

SIR NICHOLAS L'ESTRANGE, NON-JUROR

His politics, fortune and family

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SIR HAMON L'ESTRANGE, Kt., who seized Lynn for the King during the Great Rebellion, died in May 1654. By 1669 a succession of deaths had brought his eight-year-old great-grandson, Sir Nicholas, 4th Baronet, to the inheritance in this ancient family, seated at Hunstanton in the time of Henry I and seated there today.¹

Bereft then of both parents, Sir Nicholas's guardianship came to rest after a time in the hands of his father's cousin and close friend, Sir Christopher Calthorp of East Barsham. Sir Christopher was conscientious in watching over his ward's estate, and upon his coming of age in December 1682 had £17,000 to put into his hands. It seems that he also watched over his political interest. Calthorp sent Sir Nicholas to Christ Church, Oxford, a college conspicuously loyal to Charles and his court.² Sir Nicholas's acquaintanceship there was indeed very loyal. Perhaps it was Deputy Lieutenant Calthorp, with the co-operation of the Lord Lieutenant, Yarmouth, who procured Sir Nicholas's commission as colonel of a regiment of foot and Deputy Lieutenant in 1676, when he was still a schoolboy. Sir Nicholas's family had been important enough to be in the lieutenancy ever since Sir Hamon was made a commissioner for musters in 1614. Sir Nicholas was put into the commission of the peace in 1680, and by April 1681 he had begun to act as Deputy Lieutenant.³

L'Estrange was returned to parliament for Castle Rising in 1685, and his great-uncle Sir Roger L'Estrange, licenser of the press and Tory pamphleteer, was returned then for Winchester. Sir Nicholas was not an active member, however, and made no recorded speeches. He was appointed to one committee—that for the bill for relief of poor prisoners for debt.⁴ When James required to know whether gentlemen would support the repeal of the Test Act and penal laws in a new parliament, L'Estrange was among the many who replied that they could not, and the rejoinder was swift. In February 1688, Sir Nicholas's uncle Edward L'Estrange, for long clerk to the Norfolk lieutenancy, informed him of a forthcoming commission of the peace which excluded the unco-operative J.P's. "Thus you see," Edward wrote with perfect irony, "what care his Majesty has taken for to relieve the guard of this county by calling off those gentlemen who have so long been upon duty, lest their longer continuance should make the burden and fatigue too great. How the lieutenancy will be modelled I can not yet tell. . ." Edward intimated he feared the loss of his post, but he was kept on.⁵

Upon the success of the Revolution, Sir Nicholas felt obliged to refuse the oaths to William and Mary and to resign his commissions in the militia.

With a few other persons "suspected to be dangerous to the peace of this kingdom" he was ordered disarmed in September 1689. He was taken into custody in the following July and discharged upon his parole to appear before the Council.⁶ The fears aroused by Young's concocted plot in April 1692 led to an Order in Council for the disarming and seizing of horses of non-jurors and papists, and Sir Nicholas, his physician Dr. Robert Schuldham, and his uncles William and John L'Estrange were among the sufferers.⁷ In April 1696 when fears of plots were again running high, a second attempt was made to obtain the subscription of the Norfolk non-jurors to the oaths, and their arms and horses were again seized. At the assizes in August, L'Estrange's second refusal was judged to be no offence, since there had been an Act of Pardon following the first tendering of the oaths.⁸ Thereafter Sir Nicholas was left in peace. That he did not retire completely from county politics is suggested by the appearance of unspecified election expenses in his accounts in the summer of 1702. He raised his children in loyalty to the Stuarts and followed the London news through correspondence with Sir Roger's friend, Richard Sare, the bookseller. He read history, and took a passing interest in Roman antiquities.⁹

L'Estrange's relationship with his cousin Calthorp remained close throughout their lives. In politics they were like-minded. Sir Christopher stood for parliament as a Tory in 1679 and he too became a non-juror, suffering the same tribulations as Sir Nicholas. Calthorp helped arrange L'Estrange's marriage to Ann, daughter of Sir Thomas Wodehouse, and stood as a trustee to the settlement. A few years later Sir Christopher's brother James called upon L'Estrange for a similar service. James, as an executor of the will of Lord Townshend, sought a match for the young heir Charles with Lord Crew's daughter. Sir Nicholas, whose mother-in-law had remarried to Crew, approached him in James' behalf, but Crew declined very cordially. Until Sir Christopher's death in 1718, L'Estrange made provision in his will for Calthorp to act as one of his executors and guardians of his eldest son. Sir Christopher and James, in turn, appointed L'Estrange as an executor to their wills, and Sir Christopher's charged him to assist in the raising of his grandson. When Christopher the grandson died at Bury School, the last of his line, Sir Christopher's two daughters became co-heirs, and one of them was thereby enabled to marry L'Estrange's eldest surviving son Thomas.¹⁰ The two families could hardly have been closer.

Sir Nicholas had an income in 1701 of £1901. His successive wills, in their provisions for his younger children, suggest that his financial position became easier between that time and his death in December 1724. His will of April 1708 provided for portions of £2500 for his eldest daughter, £2000 each for his second son and second daughter, and £1500 for his third son, the whole amounting to £8000. The death of his eldest son in 1715 left him one less child to provide for, but in the new will which he shortly declared he divided £7500 among the three. By the time of his death, however, each of the three had received or was intended to receive fully £3000.¹¹ Between 1701 and 1705, L'Estrange purchased lands worth £569 in several transactions. His purchases then ceased, probably because he was engaged in either building a new house at Gressenhall, or altering the old one, whence he removed in the last years of

his life. In 1710 he began again to purchase land, but on a smaller scale. In the succeeding years he enclosed his lands in Barrett Ringstead, contributing no doubt to its depopulation. As holder of the advowson there he took advantage of its depopulation by failing to present, converting the church into a barn and taking the tithes himself. Enclosure, barn and tithes advanced the rent from £120 to £220. These evidences of capital improvements complement the evidence of his wills in drawing a picture of modest but steady improvement in Sir Nicholas's fortune.¹²

The L'Estrange papers reveal a good deal about family affairs. Historians have neglected the study of family arrangements, and for that reason it is impossible to say whether the arrangements of the L'Estranges were in one way or another typical or exceptional among upper gentry of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It is often difficult, as well, to discern the rationale for a given choice in the L'Estrange affairs. The exploration of the affairs of many families may lead to an understanding of these matters. And that is the end toward which the brief analysis following, of L'Estrange's provision for his greater family, and of the educating and marrying of his own children, is directed.

