

THE BUCKINGHAMSHIRE LIEUTENANCY

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Although the Lord Lieutenant has been an important figure in the county for over three centuries no list of the holders of this office has apparently ever been published. Lists have appeared for some other counties.¹ Although Lipscomb compiled a complete list of Sheriffs he makes no mention of the Lieutenants except some individuals. The late George Eland, when Editor of these *Records* began such a list² in collaboration with William Crouch, who was Clerk of the Peace up to 1924 and a galley proof of this exists in the County Record Office, but it is incomplete and comparatively accurate only from 1758 onwards. The list assembled here and printed overleaf is continuous from 1607 except for the Commonwealth period but is clearly open to addition and amendment.

THE OFFICE OF LIEUTENANT

The office of Lieutenant was the creation of the centralising Tudor monarchy and its beginnings and early development have been set out by Gladys Scott Thomson,³ the historian of the Russell family. By 1485 local government had been defeudalised; local administration was in the hands of the Sheriff and the Justices of the Peace; the latter in particular had acquired an increasing variety of duties since first appointed by Edward III and the Tudors gave them more. The Sheriff, apart from his many legal functions, was still the military chief of the shire and although the feudal levy of the middle ages had ceased to exist and no standing army had taken its place, the theory of a military levy—that military service was part of every citizen's duty—continued, always with the proviso that such service was only for home defence and the maintenance of civil order. To make such a local force effective loyal commanders were essential.

In the half century from 1485 there were no civil disorders and little threat of foreign invasion, but the stresses and strains arising from Henry VIII's religious policies brought much discontent and on occasion outright rebellion after 1535. To make the local forces more effective the Crown began to commission a Lieutenant to command the levies of one or more counties when an emergency occurred. Such commissions were purely military appointments and lapsed when the emergency was over. The appointment was

¹ "The Lords-Lieutenant of Surrey", by the Earl of Onslow, *Surrey Archaeological Collections* Vol. XL, 1932. "Lords Lieutenant of Gloucestershire". *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* for 1951 and 1952, Vols. LXX-1.

² I am indebted to Mr. E. J. Davis for drawing my attention to this. My two main sources have been *The Complete Peerage* and the *D.N.B.*; only the early volumes of the former were published when Mr. Eland prepared his tentative list, which is referred to in *Records* XII, 88.

³ G. S. Thomson, *Lords Lieutenants in the Sixteenth Century* (1923).

Name	Title	Years as Lieutenant	Monarch at Appointment	Prime Minister at Appointment	Party	Main Residence in County	Relationship
1. Thomas Egerton	1st Viscount Brackley	1607-16	James I	—	—	Ashridge	
2. George Villiers	1st Duke of Buckingham	1616-28	James I	—	—	—	
3. Philip Herbert	4th Earl of Pembroke	1628-41	Charles I	—	—	—	
4. Robert Dormer	1st Earl of Carnarvon	1641-43	Charles I	—	—	Wing	Son-in-law of 3
5. William Paget	5th Lord Paget of Beaudesert	1641-42	Parliament	—	—	—	
6. Philip Wharton	4th Lord Wharton	1642	Parliament	—	Whig	Wooburn	
7. John Egerton	2nd Earl of Bridgewater	1660-86	Charles II	—	Whig	Ashridge	Grandson of 1
8. John Egerton	3rd Earl of Bridgewater	1686-87	James II	—	Whig	Ashridge	Son of 7
9. George Jeffreys	1st Lord Jeffreys of Wem	1687-89	James II	—	Tory	Bulstrode	
10. John Egerton	3rd Earl of Bridgewater	1689-1701	William III	—	Whig	Ashridge	Son of 7
11. Thomas Wharton	1st Marquess of Wharton	1702 (Jan-June)	William III	—	Whig	Upper Winchendon	Son of 6
12. William Cheyne	2nd Viscount Newhaven	1702 (June-Dec)	Anne	—	Tory	Drayton Beauchamp	
13. Scroop Egerton	4th Earl of Bridgewater	1702-11	Anne	—	Whig	Ashridge	Son of 8
14. William Cheyne	2nd Viscount Newhaven	1712-14	Anne	—	Tory	Drayton Beauchamp	
15. Scroop Egerton	1st Duke of Bridgewater	1714-28	George I	—	Whig	Ashridge	Son of 8
16. Richard Temple	1st Viscount Cobham	1728-38	George II	Walpole	Whig	Stowe	
17. Charles Spencer	3rd Duke of Marlborough	1738-58	George II	Walpole	Whig	Langley	Nephew of 15
18. Richard Temple-Grenville	2nd Earl Temple	1758-63	George II	Newcastle	Whig	Stowe	Nephew of 16
19. Francis Dashwood	15th Lord le Despencer	1763-81	George III	Grenville	Tory	West Wycombe	
20. Philip Stanhope	5th Earl of Chesterfield	1781-82	George III	North	Tory	Eythrope	
21. George Nugent-Temple-Grenville	1st Marquess of Buckingham	1782-1813	George III	Shelburne	Whig	Stowe	Nephew of 18
22. Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville	1st Duke of Buckingham	1813-39	George III	Liverpool	Whig then Tory	Stowe	Son of 21
23. Robert Carrington	2nd Lord Carrington	1839-68	Victoria	Melbourne	Whig	Wycombe Abbey	
24. Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville	3rd Duke of Buckingham	1868-89	Victoria	Disraeli	Conservative	Stowe	Grandson of 22
25. Nathan Rothschild	1st Lord Rothschild	1889-1915	Victoria	Salisbury	Liberal-Unionist	Tring (Herts)	
26. Charles Wynn-Carrington	1st Marquess of Lincolnshire	1915-23	George V	Asquith	Liberal	High Wycombe	Son of 23
27. Thomas Fremantle	3rd Lord Cottesloe	1923-54	George V	MacDonald	Conservative	Swanbourne	
28. Sir Henry Aubrey-Fletcher	6th Baronet	1954-61	Elizabeth II	Churchill	—	Chilton	
29. Sir Henry Floyd	5th Baronet	1961-68	Elizabeth II	Macmillan	—	Chearsley	
30. Major John Young		1969	Elizabeth II	Wilson	—	Thornton	

a Crown Commission by Letters Patent, a device used only in times of crisis, and was perhaps analogous to a Regional Commissioner in the last war. The Marquess of Northampton was made Lieutenant for the counties of Cambridge, Bedford, Huntingdon, Northampton and Norfolk in 1549, for Surrey alone in 1551, for Berkshire and Oxfordshire in 1552 and for Hertfordshire and Bucks in 1553. More strikingly when the Scots invaded Northern England in 1558/9, the Duke of Norfolk became Lieutenant-General of the North and his commission included over half the counties of England including Bucks. During the reign of Elizabeth the office altered, gradually changing from an emergency appointment to something more permanent. J. B. Black⁴ considers that the main reason was the Armada which was such a traumatic experience for the Government that "during the subsequent years those responsible for the safety of the island never ceased to apprehend, with some reason, another attack". Some continuity of command became desirable and a Lieutenant who was more or less permanent became the rule, appointed usually for a single county where the natural candidate would be a large landowner. He was always a Privy Councillor. But, as Black says, the effect was that such Lieutenants "acted not as strangers sent down by the Crown to coerce an unruly district, but as a local landowner acting in concert with the other landowners in the counties".

