

REPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS.

REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

MAY 7, 1883,

WITH AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY,
1882—1883.

ALSO

Communications

MADE TO THE SOCIETY.

No. XXV.

BEING No. 3 OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

Cambridge:

DEIGHTON, BELL & CO.; MACMILLAN & BOWES

LONDON: G. BELL AND SONS,

1884.

Price 7s. 6d.

COUNCIL.

May 26, 1884.

President.

JOHN WILLIS CLARK, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, *Superintendent of the Museum of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy.*

Vice-Presidents.

Rev. HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Trinity College, *University Registry.*

Rev. ROBERT BURN, M.A., Trinity College.

GEORGE MURRAY HUMPHRY, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., Downing College, *Professor of Surgery.*

Treasurer.

WILLIAM MILNER FAWCETT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Jesus College.

Secretary.

Rev. SAMUEL SAVAGE LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A., Corpus Christi College.

Ordinary Members of Council.

THOMAS M^cKENNY HUGHES, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Clare College, *Woodwardian Professor of Geology.*

FRANCIS JOHN HENRY JENKINSON, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

Rev. BRYAN WALKER, M.A., LL.D., Corpus Christi College.

HENRY BRADSHAW, Esq., M.A., King's College, *University Librarian.*

FREDERICK CHARLES WACE, Esq., M.A., LL.M., St John's College, *Esquire Bedell.*

Rev. GEORGE FORREST BROWNE, B.D., St Catharine's College.

JOHN EBENEZER FOSTER, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

ALFRED PAGET HUMPHRY, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, *Esquire Bedell.*

NORMAN CAPPER HARDCASTLE, Esq., M.A., LL.M., Downing College.

CHARLES CARDALE BABINGTON, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Botany.*

Rev. WALTER WILLIAM SKEAT, M.A., Christ's College, *Etrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon.*

ALEXANDER MACALISTER, Esq., M.A., M.D., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Anatomy.*

Excursion Secretary.

NORMAN CAPPER HARDCASTLE, Esq., M.A., LL.M., Downing College.

Auditors.

F. C. WACE, Esq., M.A.

SWANN HURRELL, Esq.

REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

MAY 7, 1883.

WITH APPENDIX.



Cambridge:

DEIGHTON, BELL & CO.; MACMILLAN & BOWES.

LONDON: G. BELL AND SONS.

1884.

Cambridge:

PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. & SON,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

CONTENTS

OF COMMUNICATIONS, No. XXV.

VOL. V, PART III.

	PAGE
XIII. On some bronze Etruscan mirrors with engraved reverses. Communicated by C. W. KING, M.A.	185
XIV. Notes from a Norfolk Squire's Note-book, with some particulars of school and college expenses in the 16th and 17th centuries. Communicated by the Rev. E. K. BENNET, D.C.L.	201
XV. On Roman coins found at Willingham. Communicated by F. J. H. JENKINSON, M.A.	225
XVI. On an onyx cameo of Marcia in the character of Omphale. Communicated by C. W. KING, M.A.	233
XVII. On the Tabula Peutingeriana. Communicated by the Rev. BRYAN WALKER, LL.D.	237
XVIII. On the Tomb of Lady Margaret. By J. W. CLARK	265

XIV. NOTES FROM A NORFOLK SQUIRE'S NOTE-BOOK,
WITH SOME PARTICULARS OF SCHOOL AND COLLEGE
EXPENSES IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES.
Communicated by the Rev. E. K. BENNET,
D.C.L., of University College, Oxford.

[February 19, 1883.]

THE MS. from which these notes are taken is one of a large collection of family records in the muniment room of Sir Robert Jacob Buxton, Bart., M.P., of Shadwell Court, in the county of Norfolk. It is a long narrow folio of 138 pages, filled throughout with domestic memoranda in one handwriting, chiefly of money payments and receipts, extending over a period of 46 years from 1584 A.D.; and, interesting as many of these entries are, they are the more valuable in that we are able from other sources of information not only to identify the writer, but to assure ourselves of his exact place in the society of his time.

Richard Wilton, of Topcroft Hall, in the county of Norfolk, was descended from an ancient Yorkshire family, of whom a younger branch settled in Norwich about the middle of the 15th century; and, engaging there in the trade of which Norwich was then one of the great centres, became of eminence among the great merchants of that city. A stately monument

in S. Peter's Mancroft Church, bearing the arms of the Wilton and Windham families, appears by this MS. to have once covered the grave of Henry Wilton, merchant and alderman of Norwich, who died in 1507¹. His grandson Thomas, dying, with his wife and one daughter, in 1566, left two sons, Nicholas and Richard, and one daughter married to Sir John Brews of Topcroft and of Wenham in Suffolk. Thomas Wilton's estates in Topcroft, Stratton, and elsewhere, appear to have been divided between his two sons; but (by the death of the elder son unmarried in 1584), the whole came to the younger son Richard, whose note-book is now before us.

In the following year, 1585, being then twenty-three years old, he married Anne, daughter of Robert Buxton of Channonz in Tybenham—a gentleman of considerable note and wealth, and the ancestor of the present family of Channonz and Shadwell

¹ I have searched in vain for the monument here referred to. It is mentioned by Weever, but it has now disappeared. I can only transcribe from Mr Wilton's note-book the memoranda which I find there of the inscriptions upon it.

"In St Peters chancell of mancroft alias St Peters in ye mkt at Nor-wiche."

"Hic jacet Katerina quondam uxor Henrici Wilton, generosi, que obiit decimo die octobris aō dñi millimo cccc lxxvj° Cuius anime propicietur deus Amen.

"This is upon one grete stone where it seeme shée was alone buried.

