

# ◆ The family circle and career of William Burrell, antiquary

by John H. Farrant

*In the 1770s and '80s Dr William Burrell (1732–96) formed the antiquarian collection which underpinned the Sussex county histories of 1815–35. Born into the mercantile community of London with connections to the great joint-stock and insurance companies and to government, he made his career in the capital as a civil lawyer and an Excise Commissioner. He never lived in Sussex, and his researches may have been prompted by his bachelor uncle who, with his father, used their commercial wealth to buy back much of the ancestral estate in Sussex and who built for himself a country seat at West Grinstead.*

## INTRODUCTION

**D**r William Burrell's fame rests on the collection of notes and pictures which he created in the 1770s and 1780s for 'my intended History of Sussex'.<sup>1</sup> Nothing from the collection was published before his death in 1796. But his bequest to the British Museum, along with its highly systematic organization, ensured that his work underpinned the county histories which did appear between 1815 and 1835. It earned him membership of the coterie of county antiquaries and subsequently a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. I have published elsewhere an account of the collection and of the means by which Burrell assembled the information so methodically arranged therein. Briefly, the main sequence comprises 15 large folio volumes each of some 600 pages: 12 by manor within rape, containing mainly notes from primary sources on the descent of property, three by parish within rape, of extracts from parish registers, monumental inscriptions and notes on churches and incumbents. The independent value of Burrell's collection has diminished as the *Victoria County History* has traversed similar ground and as the documents he abstracted have become more readily available in public repositories. Nowadays the greater significance of the collection lies in the 1300 watercolour views of Sussex in nine volumes which he commissioned from the two James Lamberts and Samuel Hieronymus Grimm.<sup>2</sup>

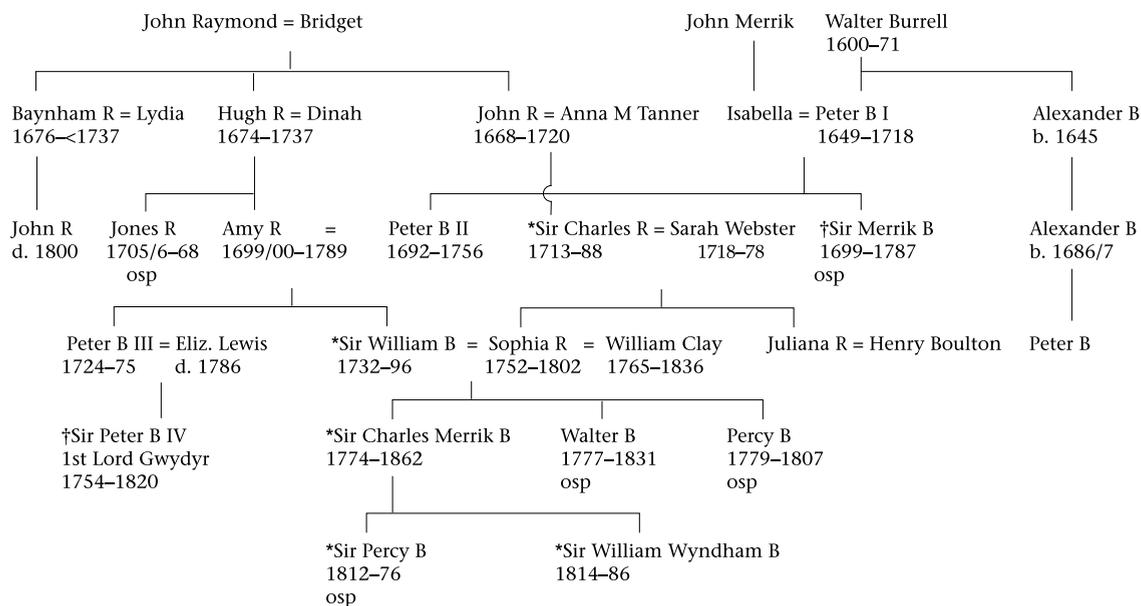
This article explores more fully than my earlier account the context within which this work of supererogation was undertaken. It has to rely, though, on exiguous materials. Someone who was so meticulous in his research was probably

meticulous in his other paperwork. If they had survived that long, his papers must have been reduced to ashes in the fire which gutted Knepp Castle in 1904. The several deposits in West Sussex Record Office which have been grouped together as 'Burrell' came from solicitors managing the family's estates in the 19th century, and the British Records Association has dispersed the papers from its London solicitors to several record offices. Only four letters from him (out of a mere twenty so far traced) relate to his antiquarian pursuits. The only known letters to him are the drafts kept by fellow antiquaries, the Revd William Hayley, Rector of Brightling, and J. C. Brooke, the herald.<sup>3</sup> The minutes of several boards of which he was a member record his presence but do not reveal whether these meetings saw substantial deliberation or whether they simply endorsed proposals from officers, nor whether he was involved in significant work between meetings.

## BURRELL'S FAMILY CIRCLE

Burrell's family went through the virtuous spiral from rural origins in Sussex via urban-based commercial wealth to landed estates and the peerage. His generation fell in that middle stage, and his upbringing and career was within the London-based mercantile-governmental nexus of the mid-18th century.

William's great-grandfather, Walter (1600–71), was an ironmaster and JP who accumulated property around Cuckfield, West Sussex, where the family had been settled since the early 16th century (see Fig. 1 for an abbreviated family tree).<sup>4</sup> His grandfather Peter I (1649–1718), the youngest of Walter's nine sons and three daughters, sought his fortune abroad,



Titles are as at date of death. \* denotes the holders of Charles Raymond's baronetcy and † of Merrik Burrell's.

Fig. 1. Selective tree showing members of the Burrell and Raymond families mentioned in the text.

being a factor at Oporto by 1679, moving to Lisbon by 1686 and returning to London and marriage in 1687. The Portugal trade was much more than the import of wine, as it embraced the re-export of English goods to the Portuguese colonies in South America and the import of bullion in exchange. The resulting surpluses were settled by transfers of bullion, and English merchants also handled trading surpluses destined for other European nations.<sup>5</sup> The fortune Peter amassed was sufficient by 1690 for him to buy the manor of Kelsey in Beckenham, Kent, for £3600; by 1723 this, with other purchases, formed an estate of 589 acres within ten miles of the City of London.<sup>6</sup> Although three of his elder brothers had died with male heirs, late in life Peter inherited the family portraits and those of the ancestral lands which had not passed to a niece, Jane Short, in 1705 (along with a mortgage) or to the Trevors of Bromham, Beds., in 1715 (in a marriage settlement).<sup>7</sup> For over a century from 1717, none of the Burrell family made their residence on the ancestral estate in Sussex.

The Kent and Sussex property, and the Portuguese business, passed to Peter I's elder surviving son, Peter II (1692-1756), William's father.

He had attended Merchant Taylors' School from 1704 to 1707 and perhaps had been dispatched to learn the business in Portugal and returned to London at or shortly before his father's death. He married Amy Raymond (1699/1700-1789) in 1723; two sons and a daughter survived infancy. He was sufficiently established locally to be picked sheriff of Kent in December 1721. Having served as a director of the South Sea Company in 1724 to 1733, he chaired the Court as Sub-Governor from 1736 to 1756 and presided over the final run-down of the Company's trading activities and its reduction to an annuities holding company which performed book-keeping services for the Treasury. From 1726 to 1738 he was a director of the Royal Exchange Assurance Company. In 1744 he subscribed for £90,000 of a government loan, immediately reselling at a profit. In 1738 he bought back the family lands (extending to over 1000 acres) which had passed to Jane Short, at a cost of £5000.<sup>8</sup>

Peter sought social advancement by being elected to the House of Commons in 1722, as one of the members for the borough of Haslemere in Surrey. The other candidate elected was James Edward Oglethorpe (1696-1785), later the founder

of Georgia, who, as a local landowner, was reviving the family interest in the borough. The family were Tory, and included some Jacobite sympathizers. Why he chose Burrell, a man with no local connections, to stand with him is unknown. Perhaps an opportunistic Burrell was willing to meet the election expenses; once elected he followed his commercial interests by supporting the Whig Administration. They were re-elected in 1727, 1734 and 1741 without contests, but shows of government support may have frightened off potential opposition — and in 1741 Burrell paid the expenses of the would-be opponents. Burrell's loyalty (and maybe help in raising government loans) were rewarded by a very favourable contract in 1739 for remitting money to the troops in Jamaica and another in 1740 for remittances and for victualling troops in Gibraltar and Minorca. Sir Robert Walpole's fall from power in 1742 left him exposed, the Jamaica contract being severely criticized. A potential challenger in 1741 had bought a few freehold tenements, and Burrell and Oglethorpe started to do the same, in order to command votes directly. A challenger did stand in 1747 but was not a serious threat.<sup>9</sup>

The situation had changed dramatically by the 1754 general election. First, the lawyer Philip Carteret Webb (1700–1770) in 1748 purchased the nearby Busbridge estate and was determined to secure his own election. Second, James More Molyneux of Loseley decided in early 1751 to revive his family's interest and seek election; as lord of the manor he could influence the choice of the bailiff — who acted as returning officer at elections. The electorate were the resident freeholders, but which freeholds carried votes was a matter of interpretation. In the 16th and early 17th centuries votes had attached only to the finite number of burgage tenements, but, following ambiguous resolutions of the House of Commons, from at latest 1722 the returning officer was accepting votes from non-burgage freeholders. It was necessary, though, to demonstrate to the returning officer (or on any subsequent petition to the House) that the freehold had not been created by splitting a larger tenement solely for electoral purposes. Webb and Molyneux made an electoral pact, and Webb provided funds for buying freeholds. Burrell and Oglethorpe were doing the same, but by the election had fewer than their rivals. The number of voters increased from 70 in 1722 to 116. Each contestant could only

command the votes he 'owned', by conveying, for the period of the election, each freehold to an otherwise unenfranchised resident of the borough who cast the vote as instructed, reconveyed the freehold back and accepted a suitable reward for his trouble — and who was termed a faggot voter.