The new pattern did not apply universally. The Marches of Scotland and of Wales had a stronger and more direct form of local government. The Earl of Bedford with his great landed interest in the West Country was Lieutenant of Dorset, Devon and Cornwall. Nor did Elizabeth in her later years always fill vacancies. The Lieutenant was always able (and still is) to appoint Deputy Lieutenants. Sometimes the old queen evidently found it convenient to continue the Deputies in office when a Lieutenant died with the Sheriff acting as Commissioner of Musters. Thus a Privy Council act of 2 December 1596:

"Whereas . . . we did authorise certain noblemen . . . to be our Lieutenants in our diverse counties of Middlesex, Bucks, Northampton, Nottingham, Stafford, Warwick, Chester, Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Northumberland, the Bishopric of Durham, Leicester and Rutland, who departed this life . . . we do mind also to have the same duties executed by the Sheriffs of the said counties and the most principal men of authority and account within the said Shire".

From James I's reign most counties had a permanent Lieutenant, but permanent only during the pleasure of the Crown because, as will be seen later, it developed into a political appointment, liable on occasions to change with the government. A very powerful nobleman might still be Lieutenant in more than one county (the fourth Lord Wharton had Lancashire and his native Westmorland as well as Bucks) and this continued at least until the nineteenth century. The Lieutenant did not have to be a peer (a Mr. Blount was Lieutenant of Oxfordshire in 1559) but up to this century the majority were. The term Lord Lieutenant has no official standing, but has long been customary.⁵

⁴ J. B. Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth* (1936).

⁵ The plural of Lord Lieutenant is a matter of some mystery. *Complete Peerage* and Scott

TUDOR LIEUTENANTS

The Tudor Lieutenants whose commission included Bucks were as follows although the list may well be incomplete:

CHARLES BRANDON, DUKE OF SUFFOLK, K.G. (1484-1545) Lieutenant 1545.

Son of Sir William Brandon, Henry VII's standard-bearer, killed at Bosworth Field. The most powerful nobleman under Henry VIII. Marshall of the Army at the Battle of the Spurs, twice Ambassador to France, Earl Marshall for nine years and Lord President for fifteen. His third wife was sister to Henry VIII and widow of Louis XII. In the year of his death when there were disturbances in the West he was Lieutenant of eleven counties including Bucks. The Duke of Norfolk had another twelve and Lord Russell had Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Gloucester and all the Welsh counties, so this triumvirate commanded the levies of the whole country south of Trent.

EDWARD SEYMOUR, 1ST DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G., K.B. (1500-52) Lieutenant 1551.

Son of Sir John Seymour, he had minor court appointments until his sister Jane married Henry VIII. Created Viscount Beauchamp (1536), Earl of Hertford (1537) and Duke of Somerset (1546/7). Commanded the army in France in 1544 and Scotland in 1545. On his nephew's accession as Edward VI he became Protector of the Realm and held supreme power until ousted by Northumberland in 1549. He was pardoned next year and appointed Lieutenant for Berkshire and Bucks on 10 May 1551 but later in the year was found guilty of felony and beheaded.

FRANCIS RUSSELL, 2ND EARL OF BEDFORD, K.G., K.B. (1527-85) Lieutenant 1552.

Son of the first Earl, a Dorset squire, whose services to Henry VIII had been rewarded with enormous estates in Devon, Bedfordshire and the Fens (the former abbeys of Tavistock, Woburn and Thorney) and who had married Anne Sapcote, the heiress of Chenies, which became the chief home of the Russells until the Civil War and remained in their possession until 1952. Francis Russell was Sheriff of Bucks in 1547, M.P. for the shire 1547-52 in which year he was created a peer in his own right until he succeeded his father in 1555. He was a strong supporter of the ultra-Protestant Duke of Northumberland. He later served Elizabeth in many offices and was Lieutenant of Dorset, Devon and Cornwall for many years. His magnificent tomb is in Chenies church.

WILLIAM PARR, MARQUESS OF NORTHAMPTON, K.G. (1513-71) Lieutenant 1553.

Son of Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal. His sister Catherine was Henry VIII's

Thompson use Lords Lieutenants whilst the Oxford University Press (a recognised authority) and some constitutional historians have Lords Lieutenant, sometimes with a hyphen; this also appears in the Report of the Royal Commission on Justices of the Peace (1946). But just as the Queen pricks a Sheriff, not a High Sheriff, so she appoints a Lieutenant, not a Lord Lieutenant; both "High" and "Lord" are customary but unofficial adjectives in this context. Appointments come through the Privy Council and Charles Greville, who was Clerk to the Council, uses Lord-Lieutenants which seems the logical and correct form.

last wife. Created Lord Parr (1538/9), Earl of Essex (1543) and Marquess of Northampton (1546/7). He was a dedicated member of the reforming party and another close collaborator of Northumberland. The latter, as noted above, made him Lieutenant of ten counties; these were permanent commissions. Their attempt in 1553 to put Lady Jane Grey on the throne failed and Northampton was attainted. Elizabeth later restored his Marquessate but he died without heirs. Buried in St. Mary, Warwick.

THOMAS HOWARD, 4th DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., K.B. (1537-72)
Lieutenant 1559.

The powerful but unlucky house of Howard stemmed from Sir Robert Howard who married the heiress of the Mowbray Dukes of Norfolk in the early 15th century. John Howard, their son who was created Duke in 1483, had been a prominent supporter of Edward IV and was killed leading the van of the losing Yorkist troops at Bosworth Field. The second Duke was the victor of Flodden, the third served Henry VIII in many great offices (his niece was the king's fifth wife) but was attainted and sentenced to death in January 1546/7 for treason. The king's death next day saved his life but he remained a prisoner until the accession of Queen Mary when his honours were restored. He died in 1553 and as his eldest son had been executed for treason eleven days before his father's sentence, it was the grandson who succeeded as fourth Duke. As mentioned earlier his appointment as Lieutenant-General of the North in 1559-60 brought him the Lieutenantcy of many counties including Bucks. His endeavours to marry Mary Queen of Scots ended in disaster and he was executed for treason in 1572 and buried in the chapel of the Tower of London.

ARTHUR GREY, 14th LORD GREY OF WILTON, K.G. (1536-93) Lieutenant 1569 and 1587.

One branch of this prolific medieval family had lands in and around Bletchley from early in the thirteenth century. The thirteenth Lord Grey, father of the Lieutenant, had been another ardent supporter of Northumberland and his kinswoman Lady Jane Grey. He was Governor of Guisnes which in 1557/8 he surrendered to the French and remained a prisoner of war for three years. On his release he became Governor of Berwick and Warden of the Marches, dying in 1562. Arthur Grey had been with his father at Guisnes. His main appointment was as Lord Deputy of Ireland 1580-2, where he suppressed both the Desmond and O'Neill rebellions.⁶ He was also a Commissioner at the trials of both the Duke of Norfolk and Mary Queen of Scots. His manors in Bucks were Bletchley, Fenny Stratford and Whaddon. He pulled down Water Hall, the medieval manor house at Bletchley and removed to Whaddon because he preferred the site there where he rebuilt the house in which he died impoverished in 1593. His plain tomb is in Whaddon Church. His only son forfeited all his lands on being convicted for treason and they were granted by James I to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

⁶ He employed Edward Spencer as his secretary in Ireland and appears as Sir Artegall in the *Faerie Queen*:

"Most noble Lord the pillar of my life
And Patrone of my muses pupilage".