"Here lieth Henrye Wiltone sometime an Aldermanne of this cittie & Mgrett my wief wech levide in this warde in felicitye and nowe lye under this marble stone in mortallitye: wherfor wee pray yō of yōr charitye that ye wool prey for hus that wee may come & lyve in ye wo'ldē celestiaall w' a paternoster and an ave. Obit Henricus xvj die Decembris aō dñi millimo ccccc vij°. Obit Margareta ij° die Novembris aō dñi M. Ye consequent Letters defased and soe uncerten.

"Whi Margrett as semes being ye laste wife doth bere Windhams cote, vidzt; azor a chevron or 3 liberds heds or. Upon ye grete stone hee doth q̄ter his cote w̄th one who doth bere Cheque or and guiles as is taken a bende argent charged w̄th powder armins. And upon ye saide grete stone as also ye former w̄h lie both here together is ye Wiltons cote veri fayre sette in skutchens of brasse."

Court¹; and by her he had four sons and six daughters, all whose births, and the deaths of such as predeceased their father, are minutely recorded in the present MS.

Mrs Wilton died in childbirth in 1607, and the circumstances of her last illness and death are set forth with pathetic care by her sorrowing husband on the first flyleaf of his note-book². For three years he seems to have lived alone with his orphan children at his house of Topcroft Hall, of which place it would seem that he had then acquired nearly the full lordship. But the marriage of his eldest surviving daughter to Mr Le Neve (possibly a brother, or at any rate a near relation of the well-known antiquary and King-at-arms) seems to have left him once more without a mistress for his house³. And in 1610

¹ Of this gentleman's death and burial there is a curious memorandum in this book. It is placed just above the entry referred to in the following note. "Robert Buxton, Esquyer, father of ye saide Anne hereunder, dyed "ye xv of November about xij a clocke in the same daye and was buried, "the same night A°. 1607. His funerall was solemnized ye 16 December "next after att Chanonze." The rapid interment within so few hours of death seems to indicate small-pox or some dangerously infectious disease as the cause of death. But the high consideration of the deceased gentleman in his neighbourhood—for so I read the entry—seems to have required that these hurried obsequies must be followed by a solemn funeral feast, which accordingly—following the tradition of the "month's mind" of pre-reformation times—took place with all due preparation at his manor of Chanonz a month after his death.

² The memorandum referred to is too long for transcription here. It begins thus: "Anne Wilton my dere and loving wiff depected this life the "xij of September 1607 traveling upon her last sonne and delivered "thereof about ij of the clocke in the aftnoone." Her virtues and her loving care of her children, with many other happy memories of his married life, are dwelt on with tender anxiety by her bereaved husband; and he winds up thus: "So as her worthines or rather Gods graces in her are not "to be sufficyentlie recordyd in thys roome were it tenne tymes larger. "Lorde grante me ye remembraunce of hir gretious mynde. R. W." Then, as an afterthought, he writes along the margin some "pretye wordes" of hope and pious comfort, which were the "laste open sayings of my sd dere "wiff."

³ The pedigree of the ancient family of Neve or Le Neve of Norfolk and Suffolk is a very extended one, and I have not been able exactly to place

his domestic cares and the loneliness of his home began to weigh too heavily upon him. He had already sent his two eldest boys, of eleven and nine years of age respectively, to school—every date and expense of their board and school progress being thenceforth carefully set down in his note-book; and his married daughter with her husband were invited to Topcroft Hall to take charge of everything in and about the house—Mr Wilton paying them certain sums, all regularly agreed upon beforehand, and recorded, as well for his own board and for the keep of his horse, as for “compensation” for any of his other children when they should be staying with him.

This arrangement, we are not surprised to learn, soon broke down. The new master of Topcroft seems to have failed lamentably at every point. The rent promised to his father-in-law for the lands he occupied, was left unpaid, and a long and doleful note in the MS. records the sums lent to “Son Neve,” the bills paid for him and never repaid, the “nete stocke” sold to him and never paid for, and in fact the general collapse of the new domestic arrangement, leaving Mr Wilton, possibly a wiser, but certainly a poorer man¹.

the son-in-law of Mr Wilton in his proper position therein. His name is sufficiently identified by this, among many other like entries of Mr Wilton in this MS. (p. 151): “Chargs & paymts for Nathā Neve that unhappye “fellowe.” (Then follow some payments for board and clothing of the wife and children). The only Nathaniel mentioned in Mr Carthew’s “Pedigree “of the Le Neves” (*Norfolk Archæology* II. 368) is a second son of Richard Le Neve of Tuddenham (ob. 1585), whose eldest son Robert, was Rector of Swanton Morley in 1592. And although Mr Carthew gives no further account of this Nathaniel or of his marriage, I incline to think, from various coincidences of dates, places, and names of the children mentioned in this MS., that he was the “unhappye fellowe” who caused poor Mr Wilton so much trouble and cost.

¹ It is not possible to give any idea of the domestic “thorn” which this marriage proved to be to Mr Wilton. A more longsuffering father-in-law never lived. From 1612 to 1629 the book before us bears—running like a black thread through all its entries—the constant lamentations which mark the stumbles and shortcomings of “Son Neve” in money matters, which

But while things seemed to go thus ill with him at home, his place in the world without was increasing in dignity. Being already (possibly by his father-in-law Buxton's influence), a Justice of the Peace for his county, he had, as already mentioned, acquired from the family of his brother-in-law, Sir John Brewse, almost the full lordship of Topcroft. And about this time he also acquired by purchase the neighbouring Manors of Beck Hall in Wilby and of Hargham Hall. No mention of these purchases is made in the book before us, but by putting scattered entries together, it seems that the annual rental of his lands (besides his lands in hand) was about £530, representing an income of our day of between £2000 and £3000 a year. We are not therefore surprised to find the lord of three manors, of such a revenue, having soon occasion to enter in his book (significantly enough next to an entry of £10 lent to his son-in-law Neve) the following curious item. "Dd to my coesen Peter Buxton 29 June 1611 a Ring wh was my wiefs marying Ringe to deliur to Mrs Scryvenere as a token upon condycon yt I pmise yt no woeman shoulde eū have it but she yt shoulde be my wief." And shortly after we find the result that Mr Wilton "pd Mr Goldman 19 November alle ye reconning I ought him ffor my mariage appell and othwise li^s, haveing pd him before of yt reconning iiij^{li}, and also pd Tho Smyth all his as p bill apperith."

