

ART. IX – *The early career of James Grahme of Levens, 1650-1692*

By JULIAN MUNBY, F.S.A.

JAMES Grahme of Levens (1650-1730) was buried at Charlton in Wiltshire, at the house of his daughter, the Countess of Berkshire. A reset tablet survives in the little church there by the park gate, and the epitaph must be of his own writing:

Servant to King Charles And James the Second  
Lived and Died an unworthy But True Member of the Church of England  
Faithful to both his Masters And a sincere lover of Monarchy.<sup>1</sup>

Today, Grahme is best remembered as the owner of Levens Hall, and originator of the celebrated garden created by Guillaume Beaumont in the 1690s. As his voluminous correspondence at Levens records he was witty, sociable, and one may suspect, an excellent companion for a day's riding or an evening's drinking. He even enters literary history in Swift's *Polite Conversation* as the inventor of a canting language (for which there is also abundant evidence at Levens).<sup>2</sup> The outline of his life has previously been established,<sup>3</sup> but research on the history of his gardening activities has uncovered more to illuminate the career of a Cumbrian whose steady rise in fortune was abruptly checked by the Revolution of 1688, which brought him back somewhat unexpectedly to his native country.

### Early Years and Family

James Grahme was born "betwixt 12 and 1 in the afternoon" on Wednesday, 27 March 1650, at Netherby in the parish of Arthuret, Cumberland.<sup>4</sup> He always spelled his name thus, and a reference to "Jemmy Grimes" in a letter to his brother Richard may preserve his family pet name and a common pronunciation of his surname.<sup>5</sup> Whatever the import of his carefully recorded time of birth, the series of chances that led him to be the owner of Levens and to endow it with a remarkable garden are anything but obvious. Like his forebears, James Grahme rose by his wits and personable character to achieve high office, and would no doubt have achieved title and fortune were it not for the catastrophic reverse of the 1688 Revolution, after which he and his brothers suffered for their loyalty to the house of Stuart.

The family of Graham, descended from the Earls of Monteith in Scotland, was formerly part of the "fractious and naughty" clan of border reivers or moss-troopers, one of the many notorious extended families whose cattle raiding and violent activities marked the lawless era of the Anglo-Scottish border in the sixteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Fergus Graham, of Plump in the "Debateable Lands" north of Carlisle, took part in the renowned rescue of "Kinmont Willie" Armstrong from Carlisle Castle in 1596, and was a fugitive at the time of the "pacification" of the borders in the early years of James I's reign, when the years of violence were finally brought to an end with a concentrated campaign of state terror. While many were dispatched with sword and rope, the Grahams were singled out for special treatment; at first some 150 Grahams were impressed to serve in the Low Countries in 1605, but after the majority of them had found their way back home, they were forcibly

transplanted to Ireland in the following year, though without any greater success.<sup>7</sup>

Fergus's son Richard (1583-1653) escaped this fate, and like his brother Ranald (c. 1605-85), sought his fortune in the south. Ranald became a wealthy London merchant, M.P. and eventually established himself as a Yorkshire landowner at Nunnington.<sup>8</sup> But it was Richard who laid the foundation of the family's respectability. According to a nearly contemporary source he:

Came on foote to London, and gott entertained into the late Grand Duke of Buckingham's Service: having some sparke of witt, and skill in mosetroping & horse course: so as In short the Duke made him Master of his horse: & by consequence; Master of the kinges; whereof the Duke was Master and became a complete Courtier.<sup>9</sup>

Despite his origins, his name may have helped his rise, as a number of borderers were in royal service, and amongst them some Scottish Grahams. He was in Buckingham's service by 1616 or 1617, and Gentleman of the Horse probably by 1619. In addition to his dealings in Buckingham's and the royal stables, Graham was involved in Buckingham's overseas adventures, travelling with Prince Charles to Spain in 1623, whilst he also obtained the keepership of part of Bushy Park in 1622.<sup>10</sup>

With the profits of office and his private business dealings, Graham was able to invest in land, obtaining estates in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. To these he added Norton Conyers in Yorkshire on his marriage to Catherine Musgrave in 1624, and later purchased Netherby (1628) and Bewcastle (1630) in Cumberland, and undertook extensive building operations at all three places. He was M.P. for Carlisle, knighted in 1629 and created first Baronet of Esk in 1629; in 1645 he ranked as one of the wealthiest members of the upper gentry in the north.<sup>11</sup> He survived the Civil War, and died at Newmarket in 1653, whereupon his eldest son George (the father of James Grahme) inherited the baronetcy, and the Cumbrian lands.<sup>12</sup> The second son Richard inherited Norton Conyers, and became 1st Baronet of that place in 1662.<sup>13</sup>

Sir George Graham married Maria Johnston, second daughter of James Johnston 1st Earl of Hartfell, "a lady of great Piety and Worth"; their children were Richard (24/9/1648), James (27/3/1650), Margaret (22/10/1651), Fergus (19/2/1653), William (15/4/1654), Renold (11/4/1656) and a still-born child (10/5/1657); in 1658, at the age of 33, Sir George died at Netherby "of a fever" and was buried at Arthuret.<sup>14</sup> Lady Graham's widowhood with a family of six children under the age of nine must have been a traumatic experience; a portrait of her at Hutton-in-the-Forest shows her in black clothes, sober and determined. It is no wonder that Lady Graham remarried, to a widower, Sir George Fletcher of Hutton-in-the-Forest, M.P. for Cumberland for 40 years, and whose first wife had died in childbirth. Fletcher already had five children, and his new wife gave him four more. He died aged 67 in 1700 and his epitaph at Hutton piously records that he was "an affectionate husband, and an indulgent father, careful of his childrens education, regular in his own life and conversation". His own portrait at Hutton looks genial enough, and well might he have been indulgent with a household of up to fifteen children, but it is left to our imagination how this extended family lived at Hutton.<sup>15</sup>

The Grahme boys were indeed well-educated, studying at Westminster under Dr Busby, and going on to Christ Church, Oxford, at that time undergoing a great

revival under the Dean John Fell as a fashionable place of study for leading families, and where a systematic programme of instruction was followed in the college alongside the general requirements of the University. Richard matriculated as a Nobleman in 1664 aged 15 and left “with great honour”, taking an Honorary M.A. in 1667; his diary is scattered with Greek tags, and in his retirement he translated Boethius. As heir to the baronetcy and Netherby (he did not inherit Nunnington until 1685), Sir Richard married, became a J.P. and was elected M.P. for Cocker mouth from 1675; in 1681 he was elevated to the Scots peerage as Viscount Preston.<sup>16</sup> James matriculated in July 1666 aged 16 as a Gentleman Commoner, and was probably entered as a student of the Inner Temple at the same time, as was usual.<sup>17</sup> As with his brother, his status absolved him from some of the rigours of study, and as was common at the time he is not recorded as taking any degree. On the grounding in Latin and Greek obtained at Westminster he would have studied logic, mathematics, natural and moral philosophy, the elements of religion and classical texts; in addition to reading he will have participated in verse writing and disputations, all in the medium of Latin.<sup>18</sup>

Anthony Wood gives a censorious account of Oxford morals in the year of Grahme’s matriculation, but amongst all the pleasures of Restoration Oxford we cannot tell how much Grahme devoted himself to his studies, though he no doubt found time for riding, despite university statutes prohibiting scholars from hunting. Among the many opportunities for more legitimate sports which were counted as necessary parts of a gentleman’s education, Oxford boasted several Dancing Schools, where training in equine skills could be practised; as John Evelyn had before him, we may be sure that Grahme patronised these establishments.<sup>19</sup> Dean Fell’s devotion to the purposeful education of undergraduates continued after their departure, and kept in touch with his pupils’ careers, writing to them as they gained preferment.<sup>20</sup> From the number of individuals who later wrote to their “fellow collegiate”, it is clear that Grahme made a number of important friendships at Christ Church. Notable amongst those matriculating in the same year were Francis Gwyn, later Secretary of State under Queen Anne, Thomas Hanmer, son of the noted gardener, and Thomas Thynne, nephew of his great friend Lord Weymouth.<sup>21</sup> Grahme’s younger brother William also entered Christ Church in 1674 aged 18, and is recorded as taking his B.A. and M.A. degrees and then went directly into the church, becoming in 1682 Rector of Kirk Andrews-upon-Esk, a recently re-created parish in the gift of his eldest brother, and by 1686 was Dean of Carlisle.<sup>22</sup>

### **A Career in the Army**

After leaving Oxford, James Grahme entered the army in May 1671, with a commission from Louis XIV as captain in the Scottish infantry of Lord Douglas.<sup>23</sup> This regiment had since 1667 been in the French service, and was to fight in the Third Dutch War that started in March 1672, later returning to England as the Royal Scots.<sup>24</sup> Under Louis, Condé and Turenne, a huge French army attacked on the Rhine and quickly advanced on the Netherlands in June 1672 until halted by the defensive inundation of the frontiers of Holland. Sidney Godolphin wrote from the King’s camp of the “world of young gentlemen of quality there are in the Army,

perpetually ready to seek all occasions where 'tis possible to get any reputation", but notes that the army commanded by the King was not always in the forefront of action. After the initial campaign the King and his part of the army containing the English regiments returned to France in July 1672.<sup>25</sup> In the following year's campaign the English regiment of the Duke of Monmouth (together with the young Churchill) took a notable part in the siege of Maastricht in June, but by then Grahme must have returned to England, for in March 1673 he obtained from Charles II a captaincy of a company of foot under the 1st Earl of Carlisle, a temporary wartime regiment on the English establishment.<sup>26</sup> The commission had a family connection, since his brother Richard had in 1670 married Ann Howard, the Earl's second daughter, while his captaincy was in the place of one Francis Howard. Grahme was again commissioned by Louis, in November 1673, as captain of a new company in the Royal English Regiment of infantry under the Duke of Monmouth ("Monmouth's Foot"), a regiment raised in England for the French service under the terms of Charles II's Secret Treaty of Dover. The commission records the French King's "confidence we have in his valour, courage, experience of war, vigilance and good conduct".<sup>27</sup> By the following February Grahme was promoted by Louis to the captaincy of twelve companies of two battalions in the same Regiment "as a reward for his courage and loyalty",<sup>28</sup> and remained in the Rhineland under Turenne, though the war finished for England later that month with a separate treaty with the Dutch. So Grahme was not to take part in the great spectacle at Windsor Castle in August 1674, when a re-enactment of the siege of Maastricht took place in specially constructed earthworks on the north side of the castle, that for long remained as a huge fortified garden.<sup>29</sup> He was perhaps with Churchill and Turenne at the battle of Sinzheim in June and the "bloody and indecisive" battle of Enzheim near Strasbourg in October, which included one of Monmouth's battalions, but he returned to England in November 1674, obtaining leave from Turenne.<sup>30</sup> Shortly afterwards, in January 1675, he was commissioned by Charles II to take Churchill's place as captain in Sir Charles Littleton's company of foot (the Lord High Admiral's, or Duke of York's Foot), one of the six standing regiments of guards in the English army.<sup>31</sup> The regiment was divided between several garrisons, and it is not known where Grahme was based.<sup>32</sup>