As heir to his father, Sir Nicholas was head of a family which in principle was constituted not only of his wife and children, but of his brothers and sisters, his mother, and his paternal uncles and aunts. These relations were provided for initially by the jointures, portions and annuities arranged by his grandfather, uncle and father, as successive heads of the family. A generous heir, as Sir Nicholas was, sometimes found additional provision or temporary aid to be necessary.

Sir Nicholas's mother, Mary, daughter of John Coke of Holkham, had died in 1661, the year of his birth, and when his father died in 1669, he was put in the care of his mother's relations, and subsequently of Sir Christopher Calthorp. His two brothers and sisters were the children of his step-mother, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Justinian Isham of Lamport, Northamptonshire, and were therefore separated from him. If Sir Nicholas or any of his successive guardians ever assisted them, there is no mention of it in the L'Estrange papers. The absence of his brothers Charles and Thomas from the entail made upon Sir Nicholas's marriage in 1686 suggests that they were dead, although Thomas had lived long enough to marry. His half-sisters Elizabeth and Jane, once their portions of £1500 apiece are paid, never appear again, except that Sir Nicholas remembered Jane in his early wills with a mourning ring. Their mother, similarly, is scarcely mentioned, except on the occasion of her joining with Sir Nicholas to break the entail, enabling him to make jointure.¹³ Her death in 1689 goes unnoticed.

It was Sir Nicholas's paternal uncles who drew upon his generosity. Of his father's four brothers—John, William, Edward and Roger—John and Edward had little need of assistance. In addition to his portion of £2000, John has £120 *p.a.* settled on him and his heirs out of the family lands in Heacham, an estate which he may have purchased. Sir Nicholas did aid him

by means of a loan of £100, which stood for a period of years. Edward, in addition to whatever portion or annuity he had, received a salary of £40 and later £60 *p.a.* as clerk to the Norfolk lieutenancy.¹⁴ William, however, fell on hard times even before Sir Nicholas reached his majority. Sir Christopher Calthorp, as Sir Nicholas's guardian, relieved William's penury by making him steward of Hunstanton Hall farm and paying him a salary. When Sir Nicholas came of age, he exchanged the stewardship for an annuity of £40. In his last years, Roger, the youngest of L'Estrange's uncles, was also a beneficiary of his generosity. L'Estrange made him a steward and allowed him an annuity of perhaps £60. Roger's will reveals that Sir Nicholas's goodness had extended to his children. He desired that Sir Nicholas "would continue his kindness and good advice to them, which I hope they will have the gratitude [to] follow."¹⁵ A younger brother in many instances could not afford the marriage which he conceived his station and his family's required. The four L'Estrange brothers were, however, sufficiently provided for to make marriage possible, and all four married daughters of Norfolk landed gentry.

No one received greater generosity at Sir Nicholas's hands than his great-uncle Sir Roger, the pamphleteer. Beggared by the profligacy of a young wife he married at an advanced age, and deprived of his post as licenser of the press at the Revolution, he attempted to eke out a living by producing translations for the booksellers. Some time before 1693 his great-nephew had come to his aid by taking in his daughter Margery. Margery proved to be a graceless and wilful child. As she grew toward womanhood, Sir Nicholas had to report that,

she will consort with none but servants, and those too of the meaner sort, and in so great a family as our county business obliges us to keep, I can't express, nor you scarcely conceive, the inconveniences that now arise from such an acquaintance . . . we should be extremely loth to see her ruined.

Keeping her longer was impossible. Sir Roger suggested a boarding school or some provision "across the water," but Sir Nicholas replied,

The passing from one relation to another would give the world no suspicions, but the very remove to a boarding school at this age would I am sensible be the talk of the country and the effect of it prove more so still. . . .¹⁶

Sir Roger accepted this advice and placed Margery with his nephew John L'Estrange. For a while Sir Nicholas contributed to her maintenance there to the extent of £27.10 *p.a.*¹⁷

Sir Nicholas raised five children to adulthood. Of his sons—Hamon, Thomas and Henry—he sent the two eldest to university. When Hamon left university, his father had then to think of keeping an heir of mature years occupied, and Hamon was sent travelling in England and abroad. He had to provide Thomas and Henry with the beginnings of careers, and he settled upon law and trade. He provided his daughters Armine and Lucy with some, although little, formal instruction.

When Hamon and Thomas were in school at Heacham in 1701, Hamon then thirteen and Thomas almost twelve, their Uncle John wrote to Sir Nicholas,

I hear from Thomas Bokenham that Master Tommy is designed for Norwich School . . . and that Master Ham is for Bury. I pray God bless them both and make them comforts to you, their parents, and profitable members of the community.¹⁸

But the brothers evidently did not go to Norwich and Bury. Before long Hamon was at Wisbech under Mr. Carter; while there he sometimes visited at Emneth, where his father's friend Henry Oxburgh had his seat.¹⁹ Thomas went on to Westminster School. In the autumn of 1706 Hamon was admitted to his father's college, Christ Church, and Thomas to St. John's, Cambridge. Hamon remained at Oxford two-and-a-half years, leaving in March 1709. While he was anxious to travel on the continent, Sir Nicholas was reluctant to see him exposed to the hazards of war and sickness. Probably in the summer of 1710 he set out with friends for Edinburgh, as his father had done when young. He returned by way of Oxford and Northamptonshire (his Aunt Cartwright's at Aynhoe and his friend Mr. Cotton's at Gidding), arriving at Hunstanton in early October. The following summer he paid visits to relatives in the Midlands and viewed Edgehill. At some time he lodged with his brother Thomas in London. At last in late autumn 1713 he journeyed to the continent, intending to stay two years. At Montpellier in 1714 he met his cousin Jacob Astley (who was to marry his sister Lucy), and they proceeded to Florence where they were received by the Grand Duke. Hamon never completed his continental tour. He died of a "distemper" in Basel in the summer of 1715.²⁰

Thomas was admitted to the Inner Temple in April 1708, although the Middle Temple was traditional in the L'Estrange and Calthorp families. He was intended for the law, but upon the death of his elder brother, he gave up his chambers in the Temple and the prospect of a legal career. Financial independence came only with his marriage at age 32. Before then Sir Nicholas had kept even his eldest on an allowance insufficient for his needs, and had therefore paid some of his major expenses directly.²¹