Burrell immediately offered Webb an agreement but was unsuccessful in breaking the new alliance. He and Oglethorpe petitioned against the result, but the Duke of Newcastle would not support them and persuaded Burrell to withdraw, finding him a seat at Dover in April 1755.<sup>10</sup> Six months later he suffered another misfortune. Burrell and Bristow was the largest English firm in Lisbon and incurred losses in the 1755 earthquake from which it never altogether recovered — though the firm did gain the contract for remitting the £100,000 which Parliament granted for the distressed community in Portugal. It was also reported that his London-based trading house, Messrs Raymond and Burrell 'have had the good fortune to save their cash, either in whole or in part'. His heir implied that the consequences of the earthquake hastened his father's demise in the following year, and many years later Horace Walpole referred to him as 'a broken merchant'.<sup>11</sup>

The early death of William's father balanced by the longevity of other members of that generation caused his uncle Merrik, his brother Peter and his mother's family, the Raymonds, to be particularly significant for him.

William's uncle, Merrik (1699–1787), was also a London merchant. A director of the Bank of England for 22 years from 1744, for two of them as Governor, he made or organized large (and profitable) loans to the Government and was much consulted by the Treasury. Between 1752 and 1778 he was a contractor for victualling the garrison at Gibraltar, no doubt helped by sitting as an MP for all but six years between 1747 and 1784. Having bought West Grinstead Place in West Sussex for £10,780 in 1749, he built a new house and made considerable further purchases in mid-Sussex, including, for £7600 in 1768, the ancestral lands which in 1715 had passed out of the family by marriage. He was created a baronet in 1766, with special remainder to Peter III and his heirs, and died unmarried at the age of 88, only nine years before William.<sup>12</sup>

William's elder brother, Peter III (1723–75), progressed from Merchant Taylors' School to St John's College, Cambridge, graduating BA in 1745/6, and to Lincoln's Inn, being called to the Bar in

1749. There is no sign that he practised as a lawyer, but rather joined his father's business at the London end, living at 21 Upper Grosvenor Street from 1753.<sup>13</sup> At the Lisbon end was another Peter of much the same age, probably the grandson of Peter I's brother Alexander, of Wilbraham near Cambridge. This Peter had served as a junior officer in the marine service of the East India Company, 1740–46, was probably the 'Pedro Burrell' in Lisbon at the time of the earthquake, in partnership with Thomas Dea and working with two clerks, and later becoming cashier of the South Sea Company.<sup>14</sup> In 1756 Peter III inherited the Kent and Sussex estates (except for one farm which went to William) and, writing to the Duke of Newcastle two hours after his father's death, presumed to claim — without success — his father's Commons seat and Government contracts.<sup>15</sup> Newcastle recorded his doubts 'as to the prudence of bringing such a gentleman into Parliament', but nevertheless sought to help him. Humphry Morice found him a seat at Launceston in 1759 and Peter was returned there until 1768 and then for Totnes, where he was defeated in 1774. He continued to believe himself ill-treated by Newcastle, and for a time in the early 1760s voted with the Opposition. He was still in the Portuguese trade in 1761, but obtaining the office of Surveyor-General of Crown Lands in 1769 may have marked his retirement from direct engagement in trade, to rely on his landed income, investments and profits of office. In 1768 his rents totalled £1686:

in Kent	£1139, mainly at Beckenham
in Surrey	£160, presumably at Haslemere
in Sussex	£387 plus about 200 acres of woodland in hand.

In addition, rents of about £400 in Huntingdonshire came from his wife's marriage portion.<sup>16</sup>

'Mr Burrell', wrote the Revd William Cole (1714–82), a life-time friend from Cambridge days, 'was always lean and pale, of middle size, of an excellent temper and disposition, a good scholar and very ingenious, lively and cheerful'. These attributes must have served Peter's social advancement, for his children made brilliant marriages, one daughter marrying the heir to an earldom, another the heir to a duchy and the third a duke; and his only son marrying the daughter (and joint heir) of a duke and being himself raised to the peerage. 'The fortune of the Burrells is powerful enough to baffle calculation,' observed Horace Walpole when one daughter inherited part of the Duke of Ancaster's

fortune in 1779, 'Fortune seems to have removed [the Duke], to complete her magnificent bounties to one family . . . Old Madam Peter [Amy, William's mother] is living to behold all this deluge of wealth and honours on her race'.<sup>17</sup>

William reinforced his relationship to his mother's family, the Raymonds, by marrying his second cousin. His mother's father, Hugh, and his future father-in-law, Charles, were both born in Withycombe Raleigh, just north of Exmouth, Devon, and started their careers on the ships of the East India Company (EIC), reaching the rank of captain and coming ashore with profits from private trading which they put to good use. Hugh (1674–1737) was a founding director of the London Assurance in 1720 when he was also a London JP, living in Stepney. In that year the Bubble burst, but as a director of the South Sea Company, thanks to Sir Robert Walpole's protection, he had only half of his £92,700 gross estate confiscated — and he immediately bought back his Essex property at Saling Hall. By 1730, when he and Peter Burrell II were joint owners of the *Pelham* East Indiaman, he had become a prominent EIC proprietor. In 1734 he purchased Langley in Beckenham, adjoining the estate of his son-in-law, Peter II. His heir was his only son Jones (1705/6–68) who was an EIC director from 1734 to 1758 (except for statutory breaks); Jones died without issue, so Hugh's estates passed to Amy Burrell.<sup>18</sup>

William Burrell's father-in-law Charles Raymond (1713–88) was on shore by 1757 and became the leading managing owner of ships in the East India trade, deeply involved in the politics of the EIC, a director of the Sun Fire Office, 1755–73, and from at latest 1771 a banker. Though never an MP, Charles was sufficiently close to the Government to be asked by Lord North to stand against John Wilkes in Middlesex in 1774. Earlier that year he had been created a baronet, with remainder, failing male issue, to William. Charles' father John Raymond (?1668–1720) had also been an East India captain, 1710–19. Charles' cousin John Raymond (d. 1800) was a merchant in the Portuguese trade, probably as Peter II's partner in 1755 and possibly back to 1738, a managing owner of East Indian ships 1761–83, and a director of the EIC in 1757–61.<sup>19</sup>

So by the time he reached manhood, William had family connections with all three of the great chartered commercial companies of the City of London in the earlier 18th century, the Bank of

England, the South Sea Company and the East India Company; with several of the principal insurance companies; with the House of Commons; and with the connecting world of government borrowing and contracting.

#### THE ECCLESIASTICAL LAWYER AND MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

William Burrell was born on 10 October 1732 at his maternal grandfather's house in Leadenhall Street in the City of London and baptized two weeks later at St Peter's Cornhill. His father Peter II lived in Mark Lane but in the early 1740s moved west to King Street, Covent Garden.<sup>20</sup> That William entered Westminster School at the age of 10 in 1743 is an early indication of his academic turn of mind for, even if it was yielding some of its outright supremacy to Eton, Westminster still provided a most rigorous classical education. He progressed, as a fellow commoner, to St John's College, Cambridge, in 1749.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps deterred from Continental travels by the outbreak of war in 1756, he visited Scotland in 1758, then scarcely touched by tourism, writing one of the earliest surviving traveller's accounts, indeed penetrating parts of the Highlands to which no previous visit is recorded; a side trip was made to the Giant's Causeway in Ireland. His journal reflects his studious nature: it describes both the ancient and the modern 'sights', and gives much information about crops, industries, trade, food, prices and living conditions in general. Distances travelled, rents, land-values and wages are consistently recorded and are tabulated at the end. The same application and eclecticism are evident in a manuscript volume of (probably) before 1760, labelled 'Analecta Vol. 1', with his Latin bookplate. It contains notes from legal and travel texts, having been divided by initial letters, so for example under S are notes on Shipbuilding in the Levant, Swallows in winter, Golden Shark and the Salii.<sup>22</sup>

Burrell, so his tutor wrote in September 1753, 'intends for the Commons, when he is qualified'.<sup>23</sup> His goal was not, at this stage, the House of Commons, but Doctors' Commons, the colloquial name for (as it became by its charter of 1768) the College of Doctors of Law Exercent in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts. Since Henry VIII's prohibition of the teaching of canon law in 1535, the territory of the remaining branches of civil law — founded on the late Roman codifications,



Fig. 2. Dr William Burrell, c. 1775, probably by Richard Cosway, in a copy by Andrew Plimer after 1785. From G. C. Williamson, *Andrew and Nathaniel Plimer, Miniature Painters: their Lives and their Works* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1903).

rather than on custom and judicial precedent — had been consistently eroded by the encroachments of the common law. In the 18th century those branches were ecclesiastical law (embracing matrimonial causes and grants of probate in addition to the internal affairs of the Church of England) and some elements of admiralty law, the principal concerning 'prize cases', suits concerning the capture of property during time of war.<sup>24</sup> An aspiring member qualified for election to Doctors' Commons by taking a doctorate in law at either Oxford or Cambridge and by being admitted by the Archbishop of Canterbury as an advocate in the Court of Arches and the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Whereas in the twenty years 1751–70 nearly 600 men qualified for practice in the common law courts at Westminster by being called to the bar in the inns of court, admissions to Doctors' Commons amounted to a mere ten. Even allowing that only about half of the former became practising barristers, opting for Doctors' Commons was a distinctive choice.<sup>25</sup>