Soon after this Grahme began courting Dorothy Howard, one of the Maids of Honour to the Queen. Mrs Howard was the wife of William, younger son of Thomas first Earl of Berkshire, and her two daughters were well-known to John Evelyn, especially Ann (later Lady Sylvius); he had several times visited them, and they had come to his house-warming in the previous year.<sup>33</sup> Two of her letters to Evelyn are preserved, one voicing her apprehensions about her position at court, "a mayd of honor being now so scandalous a Theng, God keep us inocent".<sup>34</sup> As it happened, Evelyn played a part in her courtship by Grahme, when he travelled to Northampton for a lawsuit in July 1675, as trustee to the Howards, stopping at Henley, Shotover, and two nights at Oxford before going on to Northampton:

In this journey went part of the way Mr. Ja: Grahame (since privy purse to the Duke) a Young Gent: exceedingly in love with Mrs. Dorothy Howard one of the Mayds of Honor in our Company: I could not but pity them both: The Mother not much favouring it: This Lady was not onely a greate beauty, but a most virtuous & excellent Creature, & worthy to have ben Wife to the best of men: My advice was required, & I spake to the advantage of the young gent: more out of

pitty, than that I thought she deserved no better; for though he was a gent: of good family, yet there was greate inequalitys &c.<sup>35</sup>

The inequalities of which Evelyn spoke were doubtless those of rank and fortune (she was only two years his junior), and by the time a licence for their marriage was issued in November 1675 both her parents were dead.<sup>36</sup> Meanwhile Grahme had received another commission in a more senior regiment, conveniently quartered in St James's Park and Palace, when in October he became a captain in the "Regiment of Our Guard called the Coldstreamers" commanded by the Earl of Craven.<sup>37</sup> His final command was under Lord Morpeth (later the second Earl of Carlisle) as lieutenant-colonel in his company of foot in February 1678, one of the new regiments raised for the projected war in France.<sup>38</sup> Although other companies in the regiment were raised in Cumberland, Grahme was to recruit in Wiltshire and assemble at Malton, Yorkshire.<sup>39</sup> Little came of this enterprise, which saw an expedition to Flanders in July 1678, but no action, and ended with disbandment early in 1679. Yet the organisation of the staff in England, on which Grahme served, acted with commendable efficiency.<sup>40</sup> Grahme had thus seen steady promotion in his army career: starting with his family connections, and now brought by marriage within the ambit of the court, he had built a firm base for his civilian life in the service of the Duke of York.

### A Place at Court

Although Dorothy Howard would have ceased to be a Maid of Honour to the Queen on her marriage, she received a pension of £200, paid "by the King's particular direction".<sup>41</sup> The Grahmes were living in St James's Palace by 1676 or 1677 when Evelyn visited them there, one of these occasions being the day that Dorothy's sister Ann was married to Sir Gabriel Sylvius.<sup>42</sup> St James's Palace was the London home of the Duke of York, having been "very nobly trimmed up" for him after the Restoration, and Grahme would have been very familiar with the recent landscaping of the palace garden and the great park between St James's and Whitehall.<sup>43</sup> Grahme was attached to the Duke of York's household by the spring of 1679, when he obtained passports in March to go to Holland, and again in June for Flanders.<sup>44</sup> He was following the Duke into exile, since after the scandal of the "Popish Plot" and the threat to James of being excluded from the succession, the Duke was exiled to Flanders, travelling March to Brussels by way of the Hague, and was thus absent when the Commons voted for the Exclusion Bill in May shortly before the dissolution of Parliament. James was expecting a long stay, and had just issued orders for his foxhounds to be sent over when he was suddenly recalled to England in August on hearing that Charles was seriously ill. But the crisis was passed by the time he had got back, and he was only able to replace Brussels with Scotland as his place of exile, whither he travelled in October.<sup>45</sup>

Another new arrival in the ducal household was Katherine Sedley, who became Maid of Honour to the Duchess in 1678. She was the only daughter of Sir Charles Sedley, noted wit and playwright, and had for a short while been engaged to John Churchill.<sup>46</sup> But when Sarah Jennings (the future Duchess of Marlborough) won back her first love and the engagement was broken, Katherine sought a place at

court, and thus came to the attention of the Duke of York, becoming his mistress in the place of Arabella Churchill (the sister of Katherine's erstwhile suitor). She was protestant and plain, but was outspoken and had inherited her father's sharp wit; remarking of hers and Arabella's lack of good looks "We are none of us handsome, and if we had wit, he has not enough to discover it". Her indelicacy did not fade with time and years later, on meeting the Duchess of Portsmouth and the Countess of Orkney in George I's drawing room she exclaimed "Who would have thought that we three whores should have met here!"<sup>47</sup> She gave birth to her first child, Katherine, before the Duke left England in March 1679, acknowledged by him and given the title of Lady Darnley. However, the parentage of this child remained in some doubt, and Walpole reports that her mother would say to Lady Darnley "You need not be so proud, for you are not the King's, but old Graham's daughter". Grahme's own daughter Catherine was said to have a striking likeness to Lady Darnley, of which he is supposed to have remarked "Well, well, kings are great men, they make free with whom they please. All I can say is that I am sure the same man begot these two women".<sup>48</sup> Whatever the case, Grahme certainly was well acquainted with the Duke's mistress, and remained on good terms with her for many years.

Grahme went with the Duke to Scotland, for it must have been in his retinue that he received the Freedom of the City of Edinburgh in December 1679, being described as "Keeper of the Privy Purse to Duchess of Albany and York".<sup>49</sup> Apart from an interval in London in 1680, ended by the second Exclusion crisis in October, James remained in Scotland until March 1682, and Grahme stayed with him, receiving the Freedoms of Stirling and Linlithgow in February 1681, now as "Privy Purse to the Duke of Albany".<sup>50</sup> Alas the prospects for hunting were not so great as shooting in Scotland, and the Duke was reduced to playing golf to while away the time at Holyrood House.<sup>51</sup> Grahme's brother Richard also saw rapid advancement in the Duke's service: he was created 1st Viscount Preston in the peerage of Scotland in May 1681, and took his seat in the Scottish Parliament in August; in the following March he was appointed Envoy Extraordinary in Paris, where he was to remain for over three years.<sup>52</sup> Grahme himself was now well placed at the Court of the heir to the throne, and his fortunes rose with those of the Duke, as the exclusion crisis was passed, and the position of James was re-established in England.

### **Keeper of Bagshot Park**

On the Duke of York's final return to England in 1682 Grahme was appointed Keeper and Ranger of Bagshot Park, Surrey.<sup>53</sup> In 1680-81 Grahme had been renting a house belonging to Col. Sturkeys at Enfield (or Englefield) Green,<sup>54</sup> but with his new appointment he would be able to live in the lodge in Bagshot Park. The park was on the south-east side of Bagshot Heath, a huge area of open heathland on poor soil stretching southwards from Windsor Great Park towards the Hampshire border, and now mostly afforested. Defoe found the "barrenness, horrid and frightful to look on, not only good for little but good for nothing; much of it is a sandy desert";<sup>55</sup> even today the parkland stands out in marked contrast to the vegetation on the surrounding heathland, and although the house has gone, there are a few ancient oaks and beeches in the park. According to Aubrey, the Park had been "dispark'd by

the Rebels”, and was a place “where King James and King Charles the First took great Delight in Hunting”.<sup>56</sup> The Duke of York found ample time for hunting (he was one of the first aristocratic fox-hunters), and Grahme was no doubt a constant companion in the chase, being recorded as the only person to keep up with James on a long hunt with the Royal Buckhounds in 1684 which took “a tremendous run through Beaconsfield and Amersham well into Oxfordshire”.<sup>57</sup>

Grahme had already been granted the custody of Purbright Walk in Windsor Forest by Prince Rupert in 1679,<sup>58</sup> and these offices were not merely honorary. The warrant for his appointment at Bagshot, which carried the modest salary of £5 6s. 8d., records that “the King being resolved that the said park for the future shall be a nursery for the red deer and other game, and for that purpose to appoint a ranger and keeper thereof”.<sup>59</sup> The Stuarts were concerned to keep their forests stocked with game, and frequent instances of Grahme’s activities in this area are recorded in the Secret Service accounts (which include Royal expenditure on private as much as secret matters).<sup>60</sup> For example, deer were removed from Windsor Great Park to Bagshot at the end of 1683, and ten brace of red deer were taken from Lord Aylesbury’s [Savernake] to Bagshot in the following summer, and considerable sums were expended on feeding and managing deer.<sup>61</sup> Similar long-distance traffic between the parks and forests of southern England is recorded in the following years,<sup>62</sup> whilst at the end of December 1688 (in the midst of the Revolution) 108 red deer arrived in a shipload from Germany “lying then at the ship Brewhouse Wharfe and removed from thence into Windsor Forrest by his Royal Highness Order the Prince of Orange”. This took seven waggons and seven teams of horses eleven days’ work, and the account of the Yeoman of the Toyles, Thomas Howard, who had undertaken all Grahme’s stocking work, came to £117 4s.6d.,<sup>63</sup> while in January Grahme received £300 from the Treasury for “bringing deer from Hamburg”.<sup>64</sup>