Of the lady thus tenderly referred to I have not as yet learned more than this book tells us. But it would appear from this authority that she brought to the good Squire of Wilby and Topcroft, not only a good addition to his revenues

his father-in-law makes good. He hires land, and does not pay the rent. He borrows money, to be paid "most certenlie" on a given day, and when the day comes the debtor has mysteriously increased the debt, and has paid nothing—"wh forme of doinge I lyke not," says piteously the aggrieved father-in-law. Finally, he vanishes away altogether, and the daughter and grandchildren are, to the end of the book, of constant occurrence as of "costes and chargs." What became of them after I know not.

but (what was of even still greater necessity to him) a clear head for domestic management. Of the first there is evidence, as well in the many entries henceforth appearing of monies received for "my wiefs landes" at Croxton Hall and elsewhere, as from the plentiful allowance of £80 a year "at her own dispoeyon" which she received from her husband. Taking the worth of money at four or five times its present value, this would represent some £350 a year now. Her housewifely skill and method may be inferred both from the much more regular entries of her good Squire's payments (for of his receipts there is still but too little regularity of entry) appearing in his book, and from the evident change in his household arrangements which begins to come before us.

Hitherto, for five and twenty years the book has been of a character, of which most of us may have had some personal experience of our own. It started (apparently with his first marriage in 1585) on a valiant intention of great care and order. Receipts and payments, debts and outgoings, rent accounts and farm accounts, were all to be regularly set down under the separate title headings carefully engrossed at intervals through the book. But—with perhaps some conscience-stricken recollection of like good intentions in our own earlier time—we shake our heads, and smile, to see the rapid break down of so fair a scheme. Some of the heads have never had anything entered under them at all; none of them in fact have had more than a few short months' tribute. And we can almost see the book, lying about here and there as some of our own note-books may have lain, and only caught up now and then to receive some sudden jottings or memoranda of daily life. Two or three pages are filled with the minute entries, then and long after common, of the births of the writer's children; rendered, it may here be observed, in the quaintly pious language of the Elizabethan Puritans and tinged, it may be, with something of astrological belief in the importance of recording the exact hour and moment

of birth¹. Other scattered pages again are occupied with memoranda of engagements of servants, and of their wages duly certified at the Sessions, or with entries (evidently jotted down on the first page which has happened to fall open) of payments made on church and parish account, of subsidies paid to the Queen, of small debts owing to, or from the writer (some of them to be paid at this or that "church porch") or of items of family or local history accidentally coming to his knowledge.

But from the date of his second marriage, the good Squire comes into more regular ways, both of spending and of recording his spendings. Within three months after his marriage all his elder daughters who are still living with him, are put upon regular allowances (or "quartridges," as he calls them), each one to "fynd herselfe alle thyngs." And it may be interesting to those of us who have, or hope to have, like payments of our own to make, to know what the allowance of a gentleman's daughter was 270 years ago. His two eldest daughters, of twenty and twenty-two years of age respectively, had thirty shillings a quarter apiece, while his other daughters of seventeen and eighteen were provided with twenty shillings a quarter only; being at the rate of about £20 and £30 a year of our money to each young lady respectively.

So is it with his household arrangements. There is no sort of consecutive order in the entries; but the writer tries manfully to put down what he can. There are not many entries of the wages of his women-servants, which we may suppose to have

¹ One such entry will be enough to illustrate the good squire's method. On the birth of his eldest son—six daughters having already appeared—he writes thus: "Robte Wilton my sonne was borne the xxij of July betwene "xij & j of the clocke in ye nighte and was baptised the vth of Auguste "whome as the Lorde doe graunt o' desyres in geving him to us soe most "humbly besechinge his ma^{tie} to sanctife wth his trewe feare to lyve in "obedyence to hym that throughe Jesus Christ he lyve hys faithfull ser- "uaunt, be one of hys Chuerche, and aftr this lyfe to be ptaker of heuenlie "happynes for euer. R. Wilton. Año Dñi 1599 annoque dñe R^{me} Elis^e xlj^o."

been left to his wife's management. And even the entries of money paid to the men-servants come so irregularly that little or nothing of much interest can be gathered from them. But he occasionally tries hard at better things. For one whole year he puts down the exact quantity of wheat used for flour in his house, and of malt used in his brewing. There is also a kind of current account-between him and "Robyn the Bocher," in which appears the quantity of beef and mutton sent into the house for which the butcher was to take credit in his account, when the sheep and oxen sold to him came to be settled for. And thus we are able to gather, that when (as he enters it) "the vijth of Nouembr 1611, wee began to kepe howse at Top-crofte w^{ch} seconde beginninge The Lorde God in m^{rc}ie blesse "w^t gracious successe to his holy plisure & o^r comfote. Amen."—the consumption of beef in the house was at the rate of about 220 stone in the year; of mutton about 70 fore and hind quarters; while of wheat—and we must remember that the servants never tasted wheaten bread at all, and moreover that, in the year recorded, the price of wheat had risen to the famine point of twenty shillings per coomb—the quantity consumed was 15 sacks or about 260 stone, and of malt 12 coombs, equal to about as many hogsheads of beer. It was scarcely therefore a small or niggard household over which the second Mrs Wilton had come to rule¹. And that she was a thorough woman of busi-

