

⁷⁸ Turner, J *A Short History of St Mary the Virgin Church and the Village of Weekley Northamptonshire* Weekley PCC

It appears Elizabeth moved out of Boughton and lived at Hemington until her death in May, 1618. It is recorded that she was known as "*the Blind Lady Montagu*"⁷⁹ although the reason for this remains unclear. She left an "*annual charity for the widows of Hemington and Luddington*"⁸⁰.

The divided inscription that can be seen on the wall details the names of their sons at the head and their daughters at the feet. The Inscription says that they had eight *sonnes*, but only 6 are named - Henry "*who died in his infancy*", Edward, Walter, James, Sidney and Thomas "*who died in infancy*". The missing two are another Henry, see below, and Charles⁸¹

⁷⁹ VCH Northamptonshire vol 3 (1930) p80 fn1 C. Wise, *The Montagus of Boughton*, 12, 28

⁸⁰ Bell, T (1853) *The Rural Album* p93

⁸¹ Name from Burke (1871) *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of Great Britain & Ireland* - hereafter Burke (1871) There is no evidence for the George suggested by Burke

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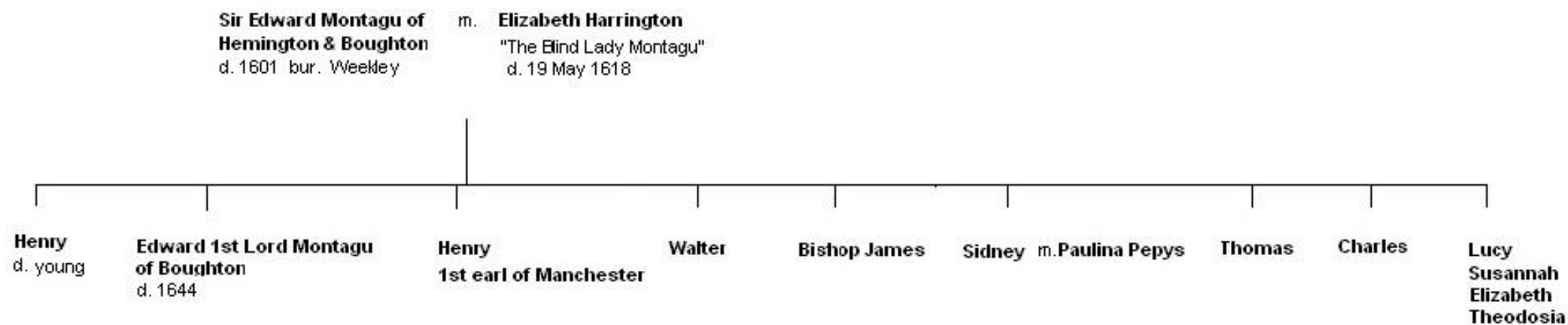


Fig. 11 Children of Edward Montagu and Elizabeth Harrington **

The three coats of arms at the base of the tomb are those of three of the sons and their wives, The first are those of Henry Montagu and Spencer, then those of Walter Montagu and Clifford and finally those of Bishop James of Winchester (which dates the erection of the tomb to after 1615 as this was when James became Bishop of Winchester, logically it would be 1618 when Elizabeth died. James was dead before this, he died 1617)



Fig. 12 Arms on the side of Edward Montagu's tomb ⁸² **

Edward married three times; his first wife was Elizabeth Jeffrey, daughter of John Jeffrey of Chillingleigh in Sussex ⁸³ and they were married at Weekley on 21 September 1585 ⁸⁴. They had a daughter Elizabeth ⁸⁵ who married Robert, earl of Lindsey ⁸⁶. When Elizabeth Jeffrey died she was buried at Chillingleigh and Edward erected a monument there ⁸⁷.

His second wife was Frances, the daughter of Thomas Cotton of Cunnington in Northants ⁸⁸. They were married at Weekley on 24th February 1612 ⁸⁹ and they had a

⁸² L to R Henry, Walter James

The arms for Clifford are a composite image; they cannot be clearly seen in any one picture as they lie behind a pillar. The arms of Bishop James are blurred but these are discussed in more detail below

⁸³ John Jeffrey was Lord Chief Justice of the Exchequer. He died in 1622 and was the grandfather of the notorious 'Hanging' Judge Jefferies

⁸⁴ Weekley PR

⁸⁵ Baptised 15 December 1586 [Weekley PR]. She died 30 November 1654 so aged 64

<http://bcw-project.org/biography/robert-bertie-earl-of-lindsey>

⁸⁶ He was the first earl of Lindsey, Queen Elizabeth had been his godmother.

<http://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/getperson.php?personID=I70739&tree=CC>

⁸⁷ Edward Montagu's memorial in Weekley church

⁸⁸ CP vol IX p104 She was the eldest daughter of Thomas and his first wife Dorothy Tamworth.

⁸⁹ Weekley PR

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daughter Frances⁹⁰ who married John, earl of Rutland and three sons Edward⁹¹, William and Christopher⁹². Frances was buried less than a month after Christopher was born⁹³, aged 32, so it is possible she died of childbed fever.

Edward's third wife was Anne Crouch, widow of Sir Ralph Hare. They had no children. Anne died on 11 July 1648⁹⁴, aged 75.

Edward appears to have been involved in a serious quarrel and lawsuit with his brother Sidney⁹⁵. Edward II died, a prisoner of the Parliamentarians, at Westminster 15th June 1644⁹⁶ aged 82.

One of the famous sons of Edward and Elizabeth was James, the fifth son; his, and other Montagu, arms appear on the great West Doors of Bath Abbey⁹⁷

⁹⁰ Baptised 8th August 1613 Weekley PR

⁹¹ Baptised 25 July 1616 Weekley PR

⁹² Baptised 15 June 1620 Weekley PR

⁹³ Burial 16th June 1620 Weekley PR

⁹⁴ Buried the next day 12th July 1648

⁹⁵ *CP ibid* p105 fn a

⁹⁶ Buried 26th June 1644 Weekley PR

⁹⁷ For an extended investigation of the involvement of the Montagu family with Bath Abbey, and the heraldry seen there, see Pratt, T (2010) *The Montagus and the Great West Doors of Bath Abbey*" online http://www.lackham.co.uk/history/Great_West_Doors_Bath_Abbey.pdf



Fig. 13 The West Doors of Bath Abbey **

Not only was he Bishop of Bath and Wells 1608⁹⁸ - 1616 and later Bishop of Winchester but he was very important to Bath Abbey having been instrumental in its renovation. He is buried in an altar tomb in the Abbey and a plaque on his tomb explains that when

Walking with John Harington⁹⁹, godson of Elizabeth 1, the Bishop was overtaken by a sharp shower : being invited into the roofless nave by his companion he remarked upon the want of shelter, whereupon Sir John replied "If the Church does not keep us safe from the waters above how

⁹⁸ State papers [*Calendar of State Papers Domestic James I 1603-1610* (Green, MAE 1857) p416] dated March 21st 1608 contain a "Congré d'élire to the Dean and Chapter of Bath and Wells to elect a Bishop there" and another "Letter to the same to elect Dr [James] Montague, Dean of the King's Chapel to the vacant Bishopric"

⁹⁹ Born 1561 at Kelston outside Bath. He is best remembered for his 1596 treatise *A New Discourse upon a Stale Subject*, subtitled *The Metamorphosis of Ajax*. He used the pseudonym of *Misacmos*. In it he described, in detail and with diagrams and a good many none too savoury digressions, often aimed at particular and well-known men at Court, his invention of the water-closet, which should be his chief claim to fame. (*Ajax* was a pun on the words 'a jakes', jakes being the Elizabethan word for a privy). <http://www.tudorplace.com.ar/Bios/JohnHarrington.htm>

shall it keep others safe from the fires below?" *The Bishop thereupon reconstructed the roof (replaced in 1870 by the existing nave vault) His brother, Sir Henry MontaguLCJ erected the great West doors in his memory*¹⁰⁰

A more detailed, and slightly different, version can be found in Peach.¹⁰¹ Sir John Harrington and the Bishop were walking in the Orange Grove when they were

Suddenly caught in a violent shower, which induced him [the Bishop], on the invitation of Sir John, to seek shelter in the Church. The knight took him to the north aisle of the nave which, being entirely roofless, afforded but little shelter from the storm. Bishop Montague [sic] remarked that they were still in the rain. "How can that be", retorted Harrington, "seeing that we are within the Church?" "True", quoth the Prelate, "but your church is unroofed, Sir John". "The more is the pity", responded his shrewd companion, "and the more doth it call for the munificence of your Lordship". Such was the justness of the remark the Bishop is said to have fixed his attention on the place from that moment forward and under his generous auspices the building was eventually finished."

It is noted that John Harrington of Kelston has the same surname as Elizabeth, the mother of Bishop James. This is no co-incidence; Elizabeth was John Harrington's niece. John's brother James was married to Lucy Sidney and among their 14 children was Elizabeth¹⁰².

Bishop James Montagu was born in about 1570 and was a graduate of Christ's College, Cambridge. In 1595 he laid the foundation stone of Sidney Sussex College, founded by his maternal great aunt, Frances Sydney countess of Sussex. He was the College's first Master between 1596 and 1609¹⁰³. In 1603 he became dean of the Chapel Royal and dean of Lichfield.

¹⁰⁰ Memorial plaque on Bishop James' tomb in Bath abbey. This is noted to be one of only two effigies in England to show a prelate as a member of the Order of the Garter. The doors are also, apparently, in memory of their brother Walter, but see the fuller discussion for details.

¹⁰¹ Peach REM (ed) (1887) *The History and Antiquities of Bath Abbey* by John Britton,

¹⁰² Information from <http://www.tudorplace.com.ar/Bios/JohnHarrington.htm>

¹⁰³ Venn, J & Venn, JA (1924) *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900* part 1 vol iii p201

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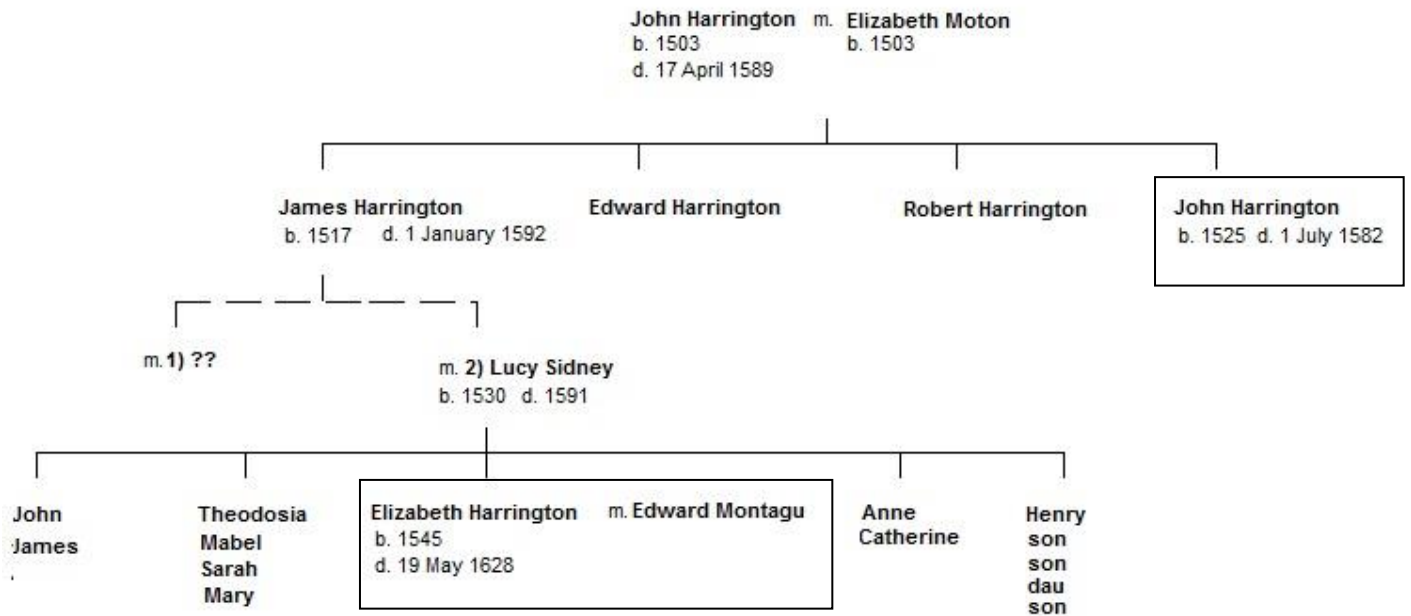


Fig. 14 Harrington family tree ******

Bishop James was a confidant of Bess of Hardwick Hall (Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury), a very influential and important woman. She "developed a friendship by letter with Dr Montagu¹⁰⁴" and as Dean of the Royal Chapel he was well placed to send her interesting news; for example in one letter¹⁰⁵ he described the execution of the Gunpowder Plot conspirators and the capture and trial of the Jesuit Henry Garnet who was executed in May that year¹⁰⁶. The Countess left Bishop James £20 in her will¹⁰⁷

In 1604 he was made Dean of Worcester and Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1608, where he remained until his translation to the See of Winchester in 1616.

¹⁰⁴ Durant, DN (1999) *Bess of Hardwick: Portrait of an Elizabethan Dynast*

¹⁰⁵ X.d.428 (60) : dated 7th March 1606, referenced in Daybell, J (2006) *Women Letter Writers in Tudor England* p155

¹⁰⁶ "andy" (2009) at <http://tudorstuff.wordpress.com/2009/06/17/the-legend-of-garnets-straw/>

"On the morning of the 3rd May 1606 Father Henry Garnet was executed at St Paul's churchyard in London. The Stuart authorities, determined to blame the Jesuit order for the recent gunpowder plot had hunted down the fugitive Priest. Garnet had been condemned to the traitor's death of hanging, drawing and quartering following what would today be labelled a show trial. Garnet was dragged from the Tower of London through the streets on a hurdle to his place of execution - a scaffold which had been made higher than usual to allow as many as possible to view the execution."

¹⁰⁷ PRO prob/11/111

James was a literary scholar and published a number of religious works. He was close to Charles I as a young man as part of the influential group that was concerned with the young monarch-to-be's religious upbringing. It was Montagu who confirmed Charles on Easter Monday 1613.

*So worldly a bishop might have been considered a strange choice for the occasion. Yet Montague's advancement to the see of Bath and Wells had been in the nature of a reward for helping [King] James to write a pamphlet against Rome and he was now engaged in editing James's collected works*¹⁰⁸

Four years later his labours bore fruit -¹⁰⁹ Sir Dudley Carleton¹¹⁰ reported to his friend John Chamberlain¹¹¹ that , ".....the King's works are published in one volume edited by the Bp of Winchester ". It has been said that his introductions to these "push the art of panegyric close to deification".¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Gregg, P (1984) *King Charles I* p36 Part 1 The Prince Uni of Cal Press online at <http://www.escholarship.org/editions/view?docId=ft9v19p2p6;brand=ucpress>

¹⁰⁹ *Calendar State Papers Domestic Series James I 1611-1618* HMSO 1858 [Green, MAE, ed] p432 dated February 8th 1617

¹¹⁰ 1567-1641.

[Rabb, TK Review (untitled) of *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, 1603-1624: Jacobean Letters* by Maurice Lee, Jr. in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 80, No. 3 (Jun., 1975), pp. 637-638]

Dudley Carleton was one of the second-level political figures of James I's reign who was eventually to reach the top - a peerage and a secretaryship of state - by assiduous courtship of Buckingham. He is primarily, remembered, however, as the holder of ambassadorships to Venice and The Hague, as the most prominent witness of Buckingham's assassination and as the chief recipient of John Chamberlain's sharp and elegant letters

¹¹¹ 1553 - 1628

http://wapedia.mobi/en/John_Chamberlain_%28letter_writer%29#3.

He was the author of a series of letters written from 1597 to 1626, notable for their historical value and their literary qualities. Notestein considers that Chamberlain's letters "constitute the first considerable body of letters in English history and literature that the modern reader can easily follow". They are an essential source for scholars who study the period. Chamberlain's father was a successful ironmonger, who left him enough money to live on for the rest of his life. Chamberlain was unambitious but used his network of friends in high places to assist the career of Dudley Carleton, who rose from a minor position in the diplomatic service to become Secretary of State shortly after Chamberlain's death. Carleton preserved the long correspondence between himself and Chamberlain, which contains the majority of Chamberlain's surviving letters.

Dudley Carleton's aunt, on his mother's side, was married to Chamberlain's nephew Thomas Stukely

¹¹² Parry, G (1981) *The Golden Age restor'd: the culture of the Stuart Court, 1603-42* Manchester University Press p26

It was while Bishop of Bath and Wells that James started the custom that, every year at Christmas, a sprig of the Glastonbury Thorn is cut by the Church of England incumbent and sent to the Queen, which still continues. Montagu first sent a sprig to Queen Anne of Denmark, James I's queen consort ¹¹³, which dates the custom to between 1603 and 1619 ¹¹⁴.

James was responsible for effectively completing the renovation of Bath Abbey. The Abbey was in need of renovation after the Dissolution. In January 1539 Bath Priory was surrendered to Henry VIII's commissioners by Prior Holloway after which it was offered to the City for the sum of

500 marks which were refused whereupon all the glass iron and lead belonging to it were sold to merchants the skeleton only of the building being left standing which with the monastery were purchased by Humphrey Collis in 1542 ¹¹⁵

by which time much had fallen down. The first repairs were carried out in 1572 ¹¹⁶ when the eastern end was weatherproofed. Queen Elizabeth allowed the citizens of Bath to raise money towards the work and a subscription towards completing the restoration was set up by the Queen's Lord Chamberlain ¹¹⁷. He was followed by Walter Callcut of Williamsot, Oxfordshire ¹¹⁸. After this there was a pause in the repairs until William, Lord Burleigh and his steward Thomas Bellot ¹¹⁹ continued the work. They completed the restoration of the Choir and the abbey was reconsecrated and dedicated to St Peter and St Paul, after which various people repaired the side aisles and the transepts. The west parts of the Nave, were uncovered in 1609 and were repaired by Bishop James "and was followed by divers noblemen and gentlemen ¹²⁰".

¹¹³ Houghton, B (2006) *Haunted Spaces* p87

¹¹⁴ The dates respectively of James and Anne's Coronation and Anne's death

¹¹⁵ *Saturday Magazine* vol X p301 11th March 1837 Bath Reference Library ref SP A5 10B69 image number 13888

¹¹⁶ *Dougdale Monasticon Anglican* (1819 edition) vol VI p261 "Bath Monastery" repairs by Peter Chapman

¹¹⁷ Thomas (Radcliffe) , 3rd earl of Sussex

¹¹⁸ It is also recorded that Callcut "left bequests for the poor of Banbury in the sixteenth century" [Guppy, HB (1890) *Homes of Family Names in Great Britain* p330 -1989 ed]

¹¹⁹ Burleigh was Lord High treasurer to Queen Elizabeth I, and Thomas Bellot was also steward of her household as well as lord Burleigh's. [*The Penny Cyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge* (1835) vol III p22]

¹²⁰ *Dougdale Monasticon Anglican* (1819 edition) vol VI p261 "Bath Monastery" repairs by Peter Chapman

It would appear that James gave £1000 for the renovation, paid in annual installments of £100 pounds from 1602, and so before the remains of the Nave were uncovered. The receipt for the final payment is held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford ¹²¹

Before going on to the third son, Henry II, who was the ancestor of the Lackham line of Montagus, the Weekley registers can tell us a little about some of the other children; Walter married Anne Morgan ¹²² in February 1590 ¹²³. Elizabeth was baptized 23rd April 1578 and seems to have died in December 1586 ¹²⁴, only 8 years later. Theodosia fared a little better, she was baptized in November 1584 and married John Wingate in 1600 ¹²⁵. Susanna was baptized in 1574 ¹²⁶ and married Rowland Billinge in 1595 ¹²⁷. Finally Lucy survived to marry Thomas Godwyn in 1595 ¹²⁸

The third son, Henry Montagu II, was born in about 1563 at Boughton, although there is no baptism recorded at Weekley. He was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge ¹²⁹. He was admitted to Middle Temple in 1585 and called to the bar 7 years later ¹³⁰. In his will, many decades later, he left to the Middle Temple "*the great gilt cup which was one of the legacies of Lady Derby, to whom I was executor, my arms and hers to be set upon it*" ¹³¹

He had a very active public life, starting when he became MP for Higham Ferrers, about 10 miles south east of Boughton. He represented the town twice ¹³². Henry was

¹²¹ b25 Bodleian Library, transcribed from a negative photocopy in Hunt Collection vol 1 p57 in Bath References Library Special Collection.

25 Octobris 1611

Receved this day and yeare aforesaid of the right reverend ffather in God James Bishop of Bath and Welles the sum of One Hundred Poundes of Lawfull money of England in full paymente of the sum of One Thousand Poundes of Lawfull money by him given towards the redeyfyinge of the church of St Peter and Paule I the Citty of Bath aforesaid herewithwee saie the sum of One Thousand Poundes to the use aforesaid in witntnes whereof wee have hereunto put or handes and the seale of this City the daie and yeare first above written Thomas Power Maior
The donor of the copy, AE Ruse, made a pencilled note that *Power was mayor in 1602 and it would seem that Montagu's gift... [was] made before he became bishop of Bath and Wells*

¹²² The arms of Montagu and Morgan appear on Edward and Elizabeth's tomb

¹²³ 23rd February Weekley PR

¹²⁴ 15th December Weekley PR

¹²⁵ 11th August Weekley PR.

¹²⁶ 22 August Weekley PR

¹²⁷ 3rd March Weekley PR

¹²⁸ 18th November Weekley PR

¹²⁹ Venn, J & Venn JA (1924) *Alumni Cantagrienses* part 1 Vol III p201

¹³⁰ Venn, J & Venn JA (1924) *ibid*

November 9th 1585 and June 9th 1592 respectively

¹³¹ CP Vol VIII p367

¹³² Venn, J & Venn, JA (1924) *ibid*

He was Higham Ferrers MP in 1593 and 1597-8

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elected Recorder of London in 1603¹³³ and an MP for the capital the next year, both of these appointments being for extended periods¹³⁴.

1603 was a momentous year as Queen Elizabeth finally died and James VI of Scotland became James I of England. Henry Montagu II was knighted by the new king two days before his coronation¹³⁵. This was not the high honour it was previously; certainly on his way to London from Scotland (which was when Henry received his knighthood) James was "scattering knighthoods with remarkable prodigality"¹³⁶.

In 1611 Sir Henry was appointed Serjeant at Arms and the King's Serjeant and was Chief Justice of the King's Bench between 1616 and 1621.

When he was appointed Henry made note that his motto was "deo regi legi" ie, *god then king then law*¹³⁷. He promised that he would follow in his grandfather's steps and that "having a private fortune will despise bribery"¹³⁸ and in his will he maintained that

*I have never gayned anything by corruption cavilation or opprefsiion though in my time I have borne and executed all the great offices and places of the kingdome one after another*¹³⁹

As Lord Chief Justice it was he who executed the sentence, passed in 1603, on Sir Walter Raleigh in October 1618¹⁴⁰.

Two years later he was created Baron Montagu of Kimbolton, Huntingdonshire and Viscount Mandeville¹⁴¹. It was claimed that he added the title of Mandeville because he owned the castle and manor of Kimbolton, "which many ages since had belonged to the family of Mandeville"¹⁴².

¹³³ Hutchinson J (1902) *A Catalogue of Notable Middle Templars with Brief Biographical Notes* - 2003 reprint by The Lawbook Exchange Ltd, New York p166

¹³⁴ Venn, J & Venn, JA (1924) *ibid*

Recorder between 1603-16 and a London MP between 1604-11.

¹³⁵ Coronation date Monday 25th July 1603

¹³⁶ Ridyard, S (1999) *Chivalry, Knighthood and War in the Middle Ages* p211

¹³⁷ Which is not the Montagu motto that is seen elsewhere,

¹³⁸ Green, MEV (ed) (1859) *Calendar of State Papers Domestic : Series James I 1611-1618* p406 dated November 18th 1616

¹³⁹ Huntingdon Archives M71/3/1/9 transcription of will, the reference is M71/3/1, the final figure is the page number

¹⁴⁰ Hutchinson J (1902) *A Catalogue of Notable Middle Templars with Brief Biographical Notes* p166

¹⁴¹ Venn, J & Venn JA (1924) *Alumni Cantabrienses* part 1 Vol III p201 on Dec 19th 1620

¹⁴² CP Vol VIII p366 fn d records that a contemporary poem goes *Adding the honour, as he rolled downhill, Of Viscount to the name of Mandeville*

Baron Montagu was appointed Lord High Treasurer in 1620 but

*For this office, which he was only allowed to hold for ten months, he had to pay the greedy Duke of Buckingham £20,000*¹⁴³

When he was forced to resign¹⁴⁴ he was given the post of President of the Privy Council in compensation. He held the post until 1628. There was apparently "no certain cause known for dismissing the late treasurer"¹⁴⁵

The move was political and expensive;

*the office of president of the council, long disused, is revived and given to him, in satisfaction of 40,000l which he and his family have lately paid for promotions. His followers who bought places about him have had hard bargains, being now thrown on the world*¹⁴⁶

Henry was one of eight noblemen created at the coronation of King Charles I in 1626¹⁴⁷ when he was created earl of Manchester. In 1628 he became Lord Privy Seal and in 1635 a Commissioner of the Treasury. He was appointed one of the Guardians of the Realm when Charles I was absent in 1641. This was, of course, in the turbulent final months before the outbreak of the English Civil War. Manchester became Speaker for the House of Lords three months¹⁴⁸ before the unfurling of Charles I's standard at Nottingham signaled the start of the long expected conflict. Henry, earl of Manchester, saw little of this; he died on 7th November 1642 and was buried at Kimbolton. (His brother Edward II, however, was more involved and a month before Henry's death he was seized by Parliamentary forces¹⁴⁹, Clarendon recorded that

*Which crowned his cadency with empty fame
But brought nothing to support the same*

¹⁴³ CP vol VIII *ibid* p327 fn c

¹⁴⁴ Green, MEV (ed) (1858) *Calendar of State Papers Domestic : Series James I 1619-1623* p293 In a letter dated September 29 1621 Locke noted that "the Lord Treasurer has resigned and been sworn President of the Council; Lord Cranfield succeeds him"

¹⁴⁵ Green, MEV (ed) (1858) *Calendar of State Papers Domestic : Series James I 1619-1623* p293 in a letter from Chamberlain to Carelton dated October 13th 1621

¹⁴⁶ Green, MEV (ed) (1858) *Calendar of State Papers Domestic : Series James I 1619-1623* p293

¹⁴⁷ CP Vol III] p280 fn a

on this day (15 Feb 1626) created Earls, being ranked by Royal declaration ... 1 Manchester [Montagu] 2 Berkshire [Howard] 3 Cleveland [Wentworth] 4 Musgrave [Sheffield] 5 Danby [Danvers] 6 Totnes [Carew] 7 Monmouth [Cary] 8 Marlborough [Ley]

¹⁴⁸ CP Vol VIII p366 May 1642

¹⁴⁹ CP Vol IX p105 fn d gives September 1st

*They took prisoner the Lord Mountague of Boughton, at his house in Northamptonshire, a person of great reverence, being above fourscore years of age and an unblemished reputation for declaring himself unsatisfied with their disobedient and undutiful proceedings against the king*¹⁵⁰

He was imprisoned in the Tower and then at the Savoy in Westminster, where he died in 1642¹⁵¹.)

Henry was, like his father, married three times, his first wife being Catherine Spencer, the daughter of Sir William Spencer of Yarnton in Oxfordshire, whom he married in 1601. His first son was the inevitable Edward, later 2nd earl of Manchester & Viscount Mandeville who inherited, and their second was Walter. James I of Lackham was the third son and their last son was Henry. They also had two or three daughters; Elizabeth, Lucy and Theodosia, although this is probably a confusion with Henry's sister¹⁵².

Elizabeth married, firstly, Sir Lewis Mansel, 2nd Bt., son of Sir Thomas Mansel and Mary Mordaunt, on 25 August 1627¹⁵³. She married, secondly, Sir Edward Sebright, son of John Sebright and Anne Bullingham, after 1638. She died before 1657¹⁵⁴.

Lucy married Hugh Coleraine who, in 1625, was created Lord Coleraine. He died in 1667 was buried at Totteridge¹⁵⁵. She outlived him and in her will "dated 1680, left £100 on which the interest was to be distributed by the vicar, overseers, and churchwardens" of the parish of Tottenham in London at Christmas¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁰ Lord Clarendon *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* vol 5 p34

¹⁵¹ Venn, J & Venn JA (1924) *Alumni Cantagriensis* part 1 vol III p200 7th November 1642

¹⁵² <http://www.tudorplace.com.ar/MONTAGUE.htm> DNB [Quintrell, B (2004) *Montagu, Henry, first earl of Manchester (c 1514 -1642)* online edition Jan 2008 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19020> requires subscription)] does not mention her but does not give a complete list of children

¹⁵³ *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage, 107th edition*, vol 2, p2594

¹⁵⁴ CP vol II, p4

¹⁵⁵ 'Parishes: Totteridge', *A History of the County of Hertford: volume 3* (1912), pp. 148-150.

URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=43594>

¹⁵⁶ 'Tottenham: Charities for the poor', *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 5: Hendon, Kingsbury, Great Stanmore, Little Stanmore, Edmonton Enfield, Monken Hadley, South Mimms, Tottenham* (1976), pp. 376-380. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=26999>

The Manor of Lackham Vol 3 : The Montagu family

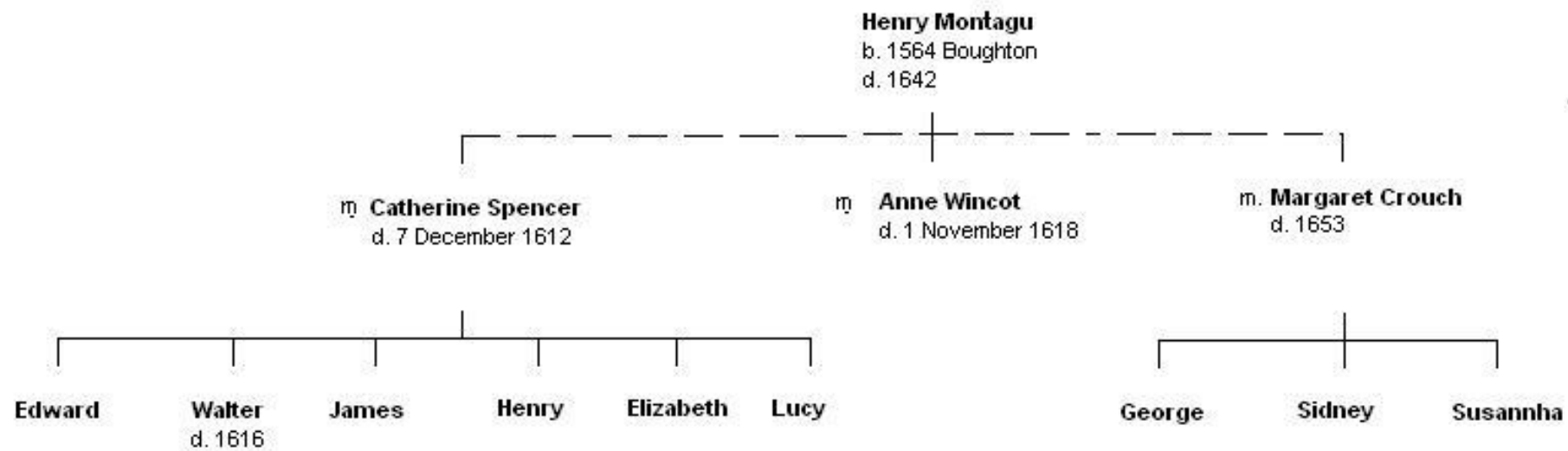


Fig. 15 Families of Henry Montagu **

The Manor of Lackham Vol 3 : The Montagu family

Catherine Spencer died in 1612¹⁵⁷ and Henry married, Anne Wincot, sometime between the date of her first husband's death in 1612 and 1615¹⁵⁸. She was the daughter of Sir William Wincott of Langham in Suffolk. Henry and Anne had no children and she died in 1618.