Bagshot Lodge was a sizeable house belonging to the crown, the medieval forester’s lodge having been rebuilt in the sixteenth century and much frequented by James I; in 1631-2 Inigo Jones built an extension. The Parliamentary Survey of 1650 described it as “large and useful and fitt for any gentt of a large retinewe”, and Celia Fiennes noted the “pretty house” in Bagshot Park when passing by in 1691.<sup>65</sup> Bagshot would have been a convenient ride from Windsor, where the Duke of York had apartments in Charles II’s new palace, but was a much greater distance from his usual residence at St James’s. Grahme rebuilt or extended the Lodge at the expense of the Treasury between 1682 and 1685, his account for £3,888 being cleared finally with the exchequer (only in 1702!) “for building and repairing of his Majestie’s house called Bagshott Lodge and Impaling the Park”.<sup>66</sup> Part of the work involved a garden, round which a brick wall was built in 1683-4, and there was a gardener called Abraham.<sup>67</sup> The Lodge has gone, its site as shown on Rocque’s 1761 map of Berkshire now being occupied by a farm and stables for the house that was built in the 19th century on another site.<sup>68</sup> Some flavour of its interior may be gained from two inventories of the Lodge in November 1686 and October 1687 which are preserved at Levens, and depict a considerable household, with some 18 fireplaces, and bedrooms for ten servants.<sup>69</sup> Amongst a series of bills for purchase of fittings for Bagshot is a tailor’s account for servants’ liveries, including a coachman, two footmen, a postilion and groom, and for Mr James (who we are later to meet at Levens); at a slightly later date “Blak James” was also one of the servants, but the

gardener Beaumont does not appear".<sup>70</sup> Evidently Grahme was maintaining a household to match his position at court, and he was sparing little expense on furnishing his house; some of the fine furniture now at Levens must have been acquired at this time.<sup>71</sup>

Of Grahme's life in the Duke's household little is known; in August 1682 he travelled with Lord Feversham to France to congratulate Louis on the birth of his grandson, and stayed with his brother Lord Preston in Paris;<sup>72</sup> he accompanied the Duke's party to Oxford in May 1683 and received an honorary doctorate in Law from his old university. This was a splendid occasion, with bonfires, many speeches (one from James' brother William, then at Christ Church) and the Carfax conduit running with claret to the sound of the city musicians.<sup>73</sup>

### **His Majesty's Privy Purse**

On the death of Charles II, the Duke of York now ascended the throne as James II, and in February 1685 Grahme was appointed Privy Purse in one of the first acts of the new reign.<sup>74</sup> Other places fell to him in succession by royal nomination: Keeper of the king's Harthounds and Buckhounds in March, alderman of New Windsor, and M.P. for Carlisle.<sup>75</sup> Grahme was moderately active in the short life of James' only parliament;<sup>76</sup> he also gave to Carlisle the great silver-gilt mace for the Mayor.<sup>77</sup> Lord Preston was retained by James II in the Paris Embassy, then came back to England in September 1685 and was appointed Keeper of the Great Wardrobe in December;<sup>78</sup> there is little doubt that the king had a high regard for both brothers. In November 1685 the Duke of Norfolk, now Constable of Windsor Castle and Lord Warden of Windsor Forest, appointed James Grahme as Deputy Lieutenant of the Castle and Forest of Windsor "to take the said Office and Trust into your Care and Charge, and use your best indeavor for the preservation of his Majesty's Deer, Game and Vert".<sup>79</sup> As we have seen, this charge was related to his work in stocking Bagshot with deer, and is unlikely to have been a sinecure.

Meanwhile Grahme had begun to raise a family, though the details of this are unknown, since entries have not been found in any extant parish registers.<sup>80</sup> There were three boys, Henry, Richard, and William, and two daughters, Catherine (who alone was to outlive her father), and Mary. John Evelyn records some visits that tell us something of life at Bagshot, and mention the young children. In September 1685, returning from a quick day trip to Portsmouth with Samuel Pepys to view the fortifications, he slipped from his inn to visit Mrs Grahme:

her house being a Walke in the Forest, within a little quarter of a mile from Bagshot Towne: very importunate she was that I would sup, & abide there that night; but being oblig'd by my companion, I return'd to our Inn, after she had shew'd me her house which was very commodious, & well furnish'd, as she was an excellent housewife, a prudent & vertuous Lady: There is a parke full of red deare about it: Her eldest son, was now sick there of the small pox, but in a likely way of recovery; & other of her Children ran about & among the infected, which she said she let them do on purpose that they might whilst young, passe that fatal dissease, which she fancied they were to undergo one time or other, & that this would be the best.<sup>81</sup>

Again in October, Evelyn was visiting Swallowfield with Lady Clarendon, and called at Bagshot:

dining by the way at Mr. Graham's Lodge at Bagshot: Where his Lady (my excellent & long acquaintance when made of honour) entertain'd us at a plentiful dinner: The house, new repaired, and capacious of a good family, stands in a Park:

It is telling that on this occasion Evelyn has much to say of Clarendon's gardens at Swallowfield ("my Lady being so extraordinary skilld in the flowry part: & the dilligence of my Lord in the planting"), but nothing of any garden at Bagshot, although he did note the new work done to the house.<sup>82</sup> It would seem that little had yet been done of note in this department.

Grahme's career as an alderman of New Windsor was part of the continuing programme, begun by Charles II, to control the corporations with new charters and nominees of the crown; yet it is hard to imagine Grahme having much time to attend to meetings of the corporation. However, in October 1686 he took the oath of allegiance and supremacy, subscribed the Test and was sworn in as mayor for the year; towards the end of his year he was thanked for having given £100 towards the new Town Hall.<sup>83</sup> From this at least we have his assurance (confirmed by his epitaph) that Grahme belonged to the Church of England.

In August 1687 Evelyn stayed a week at Bagshot "to visite his Lady and her sister, formerly both Mayds of Honor, and my deare friends", now describing the place as a house "in a desolate forest".<sup>84</sup> His attachment to Dorothy Grahme's sister, Lady Sylvius, was of course a constant theme of his diary. For his part, Grahme had retained his attachment to the King's mistress, Katherine Sedley, who despite giving birth to a second child in 1684, had been temporarily set aside after the King's accession. She was given Arabella Churchill's house in St James's Square and a pension of £4,000 from the Privy Purse. But to some the political use of a protestant mistress was overwhelming, and since this coincided with the King's weakness of resolve Katherine was soon reinstated, being created Countess of Dorchester in January 1686 with an increased pension of £5,000, to the scandal of the court and outrage of the Queen.<sup>85</sup> Roger Morrice gives an account of her at court in November 1687 in Grahme's company:

Upon Wednesday last the 16 his Majestie went a Hunting, the Countess of Dorchester - - - came to Whitehall as she do's often to Mr Grims's Chamber there [here a shorthand note] sate a Gameing together and so continued till his Majestic came from hunting, and then they ceased, and she went to the King.<sup>86</sup>

Lady Dorchester was within a few years to be observed plotting by the fireside of Grahme's London house (see below), and he no doubt owned the portrait of her by Kneller that survives in the family collection, and which may have been bequeathed him by James II.<sup>87</sup>

The final office to fall upon Grahme was his second nomination as M.P. for Carlisle, in September 1688, for a parliament intended to be sympathetic to James that was to meet in November.<sup>88</sup> But soon the expectation of the arrival of William of Orange brought urgent military preparations to the fore, and the writs for the election were withdrawn. On 5 November the Prince landed at Tor Bay, and by the end of the year the King had left the country. Grahme's rising star was dimmed.

### The Revolution of 1688

Grahme, as Privy Purse to James II, was one of the few to remain with his master to the end; he was granted a pass by the provisional government to attend James at Faversham on 13 December, and on the following day a letter from the King requested that Grahme bring him money.<sup>89</sup> The King was detained and brought back to London before his final flight, which is described in the following letter, when Sir Stephen Fox, a Treasury Commissioner, wrote from Whitehall to Mrs Grahme at Bagshot:

Good madam Whitehall 18 Decr. 88  
 your husband this morning went with the King to Rochester & just as hee was going hee told mee he had not time to write, wherfore it may not be unacceptable to your Ladyshipp to bee informed of the occation. This morning about one a clock ther com to the King from the Prince of Orange the Marquesse Hallifax the Earl of Shrewsbury & my Lord Delamere & told his majestie that the Prince desired him to remove to Ham; but the King chose Rochester rather wherupon their Lordshipp returned about 9 a clock with leave it might be Rochester so that about 11 a clock the King went in his Barges for Gravesend whither his Coaches were sent before; the King was attended with 3 Lords of the Bedchamber, Mr Firlsey[.?] & a phisitian & severall others besides your good husband & a convenient number of household servants, & upon his owne desire 100 Foot Guards of the Prince his Army & 60 Horse but hee is not under any restraint. The Prince arrivd at St. James about 3 a clock resorted to by all that can get in. I was by command left here extremely troubled for the present Circumstances of my master, I pray god put a good end to his sad condition by a Happy Parlement. My most humble service to my Lady Sylvius. I wish you both here as the safer place for the Rabble is quiet in this City & it is said they are Terrible in many Countrys. I pray god preserve you. I am Good madam  
 Your most obedient & most humble servant

Ste: Fox<sup>90</sup>

Arriving at Gravesend, the King dismissed Sir William Villiers, who had been sent by the provisional government with coach and horses, and ordered Grahme “to give directions how to dispose of my horses”.<sup>91</sup> At Rochester, the King had time to put his affairs in order after his unexpectedly rapid departure, and not without some grace. According to Grahme’s account “when the King my master went for Rochester, hee was refused money by Sir Robert Howards, I did then off my own mony and by credits from Sir Thomas Fowls gett him £6,000, £4,800 off which he distributed to severall people with his own hands”.<sup>92</sup> James’s last letter to Secretary of State Lord Middleton instructed Grahme to give to the two Dutch Captains that had escorted him from Whitehall “a ring of a hundred pounds, and a purse of fifty to the old Lieutenant of horse that was at the Battle of Dunkirk with me”.<sup>93</sup> An undated list of gifts totalling over 100 guineas, made by Grahme to various court officials and servants, including “the men that take the carts for the voyage” must be related to the King’s flight.<sup>94</sup> The King had left behind several valuables in Whitehall, which now had to be secured. He wrote to William Chiffinch (who had been Charles II’s Keeper of the Closet):