¹ Some memoranda of prices gathered by chance from the entries in this MS. may not be irrelevant or uninteresting here. Wheat varied from 10s. to 19s. per coomb, being at its lowest in 1591, and highest in 1586 and in 1613. In this latter year also the prices of oats and rye were extravagant, standing at 6s. and 12s. respectively per coomb, as compared with 3s. 6d. and 7s. to 8s. in other years. Malt ranged from 7s. to 9s. 4d. per coomb. Beef varied very little, standing usually at twenty or twenty-one pence per stone, and calves being always reckoned at ten shillings each. Mutton was about fourteen or fifteen pence per quarter; butter from 13s. 4d. to as much as 17s.; cheese was apparently not quite so variable, the prices ranging between 39s. and 48s. per wey, or weight of thirteen stones. Women's wages in the house were twenty and twenty-six shillings

ness appears further from the curious entry shewing that within two years of her marriage she commuted, by agreement with her husband, one half of her personal allowance of eighty pounds a year for certain meadow and other lands, lying near the Hall, which she thenceforth farmed in the most businesslike manner, entirely on her own account.

I fear that I may have wearied my readers with these domestic details. But before examining the most really interesting entries in the book, those referring to the education of the children, I have thought it well to establish, as nearly as I can, their actual station in life. They were children of a gentleman by birth, station, and education; himself the lord of three manors, a Justice of the Peace, and connected closely by birth and marriage with other neighbouring families of the same or of higher rank. The eldest, and only surviving one, of the three boys, succeeding his father in after life, became Colonel in the Royal Service and Knight of the Shire for his county in Parliament.

In 1608 the two eldest boys, being then nine and seven years old respectively, were sent to some small neighbouring school (the locality is unfortunately omitted) where the pair of them were boarded by "good wiff. Woolnough" at the rate of eleven pounds a year; their "teching" being cared for by a certain Mr Pierson at forty shillings a year. Their casual expenses with their Dame for their "shooes mendinge, for "candles and such other things as she then reckoned" came to about four or five shillings a quarter. And thirteen pence was paid to Mr Pierson for books for them. Two years afterwards the youngest son, Thomas, went from home to a dame

a year; those of men in the house from forty-five to fifty shillings, and of day-labourers fourpence per day. The interest of money appears to have been usually eight per cent. Of other matters, I may note that a roan gelding cost eight pounds, a "muskett and rapeer" twenty-eight shillings, and a "pistall frō London" eighteen shillings.

school kept by "vid. Richards" at Hempnall, an adjoining village, "to boarde and learne"; their father having "agreed wt. her for ye same to paye for him iiij.li. p.^aann." In the following April Thomas was sent to Bungay to "boord and lerne to Goodman Jaye." "I agreed to paye him v.li. xs. p. ann., if he tarry there so longe, or after y^t rate." And in the same year the youngest daughter, Mary, went to a Mrs Horninge of Roydon, "having agreed with her for her boord and teaching to paye x.li. p. ann. or after y^t rate, so longs she tarryeth." Mary was then 16 years old.

In this same year the two eldest boys went to "borde and schoole" at the Grammar School at Windham, or Wymondham, in Norfolk, their father paying for their board £12 per annum. There Thomas joined them in the following year, the father then paying for all three of them £20 a year. They were then eight, eleven, and thirteen years old respectively.

At this Grammar School at Windham the three boys seem to have remained for three years; their whole yearly expenses being £20 for board, about £5 for "bills of charges," and £6 for schooling; besides occasional gratuities of "a pece of golde" to the Master, Usher, and their "Hoste."

These schoolboy days are now to pass away, and we are to follow the boys in their first launch into the outer world. Something we have seen, even hitherto, of the quiet simplicity of our Norfolk squire's life, and this would have come out more clearly still if we had examined the entries in his account-book more closely. But nothing I think in this book lets in a stronger light upon the general state of society in the times of which we are speaking, than the record of Richard Wilton the second son's life and death as we find it at p. 128 of this book.

It begins thus: "What things Richard Wilton caried w^h him to London 8 of April 1616." (He was then, we shall remember, not quite fifteen years old.) "Imprimis iiij shirts,

“vj bands, ij payer of cuffes, iv handkerchefes, ij dubletts, ij
 “payer of hose. vidz. breches, iiij payer stockings, ij payer
 “shoes, a cloke and a hatt; and I gave him in his pūest v.s, and
 “v.s. vj.d. I gave him at London to buye a Bible wt. It^m, sent
 “him p. sone Neve ij.s. vj.d: It^m, sent him by Ro. his brother
 “ij.s. x.d. It^m, sent him by Cosen William Cossing, 12 Feb-
 “ruary, ij.s. vj.d. It^m, sent him p. Eyke ij.s. vj.d.”