The doctors had chambers, a library and a dining hall around the room where the higher admiralty

and ecclesiastical courts sat. The premises in Great Knight Rider Street, south of St Paul's Cathedral, were rebuilt in 1670–71 following the Great Fire and resembled a small Oxbridge college. They lay adjacent to the Registry of the Prerogative Court, where wills were registered, having been proved before one of the doctors. The Dean of Arches — who in the 18th century was also the Judge of the Prerogative Court — was president. The number of members (and at any time some members were non-resident and/or non-practising) fluctuated between 11 and 25 during the middle half of the 18th century, with admissions picking up during wartime when prize cases greatly enlarged the volume of admiralty business.<sup>26</sup>

For Burrell's uncommon choice, his tutor was probably responsible. John Taylor (1704–66) had in 1741 taken the degree of LL.D., and in the following year was admitted to Doctors' Commons. He was obliged to retire from legal practice on his ordination in 1747, but, having in 1752 sketched out, at the direction of Earl Granville, a syllabus for instructing his two grandsons, he expanded it into a 600-page tome on *Elements of Civil Law*, in which he 'surveyed the usual topics of Roman law with the customary string of quotations from Roman and Greek authors'. That was published in 1755, the year in which Burrell graduated LL.B.<sup>27</sup> He went on to gain his LL.D. in 1760 and was admitted on 13 September as an advocate in the Court of Arches and on 3 November to the College. On the latter occasion his fellow doctors treated him at dinner and they consumed ten bottles of claret, one of hock, three of madeira, one of white wine and two of port. He did not rent a set of chambers until Midsummer 1772, presumably sharing office services with another advocate. No. 15 in the Little Court was a three-storeyed house, with a 30-foot frontage and depth of 20 feet. Unlike some others, this set was not described as a dwelling house, but must have been designed as bachelor accommodation with meals served in common.<sup>28</sup> Since starting to practise at Doctors' Commons, Burrell lived with his widowed mother in her house at the south-east corner of Berkeley Square.<sup>29</sup>

The courts at Doctors' Commons had developed a body of unpublished precedents

which the small close knit group of civilians, like high priests of an occult religion, knew and treasured in their personal notebooks. For these civilians, as well as for the . . . judges

selected from among them, this body of law, both procedural and substantive, provided guidance for advocates arguing and for judges deciding future cases. The civilians cherished and cultivated in their notebooks and mutual conversations this otherwise unavailable body of law.

The first printed admiralty and ecclesiastical reports did not appear until 1801 and 1818 respectively, the editor of the former accusing the doctors of preserving secret knowledge for their own advantage.<sup>30</sup>

Burrell kept at least five such notebooks. The numbers of ecclesiastical cases compared with admiralty cases which he recorded, and the proportions in which he appeared as advocate, indicate that he concentrated on the ecclesiastical side. The admiralty side, quite apart from the prize cases, was contributing to the development of international law and diplomatic rules. But, although it potentially had within its scope a far greater number of litigants, the ecclesiastical side was in steady retreat. For example, Richard Burn's *Ecclesiastical Law*, first published in 1760, the year Burrell joined Doctors' Commons, and repeatedly revised and expanded, referring its users to accessible English cases and authorities, may have seemed adequate in itself. 'Anyone with legal acumen could now be a passable ecclesiastical lawyer when occasion arose, and the *raison d'être* of a separate profession of canonists became less obvious.'<sup>31</sup>

On the ecclesiastical side, where there were few lucrative briefs, professional advancement was by appointment as a judge. Burrell's ascent to the first rung of the ladder, as Chancellor of the Diocese of Worcester from July 1764, was at the end of a chain of latter-day Newcastle patronage. The Duke's official career had ended on his resignation as First Lord of the Treasury in May 1762, but he held tenaciously to such levers of influence as remained. One of those was as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, but some in the University were now prepared to challenge him. The occasion was the election in succession to Lord Hardwicke of the High Steward, an office likely to place its holder in line as next Chancellor. A tied vote in the Senate at the end of March 1764 had propelled the matter to law. In anticipation of having to fight a second election, Newcastle sought to influence October's election of the Vice-Chancellor and that in turn necessitated friendly appointments to any vacancies among the heads of the colleges. At this juncture, in late May,

Sir Edward Simpson died. He was not only Master of Trinity Hall but also Dean of the Arches.<sup>32</sup>

Surprisingly the Duke was able to call in the promise, made in 1758 when he had recommended Thomas Secker as Archbishop of Canterbury, of the gift of the Deanship on its next vacancy. Secker ruled out Dr Peter Calvert (c. 1730–88) as lacking experience, but left Newcastle to choose between two other doctors. Doctors of the University having votes in the elections, Newcastle wanted to reward those who were helping his cause, and the choice between the two in part hinged on whether he could determine who filled the posts vacated lower down the ladder. Dr John Bettesworth (1720/1–79), ‘the properest man of them all for the Arches’, fell out because he was an Oxford graduate and the Bishop of London could not be guaranteed to accept Newcastle’s nomination for the vacated Chancellorship of London. The ‘offensive and obnoxious’ Dr George Hay (1715–78) was therefore nominated, along with Dr Calvert to succeed as Vicar General to the Archbishop, that post being ‘a very good thing, rising every year in profit and without trouble’. Why Hay, an MP since 1751, was ‘obnoxious’ is unclear, but the feeling was reciprocal: Hay later insisted that he would never ask or accept a favour through Newcastle.

Meanwhile, Peter Burrell had lobbied Newcastle on behalf of his brother William, a recommendation reinforced by Charles Townshend: ‘having lived many years in friendship with the one [Peter] and knowing the personal merit of the other [William], I cannot but wish to add my weight with your Grace to their solicitation’. Newcastle therefore impressed on the Bishop of Worcester, for his Chancellorship vacated by Hay, the claims of Burrell, ‘a very pretty deserving young man, amiable in himself, exemplary in his character, and very promising in his profession’. The Bishop was pleased to oblige.<sup>33</sup> During 1764 Burrell busied himself with Newcastle’s instructions in connection with all three elections, for High Steward, Master of Trinity Hall and Vice-Chancellor, before the court ruled for Newcastle’s candidate as High Steward in May 1765. As he put it in 1767, ‘I acknowledge my obligations to the Duke of Newcastle, and the right he has to command my services upon every occasion. Allow me to add, My Lord, that my voice is entirely at your disposal.’<sup>34</sup>

In November 1771 Burrell added the office of Chancellor and Vicar-General of the Diocese of Rochester, and held both until his death. Neither

chancellorship carried a salary or required attendance in the diocese. Most of the fees paid by litigants went to the local attorney who acted as Surrogate, or deputy, and sat in court. The ecclesiastical courts did not take oral evidence; rather depositions were collected on paper. While a cause was in preparation, the Chancellor received copies of the court’s acts or minutes and sent directions. When it was ready for hearing, on the basis of the papers the Chancellor sent his reasoned decision in writing, in the form of a judgement which the Surrogate read in court.<sup>35</sup>

Burrell was not in a profitable branch of the legal profession. But he was not without means. On his father’s death in 1756 he inherited Upper Stoneham and East Gote farms in Ringmer and South Malling, some 600 acres, rented for £207 in 1764, and an annuity of £100 a year for life, together just at the lower end of a gentleman’s income.<sup>36</sup> Another source of income, perhaps worth £100 a year, came from service in 1763–75 as a director of the South Sea Company — of which his father had been Sub-Governor until 1756. By this time the company had ceased to trade and solely administered stock on which the Exchequer paid interest. In his first year, Burrell attended 29 meetings of the Court of Directors at South Sea House in Threadneedle Street. He also sat on the Committee for Law Suits and Trusts which met eight times. That the Court waited for two hours for an indisposed Sub-Governor before appointing an acting chairman suggests that meetings were preceded by a convivial meal. Attendance allowances were paid to those who stayed to the end of meetings.<sup>37</sup>

Peter Burrell II had lost his Commons seat at Haslemere in 1754. In 1759 Newcastle found a seat elsewhere for Peter III. When James More Molyneux died a few months later, Peter III put up his brother William to run against James’ brother Thomas, but did not continue to an election. He backed candidates unsuccessfully in 1761, when he engaged in the most flagrant splitting of freeholds which a former Lord Chancellor said he had ever encountered, so contributing to Newcastle’s refusal, again, to support his petition. But Molyneux was finding Webb a liability — vexatious to deal with and alienating the electorate — so he made an electoral pact with Burrell in 1763 which was kept secret until 1766. Burrell paid Molyneux £430, and as Molyneux, living near Haslemere, was at expenses in which Burrell bore no share, agreed to pay the first £150 at the next general election, share the next £600, pay

the next £150 and share the balance. This secured a seat for the family at the general election in 1768, but at a cost to the two brothers of some £1600, of which William met just over half — four times the annual value of his lands at Ringmer. To his intense annoyance, Peter had to humour the electorate in 1769–72 by lending some £500–600 towards the cost of the turnpike through Haslemere.<sup>38</sup>

William sat for six years, steadily supporting the Administration. His only recorded speech, other than minor interventions in debates, was in November 1772 when he seconded an investigation into the East India Company, a task probably arising from his connection with Charles Raymond who was shortly to be identified with the directors' critics. He was reported to have used 'very hostile language' and to have 'bullied — threatened directors, servants, proprietors, and the charter itself'; and he was a few days later elected to the Secret Committee of enquiry. He observed that he knew several of the directors, but if they were found lacking in ability or integrity, 'neither friendship, nor the nearest ties of blood, should stop my voice from making them atoning sacrifices to an injured country'. His political philosophy is revealed: a few years' more peace,

will render [Great Britain] the most envied spot on the globe; uniting the arts of Greece with the greatness of Rome, under a government, the noblest that human wisdom ever framed, if the factions of the great, and modern patriotism, do not hurry it to an untimely fate. My profession has led me to a more particular contemplation of other laws; the laws of ancient Rome, and her later empire. Wisdom and policy are often to be admired in them; but let no one suppose, that professional prejudice can reconcile me to imperial edicts, and Papal decrees: I contemplate with pleasure our Saxon temple of liberty, built on such foundations, as can only be destroyed by our own madness.<sup>39</sup>