Henry in 1713 was fifteen and boarded in London. He was probably in school there and watched over by his brother Tom. He did not proceed to university, but in 1715 went to Holland, where his father intended to allow him £50 or £60 *p.a.* and have him placed in "some careful merchant's family," where he should be instructed in writing, arithmetic and languages. Henry was reported to be a poor student; all we learn of him further is that in 1720 he journeyed to France.²²

Armine speaks of her own education in "Memories of Armine," a recent manuscript which sets down a long oral tradition in the family. When her brothers went off to school, as Armine is made to say, "I had to learn somewhat of books, but more of conserves and simples and other intricacies of the still room in which our Lady Mother was an adept." She worked daily at her sampler and needlework as well.²³ Her father's accounts show that a Mr. Townshend came to Hunstanton on some occasions to give instruction to Armine and her sister Lucy.²⁴

L'Estrange married his children into the Calthorp, Styleman, Astley and North families, all of them within the closest circle of his acquaintance. His eldest surviving son Thomas was married surprisingly late. Thomas married at 32 in an age when the heir to an estate was considered marriageable at 21. Hamon, the eldest, moreover, was unmarried when he died at the age of 28. The only clue to Thomas's late marriage is that in March 1723 he registered property as a Catholic non-juror under the Act of 1715. Perhaps he had been a Catholic for some time and his religion had made it difficult for him to find a match; then Ann Calthorp inherited in 1720 at the age of 36 and the problem was solved. Whatever the case, they were married in 1721. Sir Nicholas settled upon him lands worth £785 *p.a.* While Sir Nicholas had moved annually to the house at Gressenhall, upon Thomas's marriage he seems to have given up Hunstanton Hall to him entirely and settled at Gressenhall. Ann Calthorp brought a portion of £6000, which was the sum Sir Nicholas had had with his wife; his mother's portion had been £5300. Sir Nicholas's marriage settlement only allowed for £400 *p.a.* jointure upon his son's marriage, but that would have brought only £4000 portion, since the usual rate was £100 *p.a.* jointure for £1000 portion. Whatever additional jointure Sir Nicholas provided was raised by Lady L'Estrange giving up part of her own jointure (which had appreciated from £607 to £710 owing to the enclosure of Barrett Ringstead), and perhaps also by the settlement of unsettled lands. A substantial part of Ann Calthorp's £6000 portion probably went to pay the portions of Thomas's sisters.²⁵

Armine, the elder sister, had been married to Nicholas Styleman of Snettisham earlier in the same year. Aged 29, she brought a portion of £3000 to her husband who at 37 had inherited from his father just a few months before. Sir Nicholas gave his neighbour Styleman bonds for the payment of the portion, and within two years all but £500 had been paid. Lucy was married to her second cousin, Jacob, heir apparent to Sir Philip Astley, 2nd Baronet, in 1723.²⁶ They were 23 and 31. Sir Nicholas raised half of her £3000 portion by borrowing upon bond from his brother-in-law Sir John Wodehouse. He had just begun repayment when he died in December 1724, but in the three years following, the debt was steadily paid off. If, as seems likely, part of Ann Calthorp's portion was used to pay the portions of Thomas's sisters, it is possible that the timing of Armine's and Lucy's marriages was determined by Thomas's marriage. While Armine was married before him, Thomas's treaty of marriage may have been already under way. L'Estrange's youngest son Henry married Mary, daughter of Roger North, but the date and arrangements are not known. North like L'Estrange was a non-juror, and after the Revolution he retired from the law and purchased an estate at Rougham. He naturally became close friends with Sir Nicholas, and stood a trustee to Thomas's marriage settlement. Henry was left a portion of £3000 by his father's will. When his mother died in 1727, she left him the balance of her personal estate after debts and legacies, which amounted to more than £1000—a more generous bequest than those she left her other children.

Sir Nicholas had preceded his wife to the grave. He died in December 1724

and his estate—extending beyond Hunstanton to the Ringsteads, Heacham, Holme juxta mare and Gressenhall—passed to Thomas. Sir Nicholas's uncle Roger had said of him, "he hath been a true father to all his family," and the source of that testimony is the best argument for its truth.²⁷

L'Estrange contributed to a literary genre common in his day, the advice to a son. His advice is constituted of a letter, an autobiographical essay and a few aphorisms, all of a piece in their themes. Seized by illness in 1706 or 1707 and believing himself near death, he sent a letter of parting advice to Hamon at Oxford. In the letter he referred Hamon further to the common treatises for the instruction of young gentlemen, and acquainted him with an essay on his own life:

You will find in my evidence-hous a rude draught of some passages that have happened in my younger yeares, which perhaps may be of some diversion as well as use to peruse. Lay this paper by and t'will take but short time to runn it over once a yeare, and lett it be on your birthday . . .

This letter appeared in these pages more than a century ago, but the essay and the aphorisms appended to it are printed below.²⁸

Sir Nicholas was doubtless familiar with those advices to sons of which Burleigh's, Raleigh's and Francis Osborne's were in his time most widely read. He departed from the common forms in using the autobiographical essay. Indeed, he makes the essay central. In it, L'Estrange recounts his own experiences in order to illuminate the problems of leisure and sociability, marriage, and financial management. He discusses at some length his friends while at Oxford. His purpose here is evidently to relate the character of his acquaintanceship: he shows concern for Hamon in this regard in his letter of advice. The aphorisms seem to arise very directly from L'Estrange's own experience. His observation on the hazards of leisure arises from the habits of his neighbours which he describes in the essay. His advice on the granting of requests seems to stem from the willingness of acquaintances to make him a beast of burden as a trustee or executor.²⁹ His caution respecting the taking in of others' children likely stems from his unhappy experience with Sir Roger's daughter Margery.

The letter, essay and aphorisms communicate some of the character of their author. He preferred to hunt alone, and disliked the debauchery of his neighbours' all-night revels and so stayed home. In the pastimes of his own class, he felt, there were too commonly threats to innocence, and he sought to guard against them. Although born into a family long influential in county politics, he chose to relinquish all employments in loyalty to James, to retire to the management of his estate and the company of a few friends. The letter of advice conveys his piety. Although cynical of the motives of others, he is not moved to act in cynicism, nor advise it, as so many of his contemporaries so readily did.³⁰

SHORT NOTES FOR MY SON'S PROFIT³¹

Having observed that nothing so effectually instructeth in all our concerns of this life as experience, and the knowledg gained that way is seldom attained without

some inconveniences that make those impressions on the mind so durable, and as there is nothing new under the sunn; I do beleiv that every young person who makes his entry upon the stage of this life under the notion of an heyr to an estate, meets with in some degree the same temptations, hazards and inconveniencies, and probably takes some share in each. In the greater concerns, history tis true may informe, but the subject being generally remote both from our relation and acquaintance, I have sometimes thought that a running account of such passages as I can call to remembrance in my younger yeares, and such as I have had a more sensible share in since, may be of some diversion to my own son to reade, and of some service to him in drawing observations and reflexions, when any accident falls in the way which may runn parallell with what he here findes.