There are other entries in following years of like sums sent to the boy from time to time, and of clothes sent up to him from home. At times, too, he seems to have come down for a holiday to the old Manor House, for there are entries of money sent to his brother by his hands, as he passes through Cambridge. But, closely following the first entry of his departure from home, quoted above, there is this entry in the poor father's hand, “The said Richard my Sone, depected this life xj
 “December 1620 at Mr Brocks his M^rs howse ye signe of ye
 “Sunē, mercer in Cheapside when he was xix yere olde & a
 “halfe and when he had served his saide M^r iiij yers & halfe
 “& had but ij & halfe to serve. His sicknes & death was
 “a burninge fever wherein he lay aboute xiiij dayes enduringe
 “much payne but as quiett for yt extreme fitts as most, utter-
 “inge oute of his fitts comfortable and hopefull speches of
 “thassurance of his salvacon by Christe & ofte repeted a short
 “prayer of his owne compilinge, wherby especially wt his trewe
 “concionable and dilligent Care trusty & faithfull dilligence to
 “his M^r in his tradē & callinge although I gathered over
 “soeuer so grete hope of joye & comforte of him ffor his well
 “doinge and pferment in this life yet far greter joye I assured
 “myselfe of in his far better pferment to celestially & hevenly
 “joyes in ye glorious kingdom of heuen, and is buried in Bowe
 “Church Chapell w^h cost 13^s 4^d. It. sent to his M^r Mr Brocke
 “25 Ju. 1620 towards ye charge of his buriall & sermon 44^s in
 “ij peces p Ro. my sone wt a lre.”

We have here a remarkable glimpse of habits of life, which

may now seem strange to us, but which may help to illustrate the past growth of our national life. It is no poor struggling tradesman, seeking a better chance for his boy in London than country life will give him—no impoverished gentleman, sinking his family dignity to lighten domestic burdens; but a wealthy country squire, a magistrate, a Lord of manors holding his own Courts Baron, whose eldest son is hereafter to take the place among the Norfolk gentlemen to which he was born, who, quite naturally and as a matter of course, apprentices his second son to a Mercer in Cheapside, just as he sends his two other sons, first to Cambridge and then to the Army and the Law. I am not sure that we are not too apt to overlook the close personal connexion between the land and the trade of England which had grown up in the sixteenth century, and of which such a fact as this is evidence. When, in the records of our nobility, we read that this or that noble house sprang in the 16th or 17th centuries from such an one, "Grocer" or "Draper of London," we are apt to forget what these "Grocers" and "Drapers" were by birth in so many cases, and how much may have been due to their birth and connexions, in the commercial success to which they afterwards attained. They were (many of them at least) not mere waifs and strays of society, laboriously toiling upwards from the lowest menial station; nor were they always even the sons of respectable but obscure tradesmen, making some lucky hit in after life which raised them above their native rank. The great merchants of London and of the larger provincial cities had each of them passed, as the laws of trade required, through the lowest stratum of their calling; before they could claim the freedom of their craft. As apprentices they had had to wait on their master and mistress at table, to attend them with their clubs as pages when they went abroad, to sleep hardly and to fare coarsely, as part of the rough training to discipline and obedience which was to bring out the self-reliance, and personal readiness, and self-restraint,

as necessary to a successful merchant as any art or mechanical skill in his craft. But in all these duties the son of the English gentleman had always to serve side by side with any nameless lad whom the large charity of his master might have chosen for a place in the commonwealth of commerce. The time would come, no doubt, when the successful merchant of gentle blood would be glad to think not less of his pedigree and native rank than of the credit and wealth for which he had himself worked so hardly. As might have been in the case before us, the eldest brother, the Squire and Colonel, and the younger brother the Lawyer, would, under the pressure of life, frankly claim from the Merchant brother in Cheapside the kindness and assistance which they might need for themselves and for their children, and which they would be equally ready to render back to him, if he should chance to need their help or influence. And when the time should come for their final parting on earth, the same ensigns of ancestral dignity would mark the graves of the wealthy merchant, laid to rest in the City church where he had been wont to worship, and of his brother the country squire, sleeping in honour within the chancel of the old church of their ancestral home¹. It may all seem strange to us. But our fore-

¹ A remarkable instance of the connexion between the landed and trading interests of England in the 16th and 17th centuries, and of the honest pride which a well-born tradesman felt in his family descent occurs in another part of these Buxton MSS. John Heron, a wealthy merchant of Godmanchester, was the nephew of that Robert Herne or Heron—for they seem to have used both spellings indifferently—from the marriage of whose daughter with Robert Buxton of Channonz (the gentleman referred to above at p. 203) descend the present family of Channonz and Shadwell Court. And by his will dated April 4, 12 Ja. I. the Godmanchester merchant, after disposing of his large estates in Tybenham and elsewhere in Norfolk, in Chatteris, Huntingdon, and Godmanchester, among his three sons—the Norfolk property coming afterwards by another marriage to the Buxton family—proceeds to leave, with a generous hand, memorials of plate and money among his kinsfolk and friends. Amongst the rest he directs that to his mother, to his sister and her husband, and to his five brothers shall be given—besides other legacies—to each “a rynge of goulde

fathers were taught in their very boyhood that success and honour do not grow out of idleness and self-indulgence. And the bright-faced Norfolk lad—gentleman born as he might be—was sent to use his English energy and pluck as cheerfully among his brother flatcaps in the rough training for an English merchant's life in London, as he had been wont to use them in fishing his native "broads" or hunting the bustard and the hare on his father's wolds. It need not be a revolutionary affectation of contempt for birth and gentle blood which is beginning again to send the sons of English gentlemen to hard work in the commerce of the world. It may be, and probably is, a healthy revival of the gallant English spirit of old time—seeing no dishonour in anything save in unmanly idleness and languid dependence on others—which has made England what she is or has been, and which sent poor young Richard Wilton from his father's Norfolk manor to learn to work so honestly, and to die so cheerfully, in his master's service in Cheapside; an encouragement for those of our own sons who have learnt to regard with comfort and esteem the work and honour of their ancestors 300 years ago.