Henry married Margaret Crouch in April 1620 at Totteridge in Hertfordshire¹⁵⁹. They may have had three children - Susan / Susannah, Henry and George¹⁶⁰.

George makes an appearance in Samuel Pepys Diary

22nd January 1662 After musique-practice to White Hall and thence to Westminster, in my way calling at Mr George Montagu's, to condole on the loss of his son, who was a fine gentleman¹⁶¹)

The Montagu and Crouch connection was much more involved than this however - shortly after Henry married Margaret his brother Edward, as was seen above, married her sister Anne and,

both brothers came to enjoy the expertise and friendship of Ralph Freeman, the widowed husband of Joan, a third Crouch sister. Freeman..... handled many of the brothers' routine business affairs before dying during his mayoralty in 1633-4¹⁶²

Henry gave Margaret the manor of Hanging Houghton for her life in his will as well as

¹⁵⁷ CP Vol IX p105 7th December 1612

¹⁵⁸ Cockayne, GW (2009 reprint) *Some Account of the Lord Mayors and Sheriffs of London* p26, daughter of William Wincot of Langham and widow of Sir Leonard Halliday, who had been Lord mayor of London 1605-1606

¹⁵⁹ CP Vol VIII p366

She was the widow of John Hare, who had been Clerk to the Court of Wards, and the daughter of John Crouch of Cornbury, Hertfordshire

¹⁶⁰ DNB [Quintrell, B (2004) *Montagu, Henry, first earl of Manchester (c 1514 -1642)* online edition Jan 2008 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19020> requires subscription)] gives Susannah but not Susan, and <http://www.tudorplace.com.ar/MONTAGUE.htm> the reverse.

¹⁶¹ Smith, Rev JA (1855) *Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys FRS* Vol 1 p250. Smith's footnote states that "Henry Montagu, first earl of Manchester, had numerous issue by his first lady; but George here mentioned was the eldest son of Margaret Crouch, the earl's third wife", In his footnote to Pepys' entry for 7th March 1660 (p33) Smith notes that George was "later MP for Dover and father of the first earl of Halifax"

¹⁶² Quinell, B (2008) *Montagu, Henry, first earl of Manchester (c 1564 - 1642)* Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, OUP online edition (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article.19020> requires subscription)

The Manor of Lackham Vol 3 : The Montagu family

Hartford House in Canons Row now called Manchester House whereupon I have bestowed great cost and made it a fitt habitation for a Nobleman for that my now wife hath a special liking thereto and her love to me and my children hath very well deserved of me ¹⁶³

but with the provision that Edward his son could live there when he was necessarily in London, Henry having specified that Edward should make his main habitation at Boughton.

This is not the only place where Henry speaks highly of Margaret - "*she hath ever been as kind to my other children as if she had borne them of her own body*" ¹⁶⁴

Margaret died in 1653 and was buried at Totteridge in December of that year ¹⁶⁵

The first son was yet another Edward, who became the second Earl of Manchester with whom the third son, James, had problems, see below.

Henry's second son, Walter, had a fascinating life; he was born in 1603. He was at Sidney College, Cambridge ¹⁶⁶ and as a young man was an agent and spy for Lord Buckingham. He negotiated on Buckingham's behalf with Cardinal Richlieu, and spent some time, in the Bastille in 1627 after being captured in neutral Lorraine, but he was soon released¹⁶⁷. In July 1635, he became a Roman Catholic

his conversion became a matter of gossip at the court and the letter in which he announced it to his father, the earl of Manchester, passed from hand to hand ¹⁶⁸

Walter had been involved in the negotiations leading to the marriage of the future Charles I of England to Henrietta Maria and "*thus formed a friendship with her which ended only with his life*" ¹⁶⁹.

He was obliged to eventually retire to France, before or during 1640. The date is uncertain but his father's will was made in 1640 and in it Henry notes that

¹⁶³ Huntingdon archives M71/3/1/3

¹⁶⁴ Huntingdon archives M71/1/3/20

¹⁶⁵ CP Vol VIII p366 December 29th

¹⁶⁶ Venn, J & Venn JA (1924) *Alumni Cantagrienses* part 1 Vol III p202 Matriculated 1618, MA 1627

¹⁶⁷ DNB vol XIII p717

¹⁶⁸ Gardiner, SR (1844) *History of England from the Accession of James I. to the Outbreak of the Civil War: 1603-1642: Volume 8: 1635-1639*_p139

¹⁶⁹ DNB vol XIII *ibid*

The Manor of Lackham Vol 3 : The Montagu family

To my son Walter my second son upon whom for some causes known to himself I cannot so securely settle what in my love I meant him yet that he be not wanting of means fitt to maintain him in some moderate way as my second son I intended to have given him lands....

¹⁷⁰

This entry shows that even at this date there was resistance to enclosures - Henry had enclosed land at his manor of Halliwell Weston and it was these lands that Henry had intended to give to Walter. Now, however, their value was greatly reduced "of late by violence of the tenants thereabouts [the fields] throwne open and the fences pulled down and destroyed"¹⁷¹

In 1643 an encrypted letter from the king to Walter was intercepted in Bedfordshire. It would appear he then entered England and was caught at Rochester and detained, in the Tower until 1647, then at Tunbridge (Wells) until 1649 when he was exiled, to France. The exiled Queen Henrietta Maria used her influence and he was made abbot of the Benedictine monastery, of Nanteuil very soon afterwards. He later obtained the rich abbey of St Martin's, near Pontoise in 1654. Charles I's son Henry, duke of Gloucester, was committed to his care. After Henrietta Maria died in 1669 he was asked to resign the abbacy, which he did but was allowed to keep the abbey revenues of 5000l a year. He died, in Paris in 1677¹⁷² where he was buried at the Hospital for the Incurables¹⁷³

The third son of Henry Montagu was called James and it was he who founded the Lackham line of the Montagu family. It is said that he was born at Boughton in 1602¹⁷⁴ and was admitted to Sidney College Cambridge¹⁷⁵ in January 1624¹⁷⁶. He may have been the James Montagu who was MP for Huntingdon 1629 but this is not certain¹⁷⁷. He bore the arms of the Montagu family with the mullet - five pointed star - difference of the third son (this is not always found in later generation's depictions although it should be)

¹⁷⁰ Huntingdon Record Office M71/3/1/12

¹⁷¹ Huntingdon Record Office M71/3/1/12

¹⁷² DNB vol XIII p717

¹⁷³ Venn, J & Venn JA (1924) *Alumni Cantagrienses* part 1 Vol III p202. DNB *ibid* has Pontoise "[Adm Fell.Com. at Sidney Jan 1624 3rd s of Henry \(1582-3\) 1st Earl of Manchester Of Lackham Wilts.....](#)"

¹⁷⁴ Although he was not baptised at Weekley

¹⁷⁵ Actually Sidney Sussex College founded 1596

¹⁷⁶ Venn, J & Venn JA (1924) *Alumni Cantagrienses* part 1 Vol III p201

¹⁷⁷ Venn, J & Venn JA (1924) *ibid*



Fig. 16 Arms of James Montagu of Lackham **

In 1635 the fourteen year old ¹⁷⁸ Baynard heiress, Mary, (1621 ¹⁷⁹ - 1685) married Capt. the Hon James Montagu (1608 - 1665) who was 27 at the time. Her father Robert Baynard died only 8 months later and it is very likely that the marriage was arranged because Robert knew he was dying.

Certainly Henry Montagu promised to make his son and daughter in law financially comfortable; in his will Henry makes bequests which, he says,

makes good my promise unto sir Robert Baynard which was to settle two hundred pounds per annum upon my son James and his wife the daughter of sir Robert Baynard .¹⁸⁰

The Baynards may have been in financial difficulties; in 1639 Mary wrote to her father in law thanking him for a gift of plate and asking whether he

would be pleased to be helpful unto my husban with fome money for my fathers creditors are only clamoring one him, that there is noe way to raise my money so that I shall desire your Lordshippe that you would be pleased to grant my husbands requests.¹⁸¹

It is unknown whether the earl provided the money.

¹⁷⁸ Kite, E (undated) *Wiltshire Pedigrees* vol 2 quoting Chester's Marriage Licences

¹⁷⁹ Hasell, ABS (1972) *Baynard : An ancient family bearing Arms* p49 baptized Lacock 26 March 1620.

Lacock Parish Registers Transcriptions in WANHS Library Devises (hereafter LPRD) Bap 27 shows March 27 1621

¹⁸⁰ Huntingdon Record Office M71/3/1/13

¹⁸¹ Huntingdon Record Office 21/463. This is a photocopy of a letter by Mary dated 12th June 1639. These photocopies are of papers formerly deposited in the PRO under pro30/15/2 but [which] were withdrawn and sold at Sotheby's on 27/10 1970 there was a further sake at Sotheby's on 19/7/1999

The Manor of Lackham Vol 3 : The Montagu family

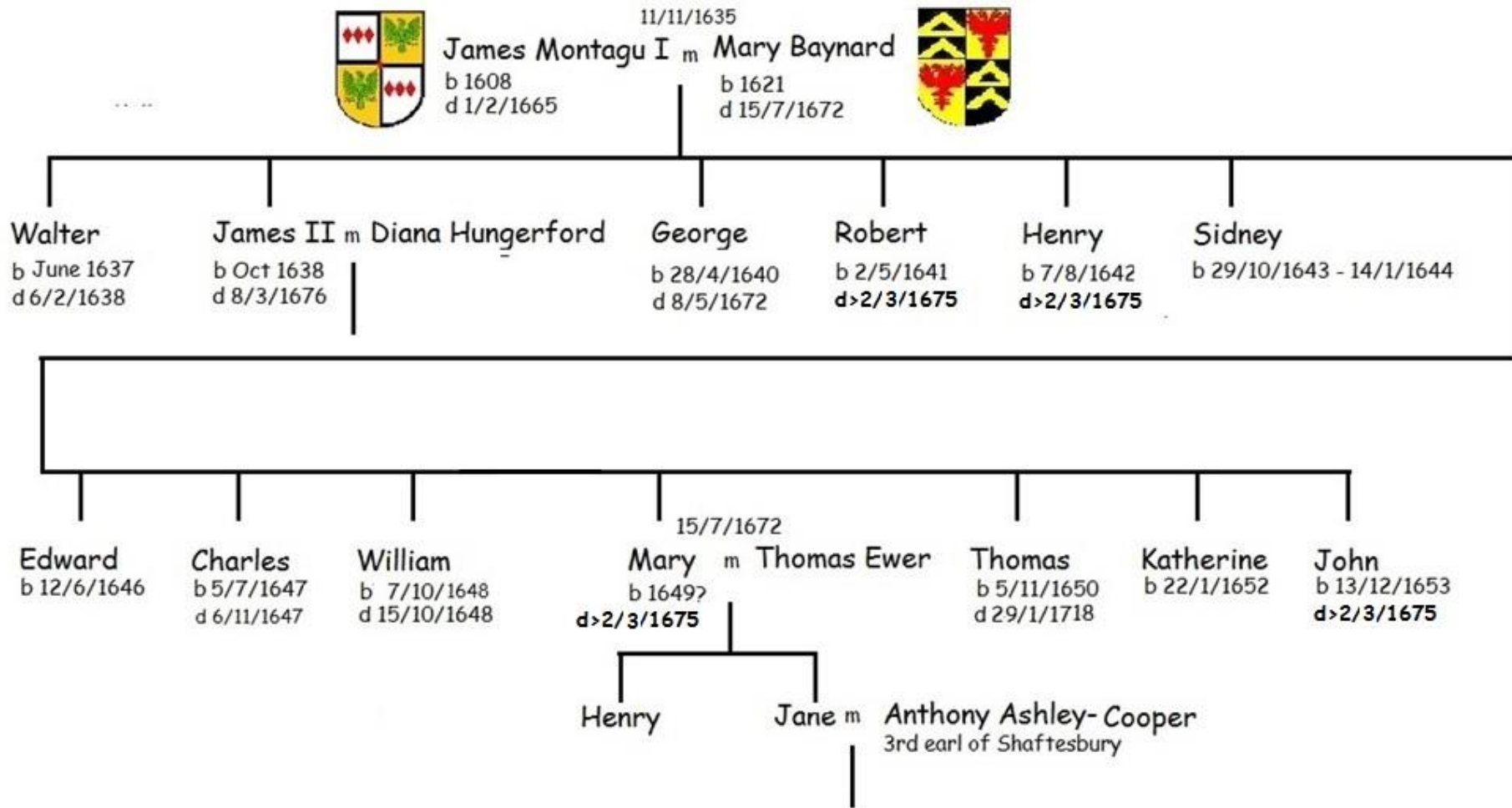


Fig. 17 Children of James Montagu and Mary Baynard **

The start of James and Mary's time at Lackham was not hopeful - within a decade of James and Mary inheriting, the country was suffering the Civil War. It has already been noted that James was "Captain the Honourable". It is unknown what regiment James was in. Unlike his brother and nephew he does not appear in the history of the Civil war at all. The Montagus of Lackham do not appear to have been active locally for either side (but see below) and the Manor does not seem to have been involved directly in the great and terrible events of the 1640's. Their near neighbours, Edward Hungerford of Corsham and Edward Baynton of Bromham, were commanders for Parliament during the war ¹⁸²

War passed close by however; after the Battle of Lansdown (July 6th, 1643), the major armies of the West were very close - "*the Royalist commanders halted....and sent messages to Waller [the Parliamentary commander] offering to contest the issue afresh on the level land between Biddlestone [sic] and Chippenham*". Waller declined and "*both sides spent the night of the eighth in arms, bivouacking almost within talking distance of one another in the fields west of [Lackham]*"¹⁸³

It seems strange that Lackham was not involved, the estates on either side were actively invested - Lacock Abbey changed hands, by force, several times and the Hungerford house at Rowden was a stronghold for Parliamentary forces; various attempts were made to take it. On February 15th, 1645, about 500 Royalist troops besieged the house and "*two days of heavy bombardment followed*"¹⁸⁴, after which the Parliamentarians surrendered. The canon would have been clearly audible and, the smoke at least, visible at Lackham

On 12th July, 1645 the Parliamentary defenders of Chippenham (under Lt. Col. William Eyres) were attacked by the Royalist forces of Long and Boville. The Royalists took the town in this small action, only about 400 men were involved all told.¹⁸⁵

Although affecting everyone in England to a greater or lesser extent, the Civil War did not mean that the entire civil organisation of the country broke down, and local areas continued very much as they always had for most of the time. For example the local offices still had to be filled and the duties associated with them carried out. In 1641 "*Capt. Montagu Esq*" was pleased to accept the office of parish Waywarden with

¹⁸² Buderidge, P & Pocock, JD (1941) *Pinhills* p25

"*The Blakes, Erles, Bayntuns and Hungerfords with all the neighbouring gentry eagerly took up commissions in the North Wiltshire Militia. Ambrose Blake, who had succeeded his father at Pinhills, fortified the family seat against the Royalists by garrisoning the manor house with a body of musketeers*"

¹⁸³ MacLachlan (1977) *The Civil War in Wiltshire* pp104 - 105

¹⁸⁴ MacLachlan (1977) *ibid* pp 307-209

¹⁸⁵ MacLachlan (1977) *ibid* pp242 - 243

Thomas Mitchell ¹⁸⁶. It is noteworthy that he wasn't compelled to take on the duties - both as a military officer and as a JP he was exempt.

James and Mary inherited another manor from Henry Montagu who bequeathed

all that my manor of Colmorth in the county of Bedford and all those pastures grounds called Colmorth pastures and all that watermill called pinchmill and all my lands and tenements in Colmorth, Thambrooke, Foldsdrop and Hensham or any of them in the county of Bedford to have and to hold..... This manor mills pasture grounds and lands I have letten to one mill for three hundred pounds per annum ¹⁸⁷

Colmorth, about five miles south of Kimbolton, led to some trouble between James and his brother Edward, the second earl. In 1645 Edward, earl of Manchester started an action in Chancery in which he alleged that James had a deed poll of "100l per annum and part of the manor of Culworth"¹⁸⁸. Edward claimed that the deed had been discharged by Henry Montagu and that James had agreed that he would not take advantage of the deed and had refused to deliver up the deed to Edward. In 1654 James issued a petition to *the supreme authority of Parliament of the Commonwealth of England* asking for '*relief from vexatious suits to which he was, as he alleged, subjected by the earl*'. Reference is made in James' petition to "*that most destructive statute to your petitioner anno 32 h 8*" ¹⁸⁹. Why this statute was unhelpful to James is unclear as it would seem to be the act that allowed Henry to give land to anyone other than Edward ¹⁹⁰. At the foot of the petition is a note by Lisle Long, which says that it is "*his highness' pleasure*" ¹⁹¹ that the earl should be made acquainted with the petition and desired to return what answer thereunto he judges meet within some convenient time" ¹⁹². The answer given, and the result of the petition, is unknown.

¹⁸⁶ Or maybe *Michell*. If so this was James' legal advisor in Wiltshire. See below

¹⁸⁷ Huntingdon archives M71/3/1/13

¹⁸⁸ Huntingdon archives 2091/625 James' appeal dated April 17th 1654

¹⁸⁹ *Chronological Table and Index of the statutes* 3rd ed 1874 p46 32 hen 8 1540 c1 Wills -

¹⁹⁰ <http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Statute+of+Wills>

The Statute of Wills (32 Hen. 8, c. 1 - enacted in 1540) was an Act of the Parliament of England. It made it possible, for the first time in English history, for landholders to determine who would inherit their land upon their death by permitting bequest by will. Prior to the enactment of this statute, land could be passed by descent only if and when the landholder had competent living relatives who survived him, and it was subject to the harsh rules of primogeniture. When a landholder died without any living relatives, his land would escheat to the Crown. The statute was something of a political compromise between Henry VIII and English landowners, who were growing increasingly frustrated with primogeniture and royal control of land.

¹⁹¹ Note that, as this was in 1654, "*his highness'*" was the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell

¹⁹² Huntingdon archives 2091/625

It is possible, although not certain, that the problem late in James' life - in 1664, only a year before his death - are related to this dispute, but again this is unclear. Whether it was or not, in 1664 James was detained in the King's Bench prison. It is not certain why he was there; he seemed to think that it was to do with an allegation that he would not live with his family. He believed that his wife and children were acting against him. In a letter to his Wiltshire lawyer,¹⁹³ Thomas Michell,¹⁹⁴ he talks about

*the plot of my children, my wife joining with old Snell and Sir John,
[which] keeps me hence [in the King's Bench]*

In his reply Michell assures James that although

*you have been further informed that your noble Lady and most worthy
children hath joined with your enemies to bar you of your liberties*

Michell is emphatic that this is not the case and seeks to assure James that Mary was

*always ready to do you all the honour that possibly she could. And as
for your four eldest sons they are gentlemen that are endowed with
many virtues, and by the sweetness of their dispositions have won the
hearts of all that know them*¹⁹⁵

which only says they were popular. Michell doesn't say they haven't been involved, that is certainly the sense he is giving but the words do not actually say so.

James had hopes of being released in the near future - he mentions that

*[there will be a] deliverance e'er long for prior Prisoners, by the Act of
Grace, the Commissioners sitting daily and tomorrow or next day the
Parliament meet*¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ James Waylin's note to accompany the letters above when he sent the copies to Cunnington in 1834

¹⁹⁴ WANHS copy of WAM III Devizes Museum, copy of a letter to Mr Michell, dated 18th August 1664 interleaved between pp90-91 This letter, and Michell's reply, are presented in full in Appendix 1

¹⁹⁵ From *A true copy of a letter sent to Mr Jas Montagu, senior, in answer to his, when he was in the Kings Bench Prison* interleaved in WANHS copy WAM III *ibid*

¹⁹⁶ James Montagu's letter to Michell 18th August 1664 *ibid*

The Act of Grace here probably refers to an Act of Reconciliation passed by Charles II in 1660¹⁹⁷, designed to put the Civil War behind the country. Although a "general pardon" it did exclude a lot of categories; the (named) individuals who had signed Charles I's death warrant for a start, but also such categories as those convicted of being "bigamists, buggers, embezzlers from the Crown, kidnappers of Maids, murderers, pirates, rapists, Jesuits and Romanish priests".

James Montagu I died in February 1665¹⁹⁸ he was buried in Lacock on the 11th¹⁹⁹

It is interesting that in December 1665 Mary became the godmother to Thomas Gore, the eldest son of the antiquarian Thomas Gore of Alderton²⁰⁰. One wonders whether the known Catholicism of the Bluet family was continued by Mary but not by her husband. As has been seen he and his family were staunch Parliamentarians but the Gores of Alderton were very definitely on the side of the Crown. The fact that Mary became Thomas Gore's godmother must mean she was not antagonistic to his family's religious leanings. This might also explain why Mary and some of her sons might have been suspected of being involved in James' sojourn in prison as seen above. The Snell family were friends of the Gores of Alderton and had also been on the Royalist side in the war.

James Montagu I and Mary had 11 sons and 2 daughters²⁰¹. These were Walter²⁰² who died young²⁰³, James²⁰⁴, George²⁰⁵, Robert²⁰⁶, Henry²⁰⁷, Sidney²⁰⁸, Edward²⁰⁹,

¹⁹⁷ *An Act of Free and General Pardon, Indemnity and Oblivio* 13 Car 2 (1660) from Anon *Statutes at Large* Vol III pp166-174

¹⁹⁸ Venn, J & Venn JA (1924) *Alumni Cantagrienses* part 1 Vol III p201

¹⁹⁹ LPR Burials *James Montagu Esq was buried ye 11th February 1665*

²⁰⁰ Gore, T (1666) *Syntagma Genealogicum A genealogical treatise of the family of the Gores of Aldrington or Alderton* Gore, T (1666) *Syntagma Genealogicum A genealogical treatise of the family of the Gores of Aldrington or Alderton* Gore, T (1666) *Syntagma Genealogicum A genealogical treatise of the family of the Gores of Aldrington or Alderton* p389 Baptism 17th December 1665.

²⁰¹ Burke (1858) *Commoners of England* vol II p53 gives some, but not all, of these

²⁰² Lackham Parish Registers (henceforth LPR, LPRD refers to the transcripts of the registers held at WANHS in Devizes) microfiche held at Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre (hereafter W&SHC) Bap son of James Montagu June 1637

²⁰³ LPRD Bur Buried Feb 6 1638, aged just over 7 months

²⁰⁴ LPR Bap son of James Montagu Oct 1638

²⁰⁵ LPR Bap son of James Montagu 28th April 1640

²⁰⁶ LPR Bap son of Capt James Montagu 2nd May 1641

²⁰⁷ LPR Bap son of Capt James Montagu 7th Aug 1642

²⁰⁸ LPR Bap son of Capt James Montagu between 29/10/1643 and 14./1/1644 (actual date not given, but these are the dates either side of the entry)

²⁰⁹ LPR Bap son of Capt James Montagu 12th June 1646

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Charles ²¹⁰, William ²¹¹ Thomas ²¹², John ²¹³ Katherine ²¹⁴ and Mary ²¹⁵. Of these four died young, Henry (age at death not known), Walter 6 months, Charles 8 months and William just over a week. To lose this number of children in the first year of life was not, of course, unusual although that did not stop the loss of children being deeply felt.

Little is known of many of the children but Mary married Thomas Ewer of Bushey Hall, Herts ²¹⁶. Mary and Thomas' son Henry sold another of their manors, Meriden, to the brothers John and Lewis Rogers of New Brentford in 1715 ²¹⁷ so Thomas must have died between 1701 and 1715. Henry Ewer was High Sheriff of Hertfordshire in 1711 ²¹⁸. Their daughter Jane married her cousin Anthony Ashley-Cooper, the 3rd earl of Shaftesbury in 1709 ²¹⁹. *Mary was given " picture of King David done on vellum" in her brother James' will* ²²⁰

It is possible that either Thomas or John were involved in a court case reported by Samuel Pepys in his diary; in July 1667, only months after the Great Fire had devastated London ²²¹, Pepys attended the Sessions where he witnessed the trials, with " several brought in for making it their trade to set houses on fire merely to get plunder" ²²² bring heard by the Lord Chief Justice ²²³. Two of the prosecution witnesses were boys, one of whom was "my Lady Montagu's (I know not what Lady

²¹⁰ LPR Bap son of Capt James Montagu 5th July 1647; LPR Bur son of Captain Montagu 3rd Nov 1647 so aged almost 4 months

²¹¹ LPR Bap son of James Montagu 7th Oct 1748 LPR Bur 15th Oct 1648 so he only lived a week after his baptism

²¹² LPR Bap son of James Montagu 5th November 1650

²¹³ LPR Bap John, son of James Montagu 13th December 1653 John has not previously been identified, as far as I know, which seems strange, as he appears as James II's brother in [James II will \(PROB 11/350-53 dated 2 March 1675\)](#)

²¹⁴ LPR Bap daug of James Montagu 22nd Jan 1652

²¹⁵ Is shown in the Wiltshire Visitation of 1665 but not in the parish records

²¹⁶ On 15th July 1672 (LPR) Bushey Hall is in the Parish of Bushey in Hertfordshire. *The original Bushey Hall was up in the north of the parish next to the River Colne. Bushey Hall Farm is still there today but the manor house was pulled down in the early part of the nineteenth century* [Annal, D (2005) at <http://www.hertfordshire-genealogy.co.uk/data/places/places-b/bushey-hall.htm>]. It would appear that Bushey Hall was sold by Sir Robert Marsham, Bart, in 1701 to Thomas Ewer. [VCH Hertfordshire (1908) vol 2 p180]

²¹⁷ VCH Hertfordshire (1908) vol 2 Merden Manor pp 451-464

²¹⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/High_Sheriff_of_Hertfordshire#Anne

²¹⁹ <http://www.cracroftspeerage.co.uk/online/content/Shaftesbury1672.htm> married 29th Aug 1709

²²⁰ PROB 11/350-53 will of James II dated 2 March 1675

²²¹ September 2nd - 5th 1666

²²² Pepys' diary entry for July 4th 1667, online edition www.pepysdiary.com

²²³ John Kelynge was LCJ King's Bench 1665-1671

Montagu) son " ²²⁴ Pepys' account of the trial is a little lengthy but worth including. He says that the two boys

were playing in Moore-Fields, and one rogue, Gabriel Holmes, did come to them and teach them to drink, and then to bring him plate and clothes from their fathers' houses, and carry him into their houses, and leaving open the doors for him, and at last were made of their conspiracy, and were at the very burning of this house in Aldersgate Street, on Easter Sunday at night last, and did gather up goods, as they had resolved before and this Gabriel Holmes did advise to have had two houses set on fire, one after another, that, while they were quenching of one, they might be burning another. And it is pretty that G. Holmes did tell his fellows, and these boys swore it, that he did set fire to a box of linen in the Sheriffe, Sir Joseph Shelden's ²²⁵house, while he was attending the fire in Aldersgate Street, and the Sheriffe himself said that there was a fire in his house, in a box of linen, at the same time, but cannot conceive how this fellow should do it. The boys did swear against one of them, that he had made it his part to pull the plug out of the engine while it was a-playing; and it really was so. And goods they did carry away, and the manner of the setting the house on fire was, that Holmes did get to a cockpit; where, it seems, there was a publick cockpit, and set fire to the straw in it, and hath a fire-ball at the end of the straw, which did take fire, and so it prevailed, and burned the house; and, among other things they carried away, he took six of the cocks that were at the cockpit; and afterwards the boys told us how they had one dressed, by the same token it was so hard they could not eat it. But that which was most remarkable was the impudence of this Holmes, who hath been arraigned often, and still got away ²²⁶; and on this business was taken and broke loose just at Newgate Gate; and was last night luckily taken about Bow, who got loose, and run into the river, and hid himself in the rushes; and they pursued him with a dog, and the dog got him and held him till he was taken. But the impudence of this fellow was such, that he denied he ever saw the boys before, or ever knew the Russia House, or that the people knew him; and by and by

²²⁴ Pepys' diary *ibid*

²²⁵ Shelden was Sheriff during the Great Fire

²²⁶ This may refer to an escape by 'Holmes' in 1666 which cost the executors of "Thrower, late keeper of Ludgate" a thousand pounds; Holmes had been "upon a cap. utlagat * after judgment in debt and escaped" [Bannister, S (ed) (1823) *Reports of Judgements by Sir Orlando Bridgman when Chief Justice of the Common Pleas 1660-1667* Butterworth & Son pp573-4]

* Cap. utlagat = *capias utlagat* this is a writ commanding the arrest of an outlawed person. *Utlagatum* is a Latin word which means "you take the outlaw."

[<http://definitions.uslegal.com/c/capias-utlagatum/>].

the mistress of the Russia House was called in, being indicted, at the same time, about another thing; and she denied that the fellow was of her acquaintance, when it was pretty to see how the little boys did presently fall upon her, and ask her how she durst say so, when she was always with them when they met at her house, and particularly when she come in in her smock before a dozen of them, at which the Court laughed, and put the woman away. Well, this fellow Holmes was found guilty of the act of burning the house, and other things, that he stood indicted for.

Having been found guilty Holmes would have been hanged. This was the case anyway, but being an arsonist in London 9 months after the Great Fire would have made it a certainty. Holmes' punishment is not mentioned in the diary, but that this was a capital case is underscored by Pepys' comment that he was initially "unsatisfied with the force given to such little boys [testimony], to take away men's lives" ²²⁷

The age of the 'boys' is not given ²²⁸, they are certainly more than 12 (Lord Chief Justice Keeling noted that "there was no law against taking the oath of children above twelve years old" ²²⁹ . In the previous day's diary entry, where Pepys describes being told of the case by Sir Richard Ford - who was prosecuting it - Pepys describes the witnesses as "two young men" which would also indicate that they were in their early teens.. It is noted that Pepys doesn't know which Lady Montagu was the mother of the boy concerned which would seem to indicate she was not well known to the court circle and this could describe Mary Montagu nee Baynard. In 1667 James Montagu I's two youngest sons were 17 (Thomas) and 14 (John) so either of these would fit with the facts known. His next youngest son, Edward, was 21, too old to be called a boy. It is not certain that the Montagu son mentioned in this case was from the Lackham branch but the circumstantial evidence makes it seem likely. We are not the first to suggest that this is indeed the case; the Rev. Smith, in his work on Pepys ²³⁰ , says "A son of James Montagu of Lackham third son of the earl Manchester, by his wife Mary daughter of Sir R Baynard of Lackham Wilts". Unfortunately, as is so often the case with Victorian writers and even many today, the good reverend does not give a source to justify his assertion. It could be suggested that the boy was a son of Edward, 2nd earl of Manchester, but there are no children of the right age from any of his four marriages that would fit the description.