I suppose you have yet in your hands the service off plate off mine, which you kept, put it into James Grahams hands, for my use, as alsoe those things you were a putting up when I came away, & the articles . . . , that was in the same place & what else was off value there, except pictures, lett him have alsoe the three strong boxes which stood in the outward roome, with what is off value in the Cabinett which stood in the same roome with them, with the books off devotion & prayer books are in any off my closetts, with the alter plate if any were left in the little chapel below staires, & for soe doing this shall be your discharge

James R

Send also the sayling & fighting instructions, the list off the sea commanders & the stablishments off my horse

JR<sup>95</sup>

A receipt for the domestic plate was signed by Grahme on 20 January “to dispose of by the King’s order”.<sup>96</sup> Grahme’s account further states “He sent me back from Gravesend with two orders one to Sir William Turner another to Sir Benjamin Bathurst, to pay me his stock in the East India & the Affrican Company”;<sup>97</sup> they are still at Levens:

Sir William Turner I have always found you to bee soe faire a dealer & soe honest a man, that I dare trust you, & desire you to be asisiting to Col: James Grahme whom will give you this, in securring my shares both in the East India & Guinnie companys, which I shall take very kindly from you; and let you see I doe it when in my power

James R:

Rochester January the 21: 1688

Sir Benjamin Bathurst, I have ordered James Graham, that will give you this, to consult with you about securring my shares in the East India & Guynie companies, I looke on you to be soe honest a man as well as a loyal subject that I make noe doubt off your serving me faithfully in it

James R

Rochester January the 21: 1688<sup>98</sup>

The King wrote to Grahme soon after his arrival in France:

Boulogne January the 4:1689, New stile

I arrived safe here this day and have but little to say to you at present but that I am a going on to Paris, from whence you shall heare from me when I arrive there; in the meane tyme go to my corispondent that paid you some mony upon my account and put him in mind of puting the rest of the mony I bad him put into your hands, that you may returne that, and what you had of myne in your hands, to me as sone as you can, I haveing present occasion for it, and pray remember one to your freind with who I was to have been, if I had stayd, lett one know a little newse.<sup>99</sup>

We can imagine that the “freind” may have been Lady Dorchester.

Also preserved at Levens is the “King’s Reasons from Rochester”, the holograph manifesto left on the table at his departure on 23 December, recounting the circumstances in which he left his kingdom, and his hopes of returning.<sup>100</sup> It was presumably a version of this that Lord Preston attempted without success to bring to the attention of Parliament. On 2 February 1689 the House of Commons “received a Letter (which some say came from the late King) The Lord Preston said he received it from one Mr Hayes who is ordered to attend on Monday to give an account how he came by it. But the Letter was rejected”. Similarly in the other place “Their Lordships had also a Letter brought but was not opend but the Lord Preston is to give an account of it”.<sup>101</sup> The King wrote to Preston, expressing his gratitude to those who had not deserted him at the last: “remember I must have great consideration for such of you as have stuck firme to me, so few so very few having done it”.<sup>102</sup> The mutual loyalty evidenced by these exchanges was to bring Preston close to the block, his brother James near to financial ruin in the following years, and their brother Fergus to utter destitution. Grahme himself supplied the King with £6,000 cash in his last days, and was repaid with a not inconsiderable amount in the form of £10,000 East India and £3,000 Royal African Stock.<sup>103</sup> The true nature of this exchange can only be guessed, and the mysterious story of the disposal of the stock and its recall by the Treasury will be dealt with below.

Life at Bagshot continued without interruption over the period of the Revolution, judging from Mrs Grahme's accounts.<sup>104</sup> Grahme had acquired a thirty-year lease of Bagshot in 1687, and would have no need to leave, although he was replaced as keeper of the Buckhounds in September 1689.<sup>105</sup> But at this very moment when all his future prospects were threatened by the fall of his royal master, Grahme started on a new course with the purchase of an estate in Westmorland in February 1689. Even if he did not immediately intend to do so, Grahme might now at any time retire to the north and return to his native part of the country.

### The Purchase of Levens

With remarkable rapidity after the Revolution, Grahme purchased the Levens estate in Westmorland from his cousin Alan Bellingham. King James had fled the realm in December, and by early in February 1689 the purchase was complete; indeed it is possible that the whole transaction was planned beforehand, and the timing was purely fortuitous, however convenient it may have turned out to be. Alan Bellingham, an "ingenious but unhappy young man" had wasted his fortune and was heavily in debt when he sold to Grahme, who already had substantial mortgages on the estate.<sup>106</sup> The estate, acquired by the Bellinghams a century before in a series of separate transactions, included a substantial mansion at Levens, several farms and manors in the "bottom of Westmorland", and a quarter part of the Barony of Kendal.<sup>107</sup>

The circumstances of the purchase were outlined before the House of Lords in the course of a later dispute with Bellingham's creditors over the proceeds from timber sales: in 1686 Alan Bellingham conveyed his estate to his brother and two trustees to pay his debts. In 1688 it was conveyed to the trustees alone and they together with Alan, then sold the Westmorland estate to James Grahme for £24,200 [sic], excepting the timber; Alan died at St Germain in 1693.<sup>108</sup> The conveyance, on 5 February 1689, was done by the straightforward method of "bargain and sale", enrolled in Chancery on 8 February in the "fifth year of James II".<sup>109</sup> For the sum of £24,400 Alan Bellingham of Levens sold to James Grahme of Bagshot the manors of Levens, Heversham and Milnethorpe, Fawcett Forest, High House and Skelsmergh, Helsington and Underbarrow, Crosthwaite and Lyth, Crooke Staveley and Hugill, Sledall and Sadgill, Kirkland, Gathorne, Strickland and Melkinthorpe; the rectory of Crosby Ravensworth, tithe-wool of Bampton, rents in Appleby, and manorial rights over other lands. The estate was perhaps undervalued, since in 1711 it was thought to be worth some £40,000.<sup>110</sup> What is uncertain is where Grahme found the money for the purchase. A breakdown of the costs is given in a paper at Levens, which can be summarized thus:<sup>111</sup>

Paid:

Mortgages and loans between May 1687 and July 1688 (including £3200 for interest and some principals)	£17,870:00:00
--	---------------

To be paid:

Debts and interest to various creditors	£5,869:19: 3
Mr Pigeon and Mr Hilton to make up the purchase money (the Timber yett unvalued)	£660:00: 9

Total:	£24,400:00:00
--------	---------------

Other papers with this partially explain the background. Between May 1687 and December 1688 Alan Bellingham had raised mortgages totalling £16,727 14s. on his estate, and on 29 December 1688 he obtained a further security of £3,200 to pay accumulated interest and some of the smaller principal sums, for which Grahme advanced £846 15s. in ready money. The earlier mortgages were not wholly raised by Grahme, the largest sum of £13,000 consisting of £8,700 from Grahme, £1,500 from Lady Dorchester, £2,000 from Lady Katherine Darnely and £800 from Mrs Potter; it is described as being "lent by Mr Thynne and Mr Richard Graham", and was later extended by a further £800. In addition, Fergus Grahme lent £670 "upon the assignment of Lady Ricards Statute", Francis Gwyn £500, Mr Nunn £700, Mr Pigeon £516, Mr Fletcher £100 and Thynne another £441 14s.<sup>112</sup>

All these principal sums and the interest are included in the £17,870 described as having been paid by 15 February 1689. Whether this means that they had actually all been paid off by Grahme, or simply that he had taken over the liability is not certain. He had certainly paid £8,700 as part of the £13,000 mortgage, and advanced £846 15s. as part of the £3,200 security [total £9,546 15s.], leaving only £8,323 5s. to pay to the other mortgagors. The £5,869 19s. 3d. owing to other creditors (partly Bellingham portions and legacies) was mostly "paid by note upon Sir Thomas Fowles", while one sum of £800, with the £660 0s. 9d. paid by Pigeon and Hilton were paid "by life note".<sup>113</sup> The other parties to these transactions were friends and relatives of James Grahme: his brothers Richard (Lord Preston) and Fergus; Fletcher (his stepfather), Catherine Sedley, Countess of Dorchester (the late King's mistress) and her (and perhaps Grahme's) seven-year old daughter Lady Katherine,<sup>114</sup> Thynne (brother of Grahme's friend Lord Weymouth), and Francis Gwyn of Forde Abbey, a college friend of Grahme's and Treasury official, who acted as Secretary to the provisional government in December 1688.<sup>115</sup> Pigeon and Hilton were lawyers, and executors of Bellingham; Fowles a banker whom we have already encountered helping finance James II's departure from England.<sup>116</sup> The significance of Lady Ricard's "statute" is not certain, though it may relate to her marriage settlement; she was the daughter of Sir Andrew Riccard, Governor of the East India Company, and widow of the first Baron Berkeley of Stratton, a royalist officer and restoration office holder who had died in 1678.<sup>117</sup>

It is not known where the money came from, but it is not impossible that the East India and Africa Stock given Grahme by James II on his departure to repay him for loan of £6,000 were applied to paying off the other mortgagors once they had been sold. Grahme had sold some of the stock for £18,000, and was prosecuted in the Exchequer for the return of the money and unsold stock at Easter 1690. This episode is complex, but it would appear that by May 1691 the sum of £2,964 in the form of bonds entered into by Craven Howard "which his Majesty has been pleased to accept as the balance of the account" was all that he owed, and that he would not be prosecuted once the untransferred shares had been recovered.<sup>118</sup> There is no evidence that the larger sum was paid to the Treasury, and much of it may have been put to the service of James II, but the result was that whatever wealth Grahme had during his master's reign, there was little left after he had bought Levens, and for many years his financial position was precarious.<sup>119</sup>