So at the end of the 1760s, the bachelor William Burrell was living at his mother's house in Berkeley Square and on his brother's estate in Beckenham (possibly in his own house there *c.* 1770), moving within interlocking clubbish male circles, at Doctors' Commons, the House of Commons and the South Sea Company, making his only known foreign trip to Paris in 1765 (where he paid court to Horace Walpole) and staying with the dissolute Thomas, Lord Montfort (1733–99), at Horseheath near Cambridge,

in 1768. On the latter occasion, the house party of eight spent two days at the Newmarket Races; on the following day William Cole took Burrell to see Mr Barnard of Withersfield and his curiosities, 'My Lord not pleased that I took him out as it prevented his playing at back gammon with him'.<sup>40</sup>

When, then, did the project for the history of Sussex enter into Burrell's thoughts? Back in 1753, his Cambridge tutor had sought advice on how he should secure his pupil's election to the Society of Antiquaries. The implication was that membership of the Antiquaries would be useful to an aspiring civil lawyer. He was elected in April 1754, at the early age of 22, but did not take up the membership with much enthusiasm: he attended only nine meetings in the first two years and a further 18 in the next 13 years (after which attendances were not recorded), though he paid a life subscription in 1763 and served on the Council for 1765/6. In December 1758 he exhibited a manuscript 'Itinerarium Richardi primi Regis Anglorum' and in the following month communicated a paper on the antiquities of Iona, written ten years before by the local schoolmaster and copied on his tour of Scotland that year.<sup>41</sup>

The earliest evidence of interest in Sussex is Burrell's exhibit to the Antiquaries in March 1766 of two drawings (by James Lambert) of the font in Brighton parish church.<sup>42</sup> The earliest reference to his history of Sussex is in a letter from Benjamin Way (1740–1808), a friend of Burrell's (and fellow director of the South Sea Company), to his brother-in-law, John Baker Holroyd (1735–1821), later 1st Earl of Sheffield who in 1769 had bought Sheffield Park at Fletching. In November 1770, Way wrote that 'Dr Burrell [who as an MP had free postage] gave a frank on condition of your sending him (through me) a drawing of your mansion for the Sussex History'.<sup>43</sup> So by that date Burrell had a well-formulated project for an illustrated history of the county, and was embarked on 'the history, or a deduction of the landed property, of this County', as John Elliot called it in 1773.<sup>44</sup> Work on archives was in progress in 1771. Surveys of the monuments and registers in parish churches began in earnest in September 1772.

#### THE COMMISSIONER OF EXCISE AND ANTIQUARY

The years 1773 and 1774 were ones of great change for Burrell and set the pattern for a dozen or so years. The trigger seems to have been his marriage on 13

April 1773 at St Martin's-in-the-Fields, Westminster. He was 40 years old. Sophia Raymond was two days past her 20th birthday, the daughter of Charles Raymond, former East Indiaman captain, now leader of the East India shipping interest and a banker, with a country seat at Valentines in Ilford, Essex. She and her sister being the only children, she stood, so the press reported, to inherit £100,000. So she was a very desirable match. Why did she (or her father) settle for her second cousin, an ecclesiastical lawyer twice her age, deeply immersed in local history, with, relatively, negligible wealth of his own? Maybe it was simply an improbable love match. Her marriage portion of £10,000 enabled him to buy a fairly new house at 71 Harley Street, on the west side in the middle of the block between Cavendish Square and Queen Anne Street, then near the limit of the built-up area.<sup>45</sup>

But he did not have the means to maintain his new family in the style which doubtless his father-in-law expected. His lands were worth £200 (compared with his brother's £1700), augmented by an annuity of £100. His prospects in the law were poor, as the three ecclesiastical judgeships which brought any profit were held by Hay, Bettesworth and Calvert, the eldest of whom was only 17 years older.<sup>46</sup> In the spring of 1774, William retired from Doctors' Commons and resigned his parliamentary seat.

At Haslemere he was succeeded, unopposed, by his 75-year-old uncle Merrik who had stood down from the Commons in 1768 but was probably drafted back to keep the seat warm for Peter IV, William's nephew and the future head of the family, but not yet of age. Being an MP was bringing William no obvious commercial or professional advantage. Both William and Merrik were able to leave the management of their electoral affairs to Peter III who maintained the interest at Haslemere with considerable assiduity and expense. Even so, one motive for William's resignation may have been to avoid the costs of re-election. The general election later in 1774 cost Merrik over £1200, and the studious ecclesiastical lawyer was unlikely to be good at, or enjoy, the electioneering now required to nurse the borough.<sup>47</sup> One suspects that his father-in-law advised Burrell to get a proper job and, helped by uncle Merrik, used his influence to obtain it — for in May 1774 the couple's first-born child was named Charles Merrik.

William's appointment as an Excise Commissioner

disqualified him from sitting in the Commons. It carried a substantial salary of £1000, increased to £1250 by 1782. The Excise raised half the public revenue and was the most efficient branch of civil administration, the only one to emerge unscathed from the Parliamentary enquiries of 1785 and 1797. Although gained by political patronage, a seat on the Excise Board was too important to be awarded to incompetents and was not a sinecure. As a newly appointed commissioner commented in 1736:

We meet every day of the year (Sunday and [about 45] holidays [falling on weekdays] excepted) at nine in the morn, and have full employment at the Board till twelve, so that I am always obliged to go from home at eight, . . . and never return before two. To a person of a lazy disposition, this would not be a very agreeable life . . . there's no £1000 a year in the King's gift so dearly earned . . . But as there are nine of us, and five make a Board, we contrive matters so that during the summer season, when our business is less, we have each of us a few weeks to make little excursions into the country.

When Burrell joined the Board, its Chief Office had just been rebuilt in Old Broad Street. Commissioners were required to reside within ten miles.<sup>48</sup>

The Board had three main functions. The first, taking decisions on staffing matters (establishment numbers and distribution, promotions, transfers, disciplinary actions), must have entailed in most instances accepting recommendations collated by the secretariat, though initial appointments seem to have been on the nomination of individual commissioners. The second, advising to the Treasury on policy, was intermittent. It was the third which may have imposed the largest, unremitting, workload: exercising summary jurisdiction within London on charges brought against traders for evading duties and on claims brought by traders for refunds. Three commissioners constituted a court which sat in the Court Room in the Excise Office on two days a week, and it is reasonable to assume that, as a lawyer, Burrell took more than his share. The 'cause books' in which the proceedings were recorded have not survived, but the bald statistics, of 2127 cases heard in 1788 and 2331 in 1789, represent an average of about 25 per sitting.<sup>49</sup>

As Excise officers had extensive powers of entry and search, and as hearings were in secret without a jury and with the burden of proof placed on the

trader, without appeal to a superior court at Westminster, this jurisdiction (exercised outside London by magistrates) had long been attacked as an infringement of the Englishman's liberty. As First Lord of the Treasury, William Pitt therefore invited controversy in 1789 and 1790 by putting through a Act to place the tobacco duties under the Excise Board. One MP 'wished most heartily that an appeal to a jury were allowed in the first instance; he had been assured that some of the Commissioners of Excise themselves thought it would be of no bad consequence if such an appeal were permitted'. In the debates, tribute was paid to the discretion and equitable application with which the commissioners and magistrates had exercised their jurisdiction.<sup>50</sup> Indeed, since at least 1751 there had been no appeals to the five Commissioners of Appeal appointed under the Excise Acts. But the reference to some favouring a right of appeal hints at division of opinion in the Board.

A long memorandum to Pitt, from David Papillon (1728/9–1809), just as he was retiring as chairman in March 1790, is revealing. The lack of complaint arose from the Board's leniency: in 1789, the penalties actually levied in London were only 5% of what the law permitted and the majority were under £2, and that was in part because pleas for mitigation were considered on reports from the officers who were suspected of colluding with the defendants. A barrister, Papillon described how he had sought to demarcate the commissioners' roles as managers and as judges, for example by stopping the practice of the Board instructing the three who were to hear the case, how to interpret the statute on which it hinged. At his instigation, since 1778 the office had acquired full transcripts of relevant cases in the superior courts, but these were so much waste paper, as 'the commissioners have never thought themselves to be guided or much affected by decisions of superior courts and the ablest commissioners have most of all encouraged this notion'. Usually three or four of the commissioners were legally qualified, and Burrell was probably the most learned in the law amongst the commissioners of his time. As a civil lawyer conditioned to resist the encroachments of the common law courts, Burrell must have been one of Papillon's opponents. With the absence of a jury and of oral evidence, and with prosecutions grounded on the evidence in written depositions, the Excise court's procedure was similar to Doctors' Commons. To his chairman's

accusation that the commissioners were 'ignorant or unobservant of the rules of evidence established in the courts of law', Burrell might have retorted that he followed the rules established in the civil, rather than the common law courts. At the Customs Board Pitt was using vacancies to bring about change, but at the Excise Board, so long as the revenue collection was effective, he was prepared for the conservative majority to prevail.<sup>51</sup>