²²⁷ Pepys' diary entry for July 4th 1667, online edition www.pepysdiary.com

²²⁸ Searches of the Index rolls (PRO CP40/515 & 516) for London cases in 1667 have not so far turned up any details but hopefully further work will discover the proper records. There were a lot of cases in 1667!

²²⁹ Pepys' diary *ibid*

²³⁰ Smith Rev J (1854) *The Correspondence and Diary of Samuel Pepys etc* 5th ed vol III p180 fn 1

John studied at St John's College, Oxford, and was Rector at Upton Scudamore in Wiltshire between 1682 and 1691²³¹. Edward²³², James and Thomas²³³ all studied at Cambridge University. Edward was later a lawyer, Thomas was ordained.

Death dates for many of the children are unknown but Robert, Henry, Thomas, John and Mary were all living after 2 March 1675, when they were mentioned in James' will²³⁴

James Montagu I's 2nd son [born 1638, married 1671, died 1676²³⁵] was also called James. He married Diana, daughter of Anthony Hungerford of Black Bourton, Oxon (b 1648, d 1735)²³⁶, she was sister to Edward Hungerford KB "The Spendthrift" who "sacrificed a noble fortune to the follies and vices of the reign of Charles II"²³⁷. He sold Farleigh Castle in 1686 and obtained a Royal Charter to convert his London home into a market to try to revive his fortune, which it didn't.²³⁸

From Anthony Hungerford's will²³⁹ we know that Diana received £3,000 on her

²³¹ *Alumni Oxoniensis 1500-1714* online at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp1007-1026> accessed 23 July 2016

"s. James, of Lakeham, Wilts, gent. *St. John's Coll.*, matric. 6 April, 1671, aged 17; B.C.L. 1679, rector of Upton Scudamore, Wilts, 1681-91"

²³² *Alumni Cantabrigienses* online at <http://www.archive.org/stream/p1alumniantabri03univuoft#page/200/mode/2up> accessed 23 July 2016

"Adm pens at Christ's Apr 21 1665 S of James (1623-4) Esq of Lackham Wilts, B there. School Strixton Northants (Mr Farrow) Matric 1665, Adm Middle Temple, June 17 1691 Brother of James (1652) and Thomas (1668)"

²³³ *Alumni Cantabrigienses* online at <http://www.archive.org/stream/p1alumniantabri03univuoft#page/200/mode/2up> accessed 23 July 2016

"Adm pens. (age 18) at Christ's Apr 15 1668 6th s of James (1683-4) of Lackham Wilts B there. School Knotting, Beds (private, Mr Scriven) Matric 1668 BA 1675 Incorp at Oxford 1680 Ord Deacon and priest (Peterborough) July 4 1676 Rector of Burton Latimer 1676-1718, Rector of Everdon Northants 1683. Died at Burton Jan 29 1718 aged 68 and buried there MI

²³⁴ PROB 11/350-53 will of James II dated 2 March 1675

²³⁵ LPR James Montagu esq buried 8th March 1676

²³⁶ James Montagu of Lackham, co. Wilts, Esq. Batchelor about 32 and Ms Diana Hungerford of Black Bourton co Oxon Spinster 21 consent of mother Mrs Rachel Hungerford, widow, of Black Bourton aforesaid 30 May 1671 Newspaper cutting, not identified, in Kite (undated B) vol 2 p66. It is noted that the age given does not agree with Diana's known birth date

²³⁷ VCH Wiltshire (1955) Vol II

²³⁸ The Hungerford Market - Charing Cross Station occupies the site. Kite, E (1899) *Wilts Notes and Queries* Vol 3 p92

²³⁹ Jackson, Rev. JE (undated) *Hungerford Family Records. Personal History* Vol II pp24-31

father's death ²⁴⁰ and the only other thing known is that she hadn't made a will when she died ²⁴¹



Fig. 18 Arms of Montagu and Hungerford ²⁴² **

Little of known of James II, but there may be a portrait of him in Salisbury Museum, see [Appendix 2](#) . He was educated at Eton and admitted to his father's old College, Sidney, in 1652 ²⁴³

During his lifetime the country was, again, in religious turmoil, and the non-conformist movement was strong in northern Wiltshire. There was so much dissatisfaction and trouble that Sharrington-Talbot of Lacock Abbey, wrote to Joseph Williamson ²⁴⁴ ,

the gentry all repair to me upon all occasions of unlawful meetings, although I am neither a deputy-lieutenant nor a Justice of the peace I have been informed by John Eyre of Little Chalfield, Henry Long a Captain of Foot in Wiltshire and Mr Cornelius, each of whom are very active in suppressing Conventicles, that the Quakers who were fined

²⁴⁰ Jackson, Rev JE (undated) *ibid* p27

²⁴¹ WA 212B /3676

Administration Agreement for the estate of Diana Hungerford dated 8th July 1735 for "Diana Montague of Lacock widow of James Montague of Lackham d1676"

²⁴² Brocklebank, Rev GR (1968) *The Heraldry of the Church of St. Cyriac in Lacock* The Uffington Press p22

²⁴³ Venn, J & Venn JA (1924) *Alumni Cantagrienses* part 1 Vol III p201

"Adm Fell Com (age 18) at Surrey Oct 9 1652. Eldest s of James of Lackham Wilts School Eton Matric 1652..."

²⁴⁴ Joseph Williamson (1633-1701) In 1660 he entered the service of the then Secretary of State, Sir Edward Nicholas, retaining his position under the succeeding secretary, Sir Henry Bennet, Lord Arlington. He was involved with the foundation of the London Gazette in 1665 before entering parliament in 1669. He was knighted in 1672. In 1674 he was made Secretary of State, having practically purchased this position from Arlington for £6,000, a sum that he required from his successor when he left office in He was removed from office in 1679 after being arrested after being implicated in the popish plots, but he had been released by order of Charles II. He was an Irish MP between 1692 and 1699, He died at Cobham, Kent, on 3 October 1701. He was the second President of the Royal Society, but his main interests, were antiquarian rather than scientific. Taking advantage of the many opportunities of making money which his official position gave him, he became very rich.

*by Jas Montague and George Johnson still despite all authority and say they will meet; also that there have been great meetings of Anabaptists and Presbyterians of which Mr Eyre will give lord Arlington an account after he has met Sir Edward Hungerford at sessions what we desire is that a troop of lord Oxford's Regiment may be sent and quartered in Wilts so as to curb these insolent people; otherwise they will so increase that it will be impossible to bring them to obedience*²⁴⁵

The Conventicle Act of 1664 was an Act of Parliament that forbade religious assemblies of more than five people outside the control of the Church of England. This law was Clarendon's program to discourage nonconformity and strengthen the position of the Established Church. These prohibitions led many priests to leave their parishes rather than submit to the new church authorities. Many congregations followed their ministers out of the established church, meeting on hillsides etc. From small beginnings these field assemblies - or conventicles - were to grow into the major problems of public order that Talbot feared in his letter. "An Act to prevent and suppress Seditious Conventicles" imposed a fine on any person who attended any religious assembly (conventicle), other than those of the Church of England, of five shillings for the first offence and ten shillings for a second and it is these Acts which the local JP's, including James II, were enforcing with fines. Talbot was writing to Williamson when he was secretary to the Secretary of State, Henry Bennet

James and Diana had [four](#) sons; Edward²⁴⁶, James²⁴⁷, Antonie²⁴⁸ and Robert²⁴⁹ and two daughters called Elizabeth (the first died aged five), and possibly two others called Diana and Jane). [Death dates are only available for Edward and James III, the others do not appear in the Lacock Parish Registers.](#)

Nothing else is known of James II, and his son Edward inherited aged 4²⁵⁰. He appears in the records first in connection with the care of the poor locally.

Under an Act of 1601 overseers of the poor set to work children whose parents were not able to maintain them or, with the assent of two Justices, to apprentice such children. The term was to end at 24 years of age for boys and 21 for females. By 1688 Lacock had developed a system whereby every ratepayer had responsibility for looking after apprentice children, the number assigned was fixed in proportion to

²⁴⁵ Green, MAE (ed) (1895) *Calendar of State Papers Domestic : Series James I 1619-1623* p384 Letter dated August 20th 1670

²⁴⁶ LPR son of James Montagu and Diana his wife bap 18/6/1672

²⁴⁷ LPR son of James Montagu and Diana his wife bap 31/1/1674

²⁴⁸ LPR son of James Montagu and Diana his wife bap 29/4/1675

²⁴⁹ [LPR son of James Montagu and Diana his wife bap 26/10/1676](#)

²⁵⁰ therefore born 1672, as in the footnote three above

their rateable value. In 1688 it is recorded that "Mr Montagu took George Wastfield and Anne Shewring²⁵¹".

Edward studied at Christ's College, Oxford, matriculating aged 18, in July 1690²⁵² and was MP for Chippenham in 1698²⁵³. His biography in the "History of Parliament" gives useful details about him, not least that he owned land, not only Lackham but "had also acquired substantial property including land at Chippenham and Norton Bavant Wilts"²⁵⁴.

Because of these extensive lands Edward was

*well placed in 1698 to win a seat at Chippenham, he was probably a court Whig and was marked as a member of the Juno interest on an analysis of the House in 1700.*²⁵⁵

Edward had come of age in 1693 and "wished to enjoy the benefits of his electoral influence for himself²⁵⁶" and so stood against Francis Popham, who didn't actually contest the seat. Edward and his fellow MP Walter White were challenged at the next election, in 1701, by John, Lord Mordaunt, the eldest (but probably still a minor) son of Lord Peterborough. Despite

*Unbounded confidence in the Montagu camp, Peterborough's interest was such that Lord Mordaunt headed the poll and threw Montagu out*²⁵⁷

²⁵¹ Hinton FH (1940) *The Relief of the Poor of Lacock 1583-1834* WAM vol XIX no CLXIII p183, this would have made Edward 16 at the time

²⁵² *Alumni Oxoniensis 1500 - 1714* vol 3

²⁵³ Goldney (1889) *Records of Chippenham* p333

²⁵⁴ Cruickshank, E, Handley, S and Hayton, DE [eds] [2002] *History of Parliament : the House of Commons 1690-1715* CUP Vol iv p881

²⁵⁵ Cruickshank, E, Handley, S and Hayton, DE [eds] *ibid*

²⁵⁶ Cruickshank, E, Handley, S and Hayton, DE [eds] [2002] *ibid* p656

²⁵⁷ Cruickshank, E, Handley, S and Hayton, DE [eds] [2002] *ibid*

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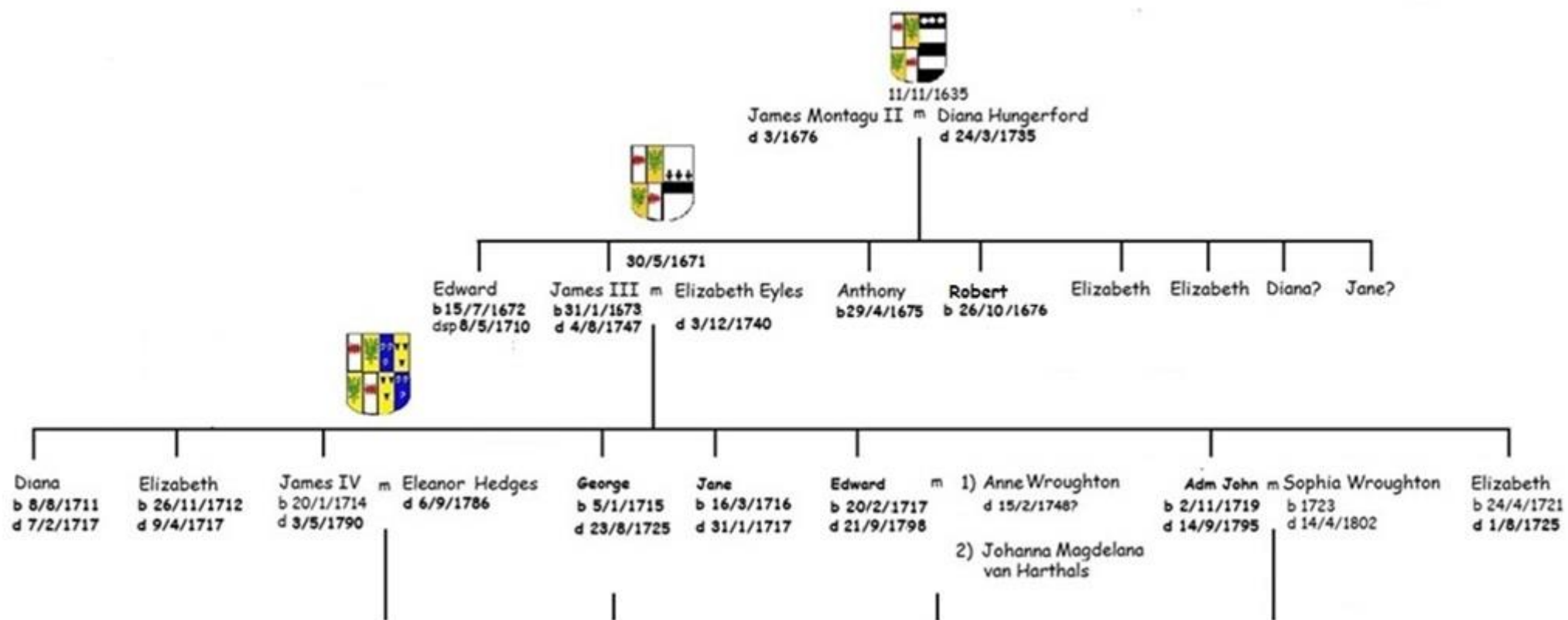


Fig. 19 Descendants of James Montagu and Diana Hungerford **

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Despite appealing the result on the grounds that Mordaunt was a minor, as well as the more usual complaints of unfair practices, Edward lost his seat and never stood again.

He died in 1710 without issue but was not buried in Lacock ²⁵⁸. His brother James III, [baptised 31st January 1674], succeeded aged 36.

Nothing appears to be known about Robert or Anthony. It is possible, however, that when one of them was a young man he went out to India; in 1704 Sir John Talbot ²⁵⁹, the venerable lord of Lacock, Salthorp and Long Acre, received a letter from Henry Davenport, brother in law to his grandson and heir, John Ivory Talbot ²⁶⁰, in which Henry said

²⁵⁸ No record in the LPR *Burials* . The location of his tomb has not been discovered.

²⁵⁹ 1630-1714 A good biography can be found at

<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/talbot-john-1630-1714>

²⁶⁰ Ally McConnell, Lacock Unlocked Blog 20 August 2013

[<http://www.wshc.eu/blog/item/lacock-unlocked-is-unlocking-secrets-already.html>]
accessed 22 July 2016

"Henry Davenport (1678-1731) was married twice, the second time to Barbara Ivory, the younger sister of John Ivory Talbot who was one of the owners of Lacock." John Ivory inherited Lacock from Sir John Talbot

John Ivory Talbot (?1691-1772) was "b. ?1691, 1st s. of Sir John Ivory of New Ross, co. Wexford by Anne, 1st da. and coh. of Sir John Talbot, M.P., of Lacock Abbey" [Sedgwick, R [ed] [1970] *History of Parliament : the House of Commons 1715- 1754* CUP at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/ivory-talbot-john-1691-1772>, accessed 21 July 2016

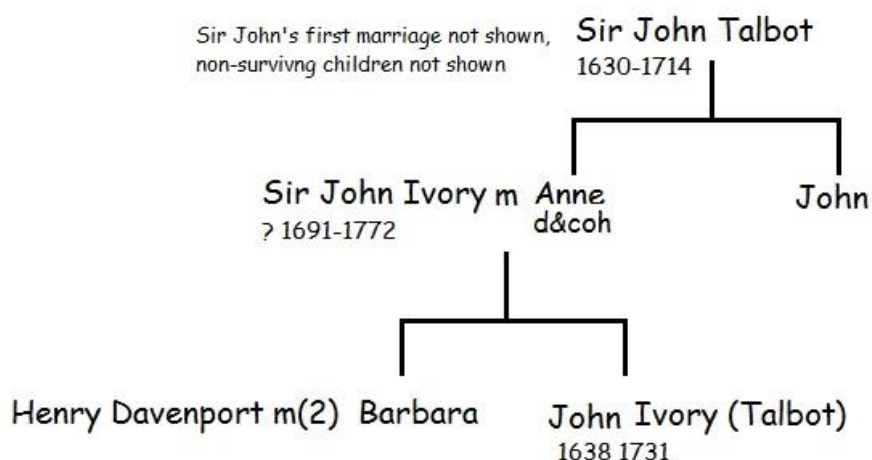


Fig 19a Relationship of Henry Davenport to Sir John Talbot **

Here is come out by the last ship one Mr Montague whose brother lives near an estate of yours in Wiltshire called Lacock, he's acquainted with all your family and has given me a particular account of their well doing. He came out, as a great many other poor young Gentlemen do, to heap up mountains of Treasure in the Indies but is so well satisfied with the Company that he does not intend to stay long here but return home ²⁶¹

Whether one should read "so well satisfied with the Company" as being sarcastic or not is unclear, as is whether this refers to the ex-pat residents or the East India Company, both are possible. Given the date, and that this is a "young Gentleman", this has to be one of Edward, James III, Anthony or Robert. Edward didn't need to go to India to seek his fortune as he inherited Lackham when he was only 4 and anyway he didn't have a brother who owned Lackham, he owned it himself. James III might be possible, especially considering that

although he inherited £1000 on reaching his majority he was at times financially insecure, in 1698 he appealed to Sir William Trumbull for payment of a debt for legal work finding himself unable to settle a bill for £13 because of his 'extraordinary occasions for money,' ²⁶²

but between 1703 and 1705 he was the MP for Chippenham and is recorded in the House during this period. Hence it must be either Anthony or Robert. It is not possible, however, to tell which.

It appears that in 1706 James was involved in a *contretemps* with his neighbour at Lacock, Sir John Talbot, over the rights of Lackham to Bewley Common. ²⁶³

This third James Montagu to hold Lackham married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Eyles of Devizes, in 1716 ²⁶⁴.

²⁶¹ WA 2664/3/2B/128

Letter-book of Henry Davenport Letter to John Talbot dated 14 Feb 1703/4

²⁶² Cruickshank, E, Handley, S and Hayton, DE [eds] *ibid* p896

²⁶³ For a full and fascinating account of this dispute see the excellent article "Tales from the Lacock Archives: A Dispute Concerning Trees on Bewley Common" by Roger Cripps, a fellow Lacock Unlocked Volunteer, at <http://swindon395.rssing.com/browser.php?indx=28115487&item=27> accessed 10 May 2015.

²⁶⁴ <http://www.ktbx.demon.co.uk/page53.html>

In 1716 Elizabeth Eyles, daughter of Sir John Eyles of South Broom Hall of Wiltshire County married James Montagu, Esquire, of Lackham in the same county. They made their home on the Montagu estates. Several of their children distinguished themselves in the church and their son John, became an Admiral in the Royal Navy. Notable amongst the family at this time was Sir John Eyles, Lord Mayor of London

The Manor of Lackham Vol 3 : The Montagu family

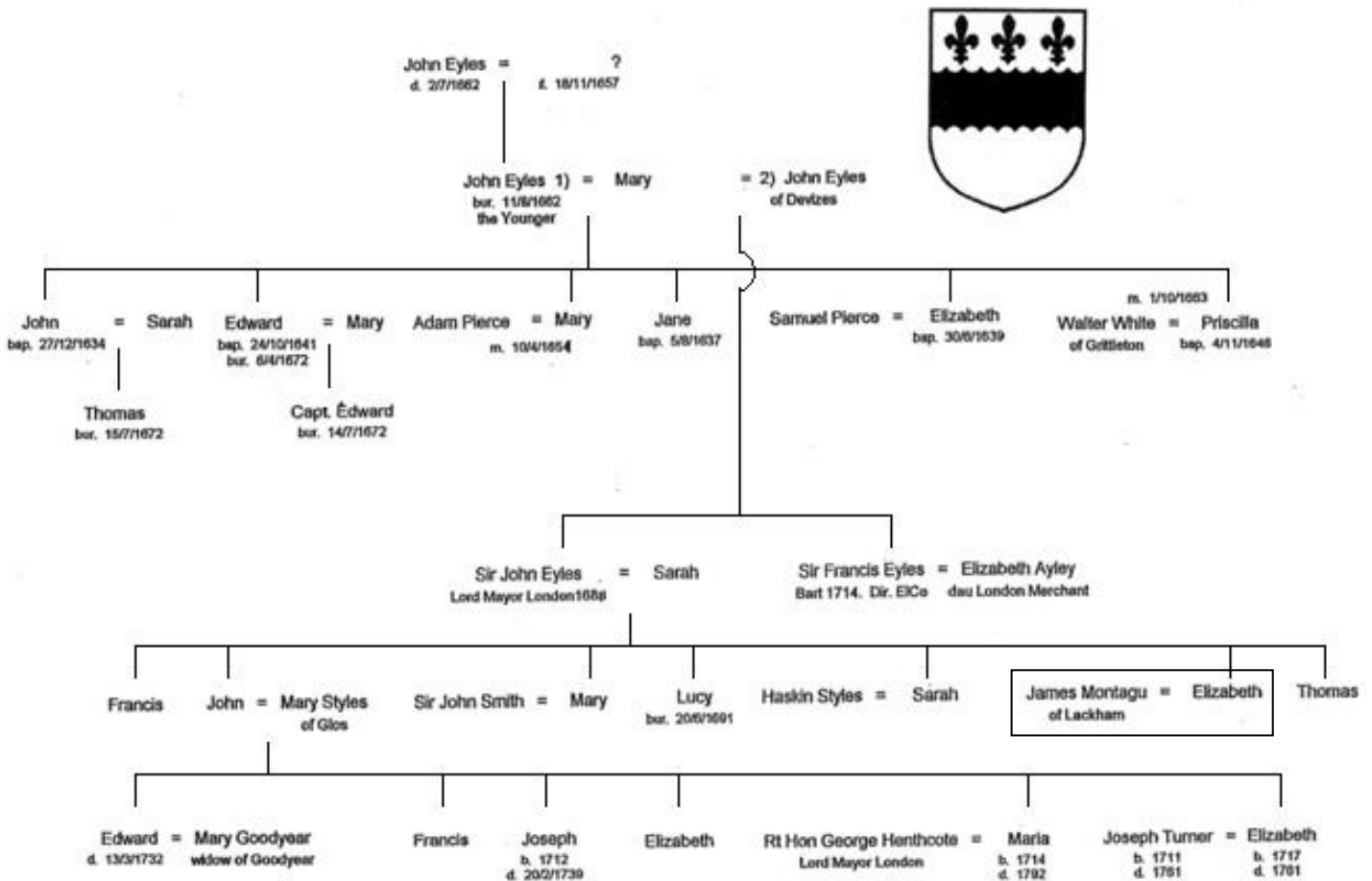


Fig. 20 The Eyles family ****** To return to text click [here](#)

The Eyles family is a fairly complicated one, with marriages to first cousins and many people having the same name. The family tree presented below is as accurate as can be made but there may be faults and omissions. The coat of arms on the family tree is that given for the Eyles family for this period ²⁶⁵

The Eyles family were influential in this period - Elizabeth's father Sir John (died 1703) was MP for Devizes between 1679 and 1681 and Lord Mayor of London for part of 1688 ²⁶⁶ Her uncle Frances, made a Baronet in 1714, was Governor of the Bank of England and three of her relations were local MPs ²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵ Kite, E (undated A) *ibid* p 30

Argent a fesse engrailed sable in chief 3 fleur de leys of the last

²⁶⁶ Ide Isabel (1990) *Wiltshire Members of Parliament and Their Involvement with the South Sea Company* WAM 83 p136

²⁶⁷ Ide Isabel (1990) *Wiltshire Members of Parliament and Their Involvement with the South Sea Company* WAM 83 p137 i) Her brother Frances was MP for Devizes 1715-1721 and was a director of the South Sea Company
ii) Her nephew Francis (son of her brother John) was MP for Devizes 1727-1742
iii) Her cousin Benjamin Haskin Stiles (son of her sister Sarah, m Joseph Haskin

James Montagu was himself Chippenham MP in 1702²⁶⁸, in 1708²⁶⁹ and was a local JP. He does not appear to have been an active MP, indeed

Like his brother Edward he was an inactive member although he did exert himself on behalf of his constituents over arrears due to the town for the stabling of troops. He voted agreeing with the Lord's amendments to the bill for enlarging the time for taking the Oath of Adjuration 13/2/1703
270

This was an oath which, by the act made of 1701, had to be taken by all holders of public offices, clergymen, teachers, members of the universities, and lawyers, adjuring and renouncing the exiled Stuarts

*In 1692 the "Settlement" Act was amended to provide that if a person served an apprenticeship in a parish such apprenticeship should be adjudged good settlement. This meant that the Parish where the apprenticeship was served became liable to support the person if they became destitute, rather than their birth parish; they were deemed to have settled officially in the new parish".*²⁷¹

As a result many Lacock children of the poor were apprenticed to other parishes, presumably with a view to reducing the number of poor for whom the Lacock Overseers might subsequently become responsible. It is noteworthy that in Lacock, between 1700 and 1750, only 7 boys were apprenticed to farm work and one girl to house work. Her apprenticeship terms were illegal however, for she was bound to the age of 24 not 21 "and that in the household of the owner of Lackham, himself a Justice of the Peace"²⁷².

Stiles) was MP for Devizes 1721-1734.

iv) A second cousin, Sir Joseph Eyles (son of her paternal uncle Francis) was MP for Devizes 1722-1727 and 1734-40, and his brother Sir John Eyles was MP for Chippenham 1713-1727. This John was married to Mary, sister of Benjamin Haskin Stiles, see iii)

²⁶⁸ Chippenham's other MP was Lord Mordaunt From: 'A list of the Commons: First Parliament of Queen Anne (1702-5)', The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons : volume 5: 1713-1714 (1742), pp. 103-10.

<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=37702>. Date accessed: 01 November 2005.

²⁶⁹ Goldney (1889) *Records of Chippenham*

²⁷⁰ Cruickshank, E, Handley, S and Hayton, DE [eds] [2002] *History of Parliament : the House of Commons 1690-1715* CUP Vol iv p896

James of Lackham 1673-1747 MP Chippenham 1702-1705

²⁷¹ Hinton FH (>1927) *Parochial history of Lacock in the Eighteenth century in Wiltshire Gazette* preserved in *Cunnington Cuttings* 7 38 WANHS Library, Devizes

²⁷² Hinton FH (>1927) Hinton FH (>1927) *Parochial history of Lacock in the Eighteenth century in Wiltshire Gazette* preserved in *Cunnington Cuttings* 7 38 WANHS Library,

James and Elizabeth had four sons and 5 daughters.

The second son, Edward, was born in Middle Temple, London in 1717, it is said, but baptized in Lacock²⁷³. He married firstly Anne²⁷⁴ Wroughton in April 1741 and they had two daughters, Anne (1746) and Sophia (1748). Edward witnessed leases made by his father in 1743 and was designated "of Notton" in these²⁷⁵.

Anne was buried at Lacock in February 1749²⁷⁶ and five years later Edward married the widow Joanna Magdalena van Harthals. Edward and Joanna were married in London, not Lacock²⁷⁷ and had one son, Gerard who was born at Theberton Hall in Suffolk and baptised there in 1756²⁷⁸ and died in 1807²⁷⁹. In Edward's will Edward originally leaves most of his estate to, and has as one of his executors "my son, Gerard" who was named co-executor (alongside his half brother, Edward van Harthals. Edward van Harthals was Magdalena's son by her previous marriage. See Fig 20b below.

In 1760 Edward was appointed one of the Commissioners for Appeals (the board which adjudicated on Prize Money for the Navy) and Regulating the Duties of Excise²⁸⁰ and again in 1763.²⁸¹

He was appointed as the London Colonial Agent for Virginia in 1760 and was re-appointed in 1765; in a letter to Lord Bruce he said

Your Lordship so kindly interests yourself in my Fortune that I must take the Liberty of communicating to you, the unanimous Resolution of my Constituents in Virginia continue me their Agent for an additional term of 5 Years, this is such a Testimony of their

Devizes

²⁷³ LPR Edward son of James Montagu and Elizabeth his wife bap 22/2/1717

²⁷⁴ Lacock Parish registers

²⁷⁵ WA 212b/3671

²⁷⁶ LPR Burials February 15 1749 Anne Montagu Mrs

²⁷⁷ *Banns of marriages not subsequently solemnised at Lacock*, LPR. Banns read 24 and 31 March and 7 April. Notice of the marriage itself can be found in *Gentleman's Magazine* 1754 24 April, p190

²⁷⁸ Parish Registers 13 May 1756

²⁷⁹ 7 October 1807

²⁸⁰ *Caledonian Mercury* Wednesday 11 March 1760 p2 / *Sussex Advertiser* Monday 24 March 1760 p4

²⁸¹ *The Scots Magazine* Monday 7 February 1763 p59

Approbation of my Conduct that does not a little gratify my vanity
²⁸²

Edward was a lawyer but up until about 1765 he spent much of his time in Wiltshire, he owned Notton House, which appears to have been part of the Lackham estate from the Baynard's period - there is still a carved version of the Baynard arms, similar to the one on Lackham House but including the supporters which the Lackham version does not have, on the west wall of Notton House. In 1766 Edward sold Notton House to John Awdry, it appears he was unhappy to go

I most sincerely wish you and Mrs Awdry may spend four and twenty as comfortable years as I have done. No Consideration but my Duty to my Family could have tempted me to have quitted a Place so suited to my own Inclinations ²⁸³

Edward almost certainly had to sell Notton and move to London permanently because he had been appointed a Master in Chancery the previous June ²⁸⁴

Edward resigned his position as a Master in Chancery in 1795 ²⁸⁵ and "departed this life on Friday the twenty first day of September" 1798²⁸⁶

²⁸² WA 9/35/203, letter from Edward Montagu to Lord Bruce dated, "At Capt Montagu's at Widley near Portsmouth July 30 1765". The Captain Montagu referred to was his brother John, later Admiral of the Blue, see below.