PERMANENT LIEUTENANTS

1. **THOMAS EGERTON 1ST VISCOUNT BRACKLEY (1540-1616)** Lieutenant 1607-1616. The first permanent Lieutenant was the founder of a great family which was as influential in Bucks in the seventeenth century as the Grenvilles were in the eighteenth; between 1607-1728 four generations of Egertons were Lieutenants for a total of seventy-one years. Thomas was an illegitimate son of Sir Richard Egerton of an old Cheshire family. He must have had exceptional abilities. Trained in the law at Brasenose College, Oxford and Lincoln's Inn he was M.P. for Cheshire 1584-7, Solicitor-General 1581-92, Attorney-General 1592-4, Master of the Rolls 1594-1603, Lord Keeper 1596-1603 and Lord Chancellor 1603 to his death. As he was created Viscount only four months before he died he was universally known as Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, receiving that title in 1603. During his career he acquired large estates including Tatton in Cheshire, Ellesmere in Shropshire and Ashridge in Bucks.

Ashridge⁷ had been a college of Bonhommes, founded by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall in 1283; this order which had only one other house in England—Edington in Wiltshire—was somewhat akin to the Austin Canons; the endowments of Ashridge included Little Gaddesden and Hemel Hempstead in Herts and Pitstone in Bucks. Ashridge itself was in Pitstone parish and remained in Bucks until transferred to Hertfordshire in 1895. After the dissolution of the religious houses Edward VI gave the lands to the future Queen Elizabeth who was actually arrested there at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign; in 1571 she sold the estate and it passed through various hands before Ellesmere's purchase.

The Lord Chancellor was three times married. His third wife was the widow of the fifth Earl of Derby and in 1601 her daughter by her first husband married Ellesmere's eldest son, and brought the manor of Brackley into the family as her dower.

Ellesmere was a cautious, pliant and rather faint-hearted advisor to both Elizabeth and James I.⁸ It fell to him to ask the dying Queen who her successor should be. In 1616 a few weeks before his death, he resigned many offices including the Lieutenancy and was promised an Earldom but he did not live to receive it.

2. **GEORGE VILLIERS, 1ST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, K.G. (1592-1628)** Lieutenant 1616-1628. George Villiers was the handsome son of a Leicestershire squire, who was deliberately introduced to court as a potential rival in the king's affections to Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset and in this he succeeded brilliantly. His rise was meteoric⁹ but belongs to general history rather than to Bucks. He was granted the former Grey of Wilton manors of Bletchley, Fenny Stratford and Whaddon and also had Biddlesden and Winslow, but never lived in Bucks. He was assassinated in 1628 and buried in Westminster Abbey.

The second Duke died childless and bankrupt having sold Bletchley and Fenny Stratford to Thomas Willis (grandfather of Browne Willis) in 1674; Willis later purchased Whaddon from the Duke's Trustees.

⁷ For the College of Ashridge, *V. C. H. Bucks* I.386.

⁸ But he had the distinction of selecting the young John Donne as his secretary.

⁹ Earl (1616/7), Marquess (1617/8) and Duke (1623) of Buckingham.

3. PHILIP HERBERT 4TH EARL OF PEMBROKE AND 1ST EARL OF MONTGOMERY, K.G., K.B. (1584-1648/9), Lieutenant 1628-1641. He was born at Wilton, the second son of the second Earl of Pembroke and a nephew of Sir Philip Sydney. He and his elder brother William, the third Earl, were the "incomparable pair of brothers" to whom Shakespeare's First Folio was dedicated.

The Herberts had lands and interests in South Wales and he was M.P. for Glamorgan in 1604 but he quickly attracted the notice of James I who created him Earl of Montgomery in 1605; he succeeded his brother as 4th Earl of Pembroke in 1630. Despite his upbringing, good looks and worldly success he was an unattractive man "foul-tempered and foul-mouthed with a nasty streak of malice, and with few interests beyond hunting and hawking, the bowling alley, the tiltyard, and the gaming table".¹⁰ As a leading courtier he held many high offices including Lord Chamberlain from 1626 and the Lieutenancies of Wiltshire and Somerset in addition to Bucks (where he appears to have had no property). He commanded a regiment of horse in the Scottish Campaign in 1640, but early next year he moved over to the opposition and was dismissed from his posts by the King. Henceforward he was a leading parliamentarian until his death in 1648/9. He was buried in Salisbury Cathedral.

4. ROBERT DORMER, 1ST EARL OF CARNARVON (1610-1643) Lieutenant 1641-1643. The Dormers were an old Bucks family but flourished particularly in the sixteenth century when the three sons of Geoffrey Dormer of West Wycombe all acquired extensive Bucks estates—William at Ascott, Wing, Sir Michael (who was Lord Mayor of London in 1542) at Long Crendon and Peter at Quainton. William's grandson was created Lord Dormer of Wing; Robert Dormer succeeded his grandfather in 1616 as second Baron and was created Viscount and Earl of Carnarvon in 1628, when still only 18 years old. A devoted Royalist and a gallant soldier, he was killed at the first battle of Newbury.¹¹ He had married Anna Herbert and thus succeeded his father-in-law as Lieutenant. His son the second Earl had an only daughter who by marriage took the Dormer lands to the Stanhopes, Earls of Chesterfield. These estates were very extensive and included manors at Aston Abbots, Buckland, Chesham, Edlesborough, Ewthrope, Grove, Hoggeston, Hughenden, Ilmer, Princes Risborough, Stone, Wing and Wingrave. He was buried at Wing.

5. WILLIAM PAGET 5TH LORD PAGET OF BEAUDESERT (1609-1678) Lieutenant 1641-42. Unlike Carnarvon the Pagets were hardly a Bucks family, although they held the manors of Marlow and Iver for just over a century from 1554. They came from Staffordshire where their main seat was at Beaudesert and they rose to some influence under the Tudors. William Paget succeeded as fifth Lord Paget in 1628. At the start of the Civil War he supported Parliament who appointed him their Lieutenant in 1641 but he joined the King the following year and was dismissed in May 1642. In 1644 he rejoined Parliament, but played no further part in public life. Buried at West Drayton, Middlesex.¹²

¹⁰ Tresham Lever, *The Herberts of Wilton* (1967), 76.

¹¹ Clarendon, *History of the Great Rebellion* (1967 edition), 170. "He was not only of a very keen courage in exposing his person . . . and had a mind and understanding very present in the article of danger, which is a rare benefit in that profession". His wife's portrait by Vandyke hangs in the Saloon at Claydon.

¹² His descendants became Marquesses of Anglesey; West Drayton Manor was pulled down in 1750 and Beaudesert in this century.

6. PHILIP WHARTON 4TH LORD WHARTON (1613-1695/6) Lieutenant 1642. Following Paget's defection Parliament appointed as Lieutenant a far more reliable and tougher character in Philip Wharton; he was also made Lieutenant of Westmorland where his ancestral estates lay, and Lancashire. Wharton was a rigid Puritan; up to 1648 he was continuously employed as soldier, politician and diplomat. He was Speaker of the House of Lords 1642-5. After the King's execution he retired from public life, though remaining a personal friend of Cromwell. How long he remained Lieutenant is not clear; the office appears to have lapsed during the Protectorate. He emerged again in 1660, hoping much from the Restoration but, being one of the first Whigs, and never deviating from his Presbyterian principles he was often in some trouble; he was sent to the Tower with Lord Shaftesbury in 1676. Under James II he withdrew to the Continent.