Unproven in Burrell's appointment to the Excise Board, Charles Raymond's hand is clearly demonstrable in his appointment as a manager of the Sun Fire Office. The Office's General Meeting comprised 24 holders of at least 50 shares. On 22 April, nine days after the marriage, Raymond had transferred to Burrell his holding of 56 shares, perhaps as a wedding present rather than for payment, had relinquished the seat he had held since 1755 and passed it on his son-in-law who was appointed an 'Acting Member or Manager' on 3 July. Members received a salary of £80 a year, increased to £100 in 1778, for attending quarterly meetings — which were followed by dinner. Seven managers were elected to the Committee of Management and the other managers each served on one or two sub-committees, all meeting weekly; for this work a further allowance was paid. When Burrell was on the Committee of Management in 1778 that was 30s. a week. So he was earning at least £150 a year from this source, in addition to receiving dividends of over £200. He subsequently bought another 61 shares over several years.<sup>52</sup>

These new appointments saw him prosper. In the mid-1780s he had £1250 a year from the Excise Board, at least £250 from Upper Stoneham Farm, £100 from his father's annuity (though committed as his wife's pin money) and some £600 from the Sun. He could afford to spend £5850 in 1786 on a 150-acre farm, Brickstables in Mortlake, Surrey, while a less rewarding investment was £500 subscribed to the Ouse Upper Navigation in 1790. He bought historical portraits (including eight Holbeins) and formed a fine library. He may also have had money out on mortgage, as with others in the mid-1780s he insured some 80 small properties and two sugar-houses in Wapping for over £14,000, though he may have been acting on his mother's behalf in respect of property inherited from her father.<sup>53</sup>

Minute books reveal the annual cycle of his life. Living in Harley Street, with a growing family (five children surviving to adulthood), Burrell normally

attended the Excise Board in Old Broad Street on Tuesday to Friday. In 1778 (for example) he attended on 131 days out of a possible 267. He also attended 24 out of 27 meetings of the Sun's committee of management in Bank Street, off Cornhill. The five holidays at the Excise Office around Whitsun he extended to a fortnight (missing two meetings at the Sun) — for what by then was a customary tour through Sussex. In that year he visited parishes in the Arun and western Rother valleys. Between the last week of July and the first of October he attended only three meetings, and two of those were on the same day as the Sun's committee of management of which he attended all four meetings.<sup>54</sup> The summer months, certainly in 1776 and 1777, included holidays at Felpham near Bognor where before 1722 (when it was settled on his mother) his grandfather had bought Weeke Farm; and there may have been visits to Tunbridge Wells also.<sup>55</sup>

The years from 1774 to 1786 were those of greatest activity on Sussex history. When in London he was abstracting archives in the British Museum, maybe in the Tower of London and Norfolk House as well, and copying from documents lent to him, working with a clerk to organize material into the ledger volumes, which were in their final format by 1778; and corresponding with parochial clergy. The first tour to visit Sussex churches was in the September following his marriage and the tours continued each Whitsun for at least 11 years with a summer one as well in some years. In 1775 he first commissioned pictures from the Lewes artists James Lambert and his nephew James. After touring in 1777 with Francis Grose, he may have appreciated having a draughtsman with him, and from 1778 S. H. Grimm was working for him and from 1780 accompanied him for at least part of the Whitsun tour.<sup>56</sup>

William Cole in 1773 described Burrell as 'An active, stirring man, and a good antiquary. He is rather low, and squints a little, but very ingenious, and scholarlike.'<sup>57</sup> All portraits of Burrell seem to derive from a miniature, perhaps by Richard Cosway soon after his marriage and known from a copy by Andrew Plimer after 1785 (Fig. 2). It shows a man with an aquiline nose and small mouth, in the tie-wig, frill and plain coat of a professional man, such as had been in fashion since the 1750s.<sup>58</sup> Richard Cosway painted Sophia's miniature; later John Hoppner made a full-size portrait. She may have joined some of the Sussex tours, exercising her limited talents as a watercolourist, and have helped

with copying at home. She was also writing poetry from at least 1773 and indeed in 1786 exchanged verses with Warren Hastings, an exact contemporary of her husband's at Westminster School, lately Governor-General of India and now a neighbour.<sup>59</sup>

## RETIREMENT

This pattern of life, settled since the mid 1770s, was disturbed in the late 1780s. First, the survivors of the previous generation died at advanced ages, and wealth cascaded down onto William's branch. His father-in-law died in August 1788 and William inherited his baronetcy, while his wife inherited £75–100,000, including half of the manor of Knepp in Shipley, West Sussex, purchased the previous year. On uncle Merrick's death in 1789 West Grinstead Park passed to William's second surviving son (subject to a life interest to a niece who died in 1800/1) and his baronetcy passed to William's nephew, Peter IV. On his mother's death in 1789, Peter III having predeceased her, William inherited the Raymond property at Great Bardfield in Essex (yielding over £600 a year) and a part of the Beckenham estate. The latter was immediately sold to Peter IV and presumably funded the purchase of the other moiety of Knepp.<sup>60</sup>

But, second, Burrell suffered a stroke, described as palsy in one source, in August 1787 and, though he recovered his speech, he lost the use of his left arm. He appears to have been out of action for rather over a year but to have been working fairly normally during 1789. In March 1790 he resigned (as he could now afford to) from the Board of Excise, though retained some part of the salary as a pension, by agreement with his successor, Robert Nicholas. As Knepp did not provide a gentleman's residence, he bought — from the Duke of Norfolk — The Deepdene, a country house near Dorking rebuilt in the early 1770s, 'the air of which particularly agreed with his constitution', and to which he retired early in 1791, leaving his Sussex collection in Harley Street and making his last trip to Sussex churches and muniment rooms that summer. He was well enough to attend meetings at the Sun Fire Office until July 1793, and resigned two years later in favour of his son with a transfer of shares.<sup>61</sup> That his active researches were ended by June 1794 is sadly reflected in a letter dictated to his wife: 'I have none of my Sussex Books here, . . . and it would be a difficult task to decipher many parts of [them], even if my health permitted me to continue collecting

information respecting antiquities in Sussex'. By April 1795 he was 'a great invalid'. He died at The Deepdene on 20 January 1796 and was buried eight days later in the family vault at West Grinstead. In April the sculptor John Flaxman (1755–1826) was inspecting the churches there and at Cuckfield to determine the placing of the simple monuments commissioned by his widow.<sup>62</sup>

It was presumably in the late 1780s that Burrell offered his collection to the publisher John Nichols (1745–1826). But Nichols declined to print it and the principal drawings at his own risk, for he was committed to his own history of Leicestershire. So Burrell bequeathed the collection, by his will of November 1790, to the British Museum.<sup>63</sup> Wealth had come too late to free him from employment for full-time research and for editing his extracts into the narrative customary in county histories. 'The persons,' he wrote in June 1794, 'whom I employed in copying my memorandums are dead, therefore my original plan is frustrated.' If they had lived, maybe the project would have continued to fruition under his supervision.

In their rural seclusion at The Deepdene, Sophia found more time for poetry, publishing in 1791 *Lines Sent to Mr Walpole . . . after viewing the curiosities at Strawberry Hill, 1790*, on 12 August with her husband and a son; two volumes of collected verse in 1793; and two epic poems in 1794. A mere sixteen months after William's death his widow married her son's Cambridge tutor, the Revd William Clay (1765–1836), a 31-year-old 12 years her junior, with whom she lived in London and at The Deepdene. She continued to dabble in literature, publishing two tragedies in 1800, and died on 20 June 1802. Her late husband's excessively detailed will had to be unpicked in 1805 by a private Act of Parliament, which allowed the eldest son and heir Charles Merrik to sell The Deepdene and replace it by a family mansion house at Knepp.<sup>64</sup> As William's second son, Walter, died without heirs, the West Grinstead estate passed to Charles. In the next generation Sir Percy Burrell's estate ran, in 1873, to 9300 acres, entirely in Sussex, making him the county's tenth largest landowner. The Beckenham estates of 3200 acres were sold in 1820 after Peter IV's death.<sup>65</sup>

#### THE HISTORIAN OF SUSSEX

From the 17th to the early 19th centuries, to embark upon writing a county history was a not uncommon

challenge, although a high proportion of these historians failed to publish during their lifetime and many set their mental and financial health at risk. None of them made a living out of it, though some may have imagined that they would make some money: Hutchins claimed the subscription to his history of Dorset was the only provision he could make for his wife. Two wrote under contract to the 11th Duke of Norfolk and several more with strong encouragement from their county community. Most were country gentlemen or clergy, a significant minority were lawyers. Many discovered their enthusiasm for antiquarianism in their youth, but several had moved away: John Dunkin was born in Oxfordshire but was later a bookseller and printer in Kent; Thomas Foote Gower was Cheshire born but resided in Essex; Edward Rowe Mores, a native of Kent later resident in Essex, never lived in his ancestral county of Berkshire. Marriage could be the trigger for a relative newcomer to research his county: John Nichols' connection with Leicestershire stemmed from his two marriages and his acquisition of several antiquarian collections. For some local history may have been a consolation from an unhappy marriage: Sir Richard Worsley's work on his father's draft on the Isle of Wight whiled away the years of co-habitation during which his wife dallied with at least 27 lovers.<sup>66</sup>

So William Burrell's limited personal association with Sussex was not exceptional. He was among the lawyer-antiquaries. His 'Analecta', his case-notes and his choice of a rather arid branch of the law show a meticulous nature advantageous to the researcher. His baronetcy came from his banker-uncle's special remainder, rather than long gentry ancestry or any achievement on his own part. He was atypical in not seeking the life of a country gentleman, but that was probably by both his and his wife's lack of inclination rather than of means. On his marriage he entered on a career as a civil servant which, like practice at Doctors' Commons, required regular presence in London.