Turning now to the memoranda of Mr Wilton's other sons,

"of twenty shyllings apeece with the heroshawe"—the ancient cognisance of the Herons—"engrauen therein." He had good right so to bear in mind the family from which he and those of whom he had been thinking had sprung. He was the grandson of John Heron of Godmanchester, from whose eldest brother Robert descended the Herons of Lanetoft in Lincolnshire, and whose grandfather, a great Newcastle merchant, was the second son of Sir John Heron, the head of the ancient Herons of Chipchase of Northumberland. It had taken nothing from the family honour—it had added to its possessions and power—that five generations of Herons had been merchants, gathering wealth with each generation, instead of idly hanging on the skirts of their knightly kinsmen in the north. And John Heron, dying in wealth and honour among his warehouses in Godmanchester, was glad to think of the ancient badge which there, as in the old baronial home of his House, had been a sign of honour and of duty to those who bore it. (The pedigree of this family, dated 1648, is among the Buxton MSS.)

the eldest and the youngest, we come to matters of even more special interest to this Society than those already looked at. We have to follow them through their University career, and so to their lives in London. The record of Robert Wilton, the eldest son, begins at p. 111 of the book, and it will be better to transcribe at length the entries as they stand.

“Rob^t Wilton my sonne went to Cābridge y^e xth of Octobr^e “1614.” (It will be observed that he was at this time a little more than fifteen years old.)

- “It^m sent w^t him to y^e Tutor M^r Estwick viⁱⁱ
 “It^m sent him p carier 15 Novemb^r..... v^s & ij chests.
 “It^m sent him 17 January p M^r Silbys man iij^s and then for his tutor v^l and
 “my wief sent him x whyte puddens.
 “It^m p^d for carying his citerne thith^r xij^d
 “It^m sent by M^r Vesey 28 Mch to his tutor vⁱⁱ and then also stips v^s vj^d
 “It^m sent p carier 17 May dd him vi^o
 “It^m my wief sent him p carier
 “It^m sent p cariers sonne 28 June..... j chese and iij^s
 “It^m P^d to M^r Estwicke ix August p meipum viⁱⁱ
 “at w^h tyme hee was answered and p^d for all y^t was then dewe and
 “xxx^s in futuro.
 “It^m sent to M^r Estwicke p Mr Veseyes sonne the 25th Septemb^r 1615 vⁱⁱ
 “It^m sent p Rog^r y^e carier 25 October 1615 x^o
 “It^m sent p Tho. 16 Decembr to y^e tutor vⁱⁱ
 “dd to Tho. for charges..... x^s
 “It^m Ro. went to Camb. xv Ja. 1615, when I dded to him vⁱⁱ vj^s vj^d he to
 “finde himself appell and all oth^r things excepting his tuition his
 “comōns in y^e halle and sisesings in y^e buttre w^h I am to defray, and
 “so henceforth he is to haue fyve mks’ a qrter at lady next five mks
 “and so q^rterly w^h the Lord blesse him w^t care to proffitt.
 “P^d in charge to Tho. goinge up to towne x^o
 “It. p^d as sent him p carier 20 Mch. v^s vi^d
 “It. dd Ric. for my sonne Neve his charges x^s
 “It^m p^d by M^r Sucklins lfe about 6 April vjⁱⁱ viii^s whereof his tutor xl^s rem.
 “stips ivⁱⁱ viij^s
 “It^m my wief sent him 29 April v^s vi^d
 “It^m sent Ric. p soune Neve x June ij^s vj^d
 (This was to the son in London.)
 “It^m sent p carier to Rob^t 17 June..... xxij^s
 “It^m sent morē to him p Mr Cook^m 26 Ja. 7th 14^s whereof I willed him p
 “letter to paye to his tutor..... 3ⁱⁱ vj^s

- "It^m dd to Rog. ye carier 18 August to pay to Rob^tvⁱ
 "1616 It^m sent to Rob^t p M^r Silby 6 Septemb^rvⁱⁱ
 "It^m sent to Ro. p Phillip Fynck 5 Octo^{br} for to paye his tutor for alle
 "y^e was dewe to him y^e xiiijth of Septemb^r last as p his bills appere...lv^r
 "It^m sent p carier Norw^{ch} 17 Novemb^rxl^r
 "It. his tutors bill y^e 26 Deceb^r when Ro. came home for a q^rter beginning
 "11 October 1616 wh is to pay still this 12 of Ja.4th ij^s
 "1616
 "And now this 12 of Ja. Rob^t went agene to Cambidge and from hence all
 "y^e form^r being discharged I have taken order anewe vidl^r to allowe
 "him xxxⁱⁱ p ann. and he to paye all comons sizeings and fynd himselve
 "appell and all whatsoever besyde w^h y^e Lorde blesse I hübyly praye.
 "It^m sent p Mr Coffees bill 25 Ja.xiⁱⁱ x^s
 "whereof iiiijⁱⁱ to pay his tutor all y^t is dewe at his last goeing upp and
 "vijⁱⁱ x^s for his q^rterrage ut pdict.
 "It. p^d by M^r Utting to M^r Taylors sone of Stratton 8 April 1617 to paye
 "over agene to Rob^t my sone at Cam. for his q^rter to be dewe at
 "Mids^r nextvijⁱⁱ x^s
 "It. sent p Drewcry Norw^{ch} carier j Junex^s
 "It. sent p Mr Archer 25 June 1617vijⁱⁱ
 "It. p^d him at his goeing upp at Septe^{br} vijⁱⁱ x^s w^h make up 30ⁱⁱ sithence
 "Xrityde last."

At this point the entries of Robert Wilton's college expenses come to an end, but it seems probable that if he took his degree the charges were defrayed by his father, as afterwards in his younger brother's case, but that they were not set down in this book. That he had done well at college is evident from the entry next succeeding that last extracted. It stands thus: "Robert Wilton went to London ij of March 1617 at w^h tyme I delied him xⁱⁱ and xx^s to Tho. for their charges. Whereas God formly blessed him at Camb, so I hübyly besich him still to continewe his gracious blessinge in his holy feare to dyrect him and alle his wayes to Gods glory and my comfort."