He was almost the first to declare for William III and was rewarded by being made a Privy Councillor in 1689 and seeing his son becoming an even more successful figure in the same Whig cause.

His second wife was Jane, the daughter and heiress of Arthur Goodwin of Wooburn and Upper Winchendon. Goodwin himself had been John Hampden's close friend and brother-in-law. The great house at Wooburn, formerly a palace of the Bishops of Lincoln, was famous particularly for its paintings¹³ for Wharton was a great collector and connoisseur and also had been famous for his good looks and dancing in his youth, despite his Puritan principles. On his death, aged 82, he left a charge on his Yorkshire estates to provide bibles to children in villages on his lands. They had to be able to recite the Catechism and seven named psalms.¹⁴ He was buried at Wooburn.

7. JOHN EGERTON, 2ND EARL OF BRIDGEWATER (1623-1686) Lieutenant 1660-86. Lord Chancellor Ellesmere died before he received his promised Earldom but it was awarded to his eldest son almost immediately; the latter, as mentioned above, married his step-sister Frances Stanley and it was their third son who became the second Earl in 1649. Little can be said about him except that he was a cautious Whig who married Elisabeth Cavendish, daughter of the Royalist Duke of Newcastle, but who opposed Charles II on more than one occasion.¹⁵ As Lieutenant he persecuted all Dissenters, sending both Benjamin Keach, the Baptist preacher and Isaac Penington, the Quaker, to Aylesbury gaol. He was an authoritarian in everything, but will always be remembered as acting when a boy of ten in the first performance of "Comus", the masque which his father, when Lord President of Wales, commissioned from the composer Henry Lawes who got his friend John Milton to write the words. It was acted at Ludlow Castle on Michaelmas night 1634.¹⁶ On his death he left the Tatton estates in Cheshire to a younger son whose descendants became the Lords Egerton of Tatton and survived there until 1958. He was buried at Little Gaddesden.

¹³ This great collection of Vandykes and Lelys was sold by his grandson to Sir Robert Walpole; the latter's grandson in turn sold them to Catherine of Russia in 1777 and they are now in the Hermitage in Leningrad.

¹⁴ He founded his Bible Charity after the Toleration Act of 1689; bibles were still being distributed in Waddesdon in recent years.

¹⁵ His wife died when visiting him under arrest in 1663.

¹⁶ The unique prompt copy was sold by his descendant, the fourth Earl of Ellesmere, to meet death duties in 1917 and was bought by the American collector Henry E. Huntington.

8. JOHN EGERTON, 3RD EARL OF BRIDGEWATER, K.B. (1646-1701) Lieutenant 1686-87. Like his father, a strong Anglican and a Whig, he served as M.P. for Bucks for a year before his father's death. In the crisis of James II's reign, he was one of the seventeen Lord Lieutenants (covering twenty-one counties) dismissed¹⁷ for refusing to obey the King's instructions to produce, amongst other items, lists of Roman Catholics and Dissenters to serve as Justices and as officers of the Militia.

9. GEORGE JEFFREYS, 1ST LORD JEFFREYS OF WEM (1648-1689) Lieutenant 1687-1689. To find the notorious Judge Jeffreys as Lieutenant of Bucks¹⁸ is perhaps a surprise but in fact it was a natural appointment for James II to make after the mass dismissals of 1687, for the county had an overwhelming Parliamentary tradition and there were few Tory landowners of substance. Jeffreys had purchased the Bulstrode estate at Hedgerley and lands at Fulmer from Sir Roger Hill, the owner of Denham Place, in 1686 and was therefore the natural, if not the only choice.

His career recalls that of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere. His father had a small estate in Denbighshire. The son went to three famous schools—Shrewsbury, St. Pauls and Westminster—and on to Trinity, Cambridge, and the Inner Temple. He was Common Serjeant in the City when only twenty-three, a K.C. and a knight before he was thirty, a judge and a Baronet by 1681, Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1683 and Lord Chancellor, with a peerage in 1685. He is of course remembered mainly for his severity at the "Bloody Assize" in Somerset after Monmouth's rebellion; this has been exaggerated by Whig historians (two-third of the victims were dealt with by other judges after he left the assize; it had too been a very serious armed rebellion) but there can be no doubt that he was a harsh and overbearing judge even by the very dubious standards of the day. That he had immense ability as a lawyer and a certain rough humour is also clear.¹⁹

A strong Tory, he opposed Wharton and Bridgewater in the famous County election of 1685, so vividly described in the Verney Letters,²⁰ but which was won by Wharton and the Whigs. The Letters²¹ also make reference to his attempt to flee the country and join James II in exile; this failed ignominiously; he was arrested and sent to the Tower where he died three months later. His body now rests beneath the communion table at St. Mary Aldermanbury in the City.

His second wife Anne Jones was the daughter of Sir Thomas Bludworth, Lord Mayor in the year of the Great Fire, whose panic-stricken conduct is described by Pepys. Jeffreys' son made a brilliant marriage to a daughter of the seventh Earl of Pembroke, but there was no heir and the peerage died with him.

¹⁷ The full list is in *Complete Peerage*, Vol. 2, appendix G. See also Macaulay, *History of England* (ed. C. H. Firth), Vol. 2, 967.

¹⁸ At the same time he was appointed Lieutenant of Shropshire.

¹⁹ There is a most convincing picture of Jeffreys in action as a Judge in "Martin's Close" from *The Collected Ghost Stories* (1931) by M. R. James, Provost of Eton and former President of this Society.

²⁰ *Memoirs of the Verney Family* (1899), Vol. 4, 336.

²¹ *Verney op. cit.*, 4, 446.

10. JOHN EGERTON, 3RD EARL OF BRIDGEWATER, K.B. (1646-1701) Lieutenant 1689-1701. Bridgewater was restored to the Lieutenancy by William III and later served as Speaker of the House of Lords and First Lord of the Admiralty. He was buried at Little Gaddesden.

11. THOMAS WHARTON, 1ST MARQUESS OF WHARTON (1648-1715) Lieutenant 1702. The remarkable eldest son of the fourth Lord Wharton was probably the most able of all the Bucks Lieutenants and one who, although less spectacular than George Villiers, left a more lasting influence behind him. For Wharton has as much claim as any to be the father of the party system. He reacted against his father's rigid Puritan upbringing by becoming a rake who shocked even the permissive Carolean court but like his father was unswervingly true to his Whig principles. G. M. Trevelyan²² says: "Without principle in private, he was an example of public loyalty in a slippery age, when half his Whig colleagues and Tory rivals were in secret relations with the Court of St. Germain's. Wharton's zeal for the principles of parliamentary government, and toleration for all Protestants, was a genuine and disinterested passion, and this man, renowned for his falsehood in private life, would have sacrificed everything rather than be false to his party". He had unlimited energy, abundant charm and a knack of getting on easy terms with all classes; he never forgot a face. He loved horse racing,²³ duelling (at 60 he disarmed a man forty years his junior), women and politics.

First elected for Wendover 1673-9, he sat almost continuously as M.P. for one of the county seats from 1679 to 1696 when he succeeded his father. He gradually built up his influence until he commanded ten of the fourteen seats in Bucks, twelve more in Westmorland and Yorkshire, two in Sussex and Malmesbury in Wiltshire. He showed what could be done by organisation and began the process by which members came more and more to be elected for national (or party) reasons rather than for purely local ones. Throughout James II's reign he master-minded the opposition and probably drafted the invitation to William of Orange whom he joined at Exeter. As author of the popular song *Lillibullero*²⁴ he later boasted that he had sung a King out of three kingdoms.