But his father, uncle and brother did aspire to be country gentleman. His father Peter II perhaps rebuilt Kelsey for his shrieval year in Kent, achieved at the early age of 30. Uncle Merrik bought and rebuilt West Grinstead Place. Those two brothers reunited by purchase the family estates in central Sussex. That done in 1768, it is possible to imagine Sir Merrik, the bachelor baronet, wanting his place in county society to be recorded for posterity within

a county history. Similarly, we can envisage that the energetic John Baker Holroyd from Ireland, having bought a large estate in Sussex for his country seat, and finding no county history, cast around for someone to undertake it and turned to his familial networks as well as (or perhaps instead of) the parochial clergy.

Promoting a county history for Sussex may have been an obvious way in which 'new arrivals' sought, in the late 1760s, to make their mark with longer-established neighbours. For those years were significant ones for the writing of histories of the south-eastern counties. The Revd Philip Morant's *History and Antiquities of the County of Essex* appeared in two massive, authoritative volumes in 1761 and 1768, registering the manors acquired by Hugh Raymond, even more of a parvenu. At the heart of this *History* is its account of manorial lordships, 'the most elaborately-documented feature of the county's past, and a determinant of the structure of county society in Morant's day'. The parallel history of Kent, where William's branch of the family had their country seats, was being prepared by minor landowner Edward Hasted from 1763 or a little before — though he only corresponded with Burrell from 1774 at the earliest.<sup>67</sup> The family also had interests in Surrey, most significantly at Haslemere. Its history was being carried forward by the Revd Owen Manning and lawyer William Bray who had each started work in about 1763 and were collaborating from 1767. Furthermore, these counties' proximity to London meant that their historians were active in the Society of Antiquaries and had ready access to the capital's public record repositories which housed material relevant to every corner of the nation. In Sussex the Revd William Hayley of Brightling was at work from at least 1764. But he did not have the same connections or opportunities as his contemporaries in the other counties, may not have been known to Burrell before 1775 and was making too little progress to be taken seriously.<sup>68</sup> Sussex required someone of more substance.

In Morant's *Essex* Burrell had sufficient a model of the desirable final outcome, firmly in the tradition of Dugdale's *Warwickshire* and unaffected by the

wider scope adopted by some county historians. In working method he may have been influenced by the Revd William Cole whom he had first met in Paris in 1765. In the 1740s Cole was transcribing archives and visiting nearly every Cambridgeshire church, making far more thorough notes than Burrell was to do, and after returning to Cambridge from Bletchley rectory in 1767 continued to refine his parochial topographies. Burrell had relatives in Wilbraham and continued his Cambridge connections after the Duke of Newcastle no longer required his services, and Cole was intimate with the Bennetts of Babraham Hall whose son married one of Burrell's nieces and set up home at Beckenham. Cole wrote in 1773 that they met often at Lord Montford's at Horseheath, near Cambridge.<sup>69</sup>

Morant had the advantage of a mass of notes from earlier antiquaries and published his volume sixteen years after acquiring them. Hasted, and Manning and Bray, took more years to publication than were to be available to Burrell, and they too had more to build on. Burrell's legal experience probably gave him the capability to digest his neat, classified, source-notes down into manorial histories such as Morant wrote. But the stroke in 1787 cut short his time. Those notes were virtually the only secondary source which Horsfield, Dallaway and Cartwright used in the county histories of 1815–35; and without the foundation he provided, Sussex might well, like Hampshire, have passed the 19th century without a substantive county history. But Burrell's legal training, and the likely preoccupations of his family if they were the promoters of his 'History of Sussex', ensured a traditional focus on the descent of property and its owners, which was transmitted through to the published histories.

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**Author:** John H. Farrant, 75 Paddock Lane, Lewes, East Sussex, BN7 1TW.

## NOTES

Abbreviations used for the main record repositories:

BL British Library, London  
 GL Guildhall Library, City of London  
 PRO Public Record Office, Kew  
 SHC Surrey History Centre, Woking  
 WSRO West Sussex Record Office, Chichester

<sup>1</sup> PRO, PROB 11/1271/64, codicil of 8 Mar. 1793.

<sup>2</sup> J. H. Farrant, *Sussex Depicted: Views and Descriptions 1600–1800*, *Sussex Record Society* **85** (2001), 32–9, 115–36, which also includes 135 views from the Burrell collection; the present article incorporates further research and corrects some changes. W. H. Godfrey & L. F. Salzman (eds), *Sussex Views Selected from the Burrell Collections*, *Sussex Record Society Jubilee volume* (1951), prints another 192.

<sup>3</sup> BL, Add. MS. 6359. Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. lett. e. 98 and 99.

<sup>4</sup> J. H. Cooper, 'Cuckfield families III', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* **43** (1900), 14–17; this article includes an extensive pedigree of the Burrell family which is digested, with some changes, in J. Comber, *Sussex Genealogies, Ardingly Centre* (Cambridge: W. Heffer, 1932), 46–53.

<sup>5</sup> BL, Add. MS. 35101, ff. 195 b, 202 b, 208. S. G. West, 'Members of the Lisbon "Factory" in the late seventeenth century', *Historical Association, Portugal Branch, Annual Report and Review* **12** (1954), 706–7, printing BL, Add. MS. 19399, f. 142v. H. E. S. Fisher, *The Portugal Trade: a Study of Anglo-Portuguese Commerce 1700–1770* (London: Methuen, 1971), espec. ch. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Centre for Kentish Studies, U36 F1, financial and family notes of Peter Burrell I, 1687–1704. R. Borrowman, *Beckenham Past and Present* (Beckenham: author?, 1910), fc. 272.

<sup>7</sup> Cooper 1900, 26, 29–30.

<sup>8</sup> Cooper 1900, 33–4. J. G. Sperling, *The South Sea Company: an Historical Essay and Bibliographical Finding List*, Kress Library of Business and Economics **17** (Boston, MA: Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School, 1962), 37, 48–9. BL, Add. MSS 25502–14. Two volumes of Peter's correspondence as Sub-Governor, 1736–39, are in the Williams L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. R. Sedgwick, *The House of Commons 1715–1754, The History of Parliament* (London: HMSO, 1970), **1**, 508–9.

Borrowman 1910, plates V and IX, and A. Smart, *Allan Ramsey: a Complete Catalogue of his Paintings* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 84, 291, for portraits of Peter and Amy in 1724 and c. 1748. WSRO, SAS/FB 9, 10, 15 (though the sale to Peter II is dated 1748, I have assumed he was behind the transaction of 1738 involving his brother-in-law). East Sussex Record Office, SAS/DD 716 (for acreage of Norton Farm, Rottingdean).

<sup>9</sup> M. E. Clayton, 'Elections and electioneering in Haslemere, 1715–80' (MPhil thesis, Univ. of London, 1993), 65–9, 96–7, 103–6, 189.

<sup>10</sup> M. E. Clayton, "'Ye subtlety of electioneering": election practices in Haslemere 1715–80', *Southern History* **17** (1995), 49–51. M. E. Clayton, 'Voter choice in a patronage borough: Haslemere, 1754–80', *Parliamentary History* **15** (1996), 155–8. SHC, LM/762. Clayton 1993, 146.

<sup>11</sup> *The Private Correspondence of Sir Benjamin Keene*, KB, ed. R. Lodge (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. P., 1933), xxvii, 67n, 440–41n. L. Namier & J. Brooke, *The House of Commons*

*1754–1790, The History of Parliament* (London: HMSO, 1964), **2**, 118–19, 160. L. S. Sutherland, *A London Merchant 1695–1774* (London: Oxford Univ. P., 1933), 31n. W. S. Lewis (ed.), *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*. (London: Oxford Univ. P., 1937–83), **20**, 52; **24**, 499.

<sup>12</sup> Sedgwick 1970, **1**, 508. Namier & Brooke 1964, **2**, 160. P. G. M. Dickson, *The Financial Revolution in England: a Study in the Development of Public Credit 1688–1756* (London: Macmillan, 1967), 297. *Victoria County History of Sussex* **6** (2), 90–91. R. Davey (ed.), *East Sussex Land Tax 1785*, *Sussex Record Society* **77** (1991) and A. Readman *et al.* (eds), *West Sussex Land Tax 1785*, *Sussex Record Society* **82** (2000), see indices. WSRO, Acc. 2288, register of Merrik's deeds prepared by William. Portraits: c. 1750, at the Bank of England, and two c. 1783 by John Opie (National Portrait Gallery, Heinz Archive, and Cooper 1900, fc. 32).

<sup>13</sup> J. Venn & J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. P., 1922–54), **1(1)**, 262. Namier & Brooke 1964, **2**, 160. F. H. W. Sheppard (ed.), *Survey of London*, 40: *The Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair*, part 2: *The Buildings* (London: Athlone P., 1980), 230.

<sup>14</sup> Centre for Kentish Studies, U36 F2, Peter III's pocket book for 1758, demonstrates that there were two Peters in the business after Peter II's death. A. Farrington, *A Biographical Index of East India Company Maritime Service Officers 1600–1834* (London: British Library, 1999), 118. Cooper 1900, 30–31. A. R. Walford, *The British Factory in Lisbon and its Closing Stages Ensuing upon the Treaty of 1810* (Lisbon: Instituto Britanico em Portugal, 1940), 52, refers to 'the Burrells' on a committee to represent the factory in 1752. A. R. Walford, 'The British community at Lisbon. The earthquake census?', *Historical Association, Lisbon Branch, Annual Review and Report* **10** (1946–50), 645.

<sup>15</sup> PRO, PROB 11/821/97. SHC, 257/13/2a, accounts of Peter Burrell III, 1750–78. Namier & Brooke 1964, **2**, 160.