### **The Levens Estate**

How soon Grahme saw his new property is uncertain, but he may have visited it in the course of 1689 to initiate the new works there, and Monsieur Beaumont must have gone with him before his first recorded visit in 1694, to draw up a plan for the new gardens.<sup>120</sup> They would have found the house much as it appears today, a large, but not vast mansion, with a principal front facing north towards the river Kent, and a garden on at least the east side. The building was probably in reasonable repair, having been much reconstructed before 1600 by Sir James Bellingham, and Grahme's building activities were to be restricted to minor alterations and one addition rather than a wholesale rebuilding.<sup>121</sup> Until Grahme added the main stair in 1717, he seems to have done little to the body of the house, though the downwater drain pipes were replaced, some being dated 1692; he either made or renewed the front door into the hall on the north side. His main work was to be the addition of the south wing in the years 1692-5 to provide extra accommodation for domestic offices and servants, and repairs after a fire in 1703.<sup>122</sup>

There must have been a garden on the east side of the house, facing the principal domestic range (which contained the finest fireplaces). No description of the old garden was given before it was all swept away in the creation of the new one, though we know from the Bellingham Diary that there was a bowling green: Machel tells us that there were elms in front of the house, "a rarity in this part of the country". To the north-east of the house lay the "very pleasant and delightful" park in which the Bellinghams had spent some days hunting and fishing the previous summer.<sup>123</sup> The park was greater than it is now, since Grahme later made two new farms and cut off the east end of the park to add to one of them. Some of this land was no doubt already in use as the home farm, and extensive farm buildings stood near the stable yard by the front gate of the hall.

Of the other farms on the estate, only Gaythorn near the county town of Appleby had a building of any pretension; here there was a symmetrically planned house after the manner of Smythson. It must have been built by the Bellinghams, but its origins and function are not known, though it would have been useful for visits to the assize town of Appleby.<sup>124</sup> The farms were all let to tenants, and Grahme's only use of them was for rental income. A not inconsiderable if variable income also came from feudal incidents (chiefly entry fines and heriots), and the tithes from Crosby Rectory. Heriots, in the form of the best beast (or chattel) from deceased tenants brought a continual stream of animals to the Levens home farm.

### **The Great Plot**

Mrs Grahme was at Levens in July 1689, and the domestic servants were at Levens from the summer, the housekeeper Mary from May to July, being paid wages and board wages at the beginning of September.<sup>125</sup> Hugh James was now sent up from Bagshot to act as steward, his accounts beginning on 1 August, while the first manorial courts were held by Tim Banks in October.<sup>126</sup> The origins of Hugh James are unknown, apart from the fact that he had worked at Bagshot and may have come from the Carlisle region; Tim Banks who was Grahme's political and legal agent later refers to "My master Bellingham", and may have been acquired with Levens.<sup>127</sup>

Affairs of state cannot have allowed Grahme much time to stay at his new possession. Although the Revolution settlement proceeded quickly enough in England, and the joint monarchs were crowned on 11 April 1689, a month previously King James had landed at Kinsale, and the result of his forlorn attempt to win back his kingdom was by no means a foregone conclusion at that time. Grahme is said to have visited James II at St Germain in the spring of 1689, though no confirmation for this has been found.<sup>128</sup> Lord Preston was reported to be in the north, fomenting disturbances for the late King, and in the middle of March a regiment deserted at Ipswich and marched northwards.<sup>129</sup> In April the Lords passed a bill to apprehend suspected conspirators, and soon after Sir John Fenwick was arrested, and then in May Preston was arrested with Captain Legge, Lord Dartmouth's brother.<sup>130</sup> A further Act received the royal assent in May, denying bail to suspects. Preston was brought to the Tower, where Grahme obtained a pass to visit his brother on 29 May; soon after this William Penn, the Quaker, was also arrested.<sup>131</sup>

It was to Penn that one Matthew Crone was sent in October when he intended to go to Ireland to fight for the King. Crone, like Preston, was later to be tried for his life, and made a sworn statement after his pardon in May 1691 that describes much of the Jacobite intrigue in 1689-90, and Grahme's central part in it.<sup>132</sup> Whilst partly uncorroborated, and no doubt self-interested, Crone's evidence was not refuted, and has an air of plausibility. Crone stated that he was sent by Penn (then in the hands of a messenger)<sup>133</sup> to Bagshot at night, with a secret password for the man he should meet at Colonel Grahme's. Lord Clarendon, the brother-in-law of King James (and uncle of Queen Mary) was at supper with Grahme, drinking King James's health, and responded to the password. So Crone was in due course supplied with secret messages for James, one written in milk and hidden in a sandbox. Clarendon called upon James to land in the west of England, the army being divided between Scotland and Ireland, much of the fleet laid up, and the people restless under heavy taxation.<sup>134</sup> Arriving in Dublin, Crone gave the messages to James, as did Fergus Grahme who arrived soon after. James sent Crone back with advice that he awaited the French Fleet, but was preparing to come over once it arrived, and wanted to be met with "as many lords and persons of quality" to encourage others to join him.<sup>135</sup> Crone returned in January 1690, landed in a storm at Tenby, and audaciously telling the mayor he was on urgent government business, obtained horses for London. Back at Grahme's house at Berkeley Street in London:

their being company in the parlour, wee went up staires, it was about candle lighting; wee found the Countess of Dorchester sleeping in a great chaire by the fier side; our coming in awaked her; she desired me to sitt doune by her, which I did; and Mr Layton taking the priviledge of a Quaker desired leave to put on his hatt, which she smilingly permitted. Then candles were lighted, Mr Pen and Mr Graimes came upstairs . . . Then the Lord Clarendon came; he asked the Lady Dorchester hou she did; whereupon she answered, At your service my Lord, upon which his lordshipp fell a laughing and lookt at mee: saying he would not that his master should believe so:<sup>136</sup>

Crone also claimed he frequently saw Sir Edward Seymour (the former Speaker) at Grahme's house, and saw his great coat put over his shoulders by Grahme, telling Seymour that "he hoped in a short time he should put won of my master's coates upon his back". Another time he was introduced to William Grahme, Dean of Carlisle as "a brother of mine, who does my master a great deale of service", and

Crone was struck by his resemblance to Fergus whom he had met in Dublin.<sup>137</sup>

The conspirators were delighted at the news from Ireland that they were to prepare for James's coming, and Clarendon was "in a trance of joy" on receipt of James's letter. At their frequent meetings there was some debate as to whether James should await William's descent on Ireland, and give him battle, or come to England as William landed and march on London. The latter was decided upon, and Crone was sent on to France, carefully drilled by Clarendon, Grahme and Penn, and with his messages secreted in washballs. Having met the late Queen at St Germain and delivered his messages, he was sent back with sobering news of the delays in the dispatch of the French fleet and severe shortage of money, but with a supply of blank commissions. Crone arrived back in England in March 1690, and began another round of meetings with Clarendon, Preston, Penn and Grahme, delivering his messages from the Queen. Money was promised by a Mr Fuller, which Crone was to distribute after collecting from him. Meeting Fuller on 5 March Crone was apprehended and taken to the Tower.<sup>138</sup>

On 6 June, a few days before William sailed for Ireland, on his way to battle, Crone was found guilty of treason. Reprieved after his death warrant had been signed, he was visited by Nottingham in the Tower on 18 June.<sup>139</sup> On 24 June Grahme was taken into custody at Westminster, "charged with high treason in abetting and adhering to his Majesty's enemies".<sup>140</sup> By the time the battle of the Boyne was fought and lost, and James was on his way back to France, the Earl of Nottingham wrote to William relating the information he had acquired from interrogating Lady Dorchester and Colonel Grahme:

The latter will take the oath of fidelity, considering that the chance of serving King James is at an end, and that the quarrel now lies between England and France. He will not be an evidence, but will tell all he knows of the French designs, and explain the meaning of intercepted letters. He says almost all persons of quality in Scotland are in a conspiracy against the government.<sup>141</sup>

Nottingham made fuller notes on his information, recording that Grahme was prepared to take the oaths of allegiance publicly, to secure his title to a general pardon, but was also willing to take the oaths privately before Nottingham if he could be of service in gathering further information, and if the Queen would assure him he should not suffer for what was past. His desire to speak to the Queen was refused, though he offered to reveal further particulars of the plot. On several occasions through July Grahme supplied Nottingham with particulars of the French designs, and of preparations in Scotland, revealing that he had himself sent money there.<sup>142</sup> Various undated letters to Nottingham may belong to this year or the next two occasions when he was under suspicion.<sup>143</sup> Perhaps as early as 12 July the Queen in Council had agreed that Grahme was "to be free so as [he] takes oaths and security to appear", but he was still under some constraint, since he wrote anxiously in about August to Nottingham, fearing he was "more a prisoner" than he need be, in waiting on Nottingham, and that if left by his landlady would starve if he did not remove himself.<sup>144</sup> By 13 August 1690 Grahme was at liberty again, and his hand appears in the Bagshot accounts for the first time since May.<sup>145</sup>

The gap in our information about Levens caused by these stirring events ends in April 1690, when Hugh James was buying seeds for the garden, paying for various labouring jobs including work in the garden. He was organising building work at

Levens in October on some unspecified project, and repairing the nearby farm at Helsington Laithes.<sup>146</sup> Tim Banks wrote the first letter of his many hundreds to Grahme on estate business in November. But despite his good intentions stated to Nottingham the previous summer, Grahme remained in the thick of Jacobite plots, and after the arrest of his brother making his way to France on 1 January 1691, a warrant was issued for his arrest on the following day.<sup>147</sup> Unaware of all this, Banks wrote on 15 January about obtaining materials for building works, and asking whether he should send for the builders Milbourn and Cuthbertson. Evidently work was also beginning on landscaping the environs of the house, for the eastern end of the park was fenced off and turned over to agricultural use, and an old orchard was cleared.<sup>148</sup> It is likely that this orchard was on the site being prepared for the new garden, south of the hall, and it is very likely that Monsieur Beaumont was present for some of this work.