His reward was to be made Comptroller of the Household by William III. Under him this office became the link between the crown and the government, a link which remains, for today it is still an appointment held by a Government whip. In 1697 he was made Lieutenant of Oxfordshire²⁵ and was appointed for Bucks on 9 January 1702 but six months later, on Queen Anne's accession, he was dismissed from all his offices. He played a leading part in the Ashby

²² G. M. Trevelyan, *Blenheim* (1930), 197.

²³ There are many references to his love of racing which usually took the form of single challenges to Tories on which large bets were made. Wharton was usually successful. His own race meetings at Quanton were famous and are referred to in the best modern study of him, John Carswell, *The Old Cause* (1960).

²⁴ This was a piece of anti-Papist doggerel, composed a few years earlier during the Irish war. Purcell wrote the tune. The way it caught the mood of the country at the Revolution is described in Macaulay's *History*, Vol. 3, 1071.

²⁵ He promptly removed five Heads of Oxford Colleges from the Magistracy and replaced them with twenty-four new men "of pure Whig principles".

v White case and financed the Aylesbury men who were the defendants. However, Tory influence only lasted for two years and from 1708-10 he was Lord Lieutenant in Ireland.²⁶ The Whigs were out of office again at the end of Anne's reign but he had a final spell in power as Lord Privy Seal 1714-15. In 1706 he became Viscount Winchendon and Earl of Wharton, in 1714 Marquess of Wharton and Malmesbury and received an Irish marquessate on the day of his death.

Apart from his inherited lands in Westmorland and Yorkshire and his mother's manors of Wooburn, Waddesdon and Upper Winchendon, his first wife, daughter of Sir Henry Lee of Quarrendon, Bucks and Ditchley, Oxfordshire and his second, an Irish heiress, each brought him extensive lands. He lived mainly at Upper Winchendon where he was buried.²⁷

His only son Philip lost everything. After flirting with the Jacobites (the Old Pretender created him Duke of Northumberland), the Whigs tried to win him back by making him Duke of Wharton, but he rejoined the Tories when passed over for the Bucks Lieutenancy. He was hopelessly extravagant and quickly dissipated the great estate built up by his father. After losing £120,000 on the South Sea disaster he had to sell Waddesdon and Winchendon to the Duchess of Marlborough in 1725²⁸; by then the Irish lands had gone and those in Westmorland were bought by Robert Lowther in 1730. Wooburn was sold by his Trustees in 1739.

12. WILLIAM CHEYNE, 2ND VISCOUNT NEWHAVEN (1657-1728) Lieutenant 1702. The great Bucks family of Cheyne (or Cheney) originated from Chenies in the twelfth century. Chenies itself eventually was inherited by the Earls of Bedford but one branch of the Cheynes had Chesham Bois and Drayton Beauchamp from 1505. Charles Cheyne, whose mother was a Fleetwood of Missenden Abbey, made a brilliant marriage with a daughter of the Royalist Duke of Newcastle (and was thus a brother-in-law of the third Lord Bridgewater) and made a fortune as Commissioner of Customs 1657-87. He purchased the manor of Chelsea.²⁹ His peerage, granted in 1781, was a Scottish creation with no seat in the House of Lords, so his son was able to sit, even after his father's death in 1698, as M.P. for Bucks 1696-1701 and 1702-5 and for Amersham 1701-2 and 1705-7.³⁰ Like his father he was a strong Tory. In 1699 he fought a duel with Wharton whom he succeeded as Lieutenant, but the latter, as was his invariable practice, disarmed him but spared his life.

²⁶ Where Joseph Addison was his Secretary. Dean Swift was an enemy and wrote a bitter attack on him in *A Character of the Earl of Wharton*, 1711. This was political propaganda and highly provocative ("an atheist grafted on a Dissenter") and Wharton's reputation has suffered from it ever since.

²⁷ His funeral helm is now in the Bucks County Museum. *Records* XVII 308, and Plates XIII-XIV.

²⁸ They remained in this family until sold for £200,000 by the seventh Duke to Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild in 1874. The third Duke demolished Upper Winchendon House in 1758, but the stables were converted to a dwelling now known as The Wilderness. Wooburn House was demolished in 1750; here too the stables were made into a house, finally demolished only a few years ago.

²⁹ He is commemorated in Cheyne Walk; his son sold the estate to Sir Hans Sloane in 1712.

³⁰ In 1707 the Act of Union with Scotland made him ineligible to sit in the Commons.

A relative of the Verneys there are frequent references to him in the *Letters*.³¹ His first term as Lieutenant was brief; he was appointed by Queen Anne on her accession but only served for six months till the Whigs were strong enough to oust him in December 1702.

13. SCROOP EGERTON, 4TH EARL OF BRIDGEWATER (1681-1744/5) Lieutenant 1702-1711. The last Egerton³² to hold the Lieutenancy. From his Powlett mother he inherited a strain of eccentricity which persisted in the family. He was generally considered a dull man and appeared even more so after his first marriage to the talented and charming Elisabeth Churchill, third daughter of the first Duke of Marlborough; she however died at only twenty-six and he later married a daughter of the second Duke of Bedford.³³ He served in the household of Queen Anne's husband, George of Denmark. Together with his father-in-law he was ousted from all his offices when the Tories took over in 1711.

14. WILLIAM CHEYNE, 2ND VISCOUNT NEWHAVEN (1657-1728) Lieutenant 1712-1714. The fall of the Duke of Marlborough, followed by the other Whigs meant that Newhaven was reinstated as Lieutenant in 1712 when he also recovered his former office as Clerk of the Pipe. He was again dismissed from both offices at George I's accession but lived on until 1728. The monument over his tomb in Drayton Beauchamp church is one of the most splendid in the county.³⁴ He had no heir, so after six hundred years the family of Cheyne disappeared from Bucks. Drayton House was demolished in 1760.

15. SCROOP EGERTON, 1ST DUKE OF BRIDGEWATER (1681-1744/5) Lieutenant 1714-1728. On George I's accession Bridgewater was reinstated as Lieutenant and served the royal family in various posts until his retirement in 1728. He was created Duke of Bridgewater and Marquess of Brackley in 1720.³⁵

His fifth son was the father of inland navigation—the “Canal Duke”³⁶—who by a combination of shrewdness, imagination and business acumen, backed by already great inherited wealth, built the first great industrial empire in England. Designed by James Brindley, the first canal was opened in 1761. By the time of the Duke's death in 1803, his income was £110,000 a year. He was unmarried and divided his great inheritance between a distant cousin who inherited the Earldom and received Ashridge and all the lands in Bucks, Hertfordshire, Shropshire and Yorkshire, whilst the remainder went to his nephew, the first Duke of Sutherland, and this included Brackley, the Lancashire lands and Bridgewater House in London.³⁷

³¹ One reference has a decidedly modern ring about it; he sends some concert tickets “knoweing that my Cossen Verney and his sisters love musick, I have here enclosed two tickets which I beg acceptance of”. *Verney Letters of the Eighteenth Century* (1930). 1.108.

³² He was the fourth son. His elder brothers died in a fire which destroyed Bridgewater House in the Barbican in 1675.

³³ As his daughter by his first wife had married the third Duke of Bedford, the latter became both his brother-in-law and his son-in-law.