<sup>16</sup> Namier & Brooke 1964, **2**, 162. SHC, 257/13/2a, before p. 1, and p. 162.

<sup>17</sup> BL, Add. MS. 5864, f. 70. But compare L. Namier & J. Brooke, *Charles Townsend* (London: Macmillan, 1964), 105: 'He was a touchy, irritable man, with a high notion of his own consequence'. Namier & Brooke 1964, **2**, 160–62. Walpole 1937–83, **24**, 499; **39**, 334.

<sup>18</sup> *International Genealogical Index* [on-line data base] (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints [cited 2001]); available from <http://www.familysearch.org>. J. Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble* (London: Cresset P., 1960), 52–5, 254, 283. Dickson 1967, 116–18, 189. GL, GR 6.1.3. BL, OIOC, index to EIC minutes, 1734–6. SHC, 257/13/1. PRO, PROB 11/684/168, will of Hugh Raymond. M. Baptist, 'Eighteenth-century maps and estate plans of Bromley, Beckenham and Penge', *Archaeologia Cantiana* **81** (1966), indicates the location of Raymond (and Burrell) lands. J. G. Parker, 'The directors of the East India Company, 1754–1790' (PhD thesis, Univ. of Edinburgh, 1977), 215, 479. Borrowman 1910, 260, 262.

<sup>19</sup> A. Farrington, *Catalogue of East India Company Ships' Journals and Logs 1600–1834* (London: British Library, 1999), 775. Farrington, *Biographical Index*, 86, 115. L. S. Sutherland, *The East India Company in Eighteenth-century Politics*, corrected edn (Oxford: Clarendon P., 1962), 194, 246, 283, 290. Namier & Brooke 1964, **1**, 334. Sutherland 1933, 25, 139. F. G. H. Price, *A Handbook of London*

- Bankers; with Some Account of . . . the Early Goldsmiths. Together with Lists of Bankers, from . . . 1677 to . . . 1876 (London: Leadenhall P., 1890–91), 177. J. Fortescue (ed.), *The Correspondence of King George the Third* (London: Macmillan, 1928), 4, 136, 141–3; 5, 371. Parker 1977, 213–14, 479. GL, London directories.
- <sup>20</sup> BL, Add. MS. 5691, f. 50, corrected as to baptism by GL, MS. 8820. *The Directory: Containing an Alphabetical List of the Names and Places of Abode . . . in the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Borough of Southwark* (London: H. Kent, 1736), 11, 38. *A Complete Guide to all Persons who have any Trade or Concern with the City of London, and Parts Adjacent, etc.* (London: J. Osborn, 1740–65), 1740 edn, 123; 1744 edn, 111.
- <sup>21</sup> P. J. Marshall, 'Warren Hastings as scholar and patron', in A. Whiteman, J. S. Bromley & P. G. M. Dickson (eds), *Statesmen, Scholars and Merchants*. (Oxford: Clarendon P., 1973), 243. R. F. Scott (ed.), *Admissions to the College of St John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge*, part III: July 1715–Nov 1767 (Cambridge: Deighton Bell, 1903), 129.
- <sup>22</sup> National Library of Scotland, MS. 2911, printed as J. G. Dunbar (ed.), *Sir William Burrell's Northern Tour, 1758*, Sources in Local History 6 (East Linton: Tuckwell P., 1997). WSRO, Acc. 2288.
- <sup>23</sup> J. Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Nichols, Son, and Bentley, 1812–16), 4, 665.
- <sup>24</sup> H. J. Bourguignon, *Sir William Scott, Lord Stowell, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, 1798–1828* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. P., 1987), 26–30.
- <sup>25</sup> D. Lemmings, *Professors of the Law. Barristers and English Legal Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. P., 2000), 63, 66. G. D. Squibb, *Doctors' Commons* (Oxford: Clarendon P., 1977), 30, 37–42, 76.
- <sup>26</sup> Bourguignon 1987, 61. Squibb 1977, 53, 69–70. More precise counts of members, than possible from Squibb's list, can be derived from Lambeth Palace Library, DC 16 and 25.
- <sup>27</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography on CD-ROM*, 1.1 ed. (Oxford: Oxford Univ. P., 1998). Scott 1903, 339–41. Squibb 1977, 29. J. Taylor, *Elements of the Civil Law* (Cambridge: Joseph Bentham & London: Charles Bathurst, 1755). Bourguignon 1987, 37–8.
- <sup>28</sup> Lambeth Palace Library, DC 10, 11, 22, 25. Squibb 1977, 193.
- <sup>29</sup> City of Westminster Archives Centre, C 304–17. PRO, PROB 11/1182/419.
- <sup>30</sup> This paragraph is based on Bourguignon 1987, 244, writing of the admiralty courts, but the same applied to the ecclesiastical courts: J. H. Baker, *Monuments of Endless Labours: English Canonists and their Work, 1300–1900* (London: Hambledon P., 1998), 123. S. M. Waddams, *Law, Politics and the Church of England: the Career of Stephen Lushington 1782–1873* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. P., 1992), 12–13.
- <sup>31</sup> His notebooks: WSRO, Acc. 5979 (2 volumes); University of Kansas, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, MS. E181 (ecclesiastical cases, 1765–9); R. G. Marsden (ed.), *Reports of Cases Determined by the High Court of Admiralty and upon Appeal therefrom, temp. Sir T. Salusbury and Sir G. Hay, Judges, 1758–1774. By Sir W. Burrell . . . With Extracts from the Books and Records of the High Court of Admiralty and the Court of the Judges Delegates, 1584–1839. And a Collection of Cases and Opinions upon Admiralty Matters, 1701–1781.* (London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1885), being two volumes now lost, plus extracts at 351–402, from the 'Law cases' volume in WSRO, Acc. 5979, largely reprinted in 'Reports of cases determined by the High Court of Admiralty and upon appeal therefrom . . . 1758–1774', in *The English Reports* (Edinburgh: W. Green & Son, 1924), 167, 442–605. Baker 1998, 122–4.
- <sup>32</sup> D. A. Winstanley, *The University of Cambridge in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. P., 1922), 55–139, deals with the election of the High Steward at length.
- <sup>33</sup> Much of BL, Add. MS. 32959, concerns the consequences of Simpson's death; quotations at ff. 28, 93, 106, 124 and 180. Namier & Brooke 1964, 2, 599–600.
- <sup>34</sup> BL, Add. MS. 32959, f. 272; 32963, ff. 119, 140; 32965, f. 238; 32979, f. 127.
- <sup>35</sup> Centre for Kentish Studies, DRb/Ar 1/uncat. Bishop of Rochester's Act Book 1713–1824. Parliamentary Papers 1831–2 (199) XXIV, *Reports by the Commissioners to Inquire into the Practice and Jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts in England and Wales*, 326–7, 333.
- <sup>36</sup> PRO, PROB 11/821/97. WSRO, SAS/FB 17 (calendar). J. Kay, 'The Broyle Enclosure, 1767–1771', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 138 (2000), 174.
- <sup>37</sup> BL, Add. MSS 25517–19, 25571. I have assumed that the payment of salaries to directors, as in 1711, had ceased: Sperling 1962, 17.
- <sup>38</sup> SHC, LM/763/112, 113, 115, 117, 7. Clayton 1993, 126–8, 147. Clayton 1995, 55.
- <sup>39</sup> H. V. Bowen, *Revenue and Reform: the Indian Problem in British Politics 1757–1773* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. P., 1991), 131–2, 144, 146. W. Cobbett, *Parliamentary History of England from the Norman Conquest in 1066 to the Year 1803*. (London: R. Bagshaw; Longman [etc.], 1806–20), 17, cols 521–5; also BL, Egerton MSS 242, ff. 24–30, and 243, ff. 8–15. Sutherland 1962, 236–8.
- <sup>40</sup> BL, Add. MS. 21553, f. 117. F. Barker & P. Jackson, *The History of London in Maps* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1990), 77, for 1769 map with Burrell named against 'The Temple', supported by Bromley Local Studies Library, MS. 1071, Beckenham Land Tax 1767 and 1771. Namier & Brooke 1964, 2, 163. F. G. Stokes (ed.), *William Cole: a Journal of my Journey to Paris in the Year 1765*. (London: Constable, 1951), 56. Walpole 1937–83, 7, 267, 377, 404. BL, Add MS. 5835, f. 199.
- <sup>41</sup> Society of Antiquaries, Minute Books VII to XI; VIII, 21 Dec. 1758, 18 Jan. 1759; Ants papers 115.
- <sup>42</sup> Society of Antiquaries, Minutes X. BL, Add. MS. 5705, f. 9.
- <sup>43</sup> East Sussex Record Office, SPK, ACC 2714. Sheffield seems not to have obliged: the view which Burrell later had was taken by Francis Grose during their 1777 tour and published in *Antiquarian Reportery* 2 (1779), 204: Bodleian Library, Gough Gen. Top. 365, f. 491, and, possibly the original for the engraver, National Monuments Record, neg. 111/D/15.
- <sup>44</sup> Brighton Reference Library, S9 C53, accn 85140. In Farrant 2001, 31, 39, I attributed this statement to Richard Norris, on the strength of a bookplate (since removed) in the volume, but I now recognize the hand as John Elliot's.
- <sup>45</sup> *International Genealogical Index*. T. W. Horsfield, *The History and Antiquities of Lewes and its Vicinity* (Lewes: J.