My father dyed in December 1669, at which time I was about eight years old, and to that time I have no great remembrance of any thing in particular, unless one good whipping he gave me, about a year before his death, and some days he gave me leave to ride out a coursing, which being the subjects of payne and pleasure made the more lasting impressions upon my memory. After his death the care of my concernes and guardianship fell to my mothers brother, my Uncle John Coke of Holkham, who committed the care of my person to his sister my Aunt Cobb at Norwich,³² where I went to the free school for about three yeares. My estate was managed by his stewards and officers, who I am since sensible made proportionable gaires out of mine as they did ever from his owne, for he dyed anno 167. .³³ leaveing a very great debt upon his own estate, notwithstanding a yearly revenue of 7000*li* per annum. My guardianship hereupon devolved to his eldest sister my Lady Astely, who being often in a deep melancholly, which may be termed a distraction, my other relations prevayled with her to transferr my guardianship to Sir Christopher Calthorp, whom my father had formerly designed (in case he had made a will) to recommend itt.³⁴ This being done, Sir Christopher Calthorp undertook my guardianship anno 1671/2 February, I being then about ten years old, my estate standing charged with my two sister in lawes portions 3000*li*, my Uncle John L'Estranges provision 2000*li*, and other arreares of anuetyes grown due to my uncles, in all near 6000*li*; besides a debt of 1500*li* due to one Naylor a cittizen of London by mortgage by way of leas for term of years upon Gressenhall, Heacham and Barret Ringstead, in all near 600*li* per annum, which came not into my guardians hands till 1677, this lease being for some yeares contested and kept in my mother in lawes hands as administratrix.³⁵

In October 1672, my guardian removed me from Norwich and placed me at Skarning School where were then usually 20 or 25 boarders most gentlemens sonns, and here I continued till Aprill 1677. Dureing my stay here I passed my time in the usuall school exercises mixt with the proper diversions at the spare houres, and here I cannot but reflect how various and uncertain our humours are from the beginning. Even our sports take theyr turnes, and one is the delight and employment of the whole society for some time, then another takes its place, etc. And in books the entry upon a new one ever pleased, but it soon lost its relish, and grew flat upon our appetites, and both writeing and reading seemed the afflictions that satt heaviest upon us in those dayes. I was my self ever of an active life, and my genius lay rather toward little mechnicks³⁶ then letters, however I kept pace with my companions in the severall forms we proceeded through. And being of a wakeing humor, when I could prevayle with my master for the use of a tinder box and candle, I dispatched most of my exercises before day light in mornings. And some Latin authors as Justine and Quintus Curtius (sometime before my remove to the university) I read

over at those howres.³⁷ As to the verses, themes and declamations, which were our usuall exercises, I afterward at Oxford (upon seeing some that were made by the schollars newly come from Westminster and Eaton) found our method very fals. For our master gave us so much licence in makeing use of Clarke's Formulæ Oratoriae, Textor's Epithetes, etc.,³⁸ that the beginnings and ends being usually borrowed from them, left but little roome, and made us lazye in improveing our own inventions. Emulation is certainly the greatest advance of school endeavours. Neither were wee without partyes, some or other of the upper ladds for the time being still the heads of each.

In April 1677 I left Skarning School and was placed by my guardian at Oxford, upon very wise reasons, as I have since reflected, for at Cambridg I should have mett many of my school acquaintance, by whome I should have been influenced, whereas I had here my friendships wholly to contract anew.³⁹ This stepp into the university, as it is the first advance into publick company, so is certainly attended with the greatest hazards. School education is subject to rules and orders, but here (to young persons of estates especially and quality, which putts them beyond the reach of the more strict tutors and censors which have the oversight of the manners of the lower sort of ladds) noblemen and gentlemen commoners are attained to a certain kind of exemption from the stricter rules of government, and soon find ill advisers enough to represent to them the vanity of their tutors' anger and reprehensions.

This I speak more from observation then experience, for I had the good direction of providence into a sober acquaintance, and comeing so remote and so young, the good Bishop of Oxford⁴⁰ who was dean of our college was pleased to show a particular care over mee, seldom fayleing twice a day calling at my chamber and always endeavouring to make his visitts and company easy. He always expected to find us with a book open, and would usually ask some questions to trye what progress wee had made therein and then proceed to some other more generall and pleasing discours, and still mix it with good instructions. The Bishop, as a further instance of his care over us, every Fryday night (which by the rules of the university is kept a fast and no suppers provided in the hall) constantly invited the noblemen and some few of the gentlemen commoners to sup with him and so prevent the inconveniences of our goeing out to the cooks shops in towne, but notwithstanding all this caution, wee generally had appoyntments with some other of our acquaintance who supped at the eating houses in towne and to whome wee resorted so soon as the Bishop's supper was over. My guardian had, in order to the same designe before he knew of the good Bishop's custome, advised me on such fast-evnings to have something brought to my chamber to eat there with an acquaintance or two, rather then goe to the publick houses. But this method I soon found impracticable, for it not being the custom of the place, those of equall quality and fortune would not eat at my charge. And though I found severall others that would, I thought my self better ridd of such company, and I soon found the goeing to a tavern or publick eating hous was not in itself ill if the company were not inclined to debauchery. For wee took the diversions of the feilds and walks, and of the boats upon the river in summer, and generally kept to good howres, for in case any of us that were under the Bishops imediate care were absent from the college evning prayers at nine a clock, the Bishop always sent his servant to enquire at our chambers, and if he found us at home, wee alwayes sent some fayre excuse, or in absence then gave his Lordship some reason for such absence at the next visitt he made us.