²⁸³ WA 109/513 Letter from Edward Montagu to John Awdry "Notton Park Chippenham Wiltshire" dated London October 7 1766

²⁸⁴ June 24 1765

²⁸⁵ Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette Thursday 3 December 1795 p2

"John Simeon, Esq, Counsellor at Law to succeed Edward Montagu, Esq as one of the Masters in Chancery"

²⁸⁶ Statement of Edward van Harthals dated 2 October 1798 in the Probate section of "Will of Edward Montagu, Master of the High Court of Chancery of Hampstead, Middlesex" National Archives PROB 11/1314/18

(It is possible that a future volume will deal with Edward in detail but when remains problematic! - TP)

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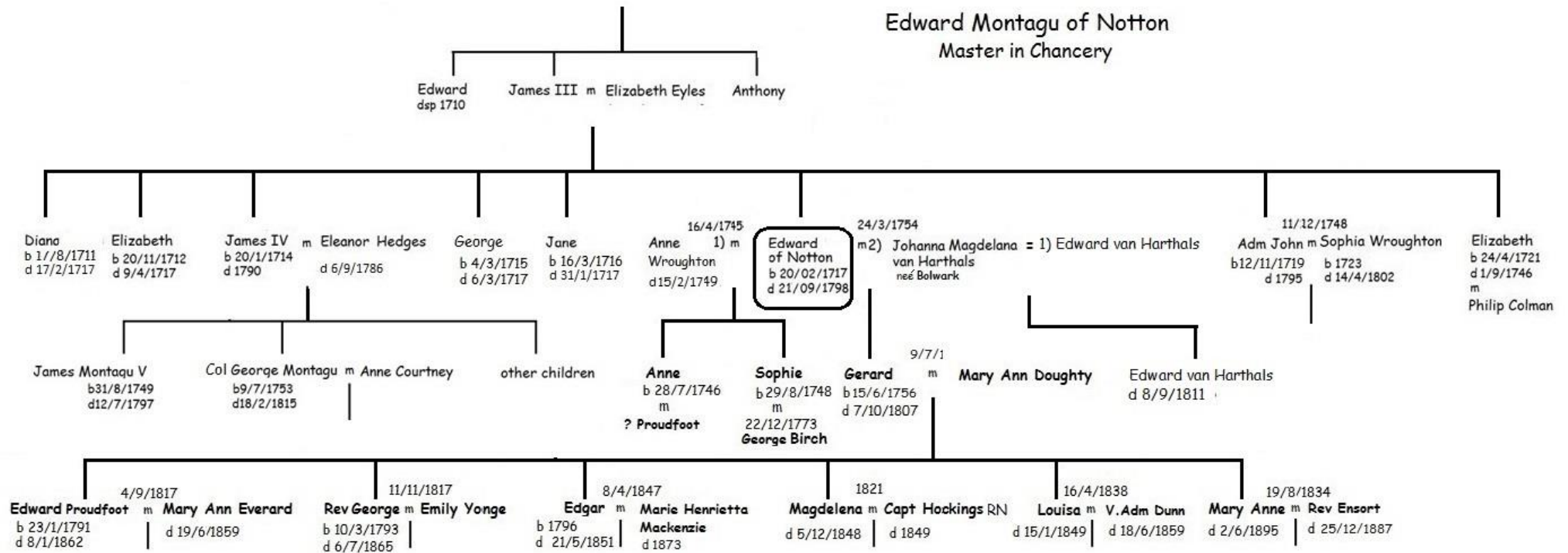


Fig 21 Pedigree of Edward Montagu V **

James and Elizabeth's third son, John ²⁸⁷, had a distinguished career in the Navy ²⁸⁸. He entered the Royal Academy, Portsmouth in 1733 and served on the *Dreadnought*, *Shoreham*, *Dragon*, and *Dauphin*. He sat his examinations, and was appointed lieutenant, in 1740 and a year later was in *Buckingham*. They were present at the Battle of Toulon in 1744 ²⁸⁹, although *Buckingham* remained in reserve. As a result of this he was a witness at the courts-martial of Admiral Mathews and Vice Admiral Lestock.

After this Montagu was transferred to the flagship *Namur* and then, in 1744, was given command of *Hinchinbroke*. Three years later he was in command of the 40 gunner *Ambuscade*. They were in Anson's fleet at the Battle of Cape Finisterre in the same year ²⁹⁰. He had various other commands; as commander of *Monarque* John was in charge of the execution of Admiral Byng in 1757, by firing-squad, on the *Monarque's* quarter deck ²⁹¹. Capt Montagu and *Monarque* were at the destruction of De la Clue's squadron off Cartagena in 1758 and, in a different ship,

²⁸⁷ There is a personal link here; Karen can trace her family back to John Montagu and his children.

²⁸⁸ Badeni, Countess J (1982) *Past people in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire* p66.

²⁸⁹ Williams, B *The Oxford History of England : 1714-1760 The Whig Supremacy* OUP pp 247-248 (ship counts from Bruce, G (1971) *Dictionary of Battles*)

This battle took place on February 21st 1744 between a British fleet of 27 sail of the line and 8 frigates, and a combined French / Spanish fleet of 29 line of battle ships. The British suffered severe losses in this battle - 274 killed and wounded. The British commander Mathews, and his second in command, Admiral Lestock (in whose flagship Montagu was serving) were hardly on speaking terms and Lestock stayed in reserve, claiming that he didn't understand his orders. Mathews' failure to follow up the retreating enemy fleet caused much public indignation at home, leading to the Court Martial of both admirals, nine captains and four lieutenants. In the end Mathews and several of the lieutenants were cashiered but Lestock, the other captains and all the lieutenants were honourably acquitted. It would appear that "*Mathews blundered but his intentions were good, Lestock clung tightly to the letter of his duty but his intentions were contemptible*"

²⁹⁰ Bruce, G (1971) *Dictionary of Battles* p63

Battle fought on May 3rd 1747 between a British fleet of 16 sail under Admiral Anson and a French fleet of 38 sail under Admiral de la Jonquiere. The French were completely defeated, losing 10 ships and nearly 3000 prisoners.

²⁹¹ Williams, B *The Oxford History of England : 1714-1760 The Whig Supremacy* OUP p352 ff

Byng had been put in charge of relieving the island of Minorca, setting out in April 1757, with 10 ships. He took a month to reach Gibraltar where he heard that Richlieu's French army (escorted by la Galioniere's fleet) had besieged Minorca two weeks earlier. It still took him 6 more days to leave port to attack the French fleet. After an indecisive engagement Byng returned to Gibraltar and took no further action. The garrison on Minorca surrendered two months later after a siege of 70 days. There was intense public indignation, and at the insistence of Parliament, a court martial was convened. The Articles of War had recently been changed and the court had no alternative but to sentence Byng to death, although they strongly recommended mercy. The King, however, was adamant and Byng was executed "*pour encourager les autres*"

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with Hawke at the Battle of the Bay of Biscay in 1760. John Montagu was elevated to Rear-Admiral of the Blue in 1770 ²⁹².

John was appointed as commander-in-chief of the North America station in 1771, in January 1771 he wrote *"My Lord Sandwich has done me the honor to tell me he intends soon to let me hoist my flag but before he speaks to the King he is desirous His Majesty should be acquainted with my Services"* ²⁹³ Montagu *"kissed the Kings hand"* ²⁹⁴ on 18 January.

He was in command of the Naval forces in North America between August 1771 and June 1774. *The North American Station was defined as "from the River St. Lawrence to Cape Florida and the Bahama Islands"*. This put him in command of naval activities in the American colonies at the very start of the American Revolution. John Montagu was actually present in Boston when the "Boston Tea Party" took place :

*As the Mohawks marched away Indian file, to the tune of a fife,
Admiral John Montagu, Commander in Chief on the North American
Station, threw up a window of the house of an American loyalist friend
with whom he was dining and called out to them "Well boys, you have
had a fine pleasant evening for you Indian caper haven't you? But,
mind, you have got to pay the fiddle yet"*

*"Never mind, Squire" one of them shouted back, "just come down here
if you please and we will settle the bill in two minutes"* ²⁹⁵

This was just before he, his wife and daughter (who were with him in North America) were due to return to England; *"Admirall Montagu's Lady, and Miss Sophie Montagu paid us a visit this morning, and took leave of us, being just on their departure for England."* ²⁹⁶. They were supposed to depart on 7 July 1774 and their

²⁹² Isaac Schomberg *Naval Chronology* [London, Egerton, 1802] vol 1, 408 21st October 1770

²⁹³ WA 9/35/204 Letter dated January 6 1771 *Lincolns Inn Fields*

²⁹⁴ *Kentish Gazette* Saturday 19 January 1771 p3

"Friday Admiral Montagu, Captain Hood, Captain Sexton and Captain Jekyll kissed his Majesty's hand on their appointments to the command of their respective men of war"

²⁹⁵ Hibbert, C (1990) *Redcoats and Rebels : the war for America 1770-1781* Penguin Classic Military History ISBN 0 141 39021 2 p 21

²⁹⁶ 5 July 1775 ' "The Diary of John Rowe a Boston Merchant 1764-1779" A Paper read by Edward L Pierce before the Massachusetts Historical Society March 14 1895 '

[Cambridge: John Wilson and Son. 1895.] at

https://archive.org/stream/diaryofjohnroweb00pier/diaryofjohnroweb00pier_djvu.txt

accessed 8 February 2016

ship even fired the departing salute but "*the wind dyed away ; they did not sail*" ²⁹⁷. The crossing was accomplished within the month, on 2 August his brother Edward was able to inform Lord Bruce of Tottenham Park that "*by letter from Portsmouth this morning, I am informd the Admirals Blue Flag made its appearances Sunday at St Helen's Point.*" ²⁹⁸. This was later than he had been looked for, on 25 July Edward had told Lord Bruce that "*I am in hourly expectation of the Admirals arrival*" ²⁹⁹. This was not unreasonable of Edward, a two week crossing was not uncommon ³⁰⁰

John Montagu became Vice-Admiral of the Blue in 1776 ³⁰¹, when he was back in North America as commander-in-chief at Newfoundland, primarily fighting American privateers; he also seized the islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon between 1776-1779. John Montagu became Admiral of the Blue in 1782 and was commander-in-chief, Portsmouth, between 1783 and 1786.

John married Sophia Wroughton ³⁰², daughter of John Wroughton and Anna Eyre and sister to Ann, Edward's wife. John and Sophia Montagu possibly had 5 sons - a

²⁹⁷ Pierce, Edward L *ibid*

²⁹⁸ WSA 9/35/203 Letter from Edward Montagu to Lord Bruce dated *Frognaal Grove Aug 2 1774* The Sunday would have been July 31. St Helen's Point is on the north east coast of the Isle of Wight, near Spithead.

²⁹⁹ WSA 9/35/203 Letter from Edward Montagu to Lord Bruce dated *London July 25 1774*

³⁰⁰ For example in another letter Edward Montagu said he had heard from his brother "*of [his] safe arrival after a passage of sixteen days at Spithead*" WSA 9/35/203 Letter from Edward Montagu to Lord Ailesbury (formerly Lord Bruce) dated *Symonds Inn Nov 14*, probably 1776 from internal evidence

³⁰¹ Isaac Schomberg *Naval Chronology* [London, Egerton, 1802] vol 1, 425 5th February 1776

³⁰² b 1723 in Wiltshire, d 14 April 1802

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"son" born in 1748 ³⁰³, John ³⁰⁴, George ³⁰⁵, James ³⁰⁶, Edward ³⁰⁷. John Montagu died in 1795 ³⁰⁸.

There may have been up to five daughters - Diana ³⁰⁹, Elizabeth ³¹⁰, Anne ³¹¹, Elizabeth ³¹², and Jane ³¹³.

Three of the boys went into the military - George and James into the Navy and Edward into the Army.

George went out to the West Indies with Admiral Parry ³¹⁴ and in 1774 was in command of his father's flagship *Fowey*

³⁰³ According to the IGI, name not given, not found in parish records and not included in the figure

³⁰⁴ Mr and Mrs Mondt *pers.comm* 11/11/1749 at Lackham - 25/7/1818. Mrs Pamela Mondt if KR;s sister

³⁰⁵ Sir George Montagu (12 Dec 1750, Lackham - 24 Dec 1829) followed in his father's footsteps and was an Admiral; he fought on the British side in the American Revolution and against France and Spain. He had a command rôle in the famous action of Howe's Grand Fleet. He married his first cousin, Charlotte Wroughton. It was he who was president of the Court Martial that censured Vice Admiral Sir Robert Calder in December 1806. [*The European Magazine* 1806 p77]

³⁰⁶ Who has his own entry in the DNB, as a Naval Officer. He was killed in *Montagu* at the Battle of Ushant, 1/6/1794

³⁰⁷ 20/2/1755 Lackham, married Barbara Fleetwood at Masulipatam, Madras India 17 May 1792 (Dodson, VCP (1946) *List of the Officers of the Bengal Army, 1758-1834* vol III pp312-313). They had three children - Edward born Bengal 17/7/1796, John born Cawnpore in Bengal 21/8/1797 bap. 8/1/1798 and George baptised in Bengal 6/12/1798 (all from *Baptismal Records, Madras* British Library, Oriental and India collection microfiche N1/1/4 p196 (Edward) and N1/1/5 p103 (John) p106 (George). Barbara died 3/8/1848 aged 77. Edward senior had a long and distinguished military career in India, ending up as Lt. Col in command of Artillery. He has an entry in DNB where his career is detailed (also outlined in Dodson 1946 *ibid*). Died 8 May 1799 of wounds received in action at the siege of Seringapatam 6 days earlier.

³⁰⁸ Information kindly provided by Mr & Mrs Mondt, USA. See also DNB vol VII

³⁰⁹ IGI gives born 1710 and buried in the Lackham Aisle. This is not recorded in the parish records, there was some doubt as to her existence but see below

³¹⁰ 26/11/1712 - 2/4/1717

³¹¹ given in the IGI as being born at Lackham 1716, but there is no baptism record for her in the Parish register. She may be the Anne Montagu buried at Lacock 15 Feb. 1749 but this is not certain. No other details known, if she existed.

³¹² 24/4/1721 - 1/9/1746

³¹³ born 1716, IGI is incorrect when it has 1726, there is no record in the Parish registers of a Jane Montagu. It is noted that this is the year that the IGI shows Anne being born, possibly Anne/Jane are the same person?

³¹⁴ *Dictionary of National Biography* XII p705 George was in HMS *Preston*

[1774] April 18. — This day the Admirall made his son George Montagu Post, and gave him command of the Foye in the room of Capt. Jordan, who has liberty to go home ³¹⁵

in the early years of the American War of Independence - at this time there were three closely related Montagu's in North America, Admiral John Montagu, his son George and John's nephew, George the naturalist - see below. George junior ([Admiral George Montagu](#)) married his cousin Charlotte, daughter of George Wroughton. ³¹⁶ This brought the manor of Sharcott, briefly, into the Montagu estates. Sharcott, west of Pewsey, was held by the Wroughton family, lords of the manor of Wilcot. After George Wroughton died his wife Sussanah held the estate until her death in 1816 when it went to Charlotte and, by right of marriage, George Montagu. Their son George took the name Wroughton but when he died his brother J W Montagu succeeded. JW died in 1882 and was followed by his grandson, who was a minor until 1898, so born 1877. It is recorded that in the following year 318 acres of the estate belonged to representatives of George Montagu (died 1871), 158 acres to the executors of JW Montagu senior (died 1882) and 45 acres to JW Montagu (junior) ³¹⁷.

James was promoted to Lieutenant by his father the Admiral in 1771 ³¹⁸ and commanded the sloop HMS *Tamar* and later HMS *Kingfisher* both in North America under his father Admiral Montagu.

He was posted to HMS *Mercury* in 1775, in which vessel he brought the news of the capture of Rhode Island, by Parker and Clinton, to London ³¹⁹. James rose to be Captain; On 28 July 1778 his uncle Edward, Master in Chancery, in a letter to Lord Aylesbury at Tottenham Park in Savernake, said

³¹⁵ ' "The Diary of John Rowe a Boston Merchant 1764-1779" A Paper read by Edward L Pierce before the Massachusetts Historical Society March 14 1895 ' [Cambridge: John Wilson and Son. 1895.] at

https://archive.org/stream/diaryofjohnroweb00pier/diaryofjohnroweb00pier_djvu.txt

³¹⁶ George and Charlotte had a daughter and four sons.

The eldest son George died in 1871; and the second son, John, followed in his father and grandfather's footsteps and joined the Navy, becoming an Admiral. He died in 1868. Georgina married Sir John Gore - of the line related to the Earls of Arran, not the Wiltshire Gore's. Admiral Sir John Gore was Commander in Chief in the East Indies (1831-1836) where his only son served as his Flag lieutenant. This young man was drowned trying to save a seaman who had fallen overboard. (DNB see fn ³¹⁴)

³¹⁷ VCH Wiltshire XVI p 194

³¹⁸ 18 August 1771

³¹⁹ Extraordinary edition of the *London Gazette*, 22 January 1777 in *Norfolk Chronicle* Saturday 25 January 1777 p2. The letters were brought to the Admiralty by Lt Logie of HMS *Mercury*

My nephew Capt James Montagu is just appointed to the command of the Medea³²⁰ now at Bristol and I believe lately built there by contract³²¹

His uncle's letters give a glimpse., now and then, of his career, indeed he mentions incidents not contained in James' entry in DNB - Edward Montagu gave Lord Ailsbury details of an action the Medea was involved in in 1787. The only action that this can relate to is the events of the preceding October 20 when Medea was in company with the more powerful HMS Jupiter (50)³²² off Finistere when they came upon the French line-of-battle ship Triton³²³ under Captain Comte de Ligondes. As night came on Jupiter attacked from one side and Medea the other. According to the Naval Chronicle

unfortunately at the commencement of the Engagement a 36 pound shot entered the bow of the [Medea] , under the water, and compelled her to bring to, for the purpose of stopping the leak. The Medea was unable to take any further part in the conflict and was ultimately under the necessity of bearing away to Lisbon³²⁴

Jupiter continued the action alone for about two hours at which time the Triton, badly damaged, disengaged and made for Ferrol. She lost, according to the Naval Review two hundred killed or wounded, although more recent accounts put her losses at thirteen killed and twenty wounded, Jupiter three killed and seven wounded and Medea one killed and three wounded³²⁵. The information in Edward Montague's letter agrees that Medea lost one man killed; his death led to problems for her Captain:

In the engagement, as soon as it was promulgat'd that "a man was kill'd" the whole crew ran from their quarters and neither persuasion, threats or the point of the sword could get them back³²⁶

³²⁰ Actually HMS Medea

³²¹ WA 9/35/203 Letter 80 Edward Montagu to Lord Ayelsbury Dated London July 28 1778

³²² A 50 gun 4th rate Built: 1778, Rotherhithe Wrecked: 10 December 1808 in Vigo Bay Spain, all the crew were saved [<http://www.hmsjupiter.co.uk/history-1489.html> accessed 6 Sept 2015] under the command of Captain Francis Reynolds

³²³ France does not use ship prefixes (like HMS) and so she was just "Triton" [http://www.liquisearch.com/ship_prefix/national_or_military_prefixes accessed 6 Sept 2015]

³²⁴ The Naval Chronicle for 1805 Vol 13 [Lodon, I Jones, 1805] 340-1

³²⁵ [<http://www.hmsjupiter.co.uk/history-1489.html> accessed 6 Sept 2015]

³²⁶ WA 9/35/203 Letter 28 *ibid*

Which may have had more than a little to do with why she had to disengage, as well as the shot below the waterline. This may have been partly because, before she sailed, *Medea* was "stript'd of every good man" but after this Montagu and *Medea* were "rewarded with the worst station that a ship can be placed in the North Seas"³²⁷

In May 1780 he was hoping for a promotion, - "waiting for a copper bottomed ship"³²⁸ and in October of that year he was in command of HMS *Juno* - "Capt James Montagu has changed the *Medea* for the *Juno* a new and very fine frigate now fitting out at Deptford"³²⁹ When peace came he spent a year in France and on the resumption of hostilities he asked for, and got, command of HMS *Montague*, in which vessel he was killed, during Howe's battle with the French at Finistere "The glorious 1st of June"³³⁰. There is a statue commemorating him, paid for by public subscription, in Westminster Abbey just inside the West Doors, "one of the most prestigious, if not the most prestigious location, for a memorial in the entire country"³³¹

To return to James III; There are records relating to the care of poor children (referred to above, see page 66) that relate to James.

The Overseers paid the house rent for very many poor persons, and in the accounts of the Lacock Parish Constables, Churchwardens, Overseers of the Poor and Supervisors of the Highways it is recorded that they

*Paid Dompys maids' Rent to Mr Montagu to Midsummer for one year 1
10s od*³³²

James III and Elizabeth maintained close ties with her family. Elizabeth died in 1741³³³ and her will includes a bequest

*unto my Kinswoman Elanora Jones, daughter of Mr Jones of Bristol
Apothecary fifty pounds to be paid to her at her age of twenty one*

³²⁷ WA 9/35/203 Letter 28 *ibid*

³²⁸ WA 9/35/203 Letter 80 Edward Montagu to Lord Ayelsbury Dated London May 28 1780 (year not given but by context)

³²⁹ WA 9/35/203 Letter 41 Edward Montagu to Lord Ayelsbury Dated Frogna Grove Oct 9 1780

³³⁰ 1 June 1794

³³¹ Sam Willis *The Glorious First of June: Fleet Battle in the Reign of Terror* [London, Quercus, 2011], 9

³³² Hinton FH (1928) . *Lacock. Parochial History in the 18th Century*.in. *Wiltshire Gazette*, Jan. 12th— Feb. 9th,

³³³ *Ipswich Journal* Saturday 5 December 1741 p3

Deaths : *The Lady of James Montague Esq of Lackham in Wiltshire*

years³³⁴

James' grandmother, on the maternal side, was Rachel Jones , and it is possible that Elanora was a relation, although this would make her a second or third cousin. However the link almost certainly lies elsewhere, Rachel Jones was apparently the only daughter of Rice Jones and his wife Frances Hopton³³⁵

Elizabeth's will also includes a bequest to her "*cousin Flower wife of Mr Henry Flower of the Devizes*"³³⁶ From James IV's will³³⁷ it is known that her name was Mary - he gave £30 to "*Mary Flower as a small acknowledgement for the many favours shown to my dear wife and myself wife of Henry Flower*"³³⁸ of the Devize ".

It has been said that a monument in St Mary's Church, Devizes records that Henry died in 1768 aged 51 and that Mary in 1748 aged 70³³⁹. These details are incorrect in a number of ways; firstly the memorials are actually at the west end of St James Church, at the north end of the Green in Devizes, and Henry died in 1750 aged 85. These dates make much more sense than those given by Waylen. From the memorials in St James it is clear that Mary Flower was a daughter of Thomas Jones of Usk³⁴⁰. Her younger sister Sarah Jones is also buried in St James (died 1743 aged 50) as is Henry Flower's son Edward, who died in 1769 aged 51. Whether Mr Jones the Apothecary of Bristol and Thomas Jones of Usk were related, or even if Eleanor Jones was sister to Mary and Sarah is unknown, but [these are](#) interesting possibilities.

³³⁴ WA 212b/3761 *Will of Elizabeth Montagu nee Eyles* dated 2 November 1741

³³⁵ James Montagu's mother was Diana Hungerford and her mother was Rachel Jones, who married Anthony Hungerford of Black Bourton, Oxon. Rachel died in 1679, and was a daughter of Rhys Jones [<http://www.tudorplace.com.ar/HUNGERFORD.htm>]. He was either Rice Jones senior or his son, also Rice, who purchased Asthall Manor, Oxon, in 1612. [VCH Oxfordshire (2006), Vol 15 , *Bampton Hundred* (Part Three) '*Asthall: Manors and other estates*']

It is most likely Rachel's father was Rice senior, " (c.1570-?) of Asthall, Oxfordshire, England who married Frances Hopton. Their children included 1. Rice 2 Jones who married Jane Bray, d/o Gyles Bray of Barrington, Oxfordshire, England and Anne Chitwood, and 2. Rachel Jones who m. Anthony Hungerford." Michaelm (2002) posting at <http://archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/EFSS/2002-03/1016630765>]

³³⁶ WA 212b/3671 *Will of Elizabeth Montagu nee Eyles* dated 2 November 1741

³³⁷ WA 212b/3671 *Abstract of the Will of James Montagu* dated 2 April 1743

³³⁸ Henry Flower was Mayor of Devizes 5 times, in 1719, 22, 27, 34 & 38 [Kite, E (1858) *The Guild of Merchants, formerly in Devizes* WAM vol IV p173] and Receiver for Wiltshire [Ide, I (1990) *Wiltshire Members of Parliament and Their Involvement with the South Sea Company* WAM 80 p140]. His Mayoralty in 1827 was after Edward Watton died in office [Bull, H (1859) *A History, Military and Municipal, of the Ancient Borough of the Devizes* p579] .

³³⁹ Waylen, J (1839) *The Devizes etc*

³⁴⁰ Sherlock, P (2000) (ed) *Monumental Inscriptions of Wiltshire : an edition, in facsimile, of Monumental Inscriptions in Wiltshire by Sir Thomas Phillipps, 1832* WRS vol 57 p 370

An Elizabeth Flower witnessed both Elizabeth³⁴¹ and James' wills, and she may be the daughter of Henry and Mary. Elizabeth Flower married the very recently widowed William Hedges of Alderton in September 1734³⁴². If the witness and the new wife are the same person this fits as Elizabeth Flower would not have been Elizabeth Hedges until later in the year after witnessing the will. The close connections between the Montagus and the Flowers and the Montagus and the Hedges supports the idea that it is this Elizabeth who married William Hedges after the death of Elizabeth Hedges, nee Gore. There is a much stronger link between the Montagus and the Hedges families however, see below.

Fig. 20 is not entirely correct; there should have been another female in Elizabeth's generation. In her will she left her gold watch and chain to John "*recommending it to him to keep as a memorial of his aunt Priscilla Eyles' great kindness to him*"³⁴³ Whether this was an unknown sister to Elizabeth or the wife of her brother Thomas (the names of all the other sisters-in-law are known) is unclear however and so she is not shown in Fig. 20)

At this time Lackham owned much of the land north of the River Avon to the slopes of Naish Hill, from Rey Bridge to the Great West Road at Derry Hill. James sold all the messuages and houses on the north side of the land running from Reybridge to Nash Hill to Thomas Holbourn for £88 in 1774³⁴⁴. Later that same month James assigned Lackham and Bewley Farm House to James V³⁴⁵.

James Montagu III of Lackham died in 1747. His son and heir, James Montagu IV, was born in 1714 and married Eleanor, daughter and heiress of the William Hedges seen above, in 1744, but she was a daughter of his first marriage. The Hedges were a wealthy family, Eleanor's marriage portion was £5,000³⁴⁶. It is interesting to note that the agreement between James Montagu and the Hedges is dated only a month after James IV was assigned Lackham by his father³⁴⁷

³⁴¹ WA 212b/3671 *ibid*

³⁴² Alderton Parish Registers 10 September 1744

³⁴³ WA 212b/3671 *ibid*

³⁴⁴ WA 212a/7 dated 3rd April 1774

³⁴⁵ WA 212a/7 abstract made for Sir John Lodge, assignment dated 20th June 1774

³⁴⁶ WA 212B /3676 Marriage agreement dated 19/30 July 1744.

³⁴⁷ WA 212a/7 p4 dated 19/20 July 1744

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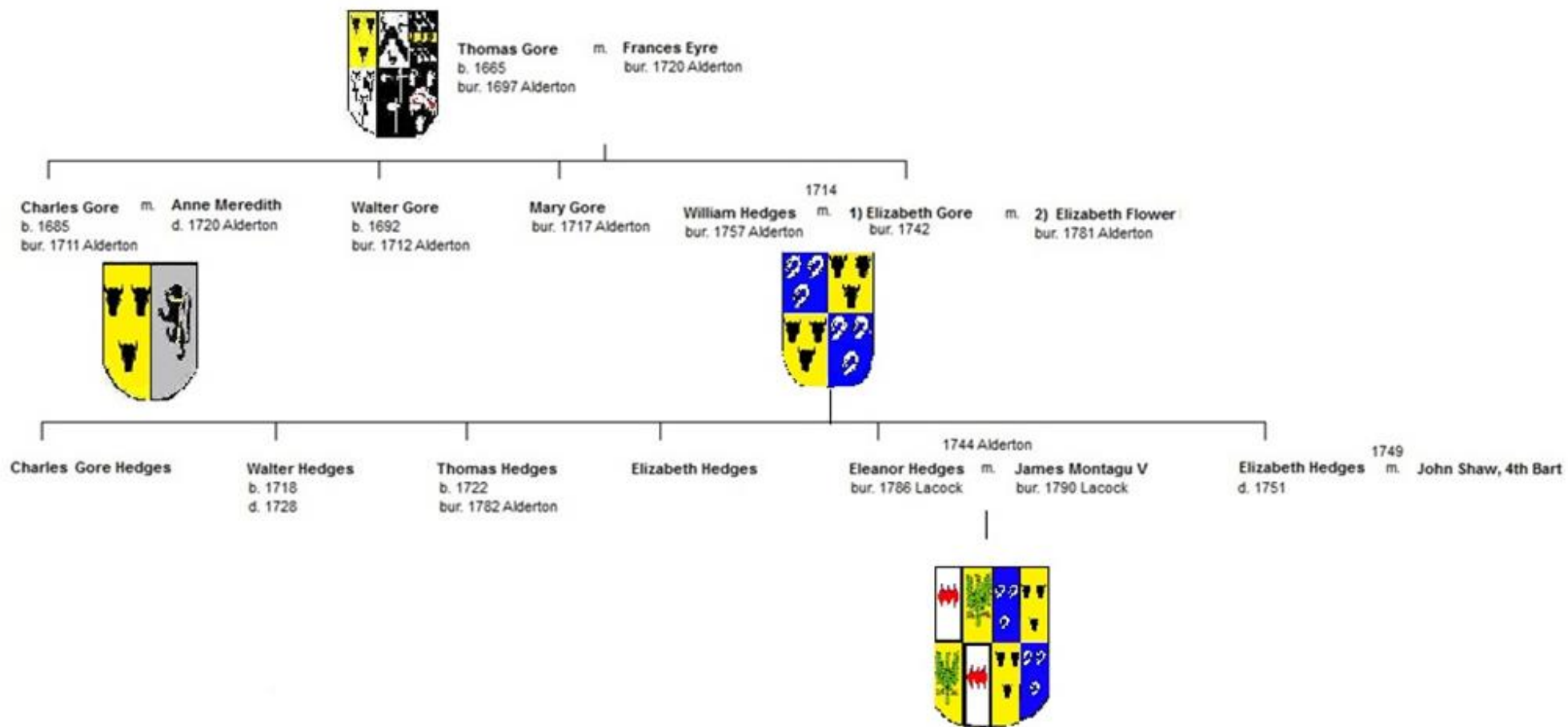


Fig. 22 Gore and Hedges pedigree **

It has been said that Eleanor was the daughter ³⁴⁸ of Charles Hedges, Secretary of State to Queen Anne but, as both the DNB and Burke attest, she was actually his grand daughter ³⁴⁹.

Charles Hedges was the son of Henry Hedges of Wanborough, Wiltshire, and his wife Margaret, daughter of Richard Pleydell of Childrey, Berkshire and lived at Compton Bassett, Wiltshire. He was judge of the Admiralty Court under William III until his death. He was returned as an MP in 1698 but was unseated that time. He was an MP for many years, however, at times for Malmesbury and also Calne in Wiltshire. In 1700 he was sworn in as Secretary of State and a Privy Councilor. He attended Queen Anne at Bath in August 1702 and for two months in 1704 was the sole Secretary, both Home and Foreign, until a successor to the Earl of Nottingham was appointed.