- Baxter, 1824–7), **2**, pedigree between 328–9 for Sophia's birth, 11 Apr. 1753. *Gentleman's Magazine* **43** (1773), 202. WSRO, Acc. 921/XVIII/D/1. P. Boyle, *The Fashionable Court Guide, or Town Visiting Guide for the Year 1792* (London: the proprietors, 1792), 27. P. Laxton & J. Wisdom (eds), *The A to Z of Regency London* (Lympne: Harry Margary, 1985); Harley Street has since been renumbered.
- <sup>46</sup> Parliamentary Papers 1831–2 (199) XXIV, 565. Waddams 1992, 19–20, on advocates' low earnings c. 1830.
- <sup>47</sup> Clayton 1993, 130, 143. Clayton 1995, 58–60. SHC, LM/763/169D. Peter IV took the second seat on Molyneux's death in 1776, but, offered first refusal on the Molyneux tenements in 1779, could not match a competing offer of £10,000, and they passed to Sir James Lowther who bought also the Webb tenements and so nullified the Burrell interest from the 1780 general election: Clayton 1993, 82–3.
- <sup>48</sup> W. R. Ward, 'Some eighteenth century civil servants: the English Revenue Commissioners, 1754–98', *English Historical Review* **70** (1955). House of Commons, *Fifth Report from the Select Committee on Finance &c.: Excise* (1797), 9, 22–3, 76–7. Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fifteenth Report, Appendix*, part IV: *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Carlisle* **1** (London: HMSO, 1897), 157. H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, 3rd edn (New Haven & London: Yale Univ. P., 1995), 832. E. Hughes, *Studies in Administration and Finance 1558–1825* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. P., 1934), 172, 198–9, 219, 279 (but I have not substantiated his statements that commissioners made tours of inspection). J. Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State 1688–1783* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 79–86, 96–113. The quorum seems not to have been observed in Burrell's time.
- <sup>49</sup> PRO, CUST 47 (minutes of staffing decisions); CUST 48 (letters to the Treasury); PRO 30/8/290, f. 99 (statistics of cases). Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. lett. e. 98, ff. 30, 79, 85, for J. C. Brooke to Burrell, nominating a candidate for a place in which the staff were promoted in rotation.
- <sup>50</sup> Cobbett 1806–20, **28**, col. 181, Sir Benjamin Hammet. J. Ehrman, *The Younger Pitt. The Years of Acclaim* (London: Constable, 1969), 246, 291–2. Hughes 1934, 331–2.
- <sup>51</sup> PRO, PRO 30/8/290, ff. 81–99; statistics at f. 51. The transcripts are in PRO, CUST 103. Ehrman 1969, 288; also 324n.
- <sup>52</sup> P. G. M. Dickson, *The Sun Insurance Office 1710–1960* (London: Oxford Univ. P., 1960), 49–52, 265–6. GL, MSS 11931/6, 11932/11, 12019C/2 and 3, 12020/4.
- <sup>53</sup> SHC, 181/1/27a. East Sussex Record Office, SRA 11/3/2. T. W. Horsfield, *The History, Antiquities, and Topography of the County of Sussex* (Lewes: J. Baxter, 1835), **2**, 247–8. Farrant 2001, 35–6. GL, MS. 11936/297 (policy 449998), 314 (482637), 335 (513236), 340 (525527). GL, GR 6.1.3.
- <sup>54</sup> Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. lett. e. 98, f. 30. PRO, CUST 47/311–14; 48/19. GL, MS. 11932/11. BL, Add. MS. 5699.
- <sup>55</sup> Lincolnshire Archives, 7ANC 3/1/1; 5ANC 1/5/1/20. Neither T. P. Hudson & A. Hudson (eds), *Felpham by the Sea: Aspects of History in a Sussex Parish* (Bognor: T. P. Hudson, 1988), 27–30, 36–7, nor *Victoria County History of Sussex* **5(1)**, 170–73, mentions the Burrell connection with Felpham. BL, Add. MSS 6359, nos 5, 6 and 9; and 5701, f. 203, where Burrell, as of Felpham, is named as a Sussex JP.
- <sup>56</sup> Farrant 2001, 36–50, 115–27, on his working methods, his tour with Grose and his artists. R. Gough, *British Topography*, 2nd edn (London: T. Payne & Son, and J. Nichols, 1780), **2**, 284 (internal evidence shows the main section on Sussex to have been completed in 1777 or 1778). Grose recommended Grimm to Sir Richard Worsley, to illustrate his History of the Isle of Wight, in September 1777 and may have done likewise to Burrell: Isle of Wight Record Office, JER/WA/39/5/135.
- <sup>57</sup> BL, Add. MS. 5864, f. 69. A curious appellation is in a letter from Edward Gibbon to J. B. Holroyd, 6 Oct. 1779: Gibbon has a sick foot and 'In spite of the Divine Billy Burrell, it is certain Dr [John] Turton [1735–1806] is in town and that I shall see him to-morrow': J. E. Norton (ed.), *The Letters of Edward Gibbon*. (London: Cassell, 1956), **2**, 227.
- <sup>58</sup> Ramsay Richard Reinagle painted the portraits of William's three sons and copied the miniature to hang with them at Knepp Castle: Horsfield 1835, **2**, 248, and Cooper 1900, 41. Three prints of William were made from one or other version. The first was probably a private mezzotint by Robert Laurie before 1788 (see British Museum, P&D, C.S.35 [I & II]), reprinted in 1814 for O. Manning & W. Bray, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey* (London: John Nichols & Son, 1804–14), **1**, fc. 562 (see **3**, viii and Appendix, cii). The second was 'the very indifferent lithographic likeness of my Father which has unluckily found its way into the History of Lewes', Horsfield 1824–7, **2**, fc. 328, drawn by F. Pollard. As the first plate was too worn to be renovated, Sir Charles Burrell had a new one made by Philip Audinet to send to Horsfield's subscribers whom he knew, and later to be published in E. Cartwright, *History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex*, **2**, part 2: *Rape of Bramber* (London: J. B. Nichols & Son, 1830), fc. 296, and Horsfield 1835, **2**, fc. 250. WSRO, Acc. 5927, C. M. Burrell to Edmund Cartwright, 20 June 1824.
- <sup>59</sup> For reproductions: G. C. Williamson, *Richard Cosway, RA, and his Wife (M. Cosway) and Pupils, etc.* (London: Bell & Sons, 1897), following 80 (also of Cosway's miniatures of Peter III's children), and Christie's, 20 Nov. 1992 (lot 14). BL, Add. MS. 29170, f. 97: Hastings' verse referred to Lord Mansfield, of whom Sophia had written in the previous October: S. Burrell, *Poems* (London: Leigh & Sotheby, 1793), **2**, 167. Marshall 1973, 243–4.
- <sup>60</sup> Essex Record Office, D/DMF 27/9. *Victoria County History of Sussex* **6(2)**, 112. WSRO, MF 636, 650. Burrell 1793, **2**, 97, 103–4.
- <sup>61</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine* **66(1)** (1796), 86. Society of Antiquaries, photocopy of Getty Museum, MS., M. Noble, 'The lives of the Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries . . . 1818', **2**, 49. Hughes 1934, 279. GL, MSS 11931/7, 12019C/3.
- <sup>62</sup> East Sussex Record Office, SAS/ME 22. BL, Add. MS. 29173, f. 419, 25 April 1795 to Warren Hastings. WSRO, Par. 95/1/1/4, f/143v. Cooper 1900, 38–40 (but year of death wrongly given as 1797). R. Gunnis, 'Monuments by John Flaxman in Sussex', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* **97** (1959), 84–5, pl. III.
- <sup>63</sup> Nichols 1812–16, **9**, 797. PRO, PROB 11/1271.
- <sup>64</sup> Walpole 1937–83, **12**, 236. BL has copies of all Sophia's works except S. Burrell, *Lines Sent to Mr Walpole . . . after Viewing the Curiosities at Strawberry Hill, 1790* (Newport:

- printed by J. Albin, 1791). J. Todd (ed.), *A Dictionary of British and American Women Writers 1660–1800* (London: Methuen, 1984), 68. *International Genealogical Index*. Venn and Venn 1922–54, **2(2)**, 61. *Victoria County History of Sussex* **6(2)**, 90. D. Mercer, 'The Deepdene, Dorking — rise and decline over six centuries', *Surrey Archaeological Collections* **71** (1977), 118. Local and personal Act 45 Geo III cap. 18.
- <sup>65</sup> *Victoria County History of Sussex* **6(2)**, 90. J. Bateman, *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland*, repr. of 1883 edn (Leicester: Leicester Univ. P., 1971), 68. Borrowman 1910, 207.
- <sup>66</sup> J. Simmons (ed.), *English County Historians, first series* (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1978), 1–21, 138, 226. C. R. J. Currie & C. P. Lewis (eds), *English County Histories: a Guide* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994), 20, 44, 77, 332. R. Sweet, 'Antiquaries and antiquities in eighteenth-century England', *Eighteenth-century Studies* **34** (2001) for a valuable reassessment of antiquarianism in Burrell's generation, and 'John Nichols and his circle', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society* **74** (2000), 1–20, on antiquaries' motives.
- <sup>67</sup> G. H. Martin, 'Introduction', in P. Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex* (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1978), xii. S. B. Black, *A Scholar and a Gentleman: Edward Hasted, the Historian of Kent* (Otford: Darent Valley Publications, 2001), 107–11, 177. BL, Add. MS. 5520, f. 160, undated but after March 1774 from the reference to the Excise Office.
- <sup>68</sup> Currie & Lewis 1994, 378–9. Farrant 2001, 29–31, 124.
- <sup>69</sup> Currie & Lewis 1994, 64. W. M. Palmer, *William Cole of Milton* (Cambridge: Galloway & Parker, 1935), 59, 77. Cooper 1900, 35. Cole's detailed diary runs to August 1770 and before then records only the 1768 meeting at Horseheath and a dinner in London in 1770. BL, Add. MSS 5864, f. 69; 5835, ff. 190, 199, 222.