I soon observed that a book was the lest of a gentlemens buisness at the university. And my guardian to supply my vacant howres had given a commission at large to my tutor that I should be supplied with masters to learn any other sort of accomplishment that I should show an inclination to, and when I came to make a generall acquaintance I found one practisising upon the violine, another at limning in black and white, a third with a fenceing master, a fourth learning French. Each of these dureing my staye there I made tryall of, and though I proceeded not so farr as to be perfect in any, yett each employed a great many leisure howres that would probably have been wors spent, and proved of some future service and satisfaction and had layd a groundworke sufficient for future improvements if I had so thought fitt. Of all parts of our time there the evnings seemed the most difficult to be innocently disposed of, and therefore to be the more particular in that poynt, I shall recount the first winters adventure. After I had settled my particular acquaintance with Mr. Percivall (after Sir John Percivall) and Mr. Evans, a batchelor of arts whose genius lay much in mathematicks,⁴¹ my tutor also furnishing us with globes and quadrants, we usually retired after supper to one of our chambers, and if the weather proved cleare we bestowed an hour in observing what constellations were above the horizon, took their heigths, and pleased ourselves with finding them on the globe. The like small progress wee made in the terrestriall globe by the help of some books of cosmography. After this wee usually playd an hour or more at gleek,⁴² and whatever was lost by each was deposited as stock, and when it arose to four or five shillings as it generally did once a weeke, wee went to the tavern after supper, and sometimes invited a freind or two to share with us in a small treat of oysters, lobsters or some other slight entertainment.

In my second year I grew into acquaintance with Mr. Trelawny, since Sir Jonathan and now Lord Bishop of Exeter, and by meanes of his was received into the company of acquaintance of Dr. Jane, then Subdean and Cannon of Christ Church,⁴³ and was very frequent at his lodgings and shall ever own my self obliged by his kindness. I did not find any nobleman of the hous admitted into such freedoms and acquaintance, nor did I judg it my own deserts so much as my good fortune, for by this means I easily came into the best acquaintance of the college and towne who were glad of the favour of the Doctors company; and this I shall have further occasion to mention afterward. I shall need onely further to name Mr. Osbolston,⁴⁴ who was likewise my fellow pupill and was the onely person I further contracted an intimacy with, though my generall acquaintance began now to grow very large.

And I may hint at some diversions I took beside those already named, as hunting sometimes with a neighbouring pack of hounds, which we generally contrived two or three together, and at 2s or half crown were each furnished with a pretty good hackney horse. For there were very few either noblemen or gentlemen commoners that kept their groom and geldings, the Bishop usually discouraging it, and evry one saw he did it with good reasons. For though great estates might easily bear the charge, the haveing horses always in good keeping, it naturally invited them more frequently abroad, and that in a little time brought them into a promiscuous acquaintance with the neighbouring gentry, where they soon fell into drinking, play and intreagueing. All which inconveniences the Bishop wisely foresaw, and always endeavoured to prevent. And for this reason too in the maine, his Lordship never approved of any of his young gentlemen learning to dance. For the very acquaintance with a dancing master, when his schollars come to perform tollerably, they must be invited to his school to practise, and very often finds the young heir an inviteing partner, either some tradesmans daughter in town, or some neighbouring gentle-

mans daughter of small fortune who should engage him to his ruine. And the master not without some share in the designe and perhaps a reward for his good service. This was the onely accomplishment I ever knew the Bishop avers to a gentlemans learning in the University. It may seem odd that I have not mentioned what sort of learning wee applied to, nor do I designe it should be thought wee wholly layd books aside, but I conclude them as the cheif buisness of the place,⁴⁵ and the reading of logick, civill law and mathematicks you are sure to be putt upon, though not perhapps with that stricktness as other inferiour ladds, who are to worke out their future fortunes from study.

The third year now came on, and that was judged long enough for an university life, but the remainder of my time from 18 to 21 years was still under difficultyes to be innocently disposed, and haveing from my acquaintances received some advices to make a stepp into the western parts of England, my guardian readily complied: so in July 1680 I sett forward from Oxford, being attended by some freinds in the first dayes journey, and afterward with my two servants onely, haveing letters of recommendation from the Bishop of Oxford to the Dean of Hereford, Bishops of Bath and Wells, and Exeter, and from Mr. Trelawny to his father, old Sir Jonathan, and his brother then resideing in Cornwall, with whome I stayed about a weeke, and in all places found a wellcom and kind entertainment suitable to the letters I brought, and such further reccomendations from these persons to Gloucester, Bristoll, etc., as fully answered all poynts of satisfyeing a travailers curiosity. I returned by the southern coach, and at Salisbury mett from Oxford Dr. Jane and Mr. Trelawny, in whose company I went over to the Isle of Wight, and took other remarkeable places in our returne to London. And haveing with these gentlemen made an appoyntment of another journey into the northern parts the following yeare, I came for Norfolk, and resided at my guardians Sir Christopher Calthorps, and now I applied myself to country sports, as hunting and gunning, and these diversions together with visiting my freinds employed the winter season. And in summer following Dr. Jane, Sir Jonathan Trelawny (his father and brother being now dead) and Dr. Alston took Norfolk in their way, and after about a fortnight's stay at Thorpland and Hunstanton, wee went forward by way of Lynn and Boston, by the eastern coast to Newcastle, where I left them and took posthorses forward to Edingburgh. Wee returned cheifly by the Great London Road, toward Oxford, and thence to London. Such observations as I made in these two journeys I placed down for my better recollection in a little book I took along with me.

In October 1681 I returned again into Norfolk, and resided at Basham whether Sir Christopher Calthorp was then removed. My guardian was now frequently perswadeing me to look into, and take in part the management of my own accounts, and to introduce me into something of publick county buisness, and accordingly I had a commission for a deputy lieutenant, which carryed me sometimes to the publick meetings of the gentry at Norwich and brought me into a generall acquaintance with the gentry. My usuall diversions were still hunting and shooting flyeing, and haveing now gott together a small pack of beagles, I sometimes joyned them with Mr. Warner's of Walsingham,⁴⁶ and so improved both sport and society. My cheif buisness within dores was reading cheifly history, and the pamphletts which then came out in great plenty relateing to the plotts, tryalls, etc. The little skill I had learnt of drawing with pencills at Oxford now began to prove serviceable to me in renewing some, and transcribing plotts of brecks, feilds and other parts of my estate, which also employed some leisure howres, and making netts was another recreation that much pleased me, and turned also to some good account.

In December 1682 I came at age, and my guardian then gave up my accounts, which took me some time in the perusal and examination of bills and vouchers, which he earnestly pressed me to. But he still very kindly continued me his assistance in letting my farms and adjusting other matters relating to my estate.