Grahme was in hiding at this time, and was reported to have escaped to France, while his brother was tried for treason and sentenced to death on 19 January.<sup>149</sup> Lady Preston petitioned the queen for his reprieve, but was told that depended on his "discovery" implicating other conspirators; Luttrell relates that Preston was in Newgate, writing in the morning "(some think a discovery of the plots) and in the afternoon burns it and drinks with his Jacobite friends".<sup>150</sup> On 22 January he made a statement which implicated the Bishop of Ely, the Lords Clarendon, Dartmouth and Weymouth, Sir Edward Seymour and his brother Grahme. Preston described an occasion when he met with Clarendon and the Bishop of Ely at Grahme's house in Berkeley Street, to approve the text of a Declaration, and another time when he retired to an inner room with Dartmouth to discuss the disposition of the fleet.<sup>151</sup> As Lord Carmarthen wrote early in February "my Lord Preston is com'd at last to bolt his brother and his dear friend my Lord Dartmouth, which I am confident is com'd from the bottome of his budget".<sup>152</sup> A proclamation was issued on 5 February for the apprehension of the Bishop of Ely, William Penn and Grahme.<sup>153</sup> A month later Sydney reported to Nottingham that he had been told where he might find the Bishop and "Mr Grimes", but "did not find these two persons, but several others almost as bad".<sup>154</sup> Preston's confession was thought by the King to be insufficient, and in May he was again pressed for more information. His confrontation with Crone induced the latter to talk, being offered a pardon for his story; meanwhile Preston was reprieved until 25 May.<sup>155</sup> The rules of evidence required two witnesses for treason, which saved Lord Dartmouth and Lady Dorchester, but there were sufficient in the case of Grahme, and the Attorney-general was ordered in May to prosecute Grahme, Ely and Penn to outlawry for high treason.<sup>156</sup>

Preston was bailed in June and retired to his estate at Nunnington in Yorkshire.<sup>157</sup> In July Nottingham reported to the King that he had met secretly with Grahme, who offered information on the understanding that he would not be taken, "and by the Queen's leave I made him that promise, but when he came he did not answer my expectations". Grahme was only willing to impart information with a guaranteed pardon, and would not go so far as to "do something now that should make it impossible for him to retreat to his party". He claimed that he had only been acting out of kindness to his brother, "and if he had committed greater faults it was because he was prosecuted in the Exchequer, which would end in his ruine".<sup>158</sup> His prosecution for the return of King James's stocks had commenced a year before at

Easter 1690, but in the same month that Grahme was outlawed the Attorney General was advised that the affair had virtually been settled, his brother-in-law Craven Howard entering into bonds for nearly £2,000 as the balance owing for the transferred shares, and it being agreed that the prosecution would be dropped when the untransferred shares had been secured.<sup>159</sup> How this was achieved with Grahme having absconded is somewhat mysterious, and while his own statements imply that he had parted with a substantial sum in repayment, it is not clear that this was paid into the Treasury.<sup>160</sup> An undated letter to Nottingham, perhaps on this occasion, if not in the previous year, claimed:

I have the last terme 25,000d in money, taken for the K[ing's] and her use, and my estate to pay the summe, next month, mentioned in a petition before your lordshippe. I am forced to take my children from school, not being able to pay their boord, and if that money is not paid, they will be turned out off doors . . .

I begge but one favour more off you, since I see nothing but ruine for mee and my children, that you will be pleased to acquaint the Queene, if I may with her leave goe to any place in Flanders or Holland; what ever place she names I will reside in, and not stirre any where but with her leave, nor come home but with her leave.<sup>161</sup>

When Grahme came out of hiding is not clear, though his brother wrote to him in September about the conditions of bail following his further arrest in August, and assumed that Grahme was in communication with Nottingham;<sup>162</sup> he does not write his accounts in the Bagshot account book between July and December 1691.<sup>163</sup> Nothing seems to have come of the treason charge, and by the following February he received the King's pardon.<sup>164</sup>

The scarcity of surviving papers from these troubled months deprives us of much information about Levens, though life at Bagshot continues to be recorded in Mrs Grahme's accounts. The first half of 1692 is equally mysterious, though in April 1692 Grahme was reported to have escaped arrest in Norfolk Street, London, superintending the removal of money and plate for James.<sup>165</sup> A warrant was issued for his seizure on 6 May, "on suspicion of high treason" and by the end of the month he had surrendered, and he was bailed on 10 July for a total of £5,000, although remaining on recognisance.<sup>166</sup> He returned to Levens in the summer, signed the contract for the new South Wing in September and left for London on 1 October, after which the commencement of his steward's correspondence takes us into a new world, far from dangers of high politics, though steeped in the uncertainty of rustic life and the Westmorland weather.<sup>167</sup> Remarkably, in the course of all this Jacobite intrigue, Grahme had escaped any serious action being taken against him, and could now enjoy some years of peace, and begin the transformation of his house and garden at Levens.

### Postscript

Grahme's purchase of Levens, traditionally said to have been the result of a game of cards (the ace of hearts is to be seen on the rainwaterhead at Levens) was remembered less favourably by local descendants of Bellingham. According to the author of *A Fortnight's Ramble to the Lakes* the estate was said to have been acquired by unfair means "and it is even traditioned by poor people of the name of Bellingham, now residing in Kendal, that the estate was never paid for".<sup>168</sup> This was

perhaps a half-remembered version of the dispute over the timber, which as we have seen was not included in the sale, and which was indeed the subject of legal disputes in the 1690s.

## Acknowledgements

This study was undertaken as background research to the history of Levens garden, generously assisted over several years by Annette Bagot F.S.A., Patron CWAAS. I have profited from many conversations with her, and have received assistance on particular matters from Robert Beddard, Michael Coker, and others, but none are to be held responsible for the opinions expressed here. Inquiries have been aided by the kindness of librarians and archivists at Cumbria Record Office (Kendal), the Bodleian Library, Christ Church Library and Archives, Dr Williams Library, the British Museum and the Society of Antiquaries.

## Notes and References

- <sup>1</sup> Josceline Bagot, *Colonel James Grahme of Levens* (Kendal, 1886), 36 (tablet reset in the 19th century by Mary Howard).
- <sup>2</sup> J. Swift, *A Compleat Collection of Genteel and Ingenious Conversation* (Dublin, 1738), introduction (Blackwell edn, 1957), 105.
- <sup>3</sup> J. Bagot, *op. cit.*, which draws on [F. Paget], *Some Records of the Ashted Estate and its Howard Possessors* (Lichfield, 1873), esp. 75-115; *D.N.B.* article by Gordon Goodwin, 320-22; J. V. Beckett, "The Finances of a former Jacobite, James Grahme of Levens Hall", *CW2*, lxxxv, 131-42; J. Munby, "The Finances of James Grahme – A Reply", *CW2*, lxxxvi, 274-6.
- <sup>4</sup> Preston Diary, B[ritish] L[ibrary] Add. Mss 63755 (at end).
- <sup>5</sup> Gwyn to Preston, B.L. Add. Mss 63764, f. 59; his grandfather was also frequently referred to as Grimes.
- <sup>6</sup> G. M. Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets. The Story of the Anglo-Scottish Border Reivers* (1971; 1989 edn), *passim*.
- <sup>7</sup> G. M. Fraser *op. cit.*, 366-73; J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland* (1777) i, cxv-xxxii; ii, 466-7; R. T. Spence, "The First Sir Richard Graham of Norton Conyers and Netherby", *Northern History* xvi (1980), 102-29, esp. 103.
- <sup>8</sup> R. T. Spence, *op. cit.*, 105; Nicolson and Burn ii, 467; B. D. Henning, *History of Parliament, The House of Commons 1660-90* (1983), 429; Nunnington was inherited by Lord Preston in 1685 from his great-uncle Ranald.
- <sup>9</sup> R. T. Spence, *op. cit.*, 105, quoting E. Sandford, *A Cursory Relation of all the Antiquities & Familyes in Cumberland circa 1675* (CW Tract Series no. 4, 1890), 50.
- <sup>10</sup> R. T. Spence, *op. cit.*, 106-12.
- <sup>11</sup> G.E.C. *Complete Baronetage* ii, 69; R. T. Spence, *op. cit.*, 116-22.
- <sup>12</sup> R. T. Spence, *op. cit.*, 127-8; Preston Diary, B.L. Add. Mss 63755 (at end); *Complete Baronetage* ii, 70.
- <sup>13</sup> R. T. Spence, *op. cit.*, 128.
- <sup>14</sup> Preston Diary; Nicolson and Burn ii, 468; *Complete Baronetage* ii, 70.
- <sup>15</sup> Nicolson and Burn ii, 390; at least two births are recorded in the Hutton parish registers, Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle DRC 6/80. Hutton, near Penrith, is illustrated in L. Knyff and J. Kip, *Britannia Illustrata* (1707), pl. 59.
- <sup>16</sup> J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714*, 593; Preston Diary; *The House of Commons 1660-90*, 429-31; G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*, sn Preston.
- <sup>17</sup> J. Foster, *op. cit.*, 593 ("possibly a student of Inner Temple 1666").
- <sup>18</sup> E. G. W. Bill, *Education at Christ Church Oxford 1660-1800* (1988).
- <sup>19</sup> *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*. ii, ed. A. Clark (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxi, 1892), 95-6; P. Manning, "Sport and Pastime in Stuart Oxford", in H. E. Salter, *Surveys and Tokens* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. lxxv,