His chief residence from 1696 was Richmond Green in Surrey but in 1700 he bought the estate of Compton Camberwell in Compton Bassett, just outside Calne in Wiltshire. He owned many properties in Wiltshire and was buried, as was his widow who survived him, at Wanborough. His wife was Eleanor, the daughter of George Smith of London and they had four children. A daughter and sons Henry, William and Charles ³⁵⁰.

It is just possible that it was his son William who married Thomas Gore's daughter Elizabeth in 1714 but to fit the DNB report he would have to be a son of one of the boys.. William and Eleanor had a number of children, including Eleanor Hedges who married James Montagu V, see Fig. 21 above)

Eleanor was certainly the granddaughter of Thomas Gore, the Wiltshire antiquarian and contemporary of John Aubrey. There is no way such a meticulous genealogist as Gore would get his own immediate family connections wrong, and he clearly identifies her as his granddaughter ³⁵¹.

³⁴⁸ *Bath Chronicle & Weekly Gazette* 7 Sept 1786 vol XXIV no 1347 (sic) p3 col b

³⁴⁹ DNB (1954) p693 tells she was a granddaughter of Queen Anne's secretary, Sir Charles Hedges. Burke (1858) *Peerage* p54 has her name as "Elizabeth"

³⁵⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_Hedges

1649/50 - 10 June 1714

³⁵¹ Gore, T (1666) *Syntagma Genealogicum or A genealogical treatise of the family of the Gores of Aldrington or Alderton... containing a true account of their Armes, Birthes, Baptizings, Marriages, Issue, Last Wills, Deaths and Inventories*. From which his consistent and incredibly wearying exactitude can be guessed. Microfiche copy held in W&SHC, original consulted in the British Art Library, V&A Museum London. For a detailed history of the Gore family see Pratt, T (2004) *The Manor of Alderton Its owners and some Historical connections*, copies held by Wiltshire Libraries and the Libraries of Wiltshire College Lackham and WANHS, also as a pdf online at <http://www.lackham.co.uk/history/Aldrington.pdf>

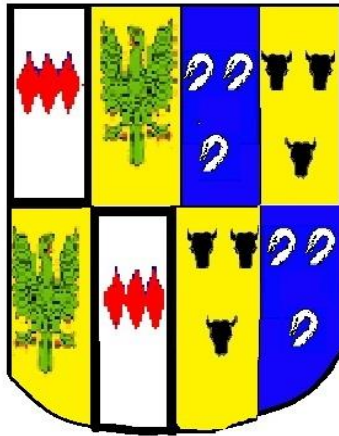


Fig. 23 Arms of Montagu and Hedges. **

The Hedges arms, on the right hand side of the shield, show the swan necks of the Hedges family quartered by the bull's heads of the Gores, the ancient owners from whom the Hedges had inherited Alderton ³⁵² only one generation before.

In 1758 the number of men in the national Militia was increased and Lord Bruce (later lord Ailsbury) was appointed Colonel of the newly raised Wiltshire Militia. Two of his officers were Lackham Montagu's, James IV, who was Captain, and his brother Edward, a lieutenant³⁵³, It is likely that the Wiltshire Militia was organised in either September or October 1758 ³⁵⁴; in October 1758 James IV was staying in Bath with Mr Galloway, when he was asked by Lord Bruce to gather his Company on the 30th so they could be issued with their uniforms ³⁵⁵, which might indicate the regiment had only recently been formed. James had a couple of problems with obeying his Commanding Officer's order - as he said

I should in this, and everything also, most zealously comply with your Lordship's orders but apprehend, if you will give yourself the trouble to look into the Acts of Parliament you will there find a general objection to this measure; The times for calling out the men in half and whole companies, are particularly specified in the Act, the last of which is lapsed, so that they are neither obliged to attend, nor, should they attend, are they intitled to any pay; this

³⁵² Buckeridge, D (1995) *Church Heraldry in Wiltshire*

³⁵³ WA 9/34/85/2 " A List of Officers Of the Wiltshire Militia 1758-1759"

³⁵⁴ The actual formation date was apparently 8 November 1758

[<http://www.bosleys.net/b62/badges.html> #111] but obviously they were being organised before the official date.

³⁵⁵ 9/35/204 *Letters James Montagu 1758-81* letter dated 23 October 1758 Jas Montagu to Lord Bruce

my Lord, is the general objection, but I have a material with regard to myself, no less than my having no company as yet assigned to me.

Which would make mustering them difficult. James was eventually Captain of the Chippenham Company. He resigned his commission in 1761³⁵⁶. Edward was appointed Major of Brigade to the Regimental Camp at Winchester in 1760. This was a Camp appointment, he was not actually a Major but Major of the Camp an administrative rank. This is clear because, when he also resigned in 1761, he was still Lieutenant Montagu³⁵⁷.

In 1762 James, along with William Wilde and George Hungerford, was commissioned to receive the oath of Robert Ashe when he became MP for Wiltshire³⁵⁸. Ashe was later much involved with James' son (see below).

James Montagu IV re-acquired Bewley Court from Mr. Lloyd in 1764. Bewley is a very ancient property, even by the standards of the local area, and had been part of the Lackham estate in the time of the Bluets, in the 12th to 14th centuries³⁵⁹. It remained part of Lackham estate until the early 19th Century when the estate was broken up³⁶⁰. It was again bought by Lackham by a future owner, George Palmer,

James Montagu IV was a Trustee for an important local charity which looked after Maud Heath's Causeway. Maud Heath was an extraordinary woman who, in 1474,

*gave her properties in Chippenham to trustees so that they could use the income to provide a paved path from the top of Wick Hill to what was then the boundary of the parish of Langley Burrell with Chippenham.*³⁶¹

³⁵⁶ Jean A Cole (ed) *Wiltshire Militia Orders 1759 to 1770* (Devizes, WFHS,1994), p25

³⁵⁷ Jean A Cole (ed) *ibid*

"Sutton, Lt James No 7 Co (Bradford Co) from 1759 appt Quarter Master of Regt 10 June 1761 in room of Lt Montagu resigned at Winchester" p34

³⁵⁸ WA 118/162 dated 25 Oct 2 Geo 3 [1762]

³⁵⁹ See Pratt, T & Repko, K (2008) *The Bluets : a baronial family and their historical connections 1066-1400* Wiltshire College Lackham p75 online at http://www.lackham.co.uk/history/the_bluets_09.pdf

³⁶⁰ Lacock Inscriptions

After Lackham estate was broken up in the early 1800's Bewley Court became part of the property of Mr Huggens, who founded a charitable institute, the Huggens College, said to be situated somewhere in Kent, and upon that institution he bestowed his property in the parish of Lacock

³⁶¹ Taylor, K (2010) *pers. comm.* Our sincere thanks to Dr Taylor for making us aware of the Montagu connection with the Trustees and for willingly sharing the results of her own research.

The details of Maud's life given on the various memorials and in most of the accounts available would appear, thanks to the recent scholarship of Dr. K. Taylor³⁶², to be in error - that she was a "poor market woman" is wrong, no peasant could possibly have had the property with which Maud endowed the Causeway.

Much of the land along the route is low lying and subject to flooding. Maude aimed to allow the country people, especially those of her own village, to walk comfortably to the town. The paved path wasn't completed until the nineteenth century and the raised pathway at Kellaways wasn't built until after James V's time, in 1812³⁶³. The Causeway runs from Wick Hill through East Tytherton, crosses the River Avon at Kellaways Bridge and goes past Langley Burrell to Chippenham. The Causeway is well maintained by a committee of Trustees who have looked after the Causeway and the investments, which have been built up from Maud's bequests since her death.

At the Trustees meeting held at The Angel in Chippenham on 3 June 1769 James Montagu IV and Sir Edward Bayton, Bart were appointed to receive and pass the accounts of the previous treasurer, Sir Robert Long. James confirmed that "I have examined the above account and find the same to be just and true Witness my hand" Jas Montagu³⁶⁴

In 1772 both James IV and James V were jurors at the Assize held at Salisbury in early August³⁶⁵ and two weeks later took part in a poll to elect a Knight of the Shire, held at Wilton on August 18th - 21st, the poll being conducted by Henry Penruddocke, the High Sheriff.³⁶⁶

James was a magistrate, one of the records that shows this dates from 1782 -

*12 Dec Devises prison Elizabeth Palmer committed by James Montagu esq as a rogue and vagabond; died of infirmity and disease*³⁶⁷

And there are others in the records for the Assizes in the 1780's³⁶⁸

³⁶² Taylor, K (2010) "Who was Maud Heath?: The Myths and Reality of a Chippenham Benefactor" paper presented at Chippenham Museum 10th Anniversary Archaeology and History Dayschool, Chippenham, March 2010

³⁶³ Taylor, K (2010) "Who was Maud Heath?: The Myths and Reality of a Chippenham Benefactor" paper presented at Chippenham Museum 10th Anniversary Archaeology and History Dayschool, Chippenham, March 2010

³⁶⁴ WA 3448/2/1

³⁶⁵ Salisbury and Winchester Journal Monday 3 August 1772 p5

³⁶⁶ The candidates for the election were Ambrose Goddard and Henry Herbert, result unknown.

³⁶⁷ Hunnisett, RF (ed) (1981) Wiltshire Coroners' Bills 1752-1796 WRS p83 no 1325

³⁶⁸ For example in WA A1/125/46E

Actually both James' were magistrates and they can be seen acting together in appeals against removal they can be seen acting together in appeals against removal orders signed by them in 1785. At this time the care of people who were destitute was the responsibility of their birth parish, or the birth parish of the husband if a family and so parishes would apply for orders to remove indigents whom they believed were the responsibility of another parish. The "target" parish could appeal if they believed they were not responsible³⁶⁹

³⁶⁹ A1/153/1 Quarter sessions 25 Geo 3 (1785)

Appeals Calne and Corsham : "On hearing the appeal of the Inhabitants of Calne in this County agst an order under the hands of Jas Montagu & Jas Montagu Jun Dated First February last for the removal of Jeremiah Wilk aet 55yrs Mary aet 30 Jeremiah his son aet 20 William their son aet 13 Betty aet 10 Sarah 7 and Mary 2 and on hearing council on both sides this court doth confirm the orders". In other words Calne had to take the family who were removed from Corsham

But in an appeal of the inhabitants of Hardenhuish "against the order under the hand of Jas Montagu and Jas Montagu jun dated 3 May last for the removal of Isaac Gingele and his wife Wm their son aet about 4 years and Mary wife their daughter aet about 2 yrs from the parish of Chippenham in this county to the parish of Hardenhuish and on hearing etc this court doth quash the said orders." And Hardenhuish presumably had to continue supporting the Gingele's

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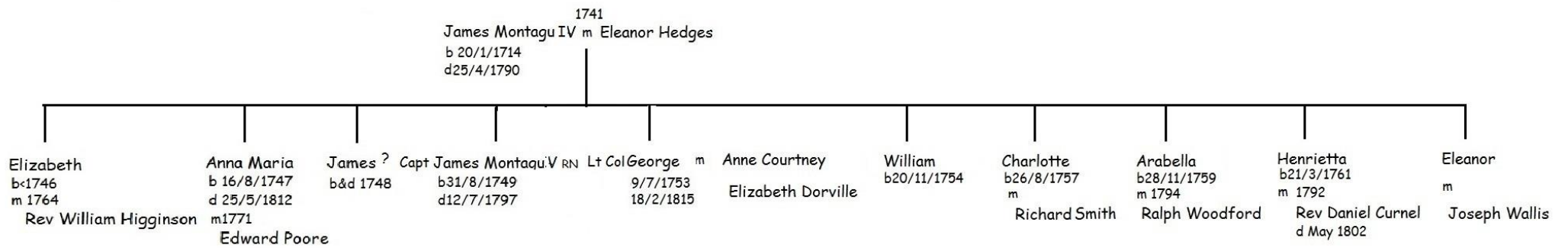


Fig. 24 Children of James IV and Eleanor **

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According to Burke James and Eleanor / Elizabeth had seven children, two sons and five daughters, again for clarity some of these are omitted from Fig. . The children were named James, George, Arabella, Henrietta, Eleanor, Charlotte and Elizabeth. However parish registers show a different story:

The first born child seems to have been a daughter, Anna Maria, born in 1747³⁷⁰, but see below. She married Edward Poore, of the influential local family, in 1771³⁷¹, when she was 24. The marriage was witnessed by her parents³⁷². Her marriage agreement³⁷³ was for £3000, £1500 to her parents and her bridal portion was settled on Anna Maria and her husband on the death of her father³⁷⁴. The money was transferred via James' brother, Edward, the Master in Chancery, the receipt for the money is held in the Wiltshire Archives³⁷⁵. Anna Maria died in 1812, and her death was recorded in the local paper³⁷⁶:

SALISBURY.
MONDAY, MAY 25, 1812.

On Monday the 11th inst. died, at Melksham, Anna Maria relict of Edward Poore, Esq. of Wedhampton, in this county : she was the second daughter of James Montagu, Esq. of Lackham Abbey. [sic] - Her kind disposition and natural urbanity of manners gained her the regard and good-will of all who had the pleasure of her acquaintance, and it may be truly said that her life was occupied in acts of piety and benevolence.

³⁷⁰ LPR Baptisms 16th August 1747

³⁷¹ *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* Thurs 1 September 1771 p3

On Thursday was married at Lacock in Wilts, Edward Jnr Esq, of Rushall, to Miss Anna-Maria Montagu, second daughter of James Montagu of Lackham, Esq

³⁷² LPR Marriages 12th September 1771

³⁷³ WA 212B/3671

Marriage agreement for £1500 dated 15 August 1771 between James Montagu V , Josiah Eyles Hestroke of Southbroom and John Matthew Poore of Rushall [brother of Edward Poore the younger] for marriage of Edward Poore the younger and Anna Maria Montagu, the second daughter of James Montagu Witnesses William Hedges of Alderton and Edward Montagu of the parish of St Giles in the fields Middlesex

³⁷⁴ WA 212B /3671 Receipt from Anna Maria and her husband to James Montagu V dated 11th May 1790 written on the back of the marriage agreement above.

³⁷⁵ WA 415/422 *Received 16 October 1790 of Edw Montagu Esq Fifteen hundred pounds for the use of John Methuen Poore Esq to account for on Demand*

For Henry & Mr Hugh Hoare-Self

Charles Hoare

Edward, Anna Maria and John Methuen Poore signed a receipt for £1500 received from James Montagu on 11 November 1790, at Wedhampton [WA 212B/3671]

³⁷⁶ Salisbury and Winchester Journal online at

<http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~dutillieul/ZOtherPapers/S&WJ25May1812.html>

The date of Edward's death is not known but, given that the money above was for the use of their son John Methuen Poore, it would seem likely it was before Anna Maria's.

Other children of James IV and Eleanor apparently included two further James Montagus; the first was born in 1748³⁷⁷ and another in 1749³⁷⁸, so presumably the first died. However no burial record for the earlier James has been found and it may be that this is one person whose records have been entered twice, it does seem rather coincidental that the dates for both births are so similar. James V eventually inherited the estate

Another son, George, was born in 1753³⁷⁹ followed by William the next year³⁸⁰. Next was Charlotte, in 1757³⁸¹, Arabella in 1759³⁸² and Henrietta, in 1761³⁸³.

Two of the daughters mentioned by Burke also existed; it is likely that the eldest daughter was actually Elizabeth, but her birth record has not been found. She must have been born by at least 1746 because in August 1764³⁸⁴ she married William Higginson, a curate from Eltham in Kent, at St Cyriac's³⁸⁵. William was the son of William Higginson of Greatworth in Northants³⁸⁶ and was born in 1736, gained his BA in 1759 and his Master's three years later³⁸⁷. It is interesting that the Rev Higginson came from Eltham, where Elizabeth's uncle Edward was living when he witnessed the marriage contract for Anna Maria and Edward Poore. It is likely no coincidence that Edward Montagu was at Eltham in the first place; John Shaw was married to Elizabeth Hedges, Elizabeth Montagu's namesake and aunt on her mother's side. (see Fig. 21 above). [James Montagu IV apparently tried to help his new son in law, he wrote to the Lord Chancellor to ask him to assist \(in some way\) but was unsuccessful, and in Jan 1756 he asked Lord Bruce to help³⁸⁸.](#) Whether any of this gained the Chancellor's

³⁷⁷ LPR Baptisms 9th August 1748

³⁷⁸ LPR Baptisms 3rd August 1749.

³⁷⁹ LPR Baptisms 9th July 1753

³⁸⁰ LPR Baptisms 20th November 1754

³⁸¹ LPR Baptisms 26th September 1757

³⁸² LPR Baptisms 28th November 1759

³⁸³ LPR Baptism 21st March 1761, the only child born before July in this generation.

³⁸⁴ WA 212B 3671

Marriage contract between James Montagu and Elizabeth Montagu, his eldest daughter, William Higginson of St Giles in the Field gent and Rev William Higginson of Eltham in Kent, clerk, second son of William Higginson, Thomas Hedges of Alperton and Edward Montagu of Notton Sir John Shaw 4th bart of Eltham and Peter Pinnell of Eltham for the marriage of Elizabeth Montagu to William Higginson the younger £1500 dated 21 July 1764

³⁸⁵ Burke's *Peerrage and Baronetage* 1908 p1561

It is noted that the name given by Burke is incorrect, the records clearly shows *Higginson*. The witnesses were her father and one George Jones.

³⁸⁶ I am indebted to Lesley McLean, a descendent of Elizabeth and William, for providing me with information on her family and allowing me to reproduce it here. (L. McLean, *pers. comm.*. June 2008). William apparently insisted on being buried in his underwear and his coffin being left open for 7–8 days before it was sealed.

³⁸⁷ McLean, L *pers. comm.* June 2008

³⁸⁸ [9/35/204 Letters James Montagu 1758-81 letter dated Bath 28 Jan 1765 Jas Montagu to Lord Bruce](#)

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attention is unknown. William Higginson was made a Deacon in 1760³⁸⁹ and a priest in 1762. He was rector of Rowde for many years, from 1764 until his death in 1816³⁹⁰. He and Elizabeth had a number of children, two of their sons appear to have entered the church³⁹¹.

In September 1782 James Montagu IV gave his brothers Edward and Admiral John Montagu Lackham and "premises in Lacock" in trust for his son James (V), his son George and his "daughters Elizabeth Higginson, Maria Poore, Eleanor Wallis wife of Joseph Wallis, Charlotte Smith wife of Rev Richard Smith, Annabel Montagu and Harriett Montagu".³⁹²

It is unknown when Charlotte married the Rev. Smith, but her death was reported in 1811³⁹³. Richard Smith, Rector of Great Warley Suffolk, was brother to Sir William Smith, Bart. of Hill Hall in Suffolk. She was "perhaps the most celebrated person of her time, for exquisite beauty and symmetry of form which happily received additional lustre from high mental accomplishments"³⁹⁴

Henrietta married, in 1792, the Rev Currie³⁹⁵, nothing else is known.

³⁸⁹ <http://db.theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/persons/CreatePersonFrames.jsp?PersonID=1902> accessed 7 August 2016

³⁹⁰ *Gentleman's Magazine* June 1816 p565 "April 13th in his 81st year the Rev William Higginson for many years the Rector of Rowde, Wiltshire

³⁹¹ William and Charles Montague Higginson; PRO E331/Gloucetsr/41 again my thanks to Ms McLean for providing the information and reference. She was able to tell me that all of William and Elizabeth's children had "Montague" as a forename name "and in our branch it persisted right down to my father although the reason for it was lost" (McLean, L pers. comm. June 2008)

³⁹² WA 212a/7

³⁹³ *Ipswich Journal* Saturday 30 November 1811 p2 / *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* Thursday 20 November 1811 p3

Last week died at Lackham House, Wilts, Mrs Smyth, wife of the Rev Richard Smyth, Rector of Great Warley, and brother to Sir William Smyth, Bart of Hill Hall in this county.

The Bath Chronicle, naturally, omitted the final "in this county"

Gentleman's Magazine Vol 110 1811, p894

Her death, it is supposed, was accelerated by the death of her nephew, Capt Frederick Montagu, who do gallantly disitnguish himself at the late battle of Albuerra, and gloriously fell in the arms of Victory

³⁹⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine* *ibid*

³⁹⁵ *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* Thursday 28 June 1792 p3

Wednesday was married at Devizes, the Rev Mr Currie to Miss Montague, the daughter of the late James Montague Esq of Lackham

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it became an Object of his wish that she should be release from the most miserable condition - He most certainly has resolved to abandon Old Lackham and divide his time amongst his family and Friends - once he proposed to join me in the great Town and I flattered myself the Air of Hampstead might not be too bleak for him.- He had almost resolved to try; but an event has defeated all my hopes. His son the Major has taken Mr Parry's house at Easton Grey which is not far from Alderton; which plc is now become my Brothers headquarters especially as he and his eldest son have always lived on the best terms and their friends mostly the same ⁴⁰¹

In 1788 both James V and his son James were among the local gentry proposed to form the committee guiding the construction of the Western Canal -

respecting an extension of the Navigation of the Rivers Kennett and Avon, so as to form a direct Inland Communication between London and Bristol, and the West of England by a Canal from Newbury to Bath ⁴⁰²

James died four years later, in 1790 ⁴⁰³. James was still living at Alderton ⁴⁰⁴, which George had inherited from his father in law.

His memorial stone is now in the south aisle of St. Cyriacs, having been moved from its original position in the church during the nineteenth century. ⁴⁰⁵

James V, the eldest son, inherited and almost immediately afterwards he was appointed a Captain in the Wiltshire Militia like his father and uncle before him ⁴⁰⁶

In November, 1773 James placed an advertisement in the *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* offering a reward for the return of a spaniel bitch ⁴⁰⁷.

⁴⁰¹ WA 1300/4562 Letter from Edward Montagu to Lord Ailesbury dated "Frognal Grove Sunday evening Oct 15 1786"

⁴⁰² *Bath Chronical and Weekly Gazette* Thursday 28 August 1788 p1, *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* 25 Aug p2 and 1 and 8 Sept p1, *Reading Mercury* 25 Aug and 1 and 8 Sept p1, report on a public meeting held in Marlborough, 29 July 1788, chaired by Charles Dundas

⁴⁰³ Before August 1790, that being when James paid out his sister's marriage portion as executor of the estate

⁴⁰⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine* Vol 90 Part I Jan-June 1790 p476

At his son's house at Alderton, Wilts, aged 78 James Montagu Esq of Lackham, the father of the magistracy of that county

⁴⁰⁵ WA 212B /3676 Trinity term 30 Geo 3 (1790)

⁴⁰⁶ Jean A Cole (ed) *Wiltshire Militia Orders 1759 to 1770* (Devizes, WFHS,1994) p25

"Montagu Jas Jr Esq apt Captain 27 Sept 1770 at Devizes"

James' declaration to prove he held enough land to be an officer is dated 24 September 1770 saying he was the heir of "Jas Montagu of Lackham having a freehold estate of the yearly value of £400"

[WA A1/336/1]

⁴⁰⁷ *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* Thursday 25 November 1773 p3

When he inherited the estate Lackham was described as having

*the appurtenances of 13 messuages, 1 mill, 1 dove house, 10 barns, 10 stables, 10 gardens, 10 orchards, 500 acres of land, 300 acres of meadow, 380 acres of pasture, 110 acres of woods, a court leet, a court baron and the view of frankpledge and appurtenances in Lackham Laycock, Corsham Chippeham and Pewsham and all tythes appertaining*⁴⁰⁸

There is evidence of problems with the inheritance; many years later, in 1801, the Court of Chancery required creditors of "James Montague the Elder" to register their debts with the court for settlement following a Chancery case⁴⁰⁹.

As has already been seen, the Lacock area was involved in the Wiltshire Weaving industry. James Montagu rented a cottage and pasture on Bewley Common to James Hillier of Lacock "a weaver" in 1792⁴¹⁰. It is known that Ray Mill was used for both corn and weaving activities:

*When Ray Mill was advertised for rent in 1724 it had one pair of stones [for grinding corn] and three pairs of fulling stocks. It was one of the mills where medley cloth was inspected in 1724*⁴¹¹ Nothing further is known until 1812, when

" Lost, on Thursday 11 November, supposed to be taken up on the road between Yatton, Keynell [sic] and Castle Combe in the county of Wilts,
A black and white BITCH of the spaniel kind, answers to the name of Dutch or Duchess----- whosoever will bring her to James Montagu Jnr, Esq at Lackham, near Chippenham, shall have half a guinea reward.

NB The above bitch is very remarkable for always hanging her tongue out of each side of her mouth"⁴⁰⁸ WA 212b/3676

⁴⁰⁹ Salisbury and Winchester Journal Monday 30 March 1801 p1, Monday 14 February 1803 p1
"Pursuant to a Decree in the High Court of Chancery. Made in a case Montagu against Montagu, the speciality Creditors of JAMES MONTAGU the Elder, late of Lackham in the county of Wilts Esq., deceased, are, on or before the 21th day pf March next, to come in to prove their Debts, either by them selves or their Solicitors, before John Campbell, Esq. one of the Masters of the said Court, at his Office in Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane London, or, in default therefor, they will be peremptorily excluded the benefit of the said Decree"

⁴¹⁰ WA 137/59-67

⁴¹¹ VCH Wiltshire IV p158

Medley cloth was made from wool that was first dyed and the colours mixed before it was woven, in contrast to the more normal practice of weaving the cloth before dyeing. Although this type of cloth was exported in the fifteenth century it became much more common in the mid-seventeenth century. The wool trade was well regulated but the manufacture of medley cloth remained effectively free of legislation throughout the sixteenth century, and there was much concern about the poor and very variable quality that this lack of control encouraged. Eventually, legislation about wages and conditions, made in 1727, also "renewed provision...for measurement of the cloth's breadth and width" by inspectors appointed at the Quarter Sessions, their salary paid for by a 2d levy per cloth. The roll that records the inspections held in the Chippenham area shows 5 mills at Bremhill, Chippenham, Lacock and Corsham, with a total of 20 clothiers having 120 cloths in the mills during the

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there were corn and cloth mills on opposite sides, each entitled to half the stream. The tenant of the cloth mill was Robert Wiggle⁵⁶⁹, who was still there in 1825 " ⁴¹²

James V was a local banker. The *Universal British Directory* ⁴¹³ for 1791 records that in Chippenham there

are three banking-houses : one under the firm of Richard William, and James Tayler ; one under the firm of Barry and Heath ; and the other the firm of Montagu, Ashe, Humphreys, and Gaby. Bills drawn by Messrs. Tayler are payable in London by Messrs. Vere, Lucadou, Troughton, Lucadou, and Smart : the bills of Messrs. Barry and Heath, by Sir Herbert Mackworth, Dorset, Johnson, and Wilkinson : and the bills of Messrs. Montagu, Ashe, Humphreys, and Gaby, by Messrs. John, George, and John Whitehead. No business transacted at the banks before ten nor after three.

The history of the Bank is unclear, but the deed of co-partnership between James Montagu and Messrs Ashe, Humphreys and Gaby was only signed in 1792 ⁴¹⁴ so the *British Directory* was very perceptive!

A little should be said about Montagu's partners; Robert Ashe was the Lord of the Manor and Rector of Langley Burrell and was High Sheriff of Wiltshire in 1788 ⁴¹⁵, his *quietus* record, and the order to hand over the Shrievalty to his successor, are still extant ⁴¹⁶. He was Francis Kilvert's great great grandfather ⁴¹⁷.

Matthew Humphreys was a Chippenham clothier who bought The Ivy in 1791 from John Northey. The Georgian culvert found during a 2009 excavation, at Chippenham Museum and

inspection period of 5th August to 27th October 1727. It is noted that this was a quiet time of year, the rivers being generally low and thus little power available to the mills.

⁴¹² Rogers, K H (1976) *Wiltshire and Somerset Woollen Mills* Pasold Research Fund Ltd p7

⁴¹³ <http://www.rootsweb.com/~engcots/AChippenham.html>

⁴¹⁴ WA 568/20

⁴¹⁵ Jackson, Rev JE (1857) *The Sheriffs of Wiltshire* WAM III p231

Reported in *The New Annual Register* vol 13 p48 Promotions

⁴¹⁶ WA 118/157

⁴¹⁷ Plomer, W (1939) *Excerpts from the Diary of the REV Francis Kilvert* Vol II 1871-1874 pp202-203

Monday 25 November 1872

"The old manor house at Langley Burrell used to stand on a knoll just beyond the fishpond below the terrace walk, where the oak stands now. The new Manor House was built about 100 years ago by Robert Ashe, Rector of the Parish and Lord of the Manor, my great-great-grandfather. The stones for the new house were hewn by an olde man named Old Chit Chat. When he got his pay he would go down the ancient footpath by Pen Hills House tossing a coin with himself to see whether his belly or his back should get the benefit of his wages. If the back won the toss Old Chit Chat would toss again to give the poor belly one last chance. The game generally ended up by his going to the public house"

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Heritage Centre, was possibly associated with one of the outbuildings "constructed by Matthew Humphries when he had his dyeing and weaving works on the site from 1770 onwards." ⁴¹⁸.

Ralph Hale Gaby was a solicitor ⁴¹⁹ and appears to have been partner in a "corn and flower mill" in Chippenham with Mr. Dowling. They suffered losses during the food riots of 1816 - in a letter to her adopted son ⁴²⁰ the lady of letters Hester Lynch Piozzi said "would it not provoke one to hear of Two Thousand Sacks of fine Wheat flour burned last week at Chippenham ⁴²¹"

The gloss to this letter notes that

Having received "an incendiary letter" threatening arson "unless the price of flower was lowered" messrs Dowling and Gaby, proprietors of a corn and flour mill at Chippenham, sustained losses in excess of £10,000 when their mill burned down at 3 a.m. on 2 December "The immediate consequence of this is, that on our next market wheat will rise considerably" ⁴²²

In 1818 Gaby was one of the members of the Committee set up to further "Mr. Benett's Interests in the approaching Election for the County of Wilts ⁴²³" This was the last time that there was an election of a county MP for Wiltshire. Gaby's candidate didn't get in ⁴²⁴.

Ralph Gaby and his wife are buried in St. Andrew's in Chippenham, although Ralph Gaby died in Bath in 1829 ⁴²⁵, and their monument was recorded by Daniell ⁴²⁶.

James Montagu was High Sherriff of Wiltshire in 1792 ⁴²⁷

⁴¹⁸ *Talk of the Town* Autumn 2009 Chippenham Town Council "News from Chippenham Museum and Heritage Centre" p1

⁴¹⁹ *Universal British Register* 1791

⁴²⁰ John Salusbury Piozzi Salusbury, nephew of her late husband.

⁴²¹ Piozzi, HL & Loom EA & Bloom LD (eds) (1999) *Correspondence of Hester Lynch Piozzi*" vol 5 1811-1816 p532. Letter dated 6th December 1816 from Bath.