I now took the Hall Farm into my hands, and Mr. Helwys (who had been tenant to it since my father's death) looked after it for me, and came into the office of steward again.⁴⁷ For during my minority my Uncle William L'Estrange being under strait circumstances, my guardian thinking it more justifiable to make him a yearly allowance in the nature of a steward or auditor, then barely as a relation, had put him into this employ. I now gave him an annuity of 40*li* per annum and received old Mr. Helwys again into his place. The house at Hunstanton being now kept upon my account, I sometimes brought over my hounds and stayed about a fortnight at a time, during which time I never wanted company, having like a young beginner always a plentiful provision of wine and other good cheer, and some relations that ever made appointments with their friends to meet here; though the pretence of hunting was the least of their business, drinking and play being the chief end of their visits, and never failed to commend the liberties of a family where every one had so free a command, and no other care or caution upon them, then to gratify each his particular inclinations and humor. This I liked pretty well at first, but soon grew sensible and tired of the inconveniences, though could not of a sudden make such reforms as was necessary; and at length grew sensible the ill customs and company were not to be shook off but by a regular housekeeping.

My guardian had often proposed marriage as an essential part of a man's happiness in this life, and ever advised me to choose a person of equal family, and suitable circumstances for fortune to make my estate easy, with a nice respect to be had to her education and inclinations, and though he had a daughter of his own every way qualified as to her person and humor, yet he always pressed to me the necessity of choosing a greater fortune, assuring me my circumstances could not be easy if this one and the last way of clearing the debts upon my estate was once pretermitted; nay has urged this reason for my fixing upon some other match because so long as I did not proceed in another treaty the common opinion of the world would believe my affections engaged there. Being now about 24 years of age and at London, I entered upon a treaty, a person of this county being uncle to the young lady though she lived with her mother in law, a widow. In respect to the relation I applied myself to the uncle, who proposed such terms and settlements as my estate would very reasonably bear, and so the matter seemed to proceed very fairly, but not long after the mother in law and lawyer seemed to make other proposals upon which I applied myself to the uncle who seemed before to have the whole affair in his power and management. But his answer now was that the mother and lawyer thought he had not made demands high enough for his niece, and I must now apply myself that way, and when I did but seem to complain of altering the former terms, the lawyers answer presently was that he was sorry to perceive any objections to arise from my part since it argued want of affection to the young lady, and would not upon any account this should come to the mother's knowledge. Finding how matters now stood and how ill I had been used on both sides, all further applications ceased and from this ill success resolved never more to treat by myself on so nice a point and where I was in good manners (as they judged) bound to compliment away my reason and fortune. And to show the inconveniences of such proceedings from experience, I have been the more particular in setting down the whole process of this treaty.

The next proved more successfull for from the former experience I acted here altogether by my freinds and relations. So between Sir Jacob Astly and Colonel Wodehous⁴⁸ (both uncles to the young lady and brothers to the Lady Crew her mother) on the one part, and Sir Christopher Calthorp and my Uncle John L'Estrange on mine, all the severall articles of settlement were soon prepared and agreed. In summer 1686 in company with Colonel Wodehous I wayted on my Lord Crewe at Steane in Northamptonshire where the young lady then was and where I found so generous and kind reception at my Lords hands, and which indeed continued dureing the remainder of his life that I cannot mention it without a gratefull remembrance.⁴⁹ All things now proceeded very fayrely, and meeting again in the winter at London where all the writeings were ready prepared, on the second of December following being my birthday, I happily finished that greatest concerne of my life. My wives present fortune was 4000*li* downe, being given her by her mother the Lady Crew. And her brother Sir John Wodehous being then about seventeen years of age gave me a promise by letter for payment of 2000*li* more upon his coming at age. My present debts still remaining were upwards of 3000*li*, for though my guardian dureing my minority had paid off my Uncle John L'Estranges mortgage of 2000*li*, and paid in 1500*li* to one of my sisters in law, a considerable part of the latter summ was borrowed and so remained still in smaller parcells a debt upon mee. And finding how much of this present fortune would be disposed in the payment of my debts, and that the necessary charges of equipping and furniture would require a larger summ then indeed I could well spare, these considerations made me proceed with very great caution.

My wife could not be at first acquainted with these particular circumstances, but as soon as freedom of discours and necessary consultation of our joynt affayres brought them to her knowledg, she as readily assisted in the cleareing some small remaineing debts, by forbearing some conveniences that were not really necessary, and consulting all precepts of good husbandry which might in time compass our designs. In about a fortnight after our marriage wee came down and settled at Hunstanton. Wee were but moderately prepared for houskeeping, for though wee bought some necessary plate and a bedd or two for present use, wee had scarce any linnen but what my old tenant and servant Mr. Helwys supplied us with till we could furnish ourselves by degrees. Necessity enforced me to sett about some reparations as new flooring and leading the plattformes,⁵⁰ joyners works, and some small alterations in the roomes, which are all gradually entered yearly in the book with russett leather covers which haveing been begunn by Sir Hamon, and his buildings etc. entered for divers yeares, though it had layn by neglected and wormeaten, I caused it to be new bound and made use of the other end of it for the same purpose.

At this time when wee settled here, the gentry were in a good open way of liveing, their estates coming in clear without the burthen of taxes. Wine was very plentifull and not dear, the best Bordeaux clarett not exceeding 7*li* or 7*li* 10s per hogshead, though the additional duty (which was the onely tax layd in King James time) soon after raysed it to 9*li* and 10*li*. Visitting and entertainments were frequent. I think necessary here to observe that though wee alwayes kept up a fayr correspondence, and made and returned visitts as our neighbours did, we still avoyded goeing into the method used by them of supping at the same places they dined, which with cards after among the ladys and a glass of wine for the gentlemen, usually prolonged the visitts till one or two, sometime till four or five in the morning. Which custom being attended with so great irregularityes and in-

conveniences both to the family that entertained, as well as that which must avayle and expect the returne of their master and lady home, we could not comply with; and so it fell off in our mutual visitts, and by degrees among the neighborhood also. One thing was remarkeable, that whereas in some families⁵¹ there seemed to be very great intimacies, so as they could not make a third visitt without assignations and meeting each other, they should of a suddain (upon some perhaps groundless resentments) fall into that heighth of enmity as neither to see one another, nor willingly any third family where the other were admitted for two or three months together, and yet after, the kind humor should take its turne againe like an age fitt, and perhaps of not much longer continuance. I still kept my hounds and hunted sometimes in my own feilds when leisure best served, my time beginning to be more employed in country buisness, haveing my great farm at Heacham and another at Sedgford viz the Lower Hall both in hand, and the lowness of prizes of corne, lamb and wool not inviteing any tenants to undertake so great concernes. Apoyntments for hunting and keeping to sett dayes I never cared for, the former brought in all sorts of company, and the latter is in effect keeping hounds for other peoples diversion more then your owne. Your time being thereby bound up, so as you are not master of your own sport without the inconvenience of disappointyng and thereby disobligeing others. Beside, my usuall custom was to goe out very early of mornings, whereby I had the advantage of fresh trayles, and sport enough to return home by noon.