- 1923), 87ff.
- <sup>20</sup> Levens, Box D.O (Fell to Grahme); B.L. Add. Mss 63764 f. 1, (Fell to Preston).
- <sup>21</sup> Christ Church Matriculation Book 1636-70: Archives D.P.i.a.2, f. 114.
- <sup>22</sup> J. Foster, *op. cit.*, 593; Nicolson and Burn ii, 474.
- <sup>23</sup> Levens, Box 1.6/1, 15 May 1671 [N(ew) S(tyle)].
- <sup>24</sup> John Childs, *The Army of Charles II* (1976), App. D, 244; C. T. Atkinson, "Charles II's Regiments in France, 1672-78", *Jnl. Soc. Army Historical Research*, 24 (1946), 53-65, 128-36, 161-72 (esp. 56-8).
- <sup>25</sup> M. C. Trevelyan, *William the Third and the Defence of Holland 1672-1674* (1930), 146ff, (147n); 207-9, 329, C. J. Ekberg, *The Failure of Louis XIV's Dutch War* (1979), 13ff.
- <sup>26</sup> C. Dalton, *English Army Lists and Commission Registers I, 1661-85* (1892), 140; Levens Box 1.6/2, 29 Mar 1673; John Childs, *op. cit.*, App. A. 234; W. S. Churchill, *Marlborough His Life and Times* (1947 edn) i, 89ff.
- <sup>27</sup> Levens, 1.6/3, 15 Nov 1673 [NS]; John Childs, *op. cit.*, 176-7, 245 (omitted from list).
- <sup>28</sup> Levens, 1.6/4, 1 Feb 1674 [NS].
- <sup>29</sup> John Childs, *op. cit.*, 67-8; H. M. Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King's Works v 1660-1782* (1976), 316, 332.
- <sup>30</sup> W. S. Churchill, *op. cit.*, i, 100-6; C. T. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, 129-36; Turenne's passport, Levens, Box E.Mss 1/3, 3 Nov 1674 [NS].
- <sup>31</sup> Levens, 1.6/5, 1 Jan 1674 (26 Chas. II = 1674/5); John Childs, *op. cit.*, 233, 262.
- <sup>32</sup> John Childs, *op. cit.*, 86, quoting 1674 garrison list (P.R.O. SP 29/363, f. 175).
- <sup>33</sup> E. S. de Beer, *Evelyn's Diary* (1955), iii, 529; iv, 11-13, 34-5, 50 and 67.
- <sup>34</sup> British Library (uncatalogued Add. Mss) Evelyn Letters no. 902, "24 Aug."
- <sup>35</sup> E. S. de Beer, *op. cit.*, iv, 67-9.
- <sup>36</sup> J. L. Chester and G. J. Armytage, *Allegations for Marriage Licences issued by the Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Canterbury 1660-79*, Harleian Society xxiii (1886), 247 (they were both of St. Martin in the Fields).
- <sup>37</sup> Levens, 1.6/6, 30 Oct 1675; C. Dalton, *op. cit.*, i, 184; John Childs, *op. cit.*, 66, 262.
- <sup>38</sup> Levens, 1.6/7, 23 Feb 1677/8; John Childs, *op. cit.*, 251-2; G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, sn Carlisle.
- <sup>39</sup> Levens, 11/29 "Names of Officers belonging to the Lord Morpeth's Regiment" (undated).
- <sup>40</sup> John Childs, *op. cit.*, 184-95.
- <sup>41</sup> *Cal[endar of] Treas[ury] Books 1676-9*, i, 298.
- <sup>42</sup> E. S. de Beer, *op. cit.*, iv, 95, 97 & 123.
- <sup>43</sup> H. M. Colvin, *op. cit.*, v, 233; D. Jacques and A. J. van der Horst, *The Gardens of William and Mary* (1988), 18-19.
- <sup>44</sup> E. S. de Beer, *op. cit.*, iv, 167; passports for Holland dated 6 Mar 1678/9, and for Flanders dated 10 June 1679: Levens, Box E.Mss 1/32-3.
- <sup>45</sup> F. C. Turner, *James II* (1948), 155ff, 165-7, 170ff.
- <sup>46</sup> V. de Sola Pinto, *Sir Charles Sedley 1639-1701* (1927), 136-7; F. Harris, *The Life of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough* (1991), 20-22.
- <sup>47</sup> V. de Sola Pinto, *op. cit.*, 138, quoting *Complete Peerage*, iv, 407n, sn Dorchester.
- <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* 140, quoting Walpole's *Letters* ed. Toynbee i, 332n (Walpole to Mann, 14 March 1743).
- <sup>49</sup> Levens, 1.6/8, 26 Dec 1679; the extravagant length of blue and silver ribbon attached to this document may be explained by Dr Johnson's observation on receiving a similar privilege in Aberdeen that by custom recipients wore the grant in their hats for the day fastened by a ribbon: Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, ed. J. D. Fleeman (1985), 13.
- <sup>50</sup> Levens, 1.6/9-10, 4 & 5 Feb 1681 (Scotland followed Old Style dating, but began the new year on 1 January); (the book of Lord Feversham's Privy Purse accounts at Levens run from Jan 1675 to Mar 1676).
- <sup>51</sup> F. C. Turner, *op. cit.*, 196.
- <sup>52</sup> For Preston in Paris, see J. Munby, "Signor Verrio and Monsieur Beaumont, Gardeners to King James II", *Jnl. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* cxlix (1996), 57-9.
- <sup>53</sup> *Cal. Treas. Books 1681-5*, i, 655.
- <sup>54</sup> Levens, 18N/2 accounts from 25 Mar 1680 refer to a smith at Egham, so Englefield is probably meant.
- <sup>55</sup> D. Defoe, *A Tour Through England and Wales* (1724, Everyman edn, 1928), i, 143.
- <sup>56</sup> John Aubrey, *The Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey* (Curll edn., 1718), iii, 212-3.

- <sup>57</sup> F. C. Turner, *op. cit.*, 62-3; VCH *Bucks* ii (1908), 228 (no authority cited).
- <sup>58</sup> F. Paget, *op. cit.*, 239 (11 Feb, 31 Chas II).
- <sup>59</sup> *Cal. Treas. Books 1681-5*, i, 655.
- <sup>60</sup> J. Y. Akerman, *Moneys received and paid for secret services of Charles II and James II, 1679-88*, Camden Ser. 52 (1851), *passim* [hereinafter *Secret Services*]; A. MacGregor, "Deer on the move: relocation of stock between game parks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries", *Anthropozoologica* 16 (1992), 167-79.
- <sup>61</sup> *Secret Services*, 79, 85, 102-3, 118.
- <sup>62</sup> *Secret Services*, 131, 135, 198-9.
- <sup>63</sup> Levens, Box E.Mss 1/34; printed in MacGregor, as above note 60, 179.
- <sup>64</sup> *Cal. Treas. Books 1685-9*, iv, 2148.
- <sup>65</sup> H. M. Colvin *et al.* *The History of the King's Works iv 1485-1660*, 48-9; C. Morris (ed.), *The journeys of Celia Fiennes* (1947), 29.
- <sup>66</sup> Levens, Box 18N/2; also Quietus Roll at Levens (20 Dec 1701-9 May 1702).
- <sup>67</sup> Levens, Box 18N/2: 23 Jun 1683, etc; 31 Oct 1683; 15 Dec 1683.
- <sup>68</sup> J. M. Crook and M. H. Port, *History of the Kings Works vi 1782-1851* (1973), 258; I. Nairn and N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England Surrey* (2nd edn 1971), 101.
- <sup>69</sup> Levens, Inventories 2-3.
- <sup>70</sup> Levens, Box 18E.3/34-7; Box 18N/4 accounts.
- <sup>71</sup> Levens, 18E.3 bills.
- <sup>72</sup> Preston's Diary, B. L. Add. Mss 63755 (at end); N. Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs 1678-1714* (1858), i, 212, 218.
- <sup>73</sup> A. Clark (ed.) *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood* iii, (Oxford Hist. Soc. xxvi, 1894), 46-54.
- <sup>74</sup> *Cal[endar off S[tate] P[apers], Dom[estic] James II*, i, 8, §38; certificate dated 4 April, Levens 1.6/12.
- <sup>75</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom. James II*, i, 69 §316, 88 §369, 117 §§480-1; certificate for Buckhounds, Levens 1.6/11; *First Hall Book of the Borough of New Windsor 1653-1725* (Windsor Borough Record Publications i, 1968), 46; R. S. Ferguson, *Cumberland and Westmorland M.P.s, 1660-1867* (1871), 461; for the Royal Buckhounds see V.C.H. *Berks*, ii (1907), 285-7 "Staghounds".
- <sup>76</sup> B. D. Henning, *op. cit.*, 428 (where it is noted that there is some confusion about Grahme's parliamentary record, owing to the existence of another Graham in the same parliament).
- <sup>77</sup> J. Bagot, *op. cit.*, 37-8; see R. S. Ferguson, *Old Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle . . . Guild Plate of Carlisle* (CW Extra Ser. III 1882).
- <sup>78</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom James II*, i, 402 §2004.
- <sup>79</sup> F. Paget, *op. cit.*, 205-6 (28 Nov 1685); original grant at Wilts R.O., Trowbridge, Suffolk & Berkshire 88/9/16.
- <sup>80</sup> Bagshot was extra-parochial; see Paget's notes of his search, F. Paget, *op. cit.*, 80-1 n; the comparative age of the children can be determined from Grahme's settlement.
- <sup>81</sup> E. S. de Beer, *op. cit.*, iv, 467-8.
- <sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 480-1.
- <sup>83</sup> *First Hall Book of New Windsor*, 51, 54; the test certificate is dated 14 Nov, 1686: Levens, Box E. Mss 2/17.
- <sup>84</sup> E. S. de Beer, *op. cit.*, iv, 558
- <sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 13 and 496-7; V. de Sola Pinto, *op. cit.*, 156-60 and 352-62.
- <sup>86</sup> London, Dr Williams Library, Mss 31.Q, *The Ent'ring Book of Roger Morrice*, Vol. 2, 209 (the shorthand has not been deciphered). Quotation by kind permission of the Librarian.
- <sup>87</sup> The portrait is at Ranger's House, Blackheath (English Heritage), G.L.C. [J. Jacob and J. Simon], *The Suffolk Collection Catalogue of Paintings* (1974), no. 42 (attribution added in amendment slip).
- <sup>88</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom. James II*, iii, 273 §1489; M. Ashley, *James II* (1977), 213, 230.
- <sup>89</sup> R. Beddard, *A Kingdom without a King* (1988), 94-5, 99.
- <sup>90</sup> Levens, Box B.F.
- <sup>91</sup> B.L. Add MS 63754 f.31, H[istoric] M[ss] C[ommission] Seventh Report (1879) Graham of Netherby, 263; cf Beddard, *Kingdom*, 116.
- <sup>92</sup> Levens, Box E. Mss 2/6.
- <sup>93</sup> H.M.C. 45, *Buckleugh* ii, (1903), i, 35.
- <sup>94</sup> Levens Box E. Mss 2/6: "Paper I showed Ld Treasurer"; printed in J. Bagot, *op. cit.*, 39.
- <sup>95</sup> Levens, Box E. Mss 1/26: copy in Grahme's hand, dated Jan (i.e. December) 21st '88, see note 98