⁴²² Piozzi, HL & Loom EA & Bloom LD (eds) (1999) *ibid* p533 fn1

⁴²³ *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* dated Salisbury June 19, 1818

⁴²⁴ The MP elected for Wiltshire 1818-1820 was William Pole-Tylney-Long-Wellesley

(<http://www.thepeerage.com/p10274.htm>)

⁴²⁵ *Gentleman's Magazine* (1827) *Obituary* Vol XCIX pt II p573 "Dec 16 In Queen Square Bath aged 80 RH Gaby esq formerly a solicitor in Chippenham"

⁴²⁶ Daniell, Rev JJ (1894) *History of Chippenham* p185

Sacred to the memory of Mary, the wife of Ralph Hale Gaby Esqr who departed this life Janry 6th, 1814, aged 69 years. Also of Ralph Hale Gaby Esqr who died December 16th, 1829, aged 80 years.

⁴²⁷ Jackson, Rev JE (1857) *The Sheriffs of Wiltshire*" WAM III p231

The bank's records still exist ⁴²⁸ and they show that each of the partners bought £500 of stock to start the bank on 1st May 1792 and by May 11th the Bank had assets taken in of over £4,500 ⁴²⁹. The accounts naturally show the activities of the bank and it is no co-incidence that a lot of entries concerning the Wilts and Berks Canal can be found.

As Peter Scratchard ⁴³⁰ has pointed out, the Wilts & Berks Canal was conceived late in the period now associated with "Canal Mania". The success of canals, both as commercial enterprises in which to invest and as by far the most effective form of inland transportation for bulk materials and goods had been amply demonstrated elsewhere throughout England, particularly in the heartland's of the Industrial Revolution, the Midlands and Pennine flanks. By the late Eighteenth Century, the general fear was that the North Wessex area might be in danger of "missing out" on the benefits of the Industrial and Transport Revolutions.

The discovery of exploitable coal resources south of Bath in the Somerset Coalfield proved the final justification for the formation of a Company to finance the building of the Wilts & Berks Canal. A committee of potential investors having been formed in 1793, a survey of possible routes was made by Robert Whitworth and his son William, the former a pupil of the great canal builder James Brindley. So that the company could identify the landowners they would need to negotiate rights with, a detailed map was drawn up showing the fields that the proposed route passed through. A copy from the 1793 survey still exists ⁴³¹ as does James Montagu V's copy of another made before 1796 ⁴³². Having identified a suitable route

the necessary Parliamentary Act granting compulsory purchase and other necessary powers was duly obtained in 1795 and work commenced at the southern extremity of the line later that year [ie south of Melksham close to the junction with the Kennet & Avon Canal.] ⁴³³

and the Canal was enabled by an Act of 1795 ⁴³⁴.

The first payment from a Montagu bank customer to the Wilts and Berks Canal as such was 10 guineas in January 1794 ⁴³⁵ but the bank was acting for other companies before that - the *Wotton Bassett Canal* from March 1793 ⁴³⁶ and the *Western Canal* from September 1793

⁴²⁸ *Account book of a Chippenham Bank 1792-1799* {hereafter *Accounts* } Senate House Library, University of London Special Collection MS 580, a foolscap, parchment bound book

⁴²⁹ *Accounts* pp2 and 6, pp3-5 are blank

⁴³⁰ Scatchard, P (2001) *A brief History of the Wilts and Berks Canal* Wilts and Berks Canal Trust at <http://www.wbct.org.uk/history/brief-history-of-wilts-a-berks-canal>

⁴³¹ WA 947/2197

⁴³² See below

⁴³³ Scatchard, P (2001) *A brief History of the Wilts and Berks Canal* Wilts and Berks Canal Trust at <http://www.wbct.org.uk/history/brief-history-of-wilts-a-berks-canal>

⁴³⁴ 35 Geo III, referred to in *Chippenham Bailiffs Accounts 1774-1817*, held in Chippenham museum & Heritage Centre

⁴³⁵ *Accounts* p55 [£10 10s] from the account of Wassman

⁴³⁶ the first entry being five guineas from Edmund Estcourt on March 11th 1793 [*Accounts* p31]

⁴³⁷. "Messrs Montagu" were appointed as the canal's bankers in that month ⁴³⁸ Interestingly the last entry for the Wootton Bassett Canal was the 17th of January ⁴³⁹ and for the Western Canal the 18th January 1794 ⁴⁴⁰. The first major subscription drive for the Wilts and Berks Canal was in February 1794 when 71% ⁴⁴¹ were for the Wilts and Berks, and a further 3 were for the Kennet and Avon Canal.

James Montagu and his partner Matthew Humphreys have been described as "[two of] the main people in the local area active for the canal" ⁴⁴². James' other partner, Ralph Gaby, was actively involved in purchasing land for the canal and it is interesting that the 1801 Act, which redefined the details of the canal side branch to Chippenham, stated that the Canal was to terminate "in or near the site of the dwelling house and garden belonging to Ralph Hale Gaby ⁴⁴³". This Act cleared up the confusion that had arisen from the original Act's rather imprecise requirement that the Canal should terminate "within 100 yards of the town". When the Company originally ended the Canal in Englands the Borough Council was fairly upset and they organised a meeting between their representatives and those of the Company in 1800. John Awdry and Ralph Gaby were the Company's representatives; the Borough pointed out that of the 500 houses in Chippenham only 15 were within 100 yards of this original terminus "and these have been built within the last 45 years ⁴⁴⁴". To be fair the Borough would seem to have been somewhat disingenuous here; the 1793 map clearly shows the branch canal terminating in a "pool" exactly where it did terminate, in Englands ⁴⁴⁵. Be that as it may, the Borough brought an action against the Company to have the terminus moved closer to the town centre, which the Borough won, and the Company had to construct the 90-yards long Chippenham Tunnel to bring it in to the Wharf area, where the Bus Station now is. The 1801 Act included a call for funds to finance the building of the Chippenham Tunnel ⁴⁴⁶. It may be worth noting that Chippenham had good reason to want the Wharf closer to the Town, they

⁴³⁷ The earliest entry located being for £6 from Samuel Neale on 21st September 1793 *Accounts* p44

⁴³⁸ WA 1644/48 *Minutes of Western Canal meeting held at Marlborough 29th January 1793*. Our thanks to Gil Alder for providing this information from his research into the Canal's history

⁴³⁹ George Wilkins five guineas *Accounts* p54

⁴⁴⁰ W Wastfield five guineas *Accounts* p54

⁴⁴¹ 89 out of 126 transactions *Accounts* pp56-59

⁴⁴² Alder, R (2010) "The Wilts and Berks Canal" paper presented at Chippenham Museum 10th Anniversary Archaeology and History Dayschool, Chippenham, March 2010

⁴⁴³ Nuttall, S (1997) *The Chippenham Tunnel*" *Dragonfly* 67 (the journal of the Wilts & Berks Canal Trust) Winter 1997/98

⁴⁴⁴ *Chippenham Bailiffs Accounts 1774-1817* p409, Chippenham Museum & Heritage Centre Meeting was held 15th July 1800

⁴⁴⁵ WA 947/2197. It has to be admitted that the map now shows the canal going right into the centre of the town but closer inspection shows that the line from the pool area to the final termination point has been added by hand after printing. It would be interesting to see an unaltered version of the map but no copy has so far been located.

⁴⁴⁶ Alder, R (2010) "The Wilts and Berks Canal" paper presented at Chippenham Museum 10th Anniversary Archaeology and History Dayschool, Chippenham, March 2010

owned the land and the Wharf and were able to charge 2s for every boat which used it, a "princely sum"⁴⁴⁷ indeed in 1803!

James V was Treasurer to the Wilts & Berks between 1795 and 1797, when he took over he transferred the balance of £354 3s from the previous treasurer's Abingdon Bank account to his own bank⁴⁴⁸. During his time as Treasurer there was a call for funds which raised £9,233, and with a payment of payment, of nearly £275, from the Committee of the Kennet and Avon Canal⁴⁴⁹ the total income over the two years was in excess of £24,500 pounds, an enormous amount of money. Canals, however, are expensive things to build, and he handed on to the next Treasurer only £86 14s 9¼d⁴⁵⁰.

James V's association with the Wilts & Berks Canal has proved very helpful in dating another of his projects; sometime after his father's death he demolished the old manor house and built the Georgian house which is much of the building seen today⁴⁵¹.

The old manor house has been described as

*Deserv[ing] a passing mention. It exhibited specimens of various periods from the Norman downwards, and presented an appearance of rude grandeur rather than the beauty of regular architectural proportion. It stood completely embosomed in woods. The great hall was hung with armour*⁴⁵²

The exact location had been lost for many years but Earthwork and probing surveys indicated the likely site, and various geophysical survey methods supported this. In late September 2001 an exploratory trench was put in by a team led by Tim Robey* and Mike Stone+⁴⁵³. This dig located the rear wall of the house, and more were found in the excavations that followed⁴⁵⁴. This house probably dates from the mid-14th century, as no Saxon or Norman remains were found. It may be that the original Saxon and Norman manor house might be located some 200 meters south, close to the Ponds that are east of the Back Drive and Home Farm or it may have been at the same location and all traces destroyed by a 14th century redevelopment.

⁴⁴⁷ Nuttall, S (1997) *The Chippenham Tunnel*" Dragonfly 67 (the journal of the Wilts & Berks Canal Trust) Winter 1997/98

⁴⁴⁸ WA 2424/7 *Wilts and Berks Canal Company Accounts Ledger* p3 dated October 14th 1795

⁴⁴⁹ It is possible that this was connected with the three subscriptions to the K&A mentioned in the analysis of the income from the 1794 subscription call. This remains speculative.

⁴⁵⁰ WA 2424/7 *Wilts and Berks Canal Company Accounts Ledger* p3 dated October 14th 1795

⁴⁵¹ The following section is based on the more extensive history in Pratt, T (2009) *The Manor Houses of Lackham 1050-1949* Wiltshire College Lackham p15 (Available online at http://www.lackham.co.uk/history/manor_houses_1050_1949_ed2.pdf)

⁴⁵² Brocklebank, Rev GR (1968) *The Heraldry of the Church of St Syriac in Lacock* The Uffington Press p11.

⁴⁵³ 10 * Tim Robey, Projects Manager at Bath Archaeological Trust (2004), + late Manager and Curator, Chippenham Heritage Centre & Museum

⁴⁵⁴ in April/May and August 2002

The Manor of Lackham Vol 3 : The Montagu family

It is not known exactly when James V built the current House; for many years the best estimate was between 1790 and 1797, with the likelihood being that it was closer to 1790.

The last map showing the old house would appear to be the one prepared for Wilts & Berks Canal. It isn't very detailed, but clearly shows the three main parts of the old house and that the building is facing west, not north



Fig. 25 Map showing the route of the proposed Berks & Wilts Canal
(after 1793) ⁴⁵⁵ **

In WANHS Library in Devizes there is another map produced to support the proposed for the Canal. It was probably James Montagu's copy as it bears his name on the outside.

⁴⁵⁵ WA 947/2197 Reproduced by kind permission of Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre, their copyright is gratefully acknowledged.

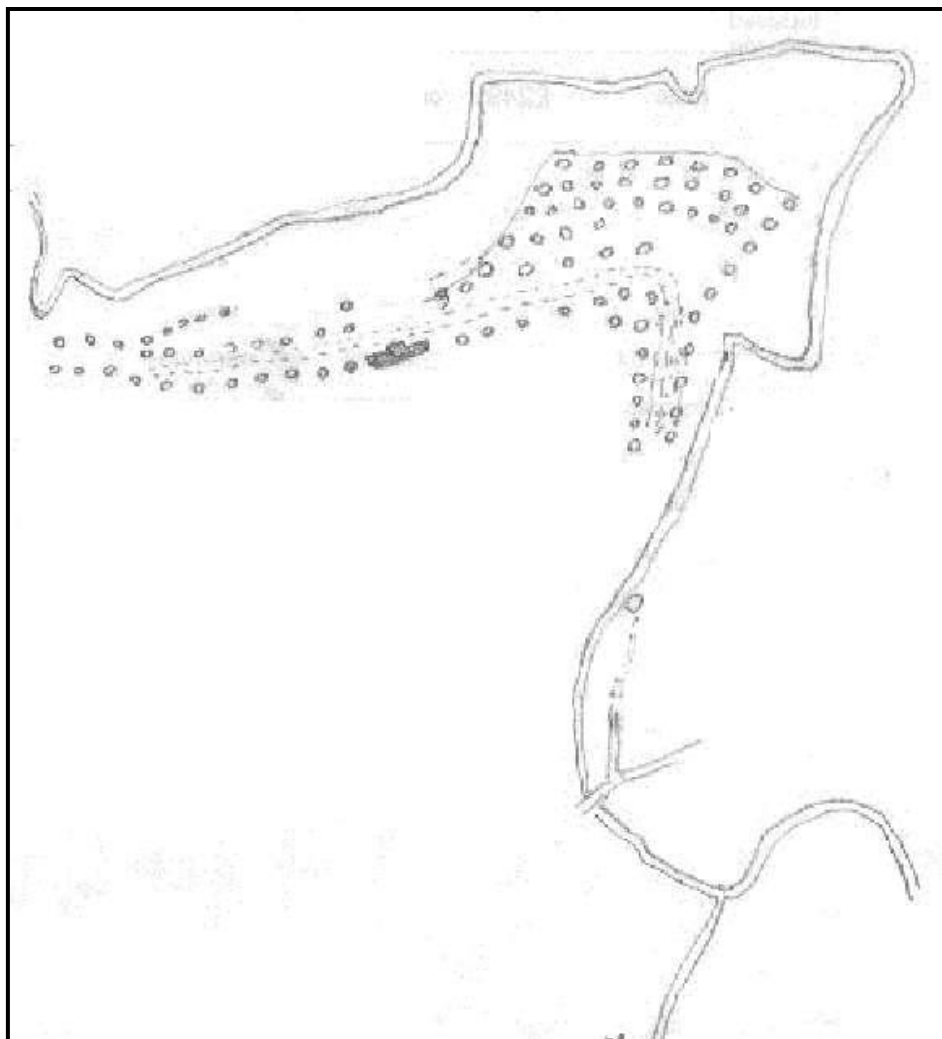


Fig. 26 Excerpt from the map for the proposed Wilts & Berks Canal, before 1796 ⁴⁵⁶ **

This clearly shows the new Lackham house, and as it's inscription states it is for the "proposed" canal it must predate the end of 1795 ⁴⁵⁷. Therefore the current Lackham House was built by James Montagu V sometime between 1792 and 1795.

There may be evidence that the new house was built by 1794; in Devizes there is another map, dated 1794 that also clearly shows the new house but the route of the canal follows the river to Chippenham, not the more easterly route with the branch canal to the town that is shown in the earlier map and which was the course actually built.

⁴⁵⁶ Redrawn by TP from the original,

⁴⁵⁷ When the enabling Act was passed and the Canal ceased being "proposed"

This section is taken from Pratt, T (2009) *The Manor Houses of Lackham 1050-1949* pp 2-3, 25-26.

The book can be found online at http://www.lackham.co.uk/history/manor_houses_1050_1949_ed2.pdf

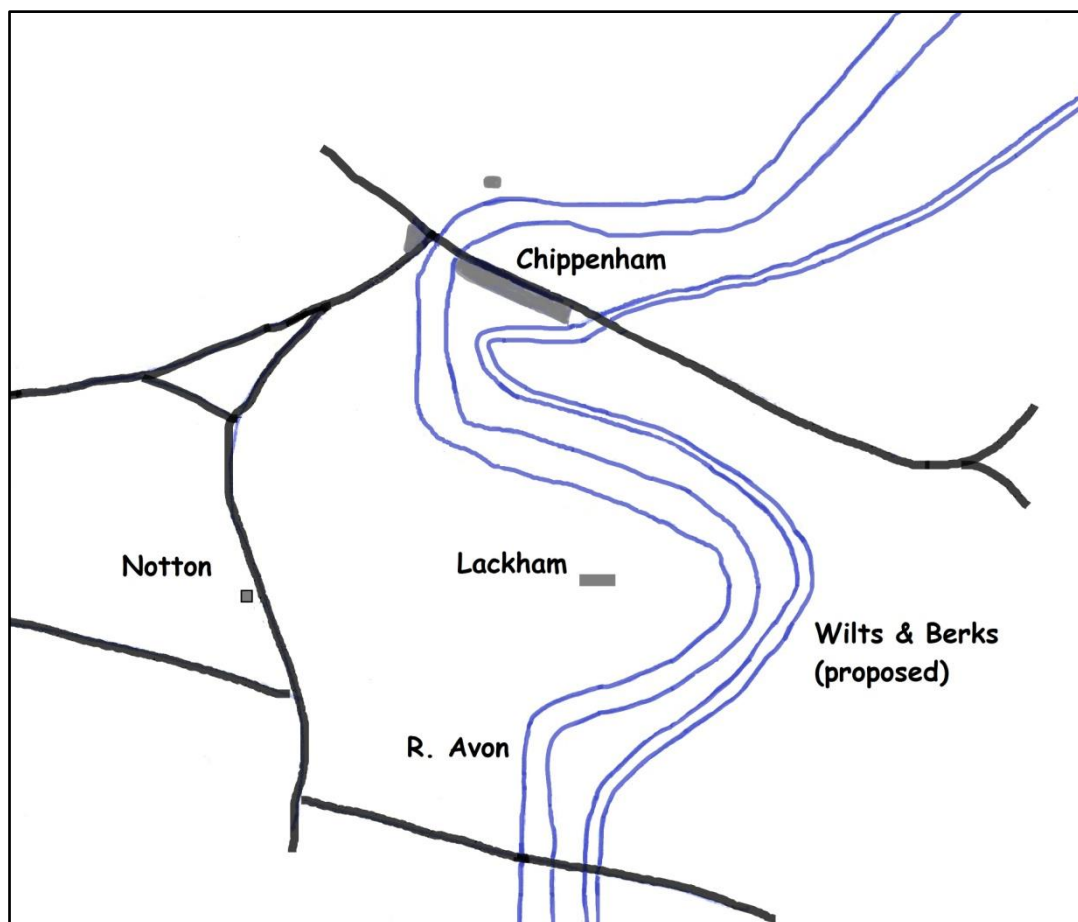


Fig. 27 Map of the proposed canal dated 1794 ⁴⁵⁸ **

Because of this the reliability of the dating of this map is questionable and it is not felt that a date of 1794 for the existence of the new house can be definitely made.

At the same time as the new House was being built James was made Treasurer of the Trustees of Maud Heath's Causeway, a post that he held until he died. James had been appointed a trustee of Maud Heath's Causeway in 1789 ⁴⁵⁹ when he appears at a meeting of the Trustees held on September 4th. His signature is very similar to that of his father but slight differences make it clear that from 1789 the Trustee was James V ⁴⁶⁰.

He was elected Treasurer at the meeting held at "the house of John Mansell the Younger, known as the Dumb Post in the parish of Bremhill" on 23 June 1794, when he received the balance of £104 17s 5 1/2d. At this meeting the Trustees "thought fit and agreed" to give

⁴⁵⁸ WA Map 140 V p58 "A plan of the Wilts and Berks canal with links to the Thames and Severn Canal" by W Fowden 1794. Redrawn for this work by TP from the original

⁴⁵⁹ WA 3448/2/1 Treasurer's a/cs and Minutes Maud Heath's Trustees 1753-1855

⁴⁶⁰ the fact that he was recorded as James Montagu jnr at the 1789 meeting also helps.

£50 towards the cost of repairing the bridge at Kellaways, this "being greatly out of repair" and they directed Mr Montague [sic]

when the said reparation and amendments of the said Bridge shall be completed by the Parishes of Langley Burrell and Kellaways aforesaid to pay the same out of the monies that shall be then in his hands to the Surveyors of the said Parishes when application shall be made to him for the same ⁴⁶¹

His accounts record that he paid this £50 out on the same day..... There are no entries in the Montagu bank accounts ⁴⁶² that mention Maud Heath's Causeway trustees; James did not open an account in his own bank for them.

In 1794 one of the two Wiltshire representatives in Parliament, Sir James Tylney Long ⁴⁶³, died and the High Sherriff ⁴⁶⁴ called for a meeting to select a replacement. This was recalled as being "one of the most respectable and numerous meetings of the Gentlemen, Clergy and Freeholders of Wiltshire ever remembered on a similar occasion ⁴⁶⁵" James Montagu V was there, and not only did he attend but he actually seconded the proposal; that HP Wyndham be elected. John Methuen Poore, of Rushall, made the customary proposal that

an ordinary ⁴⁶⁶ be provided on the day of the election at Salisbury and that the intended Member should be put to no expence on the occasion ⁴⁶⁷

This is noteworthy only because James Montagu was brother in law to Poore, his sister, Anna Maria was married to John Poore's brother ⁴⁶⁸ Edward

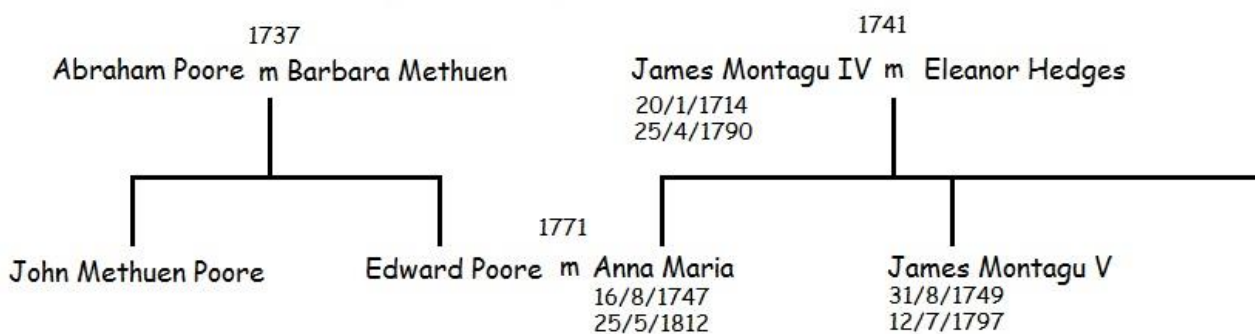


Fig 28 Relationship between James Montagu V and John Methuen Poore **

⁴⁶¹ WA 3448/2/1

⁴⁶² Accounts p67 ff

⁴⁶³ VCH Wiltshire Vol V Parliamentary History 1689-1832 The County pp 195-230 at URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=116093&strquery=1794>

⁴⁶⁴ Richard Godolphin Long of Rood Ashton

⁴⁶⁵ Oxford Journal Saturday 27 December 1794 p3

⁴⁶⁶ <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/ordinary>

[archaic] A meal provided at a fixed time and price at an Inn

⁴⁶⁷ Oxford Journal Saturday 27 December 1794 p3

⁴⁶⁸ Burke (1834) Peerage 6th ed. P840

At around this time, it is said, the Montagu's had an incredibly long-lived dove in their possession; in a report first found in November 1834 it was said that

*A dove, formerly the property of Miss Montagu of Lackham, House in this county is now in the possession of Mr Daniel Cheater of Chippenham and has attained the age of 39 years. It is in perfect health*⁴⁶⁹

This would date the dove's birth to 1795. Alas the bird's good health did not last; in May 1836 it was reported by the *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* that

*A dove died a few days since, at Chippenham, at the extraordinary age of forty years! It was four years in the Montague family, of Lackham House and for the last 36 years had been in the possession of a Mr Cheater*⁴⁷⁰,

(It seems rather strange that, two years after the initial report, the dove has actually got younger by 3 years.....). The *Devizes & Wiltshire Gazette* noted that Mr Cheater was a Chippenham man, and the *Bath Chronicle & Weekly Gazette* added that the information that his first name was Daniel and that he was a pork butche. This was quite correct, the trade directories for Wiltshire in the 1830's and 40's note he was located in the High Street, Chippenham⁴⁷¹. Daniel Cheater was born in 1841⁴⁷², and was married twice. His first wife was Sarah Stiles, whom he married in 1798⁴⁷³. She died in 1834⁴⁷⁴, and two years later Daniel Cheater married again to Anne Veisy, who was five years his junior. On the night of the 1841 census⁴⁷⁵. Daniel and Anne Cheater were resident in the High Street with Daniel Cheater's niece, Eliza Rowls. The 20 year old Eliza died less than 8 weeks later⁴⁷⁶ Daniel himself died in 1843.

⁴⁶⁹ *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* Thursday 27 November 1834 p1. The same report, although necessarily omitting the "in this county" was carried in *Reading Mercury* Monday 1 December 1834 p3, *Sherbourne Mercury* Monday 8 December 1834 p1 and was mentioned in the *Bristol Mercury* Saturday 6 December 1834 p3, although this relocated Lackham to Somerset !

⁴⁷⁰ *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* Thursday 5 May 1836 p3, *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* Thursday May 5 1836 p3, *Bristol Mercury* Saturday 6 May 1834, *Worcester Herald* 7 May 1836 p2. The *Hampshire Advertiser* Saturday 7 May 1836 p4 also carried the report but increased the bird's age to 46 years

⁴⁷¹ *Directory of Wiltshire 1830* p795 "Daniel Cheater Shopkeeper and Dealer in Sundries", *Directory of Wiltshire 1842* p8, "Daniel Cheater pork butcher High Street"

⁴⁷² The 1841 census shows Daniel living at 13 High Street and aged 60 and that he was not born in Wiltshire. Unfortunately the 1841 census did not record exactly where he came from

⁴⁷³ St Andrews Chippenham Marriage register 9 June 1798

⁴⁷⁴ *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* Monday 11 May 1834 p4 "Died"

"On Tuesday last the wife of Mr Daniel Cheate of Chippenham" This would make the burial date 5 May, exactly 2 years before the reports of the death of Miss Montagu's dove.....

⁴⁷⁵ 6 June 1841

⁴⁷⁶ *Wiltshire Independent* Thursday 29 July 1841 p2 "Deaths"

"July 23 At the house of her uncle, Mr Daniel Cheater, of Chippenham, Miss Eliza Rowls"

As was noted above James was appointed High Sheriff of Wiltshire for 1795-1796⁴⁷⁷ and in November 1795 he was called upon to organize a meeting of the county to "consider of an ADDRESS to his MAJESTY in consequence of the late, outrageous and savage offence offered to his person.", which he duly set up for November 25th in Devizes⁴⁷⁸. No less than 6 lords signed this request.

The outcome of the meeting was not reported but it is likely that the usual declaration of loyal support was made and sent.⁴⁷⁹ Exactly which offence was being referred to here is unclear, there are a number of possibilities and it was a fact that

*Commoners in every reign spoke "lewd, ungracious, detestable and traitorous" words against the head of state, but such speech was progressively decriminalised. One of George III's subjects in 1795 called for the king to be stoned and his head set on Temple Bar*⁴⁸⁰

But it is most likely that the reaction, if not the call immediately above, was associated with the events of the previous month; Pitt and the Government were even more unpopular than usual because, to pay for the war against France (1793-1795), Pitt had increased taxation and

⁴⁷⁷ Jackson, Rev JE (1857) *The Sheriffs of Wiltshire*" WAM III p232

⁴⁷⁸ *Bath Chronicle & Weekly Gazette* 19 Nov 1784 vol 57 no 1795 p2 col d

We take the liberty of troubling you with this Letter to request that you will be good enough to call a Meeting of the County as soon as convenient to consider of an ADDRESS to his MAJESTY in consequence of the late, outrageous and savage offence offered to his person. We are, Sir, Your very humble and obedient servants

PEMBROKE	JAMES DAWKINS
RADNOR	PORCHESTER
AILSBUURY	H PENRUD WYNDHAM
CARNARVON	THOMAS ESTCOURT
MALMESBURY	WILLIAM HUSSEY
WILLIAM SEYMOUR	JOSHUA SMITH
HENRY DAWKINS	J METHUEN POORE
EDWARD DAWKINS	JOHN THOMAS BATT
PHILIP JAMES GROSS	E SEYMOUR
AMBROSE GODDARD	F R HUMPHREYS
M HICKS BEECH	WILLIAM SALMON
ROBERTT JOHN BUXTON	J E HEATHCOTE
JAMES SUTTON	

To the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders and other inhabitants of Wilts

Having received a Requisition, of which the above is a copy, I do accordingly appoint a MEETING of the COUNTY, for the purpose therein mentioned, on Wednesday the 25 day of November instant, at the Town Hall in Devizes, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon

*JAMES MONTAGUE, Sheriff
Lackham House Nov 14th 1795*

⁴⁷⁹ there are many examples of this sort of document in existence, see, for example, those from Chippenham Corporation in the *Bailiff's Accounts* in Chippenham Museum and Heritage Centre

⁴⁸⁰ Cressey, D (2010) "No offence, Your Majesty" *History Today* vol 60 issue 1 Jan 2010 p3

raised a loan of £18 million. This problem was made worse by a series of bad harvests and the consequent high bread prices reinforced a demand for parliamentary reform. On October 26th the London Corresponding Society held a mass open-air meeting at Copenhagen House (Islington). Three days later George III went to open parliament and, on his way, was greeted with cries of 'Bread', 'Peace' and 'no Pitt' ⁴⁸¹. Missiles were also thrown which broke the windows of his carriage. Pitt immediately decided to pass a new Sedition Bill that redefined the law of treason and banned public meetings ⁴⁸²

James was a Juror at the Lent Assizes for Wiltshire in 1796. Evidence of this comes from a summons, issued by the Sheriff of Wiltshire in 1799, for all those who had " *been returned to serve as Jurors upon the Grand Inquest for the said County of Wilts, or any Assise or Session of Oyer and Terminer or General Gola Delivery*" ⁴⁸³ to be summoned to carry out the intentions of the Act passed to "grant certain Duties on Income", in other word to collect a tax. James' name appears in the list of local worthies involved with the Lent Assize of 1796

James didn't serve in this capacity because he died in July 1797 ⁴⁸⁴ and was buried in Lacock church ⁴⁸⁵. Ellen Whinfield, who was a well-connected lady

living in Lacock, Wiltshire and moved in the county's highest social circles, including Davenport Talbot and his wife Lady Elisabeth ⁴⁸⁶

and who knew James Montagu, mentions him. Her diary for 1797 records that she had "dined at Brindleys with Mr. Montagu and Mrs. Smith" ⁴⁸⁷ and later she notes "a melancholy sight - Mr. Montagu's funeral!" ⁴⁸⁸ - the only eye witness record of the event so far found.

There were lots of financial repercussions from James' death; sometime before this he borrowed £25,000 from Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough ⁴⁸⁹ to complete the purchase of lands that had formed part of Pewsham Forest next to Lackham, on the opposite side of the river Avon ⁴⁹⁰. Cunnington reports that "a provision was made in his will for the gradual

⁴⁸¹ <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/PRgeorgeIII.htm>

⁴⁸² the Seditious Meetings Act (36 Geo. III c. 8), which forbade meetings of more than 50 people without prior permission from a magistrate, November 1795

⁴⁸³ *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* Monday 4 March 1799 p3

⁴⁸⁴ *Reading Mercury* Monday 24 July 1797 p2

Died: At his feat at Lackham, Wilts, James Montagu Esq an acting Magiftrate and late High-Sheriffm of that county

⁴⁸⁵ Lacock Burials register 18 July

⁴⁸⁶ <http://www.derekjones.org/Who%20was%20Ellen%20Whinfield.htm>

⁴⁸⁷ <http://www.derekjones.org/1797.pdf> p3

⁴⁸⁸ <http://www.derekjones.org/1797.pdf> p35 July 18th

⁴⁸⁹ Cunnington, W (1852) *Memoir of George Montagu* WAM III p91

⁴⁹⁰ In 1604 James I presented the area to the Earl of Anglesey, Christopher Villiers (Jackson, Rev JE *On the history of Chippenham* WAM IV p35) The Earl gave the area to his granddaughters in his will. One of the two heiresses, Elizabeth, married James Touchet "and the portion now belongs to Mr

liquidation of this debt" ⁴⁹¹. Unfortunately, although much was repaid, at the time of his death there was £8,000 outstanding. This, complicated by the problems of succession detailed below, eventually led to the sale of the estate.