But about this time drew on that great revolution in state which not onely unhinged the civill and fayr correspondence which had as yett continued among the neighbouring gentry, but affected the remoter parts both of county and kingdom. I had for some yeares acted in publick employes both as deputy lieutenant under the Duke of Norfolk and colonel of a regiment, and had at this time of the Prince of Oranges landing the command of the town of Lynn and my regiment upon duty there. Which circumstances I cannot pass by without makeing this observation, how near my case was to that of Sir Hamons in the year 1642. For if King James had now stood his ground in England and wee had in these parts proceeded to acts of hostility under his commission, the other party prevayleing, I had in all probability been involved in the same difficultyes and suffering in my person, family and fortunes as he then fell under. However upon the Kings quitting the nation and retirement to Ireland, I both waved the service in parliament (for the borough of Castleriseing) now called by the Prince of Oranges circular letters, and also resigned up my commissions of deputy lieutenant and collonell with all the respect and tenderness I could into the Duke of Norfolks hands. But this was highly resented, and I beleiv aggravated the Duke, and now I became sensible of that mistaken notion of honor and favor thought to be of haveing an intimacy and acquaintance with great men (for such I had for some years past received from the Duke). The usuall result being theyr expectation of haveing you perfectly subservient to their designes, and attendants upon their fortunes especially in respect of publick offices and honors. These reasons I beleiv moved the Duke if not to propose, yett consent at least, to divers future warrants and summons given mee and some other gentlemen of the same opinion, for comeing in and takeing the new oathes of allegiance, the avoyding of which had been the occasion of our layeing down our publick employments. And I could not very often avoyd makeing very serious reflections upon seeing the names of severall gentlemen joyned in those warrants and persecutions who had before been our constant freinds and opposers of such others as had ever been of the faction, and were now drawn in to act with them in all these proceedings.

Great caution ought to be had in overhastily granting any request, since most people ask for their own benefitt and advantage, without any respect had to the inconvenience or prejudice of the person granting.

It ought to be a very good freind to whome wee make complaints either of illness or misfortunes, for wee seldome find pittie or compassion for the former, and the ill natured world is too apt to rejoyce at the latter.

All persons ought to be cautious how they invite young people to reside some time in their families, for often from private reasons the parents are perhappys glad to be ridd of them, so they become pinned upon the inviters and seldom part without disobligations on one side, if not on both.

In former times, children thought themselves happy in pleasing and obligeing theyr parents. But now, parents by too early an indulgence make children so humoursom that they cannot keep pace in obligeing them; so both partyes become uneasy.

Abroad compliments and diversions, at home truth and buisness, are apt to make the latter uneasy.

Of all degrees of mankind the fate of your nobility and gentry seems the hardest, who are generally perswaded and too apt to think themselves born onely to ease and leisure, and the time that thus lyes upon theyr hands too often proves theyr ruine.

As in morality, ingratus si dixeris omnia dixeris, so in phisick, flatuus si dixeris omnia dixeris.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am grateful to Miss Kennedy and to the Norfolk and Norwich Joint Records Committee for permission to publish the Nicholas L'Estrange Manuscript.

¹See pedigrees in the N.N.R.O. L'Estrange papers, OD 5 and EQ 4, and in G. A. Carthew, *Hundred of Lawnditch*. All further references to the N.N.R.O. L'Estrange papers are only to class and folio, or class and date, AA and AB are muniments, P 13 and 14 are accounts, P 20 and NF 1 are correspondence, and NC 10 and 12 are rentals, particulars, abstracts of settlements, and wills.

²P 20, 95; NC 12, 14 Dec. 1682; C. E. Mallet, *History of the University of Oxford*, ii, 419-21.

³*H.M.C. 11th Rep.*, vii, 105, 107; information of Gary Owens; *Norf. Rec. Soc.*, xxx, 33-4.

⁴I am indebted to Professor Basil Henning and the History of Parliament Trust for the information on L'Estrange's activity in parliament.

⁵P 20, 119. When the Revolution approached, Edward's hand disappeared from the lieutenantcy journal, but reappeared once it was accomplished. *Norf. Rec. Soc.*, xxx, 88, 97.

⁶*Norf. Rec. Soc.*, xxx, 99-100, 109, 115.

⁷T. B. Macaulay, *History of England*, ed. C. H. Firth, v, 2196; *Norf. Rec. Soc.*, xxx, 126-7; P 13, expend. 15 Mar. 1701 *et passim*.

⁸Macaulay, vi, 2640; *Norf. Rec. Soc.*, xxx, 140-1; *Letters of Humphrey Prideaux*, Cam. Soc. n.s., xv, 172, 174, 183.

⁹P 13, expend. 28 July, 3 Aug. 1702; N.N.R.O., Jamesina Waller, "Memories of Armine," 9; P 20, 239, 211, 232.

¹⁰J. R. Jones, "The First Whig Party in Norfolk," *Durham Univ. Jour.*, Dec. 1953, 16; *Norf. Rec. Soc.*, xxx, 99 *et passim*; AB 1; P 20, 170-2; NC 10, wills; NF 1, 37-8.

¹¹P 13; NC 10, wills; P.C.C. 25 June 1725.

¹²P 13, *passim*; P 20, 259; NF 1, 54; NC 10, particular of jointure.

¹³AB 1, and endorsement on its counterpart, AB 2.

¹⁴NC 10, "A note . . ." [1657]; NC 12, bond; *Norf. Rec. Soc.*, xxx, 1, 7.

¹⁵P 13, rec. 11 Nov. 1701, 8 Feb. 1703; expend. 11 Nov. 1701. AE 10.

¹⁶R. W. Ketton-Cremer, *Norfolk Gallery*, 93-4; *Norf. Arch.*, v, 130-45; P 20, 189.

¹⁷P 13, 18. This sum represented the amount of interest due on Margery's portion at 6 per cent, plus £5 *p.a.* Her portion had been put out to her mother's brother, from whom the interest could not then be collected. Sir Nicholas thought that £27.10 was sufficient to support a single person. P 20, 190, 194.

¹⁸P 20, 199. That it was Heacham is not certain, but only strongly suggested by entries in the accounts; P 13, expend. 4 June, 25 June, 30 Oct. 1701.