The entries then go on—

- "It. sent him beginning of Ester terme 1618 p M^r Gooche of Mettingham xⁱⁱ
 "It. sent him p cosen Osbornes sone 20 Sept^rvijⁱⁱ
 "It. sent p M^r George Gooche 29 October.vijⁱⁱ
 "It. sent p M^r Osborne of Norw^{ch} 9 Deceb^rvⁱⁱ

"It. sent p M^r Osborne to paye over to him 3 Feb.12^u

"51^u apperith 1^u yere.

"It. he came home ye first weke in lent and stayed whilst ye begininge
 "ye first Munday aft. Ester weke at w^{ch} his goeing I p^d him in golde
 "12^u ij^s for his first q^rter begininge at Lady last 1619 and soe to have
 "q^rterly as much, w^{ch} is for ye whole yere 48^u, & eodem die p^d at his goeing
 "I gave him xx^s more for his ch^{er} uppe and downe againe, whome w^{ch} w^{ch}
 "God by his p^rvidence and mercie hath enabled me I besich may be
 "effectually expended to Gods glory & good of his church & his contrye,
 "my comfort & his frinds and well wishers."

We need not follow young Robert Wilton further. He seems to have stayed in London, probably studying the law, until 1623, from which date no further entries are made of payments to him. At his father's death a few years afterwards we know that he succeeded to the family estate, and thereon built the present manor house of Wilby. He became Justice of the Peace and Colonel of the Volunteers of his native county, of which he was also elected representative in Parliament in 1656. Strongly attached to the Royal cause, he so bore himself as to gather to himself the respect and love of his neighbours, and the record on his monument in Wilby chancel will add something perhaps of interest to the notes of his early life which we have had before us. The good old father's prayers and efforts were answered.

"Here lyeth the body of that faithful patriot and true lover
 "of his country Rob. Wilton of Wylby in the county of Norff.
 "esquire son of Rich. Wylton of Topcroft in the same county
 "Esquire by Anne the daughter of Robert Buxton of Tyben-
 "ham Esq^r." Then follow his three marriages, one to Hannah,
 daughter of Robert Jay, gent.; then to Susan, daughter of Sir
 Anthony Drury of Besthorpe; and lastly to Briget, daughter of
 Sir John Meade of Lofts in co. Essex. "He exchanged this
 "mortal for an immortal life the 19 of Nov^r. 1657 in the 58
 "yeare of his age."

My work is drawing to an end. I have only now to turn to the college record of Thomas, the youngest son, as I find it at

p. 155 of his father's book. He went up to Cambridge in 1621, being then sixteen years of age. But I think I see already some faint traces of a character not so strong and reliable as are the characters of his two elder brothers. He is trusted with less money. He is not allowed, as in his brother Robert's case, to pay his own way after his first year upon a yearly allowance, but, to the end of his college career, his bills are all paid by his tutor and his clothes are provided and sent him from home. His pocket moneys, or "stipes," are less, too, and are doled out in smaller sums. I need not occupy space with the whole account, which comes in amount to much the same as that of his eldest brother five years before, but I will only transcribe such entries as, being more in detail, may fill up the broader outlines of the earlier accounts.

"Tho Wilton my sone went to Cambidge 25 April 1621, and begun to enter into comons the 28 April when I left w^t his tutor v^h to be reconned to me by a bylle euie q^rter & xij^s I left w^t goode wiff Chäbrs for a surplis & vij^s w^t Tho. for a capp & other necessaries haveing p^d for his gowne makinge &c, all w^b came to about lv^s, & he caried w^t him 2 dublets, ij payer brèches, 3 payer stockinges whereof 2 payer newe, 3 shirts, vj bandes, vj handkerchefes, a cloke, ij hatts, payer boots and spurs, girdle, 2 paier shoes, 2 table napk, ij night cappes. The Lord God I hübly besiche him to Blesse w^t a gracious progresse in grace and learning in the trewe feare of his heuenly name to my cōfort heare and to bothe o^r endles joye and comfort enlastingly by and throughe ye meritts only and death of o^r Lord Jēsus Christ.

"It. sent him a payer of sheets in June p goodwife Chäbrs & p Drewery alle his books y^t came from Ypsw^b & his brother sent him frō London also a trunck & a bible and some other books.

"It. sent him p Joseph herron 5 of Septembre a paier shoes & ij^s vj^d."

Other like entries follow—a quarterly payment being always sent of "v^h" to his tutor. He seems to have got an exhibition at his college, for there is at the close of his first year this entry. "It. sent to his Tutor p Ro. fil. 29 Ja. 1621 for chäbrs and study l^s, and what it came to, more he to pay himselfe exhebicōis w^b is to be rep^d agene when he leue it w^{hin} a litle, but it came to but 34^s as by his lre appere ye residewe of y^t

"I^s was recconed and sett of in the v^h he had in hand for ye
 "beginninge ye seconde yere ye residewe to make up s^d v^h being
 "4^h 3^s vj^d."