The Bank was wound up soon after James' death, the notice of the dissolution of the partnership of Montagu, Ashe, Humphrys and Gaby was published in September of 1797 by James' brother and executor, George Montagu ⁴⁹². The last entry in the Bank accounts is on August 12 1799, by Ralph Gaby ⁴⁹³.

The Trustees of Maud Heath's Causeway also had problems - when he died James was still their Treasurer and their money was in his hands. At the meeting held at "the house of William Moore known as The George Sandy Lane" that year ⁴⁹⁴ there were only 4 trustees left and they appointed another three to make up the numbers. The newly appointed Robert Ashe was elected Treasurer and was told that there was "a considerable Balance due from the late Treasurer". There was no mention of the amount outstanding at that meeting or the next one ⁴⁹⁵ but when the Trustees met at the Catherine Wheel in Calne ⁴⁹⁶ it was reported that was "a Balance of £178 4s 9d due from the Estate of James Montagu Esquire" and that the treasurer, Mr Humphreys

be desired to prove the Debt against his Estate and to endeavor to obtain payment thereof or such Compensation as can be received for the same

Ludlow Bruges" (Jackson *ibid*), the other married Mr Cary of Tor Abbey, Devon. Their son George Cary sold the principal part of Pewsham to James Montagu

⁴⁹¹ Cunnington, W (1852) *ibid*

⁴⁹² London Gazette, 19th September 1797 p917

Chippenham, September 16, 1797.

The Partnership which lately subsisted between James Montagu, Robert Ashe, Matthew Humphrys, and Ralph Hale Gaby, of Chippenham, Wilts, Bankers, having been dissolved by mutual Consent, (and which said James Montagu is since deceased) all Persons who have any Demands on the said Partnership are desired to send an Account thereof to Mr. Gaby, one of the said Partners; and all Persons who are any ways indebted to the said Partnership are required forthwith to pay the same to him.

G. Montagu,

Executor of the said James Montagu, deceased.

Rob. Ashe.

Matt. Humphrys.

R. H. Gaby.

Our thanks to Gil Alder for making us aware of this information

⁴⁹³ Accounts p149

⁴⁹⁴ WA 3448/2/1 *Treasurers a/cs and Minutes Maud Heath's Trustees*

⁴⁹⁵ WA 3448/2/1 *ibid* held at the George on 17 Sept 1797

⁴⁹⁶ WA 3448/2/1 *ibid* July 1799

(It is noteworthy that the only partner in the Montagu bank who wasn't a treasurer for the Causeway Trustees was Gaby)

There are no other references to the money or James in this account, which gives minutes to 1812 and the next mention is in 1815⁴⁹⁷. At the Trustees meeting in March

The Clerk reported the result of his enquiry regarding the Debt due from the Montagu estate to be that the Suit initiated in Chancery is expected to come before the Master of the Rolls in the next Term for Hearing and Directions and that the Fund in Court is likely to be soon afterwards applied. Resolved that the Clerk take the necessary proceedings for receiving the money from the Estate of the late Mr Montague as soon as the same is payable under the order of the Court of Chancery⁴⁹⁸

They also decided that the proposed widening of the Road (Causeway) near Kellaways Bridge be deferred until they had the money back from the Montagu estate.

Court cases take time, and it was not until the next meeting, in 1817⁴⁹⁹, that Mr Atherton was able to report that the sum of £125 13s 4d, part of the Montagu debt, had been received. Unusually another meeting was held the same year⁵⁰⁰ when it was recorded that

Mr Atherton stated that the Remainder of Mr Montague's Debt had been received and that he had paid the Balance as under mentioned amounting to the sum of One hundred and Fifty pounds and 2s into the hands of Mr Pinniger" the Treasurer

This seems to be at odds, to the tune of £1, with the amounts given in the Treasurer's accounts later:

<i>The amount of debt proved</i>	<i>£172 4s 9d.</i>
<i>Mssrs Gaby and Atherton's costs in proving the Debt carrying in and settling the Charge and various warrants to Pattin???? in 1803, 1804 until the Charge was allowed</i>	<i>£ 6 6s 0d</i>
<i>Atherton and Gabriel's costs 1815 and 1817</i>	<i>£ 5 14s 0d</i>
<i>Mr Stevenson's costs</i>	<i>£ 9 2s 9d</i>
<i>Total</i>	<i>£151 2s 0d</i>

⁴⁹⁷ WA 3448/2/4 *Treasurers a/cs and Minutes Maud Heath's Trustees held at the Dumb Post Bremhill 13 March 1815*

⁴⁹⁸ WA 3448/2/4 *Treasurers a/cs and Minutes Maud Heath's Trustees held at the Dumb Post Bremhill 13 March 1815*

⁴⁹⁹ WA 3448/2/4 *Treasurers a/cs and Minutes Maud Heath's Trustees held at the Dumb Post Bremhill 13 March 1815*

⁵⁰⁰ WA 3448/2/4 *Treasurers a/cs and Minutes Maud Heath's Trustees Meeting of the Trustees held on the 8th September 1817 at the Dumb Post Bremhill*

Permission for the widening of the Causeway, first mooted in 1815, was finally given and a previous restriction of £50 for the work was removed now that the money was available.

James Montagu V didn't marry and so there were no legitimate children to inherit the estate. However James' will, a lengthy and complicated document with two codicils added late in his life, leads us to believe that there were illegitimate children; the first two bequests in the will, before even his heir, were of £1000 each to George and Sophie Angle, children of Mrs Angle of Bath ⁵⁰¹

In this will James V appointed his "friends Robert Ashe of Langley Burrell and Matthew Humphrys of the Ivy House and William Hughes of the Devizes as trustees of the estate" ⁵⁰²

He also made bequests to others; he gave to his sisters Anabella Montagu, spinster, and Arabella Montagu £50 annually, his servant Sarah Fewferiell received an annuity of £30 and his brother in law Edward Poore received the same annuity for the lifetime of Martha Selfe, the wife of Samuel Selfe and daughter of William Webb ⁵⁰³. Lackham was left to his brother George Montagu, Col of the Wiltshire Regiment of Militia ⁵⁰⁴

George was born at Lackham in 1751 ⁵⁰⁵. It has been said that "George Montagu was just an upright simple-minded English country gentleman who loved Natural History" ⁵⁰⁶ but there was far more to him than that.

He joined the 15th Regiment of Foot ⁵⁰⁷ in 1770, when he was 19 years old ⁵⁰⁸. George married Mary Ann the eldest daughter of William Courtenay and Lady Jane Stuart, in 1773

⁵⁰¹ 212B/3676 Will dated 17th September 1792

⁵⁰² 212B/3676 *ibid*

⁵⁰³ 212B/3676 *ibid*

⁵⁰⁴ For another account of George see the author's paper *George Montagu of Kingsbridge and Lackham: Georgian Soldier, Naturalist and Libertine* [The Devon Historian](#) vol 85, 2016, 51-63

⁵⁰⁵ DNB Vol X p 693 give 1751, Cunnington, W (1852) *Memoir of George Montagu* WAM III p 87 has 1755

⁵⁰⁶ Cummings, B F (1912) *A biographical sketch of Col. George Montagu (1755-1815)* *English Field Zoologist* *Zoologische Annalen Wurzburg*

⁵⁰⁷ <http://www.pwstubbs.force9.co.uk/15th/15th.htm> Raised at Nottingham in June 1685 by Col. Sir William Clifton as by Col. Sir William Clifton's Regiment of Foot. It was then named after the Colonels of the Regiment until 1751, when it became the 15th Regiment of Foot, in 1782 being renamed as the 15th (The Yorkshire East Riding) Regiment of Foot, in 1881 the East Yorkshire Regiment, in 1935 the East Yorkshire Regiment [The Duke of York's Own] before finally, in 1958, it was amalgamated with the West Yorkshire Regiment [The Prince of Wales's Own] to form the Prince of Wales' Own Regiment of Yorkshire. The West Yorkshire regiment was raised in the same year as the 15th and was formerly known as the 14th Regiment of Foot.

⁵⁰⁸ *The Army List* for 1770 records that he was appointed an ensign of the Fifteenth Regiment of Foot, 22 June 1770

Apparently

*The youthful militiaman seems to have eloped with the even more youthful Ann to Gretna Green*⁵⁰⁹

However,⁵¹⁰

The supposed facts of GM's apparently clandestine marriage to Ann Courtenay, like some other suppositions concerning his early life, are confusing and contradictory, as has been pointed out by Cleevely (1978)⁵¹¹. Assuming Ann was not yet sixteen she could not have married GM without her parents' consent, under English law. In theory she could have done so if she had eloped to Scotland with her lover. Under Scottish law, as then prevailing, anyone over sixteen could be married without parental consent and Gretna was favoured because it was often the first place young lovers reached when fleeing from England to Scotland

Cleevely supports the suggestion of the elopement in his entry on George Montagu in the DNB and support for this might be seen in a letter to the earl of Ailesbury written by George's uncle Edward; in it he said "I know nothing of the young couple in Scotland, but thro' my unhappy brother. I understand the young man is taking the advantage of his mother's weakness and by her means working his way to Lackham. I am afraid my brother must yield to all her wishes."⁵¹² Ann was a granddaughter of the Earl of Bute, Prime Minister to George III. In January 1773⁵¹³ George had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant and then, before 1775, he was appointed Captain. It isn't known for which of these two promotions, or even if it was for both of them, the family incurred the expense but, in his will, his father James Montagu noted⁵¹⁴ "[I] Have also paid laid out and expended the sum of one thousand and five hundred pounds for the advancement of my said son George in the Army"

Shortly after [George's appointment to Captain](#) the regiment was sent to America⁵¹⁵, the Regiment

⁵⁰⁹ Dance, S Peter (ed) (2005) *Letters on Ornithology 1804-1815 between George Montagu and Robert Anstice* p18

⁵¹⁰ Dance, S Peter (ed) (2005) *ibid* p223 en5

⁵¹¹ Cleevely RJ (1978) *Some background to the life and publications of Colonel George Montagu (1753-1815)* Archives of Natural History * (4) pp 445-480

⁵¹² WA 9/205/13 Letter dated London July 25 1774

⁵¹³ [Kentish Gazette Saturday 23 January 1773 p3](#)

["War Office, January 13](#)

[15th regiment of foot, Ensign Joseph Willock, from half-pay, to be ensign, vice Geo. Montague"](#)

⁵¹⁴ [NA Prob 11/1192](#)

⁵¹⁵ Cunnington, W (1852) *Memoir of George Montagu* WAM III

*then serving in Ireland, was part of the re-enforcement sent to Sir William Howe, commander in chief in North America, in December 1775. It arrived in time to join in the unsuccessful expedition against Charelston South Carolina, during May to July 1776, and fight in the battles of Long Island and Fort Washington later that year. During 1777 it took part in the Tryon's raid on Danbury, Connecticut, and fought brilliantly during he Battles of Brandywine and Germanstown. At the latter its lieutenant colonel, John Bird, was killed while leading a counter attack at the head of the regiment.*⁵¹⁶

It was during this engagement that the Regiment earned one of its nicknames, *The Snappers*

*The Regiment had exhausted it's supply of musket balls, but still had powder. They were told to keep "snapping" which was the act of charging a musket with powder only and firing it off (rather similar to today's blank ammunition). By doing this the Regiment convinced their attackers that they still had ammunition and the attack was beaten off*⁵¹⁷

As has already been seen, at this time **four** members of the family were stationed in North America - George was with the 15th Regiment of Foot, his uncle Admiral John Montagu was Admiral Commanding the British Navy in the colonies and **George's cousins George and James were Captains serving under their father..**

Ann stayed with the Montagu's at Lackham during this separation. While in America George was promoted to Captain, and it was here that he first started his work as a naturalist - initially "by shooting any of the more interesting American birds", although initially this was only so that he could show them to his mother⁵¹⁸ or wife⁵¹⁹.

George left the Army shortly after returning to England.

George and Ann may not have remained at Lackham; their first daughter, Eleanor, was baptised at Rowde⁵²⁰, as was his eldest son Frederick Courtney, close to Devises⁵²¹, in 1780. It is possible that the baptism took place at Rowde because George's brother in

⁵¹⁶ Trouiani, Don et al *Don Troiani's soldiers in America 1754-1865* [Mechanicsburg, Pa. Stackpole Books 1998], 29

⁵¹⁷ <http://www.pwstubbs.force9.co.uk/15th/15th.htm> *ibid*

⁵¹⁸ Cunnington, W (1852) *Memoir of George Montagu* WAM III

⁵¹⁹ Moroney EH (1965) *Col Montagu and his harrier* *Country Life*, Aug 26 p516-517, and Badeni, J (1992)

⁵²⁰ According to the Rowde parish registers (Henceforth RPR) Eleanor Anne Wortley Montagu was born 8th September 1780 and baptised two months later. It is these records which show Ann as Mary Ann.

⁵²¹ RPR Baptisms Born Jan 22 1783 Frederick Augustus Courtney Montague son George & Mary Anne Montague bap Mar 11

law, William Higginson⁵²² was Vicar there, or they may have been living in the village.

In 1781 George was promoted to Major in the Wiltshire Militia, probably through the intercession of his uncle, Edward Montagu and the earl of Ailsbury. His promotion was ratified on 9 June 1781⁵²³. In one of his letters George indicates that he had "embarrassed" himself financially when he was younger and that his large family still stretched his "small income"⁵²⁴.

When Thomas Hedges of Alderton (George Montagu's maternal grandfather) died in 1782⁵²⁵ he left George a small bequest of £200 per year⁵²⁶. George and his family moved into Alderton manor for a time, and "Mrs Montagus mother, Lady Jane Courtney, joined them"⁵²⁷. The Montagu's remained at Alderton for only six years, and then, in 1788, George rented Easton Grey near Malmesbury, where he remained for the next twelve years⁵²⁸. This was the same year in which Elizabeth Hedges, widow of Thomas Hedges, died⁵²⁹, whether there is any connection to the move to Easton Grey is unknown. In the meantime George's mother had died. Edward Montagu discussed it with his friend the earl of Aylesbury in a letter of 1786:

my worthy Brother is as well, or better, than was to be expected, considering his attachment to the Companion of his Life. Her long illness and certain approach to Dissolution, had prepared him for the event, and indeed it became an Object of his wish that she should be release from the most miserable condition - He most certainly has resolved to abandon Old Lackham and divide his time amongst his family and Friends - once he proposed to join me in the great Town and I flattered myself the Air of Hampstead might not be too bleak for him.- He had almost resolved to try; but an event has defeated all my hopes. His son the Major has taken Mr Parry's house at Easton Grey which is not far from Alderton; which plc is now become my

⁵²² As seen above he had married George's sister Elizabeth in 1764

⁵²³ WA 9/34/138 which contains 5 letters about the promotion, three of them to his uncle.

⁵²⁴ WA 9/34/138 Letter from GM to (unspecified but almost certainly) Lord Ailesbury at Savernake dated "Liverpool May 20" [1781]

⁵²⁵ Alderton parish registers WA fiche 1078/3

⁵²⁶ Will of Thomas Hedges WA P1/H/1291 B. Thomas' sister Eleanor (George Montagu's aunt) was granted £200 per annum, his cousin James Montagu junior also received £200 per annum as long as his father James Montagu senior lived, and Thomas Hedge's servant John Mansfield received a bequest of £100 and £30 per annum

⁵²⁷ Cummings, B F (1912) A biographical sketch of Col. George Montagu (1755-1815) English Field Zoologist *Zoologische Annalen Wurzburg*

⁵²⁸ Moroney EH (1965) *Col Montagu and his Harrier Country Life*

⁵²⁹ Alderton parish registers *ibid*

Brothers headquarters especially as he and his eldest son have always lived on the best terms and their friends mostly the same . ⁵³⁰

George and Anne had four sons, Frederick Courtenay ⁵³¹, George Conway Courtenay , James VII and John and two daughters Louisa Matilda ⁵³² and Elonora . ⁵³³ Louisa eventually married the barrister Matthew Crawford, but this was not until 1822, seven years after her father's death ⁵³⁴

All of George and Anne's sons were in the military, and three of them died in service; James VII was in the Army (regiment unknown) and died while a prisoner of war in France. John was killed on active service with the Royal Navy; ⁵³⁵ " He was Captain of, and killed in, HMS Montague, during Howe's battle with the French at Finistere "The glorious 1st of June" ⁵³⁶ There is a statue commemorating him, paid for by public subscription, in Westminster Abbey just inside the West Doors of the Abbey, "one of the most prestigious, if not **the** most prestigious location, for a memorial in the entire country " ⁵³⁷ and Frederick was killed at the Battle of Albuerra ⁵³⁸. George was deeply affected by the loss " of his favourite son " ⁵³⁹ and erected a moving epitaph in Lacock Church. ⁵⁴⁰. Frederick's death was also noticed nationally; for example the London

⁵³⁰ WA 1300/4562 Letter dated "Frogna Grove Sunday evening Oct 15 1786" EM to lord Aylesbury

⁵³¹ See above.

⁵³² christened 1788 (Easton Grey parish registers) so they hadn't been there long before Louisa's birth

⁵³³ Cumings, B F (1912) *ibid* It is surprising that Cunnington, writing so close to George's lifetime, only mentions Frederick, George and Louisa.

⁵³⁴ *London Morning Post* Monday 30 September 1822 p4, *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* Thursday 3 October 1822 p2

At Hampton, near London, Matthew Crawford of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law, to Miss Louisa JM Montagu, youngest daughter of the late Colonel George Montagu of Lackham House in the county of Wilts and Kingsbridge in the county of Devon

⁵³⁵ WA 9/35/203 Letter 41 Edward Montagu to Lord Aylesbury Dated Frogna Grove Oct 9 1780

⁵³⁶ 1 June 1794

⁵³⁷ Sam Willis *The Glorious First of June: Fleet Battle in the Reign of Terror* [London, Quercus, 2011] ,9

⁵³⁸ Cunnington, W (1852) *Memoir of George Montagu* WAM III p 91 He was Brigade Officer in the 23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers under Lord Beresford when he was killed (1811) in Portugal, aged 26

⁵³⁹ Cunnington, (1852) *ibid*

⁵⁴⁰ on the wall of Lackham Aisle, St Cyriacs Lacock

To Frederick Augustus Courtenay Montague Capt of the 23rd Regiment or Royal Welch Fusiliers, and Major in the Portugese service. Adorned with the choicest gifts of heaven, Nature had wreathed the olive Branch, that so conspicuously flourished on his brow, as emblematic of his amiable and affectionate mind. Patriotism and Loyalty, that roused him to seek mortal glory, led him to volunteer his service in his Country's cause at the early age of 16. And, after displaying undaunted courage in Holland, in Martinique, in the expulsion of the French from Portugal, and lastly, at the age of 26, at the memorable battle of Albuera, in Spain, fought on the 10th of May, in the year 1811, he finished his mortal career, pierced through the heart by a musket-ball, whilst gallantly leading his men to a charge.

Morning Post said

*The late battle of Albuera has immortalised many who are now no more; and it is not without mingled sensations of regret and sorrow we mention the name of Captain F Montagu who, in the very prime of manhood, while nobly and undauntedly leading on his mento vistory, after having been exposed to the hottest part of the battle; while in the very act of flourishing hios sword , and calling out "My countrymen go on with your bayonets" he fell from two musket balls*⁵⁴¹

George Conway was, apparently, in the Navy although no details have so far been discovered.

At about the time the family moved to Easton Grey George Montagu

*formed a deep and lasting attachment to another lady, Mrs. Dorville, the wife of a city merchant, a woman of talent and education, who made beautiful drawings for his books*⁵⁴²

It is possible that George was already associating with Mrs Dorville when he moved to Easton Grey - an elderly resident of Alderton recalled that one of the Montagu's kept a Mistress at the Manor House and this would have been possible after the Montagu's moved out but it has also been suggested that they didn't meet until 1794⁵⁴³. It is known that she and George Montagu had several children, who were acknowledged by him.⁵⁴⁴ Little is known of her family, although it is noted that George's sister Arabella, married Ralph Dorville Woodford⁵⁴⁵ in October 1794 and, as Cleevely has stated that George met Elizabeth at a family wedding in 1794, it seems likely that this was it⁵⁴⁶.

In 1795 George was elected to be a Fellow of the prestigious Linnaean Society, proof that he was already much respected as a naturalist.⁵⁴⁷

He nobly fell, leaving the laurels so gloriously acquired to be entwined round the hearts of his afflicted parents, who in commemoration of their departed Son, erected this Monument

⁵⁴¹ London Morning Post Wednesday 24 July 1811 p3

⁵⁴² Lacock inscriptions WA Monumental Inscriptions fiche

⁵⁴³ Ronald J Cleevely Former Alphington Resident who knew Lord Byron at

http://www.livinghere.org.uk/page_id_573_path_Op4p68p.aspx accessed 28 March 2015

⁵⁴⁴ Badeni, J (1992) *Past People in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire* p67

⁵⁴⁵ John Burke I *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland* Vol II (London, Henry Colburne, 1835) 54 The link between the Dorville-Woodfords and John Dorville remains unclear.

⁵⁴⁶ Ronald J Cleevely *Former Alphington Resident who knew Lord Byron* (attributed) at http://www.livinghere.org.uk/page_id_573_path_Op4p68p.aspx accessed 28 March 2015

⁵⁴⁷ My thanks to Gina Douglas, Librarian and Archivist to the Linnaean Society for her assistance.

George was nominated by J. Latham, W. Peete and T. Lamb and was elected a Fellow on 21 July 1795

In 1799, three officers in the Wiltshire Militia (Captains Awdry, Houlton and Phayre) brought Col Montagu before a courts martial on five counts of abusing his position as Commanding Officer and conduct unbecoming a commanding office, after what one observer has described as "*some provocative marital skirmishing*". He was found guilty and dismissed from the Regiment ⁵⁴⁸.

Cunnington was writing very close to George's lifetime and so it is perhaps understandable that neither his association with Mrs Dorville nor his court martial makes an appearance in Cunnington's account at all.

The association with Mrs Dorville, however, had desperate consequences for George, and the Montagu estates. It was the reason that, although Lackham and Alderton were initially bequeathed to George, he couldn't inherit under the modified terms of his brothers' will. In a codicil ⁵⁴⁹ James Montagu stated

my brother George shall not live at my Mansion at Lackham unless he shall live and cohabit with his wife.

Things proceeded well for a time - sometime in 1797 the Rev. Samuel Denne, FSA, wrote to a friend that he was staying with Colonel Montagu who had been left

*by his brother a noble house built within the last five years situated in the midst of a good estate and the manor extensive to the river Avon meandr'ring by a considerable part of it*⁵⁵⁰

and in November of that year Ellen Whitfield records that she "*call'd at Lackham on Col. and Mrs. Montagu*" ⁵⁵¹ .

How long George and Mary lived at Lackham is uncertain, but George Montagu moved to Knowle, near Kingsbridge in Devon, in 1800, ⁵⁵² to live with Elizabeth Dorville. 1800 was not a good year for George Montagu - he and his eldest surviving son George Conway Courtenay Montagu fell out.

The fact is that he was a colonel, an upright and honourable man, with a mind perhaps a little too conscious of its own rectitude, very susceptible to outrage, and a temperament somewhat irate according to type ⁵⁵³

⁵⁴⁸ Badeni, J (1992) *ibid* p70 gives details of the actual charges,

⁵⁴⁹ Badeni, J (1992) *Past People in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire* p67. The original will *did* leave Lackham clearly to George, but the codicil was added 4th July 1797

⁵⁵⁰ Nichols, JB (1831) *Illustrations of the Literary history of the Eighteenth Century* Vol 8 p719

⁵⁵¹ <http://www.derekjones.org/1797.pdf> p49 Saturday 25th November 1797

⁵⁵² Badeni, J (1992) *ibid* p71

⁵⁵³ Cummings, B F (1912) *A biographical sketch of Col. George Montagu (1755-1815)* *English Field Zoologist* Zoologische Annalen Wurzburg

Although the Trustees had enforced the codicil in the will and title of the estate passed to George Conway, George junior brought a suit against them for failing in their duties and colluding with his father, *allowing him to strip the assets of the estate.*⁵⁵⁴ This and further litigations eventually resulted in the sale of the estate, but effectively the estate was under the control of the Trustees while the court cases were going on and remained so of the rest of the Montagu ownership..

George Montagu lived at Knowle for the rest of his life. During this period his major books appeared and he was constantly busy with his studies. His most popular, and the earliest, was a treatise on duelling⁵⁵⁵ - from which it can be taken that *"although we have no definite facts to go on it seems probable that he was an expert duellist"*⁵⁵⁶

During the period when there were fears of an imminent invasion by Napoleon's army George was involved; he was appointed Lt. Col and Commander of the Dorset Guides in 1804⁵⁵⁷ and organised the defence of that county.

George Montagu was never a man for ceremony and

*preferred to live a secluded life spending his days beating through thick brushwood to identify the song of a woodwren or collecting sea worms from the mud at Kingsbridge or dredging in Tor Bay*⁵⁵⁸

George Montagu died of lockjaw on 28th August 1815 after stepping on a rusty nail. Ann Montagu nee Hedges survived him by less than a year, dieing in 1816 at Hotwells in Bristol⁵⁵⁹

His son George C C Montagu, who actually inherited Lackham from his uncle James VI, was a spendthrift and

*even in 1797 he had already started to sign promissory notes for ready cash, and by 1799 he was living in the north of England and elsewhere under an assumed name (sometimes more than one!) in an effort to dodge his creditors. Thereafter he spent some time, on and off, living under Kings Bench Rules and thus came the gradual sale of the estate*⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁴ Badeni, J (1960) *Wiltshire Forebears* p69

⁵⁵⁵ *The Sportsman's Dictionary; or a Treatise on Gunpowder and Fire Arms, &c.* London, 1792, re-printed in 1803

⁵⁵⁶ Cummings, B F (1912) *A biographical sketch of Col. George Montagu (1755-1815)* *English Field Zoologist* Zoolgische Annalen Wurzburg

⁵⁵⁷ *London Gazette* January 7th 1804 p334

⁵⁵⁸ Cunnington, W (1852) *Memoir of George Montagu* WAM III p 91

⁵⁵⁹ *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* Thursday 22 February 1816 p3

Saturday died at Bristol Hotwells Ann, widow of Col. Montagu of Lackham, Wilts, and mother of the gallant Captain Frederick Montagu who fell at the battle fo Albuera

⁵⁶⁰ Lacock inscriptions *ibid*

One of these assumed names was "William Thompson"; in 1803 (when he was 27 years old) he was living in Liverpool under this name. It was here that he "paid his addresses" to Margaret Green Wilson, who was 10 years his junior and "in the month of December 1803⁵⁶¹ they went together to Gretna Green in Scotland and were there lawfully married in their own proper names"⁵⁶²

The newly weds lived in Edinburgh (although under the name of Thompson not Montagu) until 1804 and then moved to Hornsea near Beverley in Yorkshire, where their eldest son was born. They then lived in Liverpool before moving to Lackham, where they lived between 1806-1808. Actually, according to Louisa Crawford's deposition, the family lived at Lackham but George was usually away on business and only returned to visit every now and then. This seems to have been the pattern for most of the Montagu's married life.

George and Margaret had two sons, Frederick Courtenay⁵⁶³, born in 1805 and Humphrey. There was also a daughter, Eleanora Christine Courtenay Montagu, who was born in 1811, and married Thomas Keeld Harvey in 1842, having two children.

Much of the information available about the Montagus at this time is not directly related to Lackham or the direct family that owned it. An estate isn't only the owner, however. It is also the farms and people who work them and this continues despite the problems of the owners, albeit influenced by their trials and troubles.

Relatively few documents concerning Lackham at this time are to be found in the Wiltshire record office, but most of those that are there deal with the rent and leasing of estate farms. One of the earliest dates from 1792⁵⁶⁴.

Throughout the period that the estate was under Chancery rules various assets were sold off, for example in 1810 James Montagu VI's personal effects were auctioned, an advertisement in the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*⁵⁶⁵ told how, by order of the Court of Chancery, the household furniture and other effects were to be auctioned off, consisting of

⁵⁶¹ "On or about 29 December" WA 44/1 - Judge's declaration and pronouncement

⁵⁶² WA 44/1 *ibid* Libel section 1

⁵⁶³ Born in Beverley, Yorkshire, while the couple were living under the assumed name of "Conway" WA 44/1 WA 44/1 - Libel section

⁵⁶⁴ *Manor of Lackham, particulars of the estate 1792*, unattributed

Notton Farm Thomas Rummings

Catteridge Farm William Tayler

New Inn Farm Henry Hooper

Bewley Farm Issac Joyce and

Notton Farm plus Lackham Manor in hand. This book gives great detail on the copy and lease holders of the estate.

⁵⁶⁵ *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* Monday 18 June 1810 p1, auction dates Wednesday 27 June for three days "between 10 o'clock and 4"

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Four-post and other bedsteads and hangings; good feather beds, mattresses, and bedding; mahogany wardrobe, chests of drawers and Pembroke tables; pier glasses, carpets, china ornaments, sets of chairs, some prints, register and other stoves, brewing and kitchen utensils

Another survey was carried out in 1812⁵⁶⁶, apparently made with the rental of the estates in mind. At this time Lackham Estate included nine farms⁵⁶⁷, Lackham Manor⁵⁶⁸, and two mills⁵⁶⁹ (it is noted that in the Domesday survey Lackham had two mills, whether these were the same two is not known but it is possible).

⁵⁶⁶ Brown, Thomas (1812) *The Montagu estates of Lackham and Alderton, a valuation* WA 14305 / 16

⁵⁶⁷ Brown, Thomas (1812) *ibid*

Great Lodge Farm, 108 acres 1 rod, 13 poles (hereafter figures given in this order and unspecified), tenant William Hancock

Middle Farm	243	2	3	James Hancock
Little Lodge Farm	246	2	12	John Howell
Cuckoo Bush Farm	89	3	1	and
Notton Farm	240	0	0	Thomas Rummings
New End Farm	84	2	30	Robert Hooper
Bewley Court Farm	93	2	27	Isaac Joice but this included an amount of property leased to others
Cattridge Farm	152	3	39	William Taylor.
Nocketts Hill Farm	108	1	13	George Archard.

This last is interesting, the Archard family still lives locally around Gastard; Pat Archard was, for very many, years the Horticultural Technician at Lackham, she was a student of the College before that. George was still a tenant in 1819, see below.