- below; for Chiffinch, see R. Beddard, *op. cit.*, 194n.
- <sup>96</sup> Levens, Box E. MSS 1/25: "An Account of his Majesties Plate that is in the Privy Lodging delivered May 3 1686 to Mr Walker pantry-man"; printed in J. Bagot, *op. cit.*, 39-40.
- <sup>97</sup> Levens, Box E. Mss 2/6.
- <sup>98</sup> Levens, Box E. Mss 1/26: copies in Grahme's hand; presumably January in error for December, though it was already January in the New Style calendar.
- <sup>99</sup> Levens, Box E. Mss 1/6, "in a feigned hand" H. M. C. Bagot (10th Report, 1885), 330.
- <sup>100</sup> Levens, Box E. Mss 1/5; printed as a contemporary pamphlet (Bodleian Library, Wood 529, no. xvi, see *Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, iii, 288-91); also in L. Echard, *The History of England* (1718), iii, 940-1.
- <sup>101</sup> Levens, Box E. Mss 2/18: extract of parliamentary minutes; see D. L. Jones, *A Parliamentary History of the Glorious Revolution* (1988), 30-32, 82-4, 140-41.
- <sup>102</sup> B.L. Add. Mss 63754, f. 33.
- <sup>103</sup> Levens, Box E. Mss 1/27-8.
- <sup>104</sup> Levens, Box 18N/4.
- <sup>105</sup> Hughes, *History of Windsor* (1890), 334-6; *Cal S.P. Dom William III 1689-90*, 247.
- <sup>106</sup> J. M. Ewbank, *Antiquary on Horseback* (1963), 69; A. Hewitson (ed.), *Diary of Thomas Bellingham, An Officer under William III (Social Life and National Movements in the 17th Century)* (1908), xii-xiii.
- <sup>107</sup> Nicolson and Burn i, 63; P. W. Hasler, *History of Parliament, The House of Commons 1558-1603* (1981) i, 425 (Alan Bellingham).
- <sup>108</sup> H.M.C. *House of Lords Papers* New Ser. 1, 1693-5 (1900), 364-6; and see *Diary of Thomas Bellingham*, xiii for Bellingham's circumstances.
- <sup>109</sup> Close Roll 4 James II part 7 no.7 (P.R.O. C54/4690 m.19-20); the Old Style dating of the transaction to 1688 (i.e.1688/9) has previously caused confusion about its true date. While this enrolment occurred in the *de facto* interregnum between James's departure from England and William's accession on 13 February 1689, the Chancery clerks were continuing to act as if James were on the throne, in giving him a fifth year (which would only have started on 6 February).
- <sup>110</sup> J. V. Beckett, *op. cit.*, 132 quotes Levens, Box C.2 (Carleton to Grahme, 26 Nov 1711).
- <sup>111</sup> Levens, Box E. Mss 2/81: *An Account of moneys paid or to be paid by Col. Grahme for the purchase of Capt. Bellingham's Estate in Westmld.*
- <sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 2/79, *Principal and interest money due from Alan Bellingham to Col. Grahme* (29 Dec. 1688), and 2/80, *Schedule of Money and debts secured by Capt. Bellingham's last security dated 29 Dec. 1688* (15 Jan. 1688/9).
- <sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 2/81.
- <sup>114</sup> G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, sn Dorchester and Anglesey.
- <sup>115</sup> R. Beddard, *op. cit.*, 38.
- <sup>116</sup> Levens, Box E. Mss 2/6 (Fowles).
- <sup>117</sup> G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, ii, 148.
- <sup>118</sup> *Cal. Treas. Books 1689-92*, iii, 1170.
- <sup>119</sup> J. V. Beckett, *op. cit.*, 131-42; Munby, "Reply", 274-6.
- <sup>120</sup> On Beaumont: A. D. Bagot, "Monsieur Beaumont and Col. Grahme. The making of a garden, 1689-1710", *Garden History*, 3.4 (1975), 66-78; his early years at Levens occur in A. D. Bagot and J. T. Munby (eds), "All Things is Well Here" *Letters from Hugh James of Levens to James Grahme, 1692-5*, C.W.A.A.S. Rec. Ser. X (1988); for his origins, Munby, "Verrio and Beaumont", above note 52.
- <sup>121</sup> R.C.H.M. *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Westmorland* (1936), 151-5.
- <sup>122</sup> A. D. Bagot and J. T. Munby, *op. cit.*, for the south wing; later works are recorded in agents' letters.
- <sup>123</sup> *Diary of Thomas Bellingham*, 2-3, J. M. Ewbank, *op. cit.*, 69-70.
- <sup>124</sup> R.C.H.M., *Westmorland*, 16 (plan); compare plan of Chastleton (Oxon) in Mark Girouard, *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House* (2nd edn, 1983), 187ff.
- <sup>125</sup> Levens, Box 18N/4, 8 Sept. 1689.
- <sup>126</sup> Levens, Box 18N/8; series of (unreferenced) bound court books in Levens.
- <sup>127</sup> See introduction to A. D. Bagot and J. T. Munby, *op. cit.*, Banks 1/4, 1 Mar 1692/3.
- <sup>128</sup> Thus *D.N.B.* art.
- <sup>129</sup> N. Luttrell, *op. cit.*, i, 509, 511.
- <sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 526, 539; Legge was the royal park keeper, see "Verrio and Beaumont".
- <sup>131</sup> Levens, Box E. Mss.1/1, N. Luttrell, *op. cit.*, i, 553.

- <sup>132</sup> H.M.C. 71, *Finch II*, 1670-90 (1922), *Finch III*, 1691 and *Addenda* (1957), *Finch IV*, 1692 (1965); the third volume contains evidences for the plot.
- <sup>133</sup> A messenger was an agent of the Secretary of State, for the apprehension of prisoners.
- <sup>134</sup> H.M.C. *Finch iii*, 329-32.
- <sup>135</sup> H.M.C. *Finch iii*, 334.
- <sup>136</sup> H.M.C. *Finch iii*, 325.
- <sup>137</sup> H.M.C. *Finch iii*, 326.
- <sup>138</sup> H.M.C. *Finch iii*, 337-45.
- <sup>139</sup> N. Luttrell, *op. cit.*, i, 53, 57, 60.
- <sup>140</sup> H.M.C. *Finch ii*, 310.
- <sup>141</sup> H.M.C. *Finch ii*, 360 (July 15).
- <sup>142</sup> H.M.C. *Finch ii*, 391-2.
- <sup>143</sup> H.M.C. *Finch iii*, 351-5.
- <sup>144</sup> H.M.C. *Finch iii*, 383; *Finch ii*, 432.
- <sup>145</sup> Levens, Box 18N/4, 13 Aug 1690.
- <sup>146</sup> Levens, Box 18N/8, p.9; 18N/9 (Helsington).
- <sup>147</sup> D.N.B. art; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1690-91*, 219.
- <sup>148</sup> Levens, Box 18I3, letter of 15 Jan 1690/91 in accounts for Pentecost 1690.
- <sup>149</sup> E. S. de Beer, *op. cit.*, v, 42; N. Luttrell, *Brief Relation* ii, 162; *State Trials*, "Arraignment trials . . . of Sir Richard Grahme, 1691".
- <sup>150</sup> N. Luttrell, *op. cit.*, ii, 162, 164.
- <sup>151</sup> H.M.C. *Finch iii*, 308ff.
- <sup>152</sup> H.M.C. *Finch iii*, 10 (6 Feb).
- <sup>153</sup> *London Gazette* 9 Feb; *Life and Times of Anthony Wood* iii, 354; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1690-91*, 246; see N. Luttrell, *op. cit.*, ii, 172.
- <sup>154</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1690-91*, 291.
- <sup>155</sup> H.M.C. *Finch iii*, 46-7.
- <sup>156</sup> H.M.C. *Finch iii*, 128; N. Luttrell, *op. cit.*, ii, 230.
- <sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 242.
- <sup>158</sup> H.M.C. *Finch iii*, 149-50.
- <sup>159</sup> *Cal. Treas. Books 1689-92*, iii 1170, and see above.
- <sup>160</sup> J. V. Beckett, *op. cit.*, 135-6; for Grahme's claim in 1711, see his communication with Harley and Queen Anne, H.M.C. 29, *Portland v*, 14.
- <sup>161</sup> H.M.C. *Finch iii*, 354.
- <sup>162</sup> H.M.C. *Finch iii*, 320-1.
- <sup>163</sup> Levens, Box 18N/4, 26 July to 10 Dec 1691.
- <sup>164</sup> N. Luttrell, *op. cit.*, ii, 356, 11 Feb 1691/2.
- <sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 434; the "Col. Graham" reported to be in Edinburgh in March 1691/2 and embarking for France is perhaps someone else, *pace D.N.B.*: N. Luttrell, *op. cit.* ii, 396.
- <sup>166</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1691-92*, 271, 319; E. S. de Beer, *op. cit.*, v, 100; N. Luttrell, *op. cit.*, ii, 448, 469, 627; H.M.C. *Finch iv*, 195.
- <sup>167</sup> Hugh James wrote his first on 4 October, see A. D. Bagot and J. T. Munby, *op. cit.*
- <sup>168</sup> 'A Rambler', *A Fortnight's Ramble to the Lakes* (1792) (1900 reprint), 9.