The entry is obscure, but the reference to an account "exhebicōis" seems clear¹. A year afterwards we have all payments still made through the tutor. "It. sent his Tutor p Tho. at his going to Camb. 24 Jan. 1622 xj^s w^h w^t ye remainder of ye 4^h last sent p Andrewe is 3^h v^s then beginninge "y^t he hath y^t in hand to defray his comōns sizesings Tuition, landress, sizer, and other howse duties p̄mising his Tutor then "by my lre under my hande y^t at thende of next and eūie "q̄rter if it came to more to discharge & paye as also to saue "and kepe him harmlesse of all indempnities he any waye "shoulde susteyne or be putte p him." An attempt is made to put poor Thomas on an allowance in this year in these quaint terms: "Dd. to Tho. himselfe 42^s for this q̄rter to p̄uide himselfe w^t alle other neçessaries & so after if y^t allowñce be too "litle to fynde him, I p̄mise & will increase it to Gods glory, "I besiche, my comforte & his future goode in Jesus Christ." The "allowñce" does soon prove "too litle," as might be expected. In the very next April a complicated difficulty occurs over a sum of "v^h xv^s," part of which is to pay the tutor and "ye residewe stips." But the "stips" gets confused with the other payment, so that in May next it appears "y^t yet rem "debett to his Tutor, as by his bylle under his hande 3^s 7^d, but "his lre, videlicet Thom., and ye byll agre not altogether." However, the difficulty is got over. I think there are signs of old age creeping over the good Squire. He is getting on now for seventy years old, and he cannot be hard with his youngest son, his Benjamin. So, after a gap of several months, we find Benjamin receiving the same general allowance as Robert had done (£30 a year), but, I grieve to say, so constantly forestalling it as to make the poor old Squire's entries as painful to unravel as they must have been to him to indite. In the last

¹ See note at end of this communication.

November of Thomas's Cambridge life, there is a ponderous explanation by his father that a certain "vij^{li} x^s", then sent by his brother Robert, should not be paid by rights until Christmastide, but for that happy opportunity occurring for its safe conveyance. And it is painfully set forth that it is to "clere" "his q̄rter fro Xritide to Annuncācon o^r Lady," with a prayer following that "God would make him as carefull to p̄fitt by "his menes as God has enabled me to afforde it & willingly to "contribute." Alas! Mr Wilton scarcely seems to realise the danger of paying so long beforehand. In the very next January, not only has "one M^r Cooke of Kaius College" to take charge of iij^{li} for Thomas "for his comēcement," but further disbursements have to be made. Brother Robert has to carry him "33^s" more in January, and again, at Thetford Assizes (where brother Robert may possibly be now practising at the bar), no less than "vij^{li}" has to be taken to the poor Benjamin to clear up accounts. In May next he goes to London with his brother — probably to study law under the graver brother's eye; but he is not trusted with his own purse, at any rate for some time. Eight pounds, three shillings and sixpence are given "to his "brother at his goeing," and until the following January sundry other like payments are made. From January to June he receives in person £23. But in the next year appears the first of several entries which tell us that the art of flying "kites" was not unknown in the 17th century to young men in London, whose expenses would unaccountably exceed their allowance, "It. p^d to Jo. Smith of Topcroft Hall 6 Feb. 1627 3^{li} upon a "bill of my sone Tho. w^h he rec of M^r Phillip Pery of London "w^h s^d 3^{li} is to be sett off his next q̄teridge." The old allowance of £40 a year is still in form kept up. But the entries of the payments are so irregular, and so mixed up with notes of bills taken up for poor Thomas, that we cannot help seeing how the matter stands. And the very last entry in date which I have been able to find in the book is as thus: "It. p^d 6 Sept. "1629 to Jo. Smith vi^{li} v^s for Ro. Jay of London p^d to Joseph

The next note is entered at the same time—the reference being probably to the comet of 1618—

“The kings ma^{tie}. Epitaph upon the Queenes death.”

“The to invite the grete God sent his starre
Whose freinds & nerest kin goode princes are.
Ffor though they ruñe the race of men, and dye,
Death seems but to refyne their maiestye.
Soe did the Quene her Cours frō hence remove,
and lefte the earth to be inthroned above.
There shée is changd, not dead; no good prince dies,
But like the dayes sun onlie sets to rise.”

With which witness of royal wisdom and modesty preserved for our edification by good Mr Wilton, of Topcroft and Wilby, I may bring this paper to a close. There are many things incidentally relating to the entries I have copied on which much more might be said. We might have taken note of the necessity—so startling to the modern undergraduate mind—of sending small occasional sums of pocket-money from home by “olde Drewery the carier.” But where there were no banks, no post office orders and no banknotes, hard cash was the only medium of remittance in such cases. And as little as possible of hard money was sent at a time lest an inopportune bully-boy, or knight of the road, might, upon some lonely Norfolk heath, break up beyond repair the domestic arrangements of the expectant student. The ring of connection between the “stips” of Jacobean times and the “tips” familiar to our own schoolboys’ ears will strike the philologist. The arrangements as to “sizeings,” and “sisers,” referred to in Thomas Wilton’s accounts, are not familiar to an Oxford ear, but they are doubtless of interest here. The “surpliss,” of no less cost than at least fifty shillings of our money, shews that a bearing of testimony against the garments of Baal was at any rate not an indulgence for a freshman in 1621. And lastly, the broad distinction between the Oxford and the Cambridge system (in

the latter all expenses of the student being paid through the College authorities, in the former no such personal relations existing at all between them and the undergraduates) is seen to be of no modern growth. At Cambridge the College stood altogether "in loco parentis"; at Oxford a young man either looked after his own expenses, or brought his own tutor with him from home.

All these points I have left untouched for fear of straining my readers' patience. To some of them, and to other like touches of local or domestic colour in the MS. before us, I may be allowed to refer hereafter in further communications to the Society.

NOTE.

Since the above was written, I have learnt by the kindness of the Rev. S. S. Lewis, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, that there are, or were, certain scholarships or *exhibitions* to that College, attached to this school of Wymondham, among others. It was possibly one of these which young Thomas Wilton had obtained.