Thomas Rummings, who was the tenant farmer at Notton Farm, also held land on the borders of the Lackham estate

⁵⁶⁸ Brown, Thomas (1812) *ibid*

Lackham House (in hand)			
River Avon		23	3 10
Oxen Lease	Meadow	14	1 9
Old Orchard	"	10	3 5
Boulton	"	4	0 34
Water Walk	"	1	2 0
Willow Bed	Willows	1	3 26
Lackham Wood	Wood	42	0 38
Kitchen Garden	Garden	1	2 16
Bradley	Meadow	7	3 13
Manor house & Offices		1	17
Park	Pasture	87	0 35
Rake pond & willow bed		2	3 36

⁵⁶⁹ Brown (1812) *ibid*

Arnolds Mill	33, 3, 16	W. Beak
Ray Cloth and Gryst Mill	28, 2, 12	Robert Wiggle and Robert Ray

The total figure given for the 1812 valuation is slightly different from the tithe returns at 2,180 acres, 1 rod 31 poles, and was valued at £5, 526 2s 4d, but it was proposed that 191 acres would be let separately from the rest of the estate.

Although the estate was being administered by Trustees, life continued much as normal, the estate continued to function and evidence for this can be found. One example is the notification of Game Keeping Certificates being issued in 1808 and 1809. In 1808 a certificate was issued to William Hancock, Sen. the Estate Gamekeeper for Pewsham and Lackham under "The Trustees of the late James Montagu"⁵⁷⁰ and to both William Hancock for Pewsham and Lackham and Edward Hancock for "Alderton, Duly, Surrendell and Furleaze" also under the control of the Trustees⁵⁷¹. Interestingly in 1814 the licenses were issued under the name of Frederick Montagu not the Trustees. At this time the gamekeeper at Lackham and Pewsham was still a William Hancock but the previous William's son, and Alderton Surrendel etc had one John Bridges⁵⁷²

In 1812 timber from both the Lackham and Alderton estates was sold off. It was not unknown for estates to sell off timber but this case was different, it had been ordered by the Court of Chancery following an action by the Trustee Ashe against George Montagu. The announcement for the sale shows that the estate rents were being collected by a local solicitor, Anthony Guy of Chippenham⁵⁷³ who had been appointed rent collector by the Court for Lackham and Alderton. It is unclear whether the sale was postponed or another held, but another auction of timber from Lackham was advertised for February 15th 1812⁵⁷⁴. Anthony

These were actually separate mills, Robert Wiggle ran the Cloth Mill and Robert Ray the Grist Mill, if visiting from earlier footnote click [here](#) to return

⁵⁷⁰ *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* Monday 10 October 1808 p2

⁵⁷¹ *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* Monday 16 October 1809 p2

⁵⁷² *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* Monday 10 October 1814 p3

⁵⁷³ *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* Monday 20 January 1812 p1

To be peremptorily SOLD, pursuant to an Order of the High Court of Chancery, made in a cause, Ashe against Montagu, before Thomas Drake, Gentleman, the person appointed by the said Court, at the White Hart Inn. at Chippenham, in the county of Wilts, on Friday the 31st day of January instant in several distinct lots - Part of the TIMBER growing on the Estates of the late James Montagu, Esq, deceased, situate in the several parishes of Lackham, Notton, Laycock, Pewsham, Forest, Corsham and Alderton in the said County of Wilts; consisting of Oak, Ash, Elm, Walnut and other Trees

The timber may be viewed by applying to Mr Anthony Guy, solicitor, at Chippenham aforesaid, the Receiver of Rents of the Estates in question in this Cause.....

It is obvious that this announcement was written by someone not familiar with the area, Pewsham and Forest should be one area and only Laycock and Corsham are actually parishes.

⁵⁷⁴ *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* Thursday 13 February 1812 p2

VALUABLE UNDERWOOD for SALE at Lackham and Laycock

TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION by Harry Russ

At the White Hart Inn, Chippenham, on Saturday 15th February, 1812, at four o'clock in the afternoon in three lots (subject to such conditions of sale as will be then produced) The following WOODS -

Lot 1 Three Acres and a half of Underwood of ten years growth in Robin's oppice

Lot 2 Seven acres of eight years' growth near Boltham

Lot 3 One acre of nine years' growth in Plucking Grove Wood

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Guy was once again involved, One of these wooded areas still has the same name, Plucking Grove, another may be either the woods around the Barton or the area of arable known as Boulton. The third, Robin's Piece, has not so far been identified.

It is important to understand that, although the estate was under the control of Trustees, George and his sons were still the landowners; and living at times on the estate, as is shown by the account of a, widely reported, tragic accident:

*Wednesday se'night [ie July 14 1813], as G. Montague, Esq of Lackham near Laycock, Wilts, was shooting in company with a gentleman who was on a visit to his house, Mr Montague's gun accidentally went off and lodged its contents in the body of his friend, who survived only a short time, Mr. M's state of mind is indescribable*⁵⁷⁵

Whether this was Col George or George Conway is unclear.

In 1816 there was an attempt to rent out the House and some of the meadows⁵⁷⁶ but this came to naught. The solicitors Guy and Mitchell were again involved.

It is interesting to note that George may have tried to disappear in 1819. The local paper carried an obituary for him "On Friday last,[late August] aged 43, suddenly George Conway Montagu esq of Lackham House in this county⁵⁷⁷, which agrees with Vernon and also with an article about George Conway Montagu published in the Wiltshire Times by Kite⁵⁷⁸ but he didn't die then and continues in the record for some considerable time.⁵⁷⁹

In October 1819 George Archard of Nocketts Hill Farm wrote to the solicitors to request an extension to his lease, invoking a clause in the original lease,

A covenant ... that in the case that you G C Montagu should then be alive but not

Jam,es Carpenter of Reybridge will show the Woods. Any other particulars may be had at Guy and Mitchell's Office, Chippenham

⁵⁷⁵ *Bury and Norwich Post Wednesday 21 July 1813 p1, Hereford Journal Wednesday 21 July 1813 p4, Stamford Mercury Fri 23 July 1813 p4, this reports omits the "Mr M's state of mind is indiscribable" otherwsie verbatim, Norfolk Chronicle Saturday 24 July 1813 p4*

⁵⁷⁶ *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette Thursday 18 January 1816 p2*

"To be LET, and entered upon immediately, LACKHAM HOUSE, with all suitable and convenient offices, also any quantity of Valuable MEADOW LAND adjoining, not exceeding 150 acres; the whole forming a complete Residence and admirably calculated for a large and respectable family and in an excellent neighbourhood. The Manor along with a good Fishery may be had with the above For further particulars apply (if by letter post paid) at the office of Guy and Mitchell in Chippenham"

⁵⁷⁷ *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette September 2nd 1819 the previous Friday was August 27th*

⁵⁷⁸ *Wiltshire Times February 7th and 14th, 1929*

⁵⁷⁹ The story of George Montagu and his son is complicated, for further details see Pratt, T (2004) *Two Georgian Montagus*" Wiltshire College Lackham online at

http://www.lackham.co.uk/history/two_georgian_montagus.pdf

*otherwise... you would grant me a further lease*⁵⁸⁰

It isn't known whether he was granted an extension on the lease, but in 1821⁵⁸¹ Nocketts Hill Farm was leased to John Archard.

The same document that shows John Archard at Nocketts Hill Farm also gives details of tenants and farm rental costs

Tenant	Land	Annual rent (£-s)
John Archard	Nocketts Hill Farm, plus the Orchard and Hannah's Ground	200
Edward James &	Short Close, Sapy's Close 31	10
William Hood	Beast Lease (on Bewley) Middle Farm	300
James Hancock	New End Farm and lands at Showell	300
William Hancock	Great Lodge Farm, excepting the Orchard and Hannah's Ground leased to John Archard	550
Richard Joyce	Bewley Court Farm	346
	Lands and cottages coming to him on his brother's death	34
	Lands held by Montagu under leasehold from Talbot	70
Richard Nott	White Cross Ground	34
Anne Tayler	Catteridge Farm ⁵⁸²	570
Robert Ray	Cuckoo Bush Farm	300
	Ray Grist Mill plus lands and cottage at Raybridge occupied by William Davies ⁵⁸³	130
Joseph Wheeler	Ray Cloth Mill and Land	130

The 1821 leases provide an insight into the agriculture being practiced on the estate in the early nineteenth century. Rotations were being specified, for example, James Hancock's lease for land at Showell was to be Arable, except for Dry Ground (about 10 acres, which doesn't actually leave a lot to be arable from a rental of 12 acres!). Dry Ground was to be planted with "*peas or potatoes*" in 1821, "*vetches or turnips*" in 1822 and wheat in 1823 with a

⁵⁸⁰ WA 137/59-24

⁵⁸¹ WA 137/59-12

⁵⁸² The rent was to be offset against Mrs Tayler's expenses incurred for land drainage she was undertaking.

⁵⁸³ Mr Ray was objecting to paying for repairs to the Mill - the agent suggested that the rental should be increased if the estate undertook the repairs

grass underlay so that the ground could be returned to pasture afterwards. The turnips / vetches were to be "eaten on the land", probably by pigs. This was not uncommon, it fed the pigs and nutrients were returned directly to the field with the dung.

George CC Montagu had a roving eye. His wife eventually found out about his illegitimate children in 1823, when she "commence[d] divorce proceedings against him in this court for the furtherance of obtaining a divorce from Bed Board and mutual cohabitation with her husband on 10 May 1824"⁵⁸⁴; George defended himself by declaring that the marriage wasn't legal in the first place, hence the court case referred to. The Court found the marriage lawful and proved on Thursday 7 July 1825.

Repairs to Mills were a common requirement, and when the lease for Ray Mill came up for renewal in 1824 John Cornish offered a rental of £160 per annum (on behalf of his son in law James Ray) for Ray Grist Mill, one provision being that "the tenant will do the repairs - being allowed rough materials - but with the exception of blowing the hatches and sheeting"

Both George and his son Frederic Conway are named in an additional contract appertaining to the sale of Alderton estate to Joseph Neeld, in 1827⁵⁸⁵ but only F C Montagu, however, is mentioned in leases of 1832.

This is explained by the fact that George Conway was often in debt, for example in June, 1830 he was "now confined for debt within the walls of the King's Bench"⁵⁸⁶. He was there for a long time; in 1837 a letter complaining about their imprisonment was sent to the Lord Chief Justice by a large number of debtors incarcerated in the Queen's Bench prison. The letter is long but the opening paragraph gives the essence of their complaint:

*TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD DENMAN, LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF
THE QUEEN'S BENCH &c &c &c*

*MY LORD - we, the undersigned, being prisoners under process for debt in the
Queen's Bench respectively address your lordship on a subject of more
importance to the kingdom than even to ourselves
We request to be informed by your lordship on what constitutional grounds we
have been arrested and imprisoned for debt*⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁴ WA 44/1, Preamble

⁵⁸⁵ WA 1305/16

Memorandum of agreement as to the planting of the Alderton Estate without prejudice to the pending investigation of the site

The sale wasn't going through fast enough and in November of that year an agreement was drawn up to allow Neeld to start planting trees on the estate

⁵⁸⁶ *House of Commons Journal* Volume 85: 16 June 1830 at British History Online at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=16260>

⁵⁸⁷ *The Essex Standard and General Advertiser* Friday 18 Aug 1837

Their long and involved argument was, basically, that it was against Magna Carta and other early acts to imprison people for debt. One of the signatures was that of George Conway Montagu and the letter shows that he had been in prison for debt for 10 years⁵⁸⁸. George was the second signature on the letter.

George had been in debt for much of his adult life; in 1810 his bond to James Botheroyd for over £1000 had been auctioned on Botheroyd's death.⁵⁸⁹

Kite's 1930's article (see above) provoked a letter from a granddaughter of George Conway, then living in Armadale, Australia. In her letter to the Editor⁵⁹⁰ she says that he "was born on June 24th 1776 and died on May 30th 1847, aged 71, his death having been caused by a painful internal malady through the last three months of which my mother was his devoted nurse".

Jane Courtenay Montagu said that six years after the death of his first wife in 1834 he married Jessy, daughter of John Elphinstone Campbell and they had 2 daughters - the author of the letter, Jane Stewart Courtenay Montagu, and Edith Mary Wortley, who was born in 1847⁵⁹¹ and died in 1911⁵⁹². This would mean he was 58 when he married Jessy and died the same year as his youngest daughter was born.

George and Jessy's marriage license was issued on Jan 14th 1840 in Southwark, Surrey, where George Conway was living, or had been for at least 15 days previously. From this Jessy's mother is known to have been Mary Jane and that Jessy's father had died before this date.

George's death certificate⁵⁹³ shows that he died on May 13th 1847 at 15, Albert Street New Town, Bermondsey London. The death certificate shows that he died of "disease of the rectum and prostrate gland and debility of old age"⁵⁹⁴.

Jessy didn't emigrate until six years later, when she left with her daughters and her sister. She married Cyrus Mason in Australia .

⁵⁸⁸ *The Essex Standard and General Advertiser* *ibid*

"George Conway Montague, formerly of Lackham House, 10 consecutive years in this prison"

⁵⁸⁹ *Morning Post* Wednesday 5 December 1810 p4

Two houses with shops and a bond for 1040l 11s 8d by Mr STEWART at his Auction-room 194 Picadilly by order of the Administrator of the late Mr James Botheroyd THIS DAY Dec 5, at Twelve in two lots

....

Lot2 A Bond for 1040l 11s 8d a Bond from G C Montagu, Esq. of Lackham in the County of Wilts for the payment of 1040l 11s 8d on the 22d day of January 181? with interest

⁵⁹⁰ *Lacock Inscriptions* *ibid*

⁵⁹¹ Victoria State records, Australia. Unfortunately parents are not given on this certificate, it was not a requirement at the time.

⁵⁹² Kite, E (undated A) *ibid* p29 includes a clipping from a newspaper (not identified but dated 1911) which reports her death "Montagu May 25th at 55 Welling St, Windsor, Melbourne, Australia Edith Mary Wortley Montagu youngest daughter of George CC Montagu of Lackham aged 64"

⁵⁹³ Tucked into a collection of land deeds and tenancy agreements WA 44/8

⁵⁹⁴ death certificate, *ibid*

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Although the estate remained in Montagu hands, under the control of the Trustees appointed by the Court, until 1835 Lackham was held by Lt Col John Tufnell, as a tenant, from as early as 1817. In 1835 Lt Col Tufnell ⁵⁹⁵ bought the estate from the Trustees and so ended the Montagu ownership of the estate.

⁵⁹⁵ For details of the Tufnell family see *The Manor of Lackham Volume IV : Nineteenth and Twentieth Century owners of Lackham and their historical connections* available online at http://www.lackham.co.uk/history/The_Manor_Lackham_IV.pdf

Appendix 1 The Montagu - Roper connection to Sir Thomas More

As was seen above (p) Sir Edward Montagu II's third wife was Helen / Ellen Roper. Her brother, William Roper, inherited the larger part of the family properties including

West Hall, Eltham near Greenwich and substantial estates elsewhere in the county, besides having London links as a bencher of Lincoln's Inn and "prothonotary" of the court of King's Bench ⁵⁹⁶.

and his legal duties brought him to the attention of Thomas More. He married Margaret More, Sir Thomas' eldest daughter and it was William who wrote Sir Thomas More's biography⁵⁹⁷.

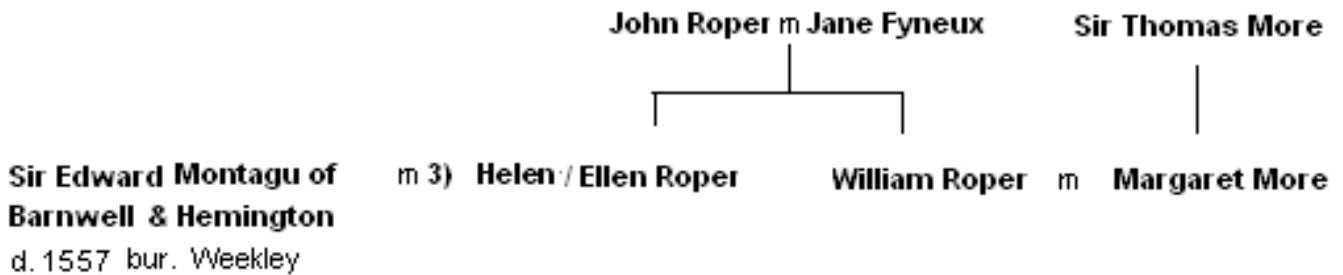


Fig. 29 Roper - Sir Thomas More connection **

Margaret Roper was, like all of Thomas More's children, very well educated. It has been noted ⁵⁹⁸ that

One of the activities that was thought proper for literate women was the translation of devotional literature into English to make it more

⁵⁹⁶ Bennett, J (1988) *A Tallis Patron?* RMA Research Chronicle, 21 p41

⁵⁹⁷ William makes his relationship quite explicit - *I William Roper (though most unworthy) his son-in-law by marriage of his eldest daughter* - in the biography [http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/16croper-more.html] There does not seem to be a modern edition of his book around but one reference is Singer SW (1822) (ed) *The Life of Thomas More by his son in law William Roper Esq*

⁵⁹⁸ Best, Michael.

Shakespeare's Life and Times. Internet Shakespeare Editions, University of Victoria: Victoria, BC, 2001-2005.

http://internetshakespeare.uvic.ca/Library/SLT/literature/translators.html#fn_paternoster

readily available for the improvement of the minds of other Englishwomen.

[Margaret Roper]corresponded with the great humanist and friend of the family, Erasmus, who considered her the "ornament of Britain." Her published work was a translation of a work by Erasmus, A Devout Treatise upon the Paternoster⁵⁹⁹; in one of her father's letters there is mention of poems she had written, but they have not survived

She was her father's favourite and very close to him. It is said that she paid to be able to remove his head from the spike shortly after his execution and preserved it with spices until her own death⁶⁰⁰.

William Roper was an ardent catholic to the last and he died 4 January 1578, his line ended in the late 17th century with his descendent Elizabeth Roper who was married to Edward Henshaw⁶⁰¹

There are no images of Ellen Roper, but Margaret can be seen a series of paintings that starts with Hans Holbein the Younger's 1533 painting "Thomas More and his family", which was destroyed in the eighteenth century. Luckily, however, Rowland Lockey⁶⁰² had made a copy and he used this as the basis of his 1594 painting "Sir Thomas More and his Family" which is held in the Victoria & Albert Museum London

⁵⁹⁹ The full title of which was "A Deuoute Treatise vpon the Pater Noster, Made Fyrst in Latyn by the Moost Famous Doctour Mayster Erasmus Roterodamus, and Tourned in to Englishe by a Yong Vertuous and Well Lernet Gentywoman of .XIX. Yere of Age." Published in London:by Thomas Berthelet, c1524

⁶⁰⁰ DNB vol XIII p886 states that "Stapleton says". Stapleton was the third biographer of Sir Thomas More and included More's life in his *Three Thomases* (1588)

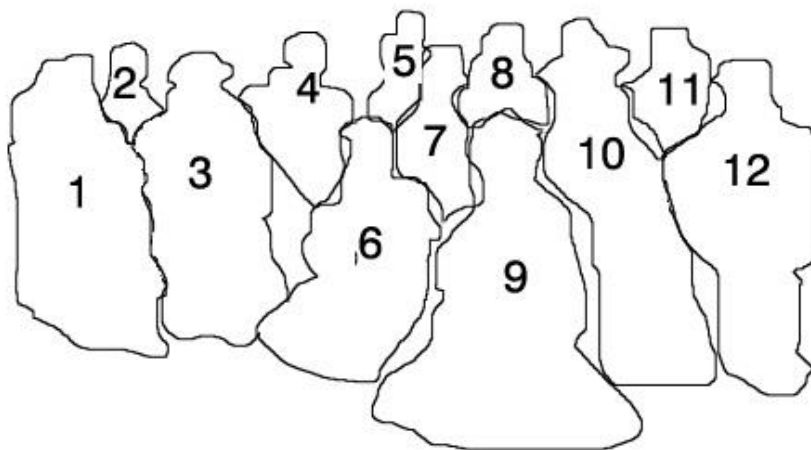
⁶⁰¹ DNB *ibid* p216

⁶⁰² <http://www.intofineart.com/htmlindexfind/directory-1001.html>

English Baroque Era Painter, ca.1565-1616, was an English painter and goldsmith. The son of Leonard Lockey, a crossbow maker of the parish of St Bride's, Fleet Street, London, Lockey was apprenticed to Queen Elizabeth's miniaturist and goldsmith Nicholas Hilliard for eight years beginning Michaelmas 1581[1] and was made a freeman or master of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths by 1600. He worked mainly as a copyist of earlier portraits to make up sets of oil paintings for the fashionable long galleries of great houses, but signed or documented portrait miniatures on vellum and a signed title page engraving for the 1602 Bishops' Bible also survive.



Fig. 30 *Sir Thomas More and family* (1594) by Rowland Lockey (1565-1616)⁶⁰³
Margaret Roper indicated by arrow **



⁶⁰³ Museum Number P.15-1973 Image Reference 2006AM2161 ©Victoria & Albert Museum and reproduced by their kind permission

From left to right ⁶⁰⁴:

1. Sir John More (c.1450-1530), Thomas More's father
2. Anna Cresacre (1511-1577), betrothed to John More II
3. Sir Thomas More (1478 - 1535)
4. John More II (1510-1547), Thomas More's son
5. Henry Patenson (*Patterson?*), Thomas More's "Fool"
6. Cecily Heron, (b. 1507 More's youngest daughter, married Giles Heron
7. Elizabeth Dauncey, (1506-1564), second daughter of Sir Thomas More married Sir William Dauncey
8. John More III (1557 - 1599), eldest son of Thomas More II and grandson of Sir Thomas More.
9. **Margaret Roper**, (1505-1544), More's eldest daughter and wife of William Roper
10. Thomas More II (1531 - 1606), Thomas More's grandson;
11. Cresacre More (1572-1649), Sir Thomas More's great-grandson, youngest son of Thomas More II and Maria.
12. Maria (Mary) More, née Scrope (1534 - 1607), the wife of Thomas More II

This painting includes members of the family that were not included in Holbein the Younger's original, indeed were not yet born; it is notable that the women in the group around Sir Thomas are dressed in plainly Tudor costume, with the typical square necklines to their dresses. In contrast the group on the right, included by Lockey, are dressed in clothes of the Stuart period.

Margaret and her husband were subjects of miniatures painted by Hans Holbein the Younger in 1535/6, shortly after her father's death. From these it is clear that Margaret was 12 years younger than her husband, she being born in 1505/6 and he 1493/4 ⁶⁰⁵

William and Margaret had two sons, Thomas and Anthony. It is possible that Anthony was the Anthony Roper who was bequeathed "*one guilte bowl with the cover thereunto belonging in respect of his good favours showed to my late husband and me*" by Joan, the widow of composer Thomas Tallis and it has been suggested that he was a patron and supporter of Tallis ⁶⁰⁶.

Interestingly Anthony married Anne Cotton, daughter of the Cambridgeshire knight Sir John Cotton and Isabel Spencer and it may not be coincidence that Edward Montagu III's, (1st Baron Montagu) second wife was Frances Cotton. There is one

⁶⁰⁴ Redrawn for this work based on information and illustration at http://www.jss.org.uk/cw/Charles_Waterton/thomas-more-2.htm

⁶⁰⁵ These miniatures are held in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY, NY, USA accession numbers 50.69.1 and 50.69.2. The Roper's ages at the time of painting are included on the miniatures. They can be viewed at <http://www.metmuseum.org/search/iquery.asp?command=text&datascope=all&attr1=roper> and are copyright to the Metropolitan Museum. We are happy to express our thanks to the Museum for allowing us to include this link to their website.

⁶⁰⁶ Bennett, J (1988) *A Tallis Patron?* RMA Research Chronicle, 21

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generation between the two women. Frances was the daughter of Thomas Cotton and Dorothy Tamworth and this Thomas did not have a brother John. The two Cotton women are not closely related although a more distant relationship is possible⁶⁰⁷.

(If visiting from the main body click [here](#) to return)

⁶⁰⁷ Considerable research has been undertaken to try to find a link but without any success. Please get in touch if you have information to the contrary as the authors believe such a link exists but cannot find it!

Appendix 2 Historical image of a Lackham Montagu

Some years ago Andrew Davies ⁶⁰⁸ very kindly passed on the results of research he had been doing on the Montagu family. He had found reference to a portrait in Salisbury & South Wiltshire Museum ⁶⁰⁹, purportedly of " *a son of James Montague of Lackham*

This was very exciting as only two other images of Lackham Montagus are known; a miniature of George Montagu the Naturalist (1751 - 1815), in the keeping of the Society of Antiquaries in London, and a portrait of his uncle Admiral John Montagu (1719 - 1795). There is a statue to John's son James Montague (1752 - 1794), in Westminster Abbey, but James can't really be claimed by Lackham. This branch of the family was not living at Lackham and he was not born there. He is of the Lackham line, however.

Through the good offices of the then Assistant Curator at Salisbury & South Wiltshire Museum, Jane Standen, I was able to view the portrait. She also arranged for a photograph of the painting to be made available as well. It is reproduced here by kind permission of Salisbury & South Wiltshire Museum, who hold the copyright.

The portrait is nicely executed, there are no background details and it is undated.

⁶⁰⁸ Previously Curator of Lackham Museum of Agriculture and Rural Life

⁶⁰⁹ Salisbury & South Wiltshire Museum The King's House, 65 The Close, Salisbury Wiltshire SP1 2EN Tel: (+44) 1722 332151. The portrait can be viewed by prior arrangement (as it is not on display) by contacting Mrs Standen, Assistant Curator, at the museum on the number above, or by email at museum@salisburymuseum.org.uk



Fig. 31 --- a son of James Montague of Lackham **

The painter was John Greenhill (1642 - 1676). He was born at Orchardleigh in Somerset or Salisbury, there seems to be some confusion about this. He was brought up in Salisbury where his father was Diocesan Registrar and his mother was Penelope, the daughter of Richard Champneys of Orchardleigh ⁶¹⁰, so it is possible he was born in either place. Where does not appear to be known for certain. John went to London as a young man to become Lely's pupil. He

⁶¹⁰ Dictionary of National Biography vol VIII p522

*was a member of Lely's studio until 1665. Posture and draperies echo his masters work though he lacks Lely's quality in handling paint*⁶¹¹.

His work is not always highly thought of - he has been described as an

*English portrait painter of moderate ability and little originality who became a pupil of Lely and evolved a simplified version of Lely's style*⁶¹²

However more reviews are favourable than not - one art historian felt that he was

*an interesting figure as one of the few British born painters of this age who showed real promise*⁶¹³

and the DNB article states that

*Greenhill's portraits are of great merit, often approaching those of Lely in excellence*⁶¹⁴

Another commentator felt that he was

*one of the ablest scholars of Sir Peter Lely, and, had he lived, would have reached an eminent rank in the art*⁶¹⁵

while Jeffree maintains that

*he was considered one of the leading painters in London at the time of his death*⁶¹⁶.

Greenhill fell into bad company and, as Walpole tells us,

*one night being intoxicated he tumbled into the kennel*⁶¹⁷ *in Long Acre, and being carried to Parrey Walton's the painters in Lincolns*

⁶¹¹ Waterhouse JW? (no title given) quote in Salisbury & South Wiltshire Museum file on Sreenhill

⁶¹² Murray, L A Murray, L (1996) *Penguin Dictionary of Art and Artists* 7th ed. p227

⁶¹³ unattributed quote in Salisbury & South Wiltshire Museum file on Greenhill

⁶¹⁴ DNB vol VIII p523

⁶¹⁵ Bryan, M (1918) *Bryan 's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*

⁶¹⁶ Jeffree, R (1985) *Introduction to the 1985 Greenhill exhibition* curated by Selby Whittingham and Richard Jeffree. I am indebted to Jane Standen at Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum for kindly bringing the last two quotes to my attention.

⁶¹⁷ Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (1967) p1080 " *kennel: the surface drain of a street, a gutter (later Canal) 1582*"

Inn Fields where he lodged, he died in his bed that night (May 29th 1676) in the flower of his age ⁶¹⁸

Greenhill left a wife and family, and Lely gave her an annuity of €40 per annum. ⁶¹⁹

The dating, and even the subject, of the painting are problematical; an unattributed handwritten document is Salisbury & South Wiltshire Museum's file suggests that the date of the painting is in the early 1670's on stylistic grounds, but this is inconsistent with the dates for Lackham Montagus of this period.

As has been seen above, Lackham had come under Montagu control through the marriage of James Montagu (1608 - 1665) to the heiress of the ancient Baynard family, Mary (1621 -1685) in 1635. It is noted that Mary was 14 when she married James, but this was not unusual at this date, and her father died only 5 months after the marriage. It is possible he was terminally ill when the marriage took place but there is no evidence for this.

James was the third son of Henry Montagu (c 1563 - 1642), the 1st Earl of Manchester, and his wife Catherine Spencer (died 1612). James and Mary had nine sons⁶²⁰, the second of whom was also called James (1638 - 1676). This James married Diana Hungerford and they had four sons⁶²¹, the eldest of whom was born in 1672.

All of this is relevant because the title of the painting is " --, son of James Montague ⁶²² of Lackham". Given that John Greenhill died in 1676 this can only be either a son of the first James Montagu to own Lackham or of his son James. Children of the second James Montagu of Lackham can be ruled out as the eldest was only 4 when John Greenhill died.

This painting, then, is of one of the 9 sons of James Montagu and Mary Baynard. James died in the year that John Greenhill set up on his own as a portraitist, in 1665. In this year the surviving male children of James and Mary were 28 (James), 23 (Henry), 21 (Sidney), 19 (Edward), 18 (Charles), 17 (William) and 15 (Thomas)⁶²³. It is possible that 1665 is the date of the painting. Walter, James'

⁶¹⁸ Walpole, H (1758) *Anecdotes of Painting in England*

⁶¹⁹ Miles, Rev T (1870) *History of the Parish of Stockton WAM XII p!18*

⁶²⁰ Burke (1858) *History of the English Commoners VOL IV* gives Walter, James, George, Robert, Henry, Sidney, Edward, Charles William and Mary. (Mary married Thomas Ewer, of Bushey Hall, Herts). Burke gives the names but not dates, except for James and the fact that Walter predeceased his father.

⁶²¹ Edward (1672-1710), James (1672-1747), Anthony (c 1675- ?) and Robert (c!676- ?)

⁶²² It is noted that this is an incorrect spelling for the period. Although the senior branch of the family used this spelling the Lackham Montagus did not use the final "e" until more than a hundred years later.

⁶²³ All dates taken from microfiche of the original entries in Lacock Baptism registers. (Wilts & Swindon History Centre Chippenham)

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first son, was dead by this time ⁶²⁴ and so the heir to the estate was the second James.

It is suggested that this portrait is probably of the second James Montagu to own Lackham, and that it was painted in 1665. James was 28, and this fits the apparent age of the subject very well. It is possible that this is a portrait of one of his younger brothers, but James is the most likely. Further research may confirm or deny this conclusion and is ongoing.

In the meantime we have a fine Montagu portrait to enjoy.

If visiting from the main text click [here](#) to return

⁶²⁴ He only lived 2 years, although his date of birth is not known

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