³⁴ Described and illustrated by Mrs. Katherine Esdaile, *Records XV*, 36 and Plates 16-17. The sculptor was William Woodman.

³⁵ Ivinghoe and Slapton in Bucks had been added to the Bridgewater estates since Lord Chancellor Ellesmere's day.

³⁶ There is a good account of the Canal Duke in Bernard Falk's *The Bridgewater Millions*.

³⁷ Even after the division, the seventh Earl of Bridgewater and the Duke of Sutherland ranked as two of the five richest men in the country.

16. RICHARD TEMPLE, 1ST VISCOUNT COBHAM (1675-1749) Lieutenant 1728-1738. The Temples were originally a Warwickshire family who came to Stowe, which had belonged to Oseney Abbey up to the Dissolution, in 1590. Sir Peter Temple, whose father was made a Baronet, was an active Parliamentarian in the Civil War, so it was natural that the family should be Whigs and Sir Richard, Peter's son, was influential locally, M.P. for Buckingham for nearly 40 years and, in 1690 Custos Rotulorum³⁸ of the County. He played an active part in placing William and Mary on the throne. He also built the original house at Stowe, which is still enclosed in the central block. His son Richard was a soldier, one of Marlborough's subordinates. When promotion was by purchase it could be rapid so there was nothing unusual in his becoming an Ensign at the age of 10, a Colonel at 27 and a General at 35; however, he had to wait another 32 years before becoming a Field-Marshal. But that he was an able soldier is not in doubt; he particularly distinguished himself at the siege of Lille in 1708. After Marlborough was ousted from his command in 1711 by the Tories, and his generals were dismissed in the following year, Temple retired to Stowe. Posterity should thank the Tories for this because in the next two years of retirement his thoughts turned to his house and gardens, helped perhaps by marriage to an heiress,³⁹ and he began that collaboration with his head gardener Charles Bridgeman which resulted in "Landscape Gardening", one of England's great gifts to civilisation, nowhere more complete today than at Stowe which, even in 1720, was described by Pope as "a place to wonder at" and of which Christopher Hussey⁴⁰ wrote "its scenery was generally accepted as the finest physical expression of the age's aesthetic concept of Ideal Nature. This was the more influential owing to Stowe's being the chief seat of the Whig political establishment, the ideals and achievements of which the landscapes subtly reflected". Over the next fifty years the gardens were continuously developed and a galaxy of architects—Vanbrugh, Kent, Gibbs and Robert Adam, amongst them—not only transformed the house but added that series of monuments, follies, temples, bridges and arches, so many of which happily remain today.

Although Stowe remained his great love, Temple was continuously employed from 1714, when, with George I's accession, the Whigs returned to power. He was made a peer at the Coronation and took the title of Cobham because of a remote descent from the Brooke family who had held that title from 1313-1618. Four years later, he came a Viscount with special remainder to his sister Hester, wife of Richard Grenville of Wotton.

He supported Walpole till 1733, when he broke with him because he opposed the new excise duties and took his band of cousins and friends⁴¹ over to the

³⁸ This led Mr. Eland to think that Temple must have been Lieutenant but until the eighteenth century the two offices were not necessarily held together as is universal today. But the office of Custos—"Keeper of the Rolls of our Peace"—is still technically separate from the Lieutenancy. In 1755 all the English Lieutenants were also Custos except the Bishop of Durham. (List in Chamberlayne's *Magna Britanniae Notitia* for that year).

³⁹ She was Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Halsey of Stoke Park, Stoke Poges. The estate remained in the Temple-Grenville family until sold to John Penn in 1761.

⁴⁰ Christopher Hussey, *English Gardens and Landscapes 1700-50* (1967), 89.

⁴¹ "That remarkable group which was known as the Cobham Cousins—Grenvilles, Lytletons and Pitts—Thomas Pitt and the terrible Cornet of Horse. This powerful combination comprised

opposition. It is probable that this action caused his replacement as Lieutenant by the Duke of Marlborough in 1738. But when Walpole fell from power four years later, none of the Cobham group obtained office.

Cobham was an able but hard man who was ruthless in demolishing the old village of Stowe and rehousing his tenants at Dadford. He waged a long battle in the County to have the Assizes at Buckingham; in fact from 1720-46 the Summer assize had been held there with the Winter assize at Aylesbury, but in 1747 both were for some reason held at the County town. Cobham was furious and acted swiftly by introducing an act of parliament moving the Assizes to Buckingham.⁴² The Assizes required a gaol so Cobham built one in Buckingham in 1748 and this odd castellated building still stands at the foot of Market Hill.

Next year his neighbour Henry Purefoy wrote in his diary⁴³ "On Wensday the 13th September 1749 at 9 a clock at night departed this Life Rich: Ld. Viscount Cobham, & it is hoped exchanged this Life for a better". The Temple Memoirs are more revealing "In his last moments, not being able to carry a glass of jelly to his mouth, he was in such a passion that he threw the jelly, glass and all, in the face of his niece, Hester Grenville—fell back and expired".⁴⁴

17. CHARLES SPENCER, 3RD DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, K.G. (1706-1758) Lieutenant 1738-58. The first Duke of Marlborough, when it became clear that he would not have a male heir, obtained a special remainder by which his peerages could descend to his daughters and their male heirs; by this clause Henrietta, Countess of Godolphin succeeded on the Duke's death in 1722 but as her only son pre-deceased her in 1733 the honours were inherited by her nephew Charles Spencer, eldest son of Marlborough's second daughter Anne, wife of the third Earl of Sunderland.⁴⁵ Like Cobham he was a distinguished soldier. He fought at Dettingen, when he was knighted on the field by George II, commanded the expedition to St. Malo in 1758, and later in the same year, as a Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Germany, died at Munster.

As a young man under the influence of his formidable grandmother, Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, he began his political career in opposition, but the influence of his great friend Henry Fox brought him round to the Govern-

of one man of genius and several men of ability, all more or less impracticable, might have governed the county for a generation had they only been able to agree." Lord Rosebery, 'The Political Aspect of Buckinghamshire' (*Records IX.94*). This famous essay was given on 6th July 1905 as a Presidential address to this Society which mistakenly believed it was celebrating its Jubilee (it was actually founded in 1847): its sustained brilliance fully justified its inclusion in *Selected Modern English Essays (Second Series)* in the Oxford World's Classics.

⁴² The act was considered to be an attack on Lord Chief Justice Willis, an old ally of Walpole, by the Grenville family. It was bitterly but unsuccessfully opposed by Horace Walpole who insulted Arthur Onslow the Speaker and had to apologise. R. W. Ketton-Cremer, *Horace Walpole* (1946), 128.

⁴³ *Purefoy Letters* (edited G. Eland, 1931), I. xxxii.

⁴⁴ Cobham's lands in Bucks were modest compared with those of his successors—Buckingham, Stowe, Foscott and part of Thornborough. In 1951 his statue on top of the Cobham monument at Stowe was brought down by lightning; his head was undamaged. See also p. 228 of this number.

⁴⁵ By a family arrangement all the Spencer estates went to Charles' younger brother John. These were mainly in Warwickshire and Northamptonshire and included Althorp, their main home since 1508. John's son was created Earl Spencer.



In the Possession of Robert Coke Esq^r J. Kneller pinxit. J. Richardson sculpsit. 1724. J. Longman del. & P. Wharton sculpsit. 1718.