¹⁹P 13, expend. 20 Mar. 1703, 11 Jan. 1704.

²⁰Waller, 39-43, 57-63; P 20, 258.

²¹P 20, 291, 298; P 13-14, expend. 2 Feb., 11 Aug. 1712, 12 Dec. 1713, etc.

²²P 13, 16 May 1713; NC 7, letter, n.d.; Waller, 83-5.

²³Waller, 21-3. Jamesina Waller's "Memories of Armine" is a remarkable document. It records a carefully transmitted oral tradition in the L'Estrange family which its author traces back to Armine. Mrs. Waller made some use of the Hunstanton muniment room. See pp. 151-5.

²⁴E. g., P 13, 19 Sept. 1701, 29 Aug. 1712.

²⁵T. B. Trappes-Lomax, "Roman Catholicism in Norfolk," *Norf. Arch.*, xxxii, 43, n.46; NC 10, particulars; Waller, 33; AB 4, AB I, AA 14.

²⁶Not 1721.

²⁷NC 10, wills dated 31 Aug. 1715, 19 Jan. 1723; NC 12, bond. NC 10, will of Dame Anne L'Estrange; NC 12, inventory; AE 10.

²⁸*Norf. Arch.*, ix, 329-32.

²⁹Lady Elizabeth Hare, widow of Sir Thomas, was the worst offender. There is much relating to the legal and financial affairs of her family in the L'Estrange papers.

³⁰See Siegmund Betz, "The Advice-Genre," in *Seventeenth Century Studies, Second Series*, ed. Robert Shafer, 50-70.

³¹This manuscript, in the author's hand, is contained in a foolscap booklet, N.N.R.O. L'Estrange papers, NE 2. The title as given here is found on the cover in a nineteenth-century hand. Sir Nicholas's own title at the head of the first folio is partially lost through damage. It now reads, "Some short Notes of things . . . For my Son's pr" The penultimate word is not profit. I have preserved original spelling but extended contractions, modernized capitalization, and altered punctuation for the sake of clarity. Serpentine sentences have been cut in two or three, and pages-long paragraphs subdivided.

³²Sir Nicholas had two aunts Cobb. This one was Elizabeth, wife of Martin Cobb, esq.

³³1671.

³⁴This aunt was Bridget, widow of Sir Isaac Astley. Sir Nicholas's eldest paternal uncle, John L'Estrange, took an active role in arranging the transfer, AA 18.

³⁵His sisters-in-law and mother-in-law are his half-sisters and step-mother.

³⁶Perhaps using globe and quadrant, copying estate maps and making nets, all referred to below, are "little mechanicks".

³⁷Epitomiser of the history of the Macedonian empire by Pompeius Trogus, and biographer of Alexander the Great, respectively.

³⁸John Clarke's formulary of orations and Jean Tixier's compendium of perhaps 30,000 epithets were common school tools for Latin composition. Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*, 454 ff., 478-9.

³⁹He matriculated that year at Christ Church. Study at Oxford was very unusual among East Anglian gentry, and Sir Nicholas's explanation as to why Calthorp sent him to Oxford does not satisfy. The answer probably lies in the special loyalty of Christ Church to Charles. The Astleys of Melton Constable attended at Christ Church. Sir Jacob matriculated there in 1659 after starting at Cambridge, and his eldest son Jacob matriculated and died there in 1680 and 1681.

⁴⁰John Fell, Dean of Christ Church 1660-86 and Bishop of Oxford 1675-86. Served as ensign in the royal forces during the Civil War. A man of great personal piety, loyalty to the Crown and inflexible will, Dean Fell dominated Restoration Oxford. H. L. Thompson, *Christ Church*, 82-4, 96; C. E. Mallet, ii, 427.

⁴¹Sir John Percivall of Ballamachow, co. Cork, Ireland, Bart. Matric. Christ Church, 1676. Clerk of the Crown, Prothonotary and Chief Clerk of the Common Pleas in Ireland. Died 1686.

Mr. Evans is probably Michael, son of Maurice of Westminster, gent. Matric. Christ Church 1671, Prebendary and Sub-dean of Westminster 1702, Vicar of St. Brides' London, 1710. Died 1732. *Al. Oxon.*

⁴²A three handed card game.

⁴³Sir Jonathan Trelawny, 3rd Bart. He was M.A. at Christ Church during L'Estrange's time there. D.D. by diploma, 1685. Successively bishop of Bristol, Exeter and Winchester. Intensely loyal to the Crown, but refused to sign the address in favour of the Declaration of Indulgence. Took the oaths to William and Mary. Died 1721.

Dr. William Jane, son of a royalist gentleman of Cornwall. D.D., 1679; Regius Professor of Divinity from 1680 until his death in 1707. Framed the Oxford declaration in favour of passive obedience, 1683. Promoted the defeat of comprehension in convocation, 1689. Chaplain to William III. *Al. Oxon.*, D.N.B.

⁴⁴Robert Osbolston, son of William of London, gent. Matric. Christ Church, 1679. Married the widow of Sir Josiah Child and died in 1715, leaving L'Estrange as sole executor. L'Estrange declined the trust. *Al. Oxon.*; NF I, 4-22 Dec. 1715.

⁴⁵But since "a book was the lest of a gentlemen's buisiness" there, L'Estrange evidently does not here refer to the gentlemen at the university.

⁴⁶Lee Warner was a Kentish barrister who inherited from his father the estate of his great-uncle John Warner, Chaplain to Charles I and Bishop of Rochester. Part of that estate was the Walsingham Abbey property in Norfolk. A few months after his father's death in 1679, Warner settled at Little Walsingham, got on to the commission of the peace, and remained in Norfolk until 1688 when he removed to London. He died in March 1699, having appointed L'Estrange, James Calthorp and Daniel Bedingfield as his executors without their knowledge. Bedingfield, who was Recorder of Lynn, urged L'Estrange and Calthorp to accept the trust. "I should have refused another certainly. I confess I could not him." In accepting they took upon themselves a tedious, seven years' task. P 20, 180, 182; *Norf. Rec. Soc.*, xxx, 89.

⁴⁷Henry Helwys of Hunstanton, gent. In the service of the L'Estranges from at least 1663. Will pro. *Norf. Archd.* 1700, 43.

⁴⁸Edmund Wodehouse of East Lexham.

⁴⁹The second Baron Crew voted with the Whigs and supported exclusion. *G.E.C.*

⁵⁰A platform is a walk or floor on the top of a building. *O.E.D.*

⁵¹Meaning *between* some families.