PLATE I. Thomas, Marquess of Wharton.



PLATE II. George, Marquess of Buckingham.

ment.⁴⁶ He was immediately rewarded by a Colonelcy and the Lieutenancies of Bucks and Oxfordshire. This infuriated Sarah and he added insult to injury when he purchased Langley Park⁴⁷ in south Bucks because he acquired it from none other than Lady Masham, the former Abigail Hill, who, thirty years earlier, had supplanted Sarah in the affections of Queen Anne. All this was in 1737-8 but thereafter many honours came to him—the Garter, F.R.S., P.C., D.C.L., Lord Steward of the Household, Lord Privy Seal, and Master-General of the Ordnance and although his main estate was in Oxfordshire his interests in Bucks were considerable comprising the former Wharton manors of Upper Winchendon and Waddesdon, Long Crendon and Langley.

18. RICHARD TEMPLE-GRENVILLE, 2ND EARL TEMPLE, K.G. (1711-1779) Lieutenant 1758-1763. As Cobham had no children, his sister Hester therefore became Viscountess Cobham and later was created Countess Temple. She had married Richard Grenville the head of one of the oldest Bucks families who had been settled at Wotton Underwood as early as 1160. They had been inconspicuous county squires for five centuries until Richard Grenville came into some prominence as a strong Parliament man. He was Sheriff in 1641 and was also appointed a Deputy Lieutenant by Lord Paget, together with John Hampden and Arthur Goodwin. It was his grandson who married Hester Temple and it was their eldest son Richard who, on his mother's death, united the Stowe and Wotton estates.⁴⁸ He made no great mark as a politician, but Stowe continued to be a centre of Whig influence and he was as active as his uncle in extending the house and developing the grounds. The great south front was built in his day.

After serving as M.P. for Buckingham (1734-41 and 1747-52) and Bucks (1741-47) he achieved office under his cousin William Pitt as First Lord of the Admiralty 1756-57 and Lord Privy Seal 1757-61. Horace Walpole called him "the absolute creature of Pitt" and he alone resigned with him in 1761.

When he became Lieutenant on Marlborough's death he had for some years been giving patronage to John Wilkes. The latter, living in Aylesbury, had become a local figure as a Justice, High Sheriff and officer in the Militia. Temple drew him into politics and he became M.P. for Aylesbury; financed by Temple he started *The North Briton* at a time when he had risen to be Colonel of the county Militia regiment over which Temple, as Lieutenant, had supreme authority. His brilliant pamphleteering infuriated the King and some of the ministers and on 23rd April appeared the famous forty-fifth issue which contained a direct attack on the Crown. By this time Temple's brother, George Grenville, was Prime Minister and it fell to him to order his brother to remove Colonel Wilkes from his command. To his credit he refused to do this and was dismissed on 7th May from the Lieutenancy. Ironically he was replaced by Dashwood, a close friend and crony of Wilkes, but a Tory. Later Temple

⁴⁶ A. L. Rowse, *The Later Churchills* (1958), 63.

⁴⁷ He needed a home as Sarah was still at Blenheim. Langley had formerly been the Kederminster mansion. Marlborough demolished the old manor and built the present house. He was very fond of it and it remained the main family home till sold to Sir Robert Bateson Harvey in 1788. He also built the little fishing pavilion on an island in the Thames at Bray; it is now a well-known restaurant but some of the original decoration is preserved.

⁴⁸ Which now comprised Ashendon, Buckingham, Foscott, Long Crendon, Stoke Poges, Stowe and Wotton.

gave Wilkes some land in Middlesex which qualified him as a freeholder thus enabling him to stand at the disputed Middlesex election of 1768.

Temple remained a rather ineffective intriguer in politics till his death, and must have been both selfish and vain. He resigned as Lord Privy Seal because he was refused the Garter but returned to office three months later when George II, under great pressure from Pitt, finally bestowed it. Yet he was a fine talker and clever enough to be considered the author of the *Letters of Junius*; he enjoyed his great wealth and was generous to Pitt and Wilkes. George II, however, had a low opinion of him ". . . so disagreeable a figure there was no bearing him; that when he attempts to argue, he was pert, and sometimes insolent; that when he meant to be civil, he was exceedingly troublesome and that in the business of his office he was totally ignorant". But as Temple had compared the King's conduct at Oudenarde to that of Admiral Byng at Minorca, his strictures can probably be forgiven.

He died from a fractured skull after falling from a phaeton when driving in the park at Stowe and was buried at Wotton.⁴⁹

19. FRANCIS DASHWOOD, 15TH LORD LE DESPENCER (1708-1781) Lieutenant 1763-81. In the seventeenth century the Dashwoods were prosperous Turkey merchants in the City. Sir Samuel Dashwood was Lord Mayor in 1702, whilst his brother Francis was an Alderman who was created a Baronet⁵⁰ five years later; their sister had married Thomas Lewis, a brother Alderman who had purchased the West Wycombe estate of the Dormers which he later sold to Francis who in 1708 began to build the present house. His son, another Francis, succeeded his father in 1724.

Dashwood was a typical eighteenth figure—connoisseur, antiquary, rake, politician and reformer and his general reputation as a scandalous libertine and incompetent financier has been almost universally accepted until recent years. But his latest biographer⁵¹ has convincingly demonstrated that Dashwood was very much more than this.

Although more Tory than Whig he was really the epitome of the independent country M.P., disliking the heavyweight landowners who dominated ministries at the time with their pocket boroughs and innumerable relatives who were found "places" and lived on public funds. He was thus an opponent of the whole Temple-Grenville tribe, undoubtedly the greediest and most cynical of the great Whig families with the possible exception of the Russells. To him the prime duty of members was to criticise the executive, not to be beholden to them.

Dashwood served as member for New Romney 1741-61 and Weymouth 1761-63 as a supporter of Bute who made him Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1762. He was quite unfitted for this post and his only Budget Speech was howled down, yet as Joint Postmaster General for eighteen years till his death he was both a reformer and a conscientious administrator. He had gone to the Lords in 1763 when he inherited the ancient peerage of Le Despencer.⁵²

⁴⁹ A disability caused him to walk with difficulty. He was generally known as Squire Gawkey.

⁵⁰ Being the first Baronetcy created after the Union the holder is the Premier Baronet of Great Britain.

⁵¹ Betty Kemp, *Sir Francis Dashwood* (1967).

⁵² This ancient peerage, dating from 1264, can descend in the female line. Dashwood inherited it from his mother Lady Mary Fane, daughter of the fourth Earl of Westmorland.

He has been best remembered as a libertine. That he was a very wild young man is unquestionable but the common view of the antics of the Medmenham Club⁵³ ("The Knights of St. Francis of Wycombe"), founded on gossip and endlessly repeated and embellished in the last two hundred years, had little real foundation in solid fact. His other foundation—the Dilettanti Society⁵⁴—was of greater and more lasting importance.

His love for the arts was first stimulated, like so many of his contemporaries, by the Grand Tour.⁵⁵ Immediately on his return in 1740, he set to work to transform his house and grounds. How well he succeeded can fortunately still be appreciated today, for there remain few more perfect eighteenth century landscapes than West Wycombe whilst the combination of the church which he transformed and the Mausoleum on the hill overlooking park and village are unique. Thanks to the care of his descendants and the National Trust, the splendid house is much as he left it and the landscape as he must have visualised it.⁵⁶

Dashwood was also an enlightened landlord for his time, going to unusual trouble to find work for tenants in distress.⁵⁷ It is typical of his advanced thinking that as an M.P. he introduced a Poor Relief Bill and advocated triennial elections.

In his later years he became interested in a revised Prayer Book which he compiled with the help of his friend Benjamin Franklin who procured its adoption by the Episcopalian Church in the United States, founded immediately after the American Revolution. Franklin's great admiration for him as a host and as a cultured man of independent mind is perhaps the most convincing testimony to his real character.

20. PHILIP STANHOPE, 5TH EARL OF CHESTERFIELD, K.G. (1755-1815) Lieutenant 1781-1782. The fourth Earl, the author of the *Letters*, left no legitimate heirs and was succeeded by a distant cousin who inherited not only large estates around Bretby in Derbyshire but also the extensive Dormer lands⁵⁸ in Bucks which had descended to his family when Elisabeth, daughter of the second Earl of Carnarvon, married the second Earl of Chesterfield. Contemporary references to the fifth Earl are uniformly unfavourable. He was a Tory politician who held some minor offices but is remembered, if at all, for prosecuting his former tutor, Dr. Dodd (whom he had presented to the living of Wing) for forgery, for which Dodd was hanged, and for demolishing both his ancient houses in the county—Ascott House at Wing in 1800 and

⁵³ There never was a 'Hell-Fire Club'. It has been pointed out that the oft-quoted motto 'Fay que ce voudras' was not as permissive as it sounds: Dashwood, like all good hosts, wanted his guests to enjoy their visit by doing what they best liked.

⁵⁴ Horace Walpole said that it was a "club for which the nominal qualification is having been to Italy and the real one, being drunk". Yet amongst other activities it sponsored the publication of Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*.

⁵⁵ He met Horace Walpole in Rome in 1739.

⁵⁶ He also laid out the straight road from West to High Wycombe; the monument standing at the junction with the Princes Risborough road is dated 1752 and commemorates its completion. The notorious caves were excavated to provide the foundations.

⁵⁷ He owned Halton in Bucks and estates in Lincolnshire where he became interested in draining the fens.

⁵⁸ His Bucks lands were Aston Abbots, Buckland, Eythrope, Grove, Ilmer, Wing and Wingrave.

Eythrope,⁵⁹ where he lived when in the county, in 1810. Appointed Lieutenant by Lord North, he was replaced during the Shelburne administration of 1782. 21. GEORGE NUGENT-TEMPLE-GRENVILLE, 1ST MARQUESS OF BUCKINGHAM, K.G., K.P. Lieutenant 1782-1813. He was the son of George Grenville, the Prime Minister of 1763-5, and nephew of Earl Temple whom he succeeded in 1779; in 1784 was created Marquess of Buckingham and four years later succeeded his father-in-law as Earl Nugent. Like all Grenvilles he was a greedy placeman,⁶⁰ excessively proud and touchy, yet an able man who could work very hard (though incapable of delegating) as was shown by the good opinions he won during his two terms as Lord Lieutenant in Ireland⁶¹ (1782-83 and 1787-89). But it is fair to add that this was the feeling of the English Ascendancy not of the Irish, particularly Henry Grattan.

As Whig M.P. for Buckingham 1774-79 he supported North and later Shelburne but during the North-Fox administration he was a violent opponent of the East India Bill and was the man who obtained the King's permission to issue the well-known warning that those who voted for the Bill would be considered the King's enemies. He remained a supporter of Pitt, but went over to the Opposition in 1802.⁶²

22. RICHARD TEMPLE-NUGENT-BRYDGES-CHANDOS-GRENVILLE, 1ST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, K.G. (1776-1839) Lieutenant 1813-1839. Like his father and great-uncle Buckingham never achieved the high office that he felt his position and merits deserved. Like them he was fundamentally serious and hard-working, but inordinately proud, vain and, above all, unloveable. Like them his concern for honours and status was almost pathological. Temple had threatened to resign as Lord Privy Seal unless he received the Garter, the first Marquess resigned as Secretary of State after three days in office because he was made a Marquess and not a Duke; now in the third generation, the Dukedom was finally achieved—but only as a reward for bringing the Grenville influence over to support Lord Liverpool's Tory government in 1822 after his family had been prominent in the Whig cause for nearly two centuries.⁶³

In his father's lifetime he had been M.P. for Bucks 1797-1813 and held minor office in his brother Lord Grenville's 1806 Ministry. He probably remained a Whig at heart for in his later years he became increasingly opposed

⁵⁹ 'Lord Chesterfield at Eythrope', *Records* XII, 302 and the excellent article by H. M. Colvin, 'Eythrope House and its Demolition in 1810-11', *Records* XVII, 219.

⁶⁰ He was appointed Teller of the Exchequer, a most lucrative post, at the age of ten. Cobbett, in a famous attack on the Grenvilles, calculated that in fifty years Buckingham and his two brothers had drawn £900,000 from public funds. When his son reluctantly surrendered one third of his emoluments as Teller in 1823 they were worth £20,000 per annum.

⁶¹ At his suggestion the King founded an Order of St. Patrick in 1783 and he became the first Knight. As there have been no creations to this order for many years it will probably lapse on the death of the present Duke of Gloucester.

⁶² He was buried in the curious Grenville chapel in Wotton Underwood Church which he had had built in 1800. There is a fine statue of him in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.

⁶³ Sir Charles Bagot wrote "I am glad the Grenvilles are taken into the Government; and (for Grenvilles) they come tolerably cheap. I see no objection to a Dukedom for the head of the Grenville family, but I see many in giving it to the actual blubber head who now reigns over them." *Complete Peerage*, 11, 408.

to his vigorous eldest son, Lord Chandos,⁶⁴ who throughout his chequered career had the farming and landed interest very much at heart. He supported Catholic emancipation and the abolition of the Slave Trade. Their gradual estrangement caused the Duke, a naturally gloomy man, to travel abroad, partly for his health, partly for economy, partly from sheer depression with politics. At a farewell interview with George IV the latter said: "It is a strange political atmosphere which we are breathing", to which he replied: "So strange, sir, that I cannot breathe it, and I retire to avoid it".⁶⁵ He was in Italy and elsewhere for two years on his own yacht.⁶⁶

On his return he went to live on the Itchen Abbas estate which he had purchased for £60,000 from Lord Bolton in 1820.⁶⁷ He was so alarmed by the events of 1832 that he actually brought the cannon from his yacht to defend Avington House. His financial problems were by now becoming acute. Lord Temple had been one of the richest men in the country but, despite three generations of marriages to heiresses, his father's sumptuous scale of entertainment, his own purchases of more Bucks property,⁶⁸ always with borrowed money, and his son's reckless expenditure not least on elections, all meant that sooner or later the crash would come. Luckily he did not live to see it.

23. ROBERT CARRINGTON, 2ND LORD CARRINGTON (1796-1868) Lieutenant 1839-1868. In 1790 Robert Smith was head of the oldest and most famous country bank in England, founded by Thomas Smith in Nottingham in 1658. Exactly one hundred years later his grandson Abel Smith formed a partnership with a London banker John Payne. Smith, Payne and Smith's Bank prospered and grew through the years until, after various amalgamations it became in 1924 the National Provincial, still with a Smith as its chairman.⁶⁹ From this seventeenth-century Nottingham banker descend the Abel-Smiths, the Dorrien-Smiths and the families headed by Lord Carrington and Lord Bicester.⁷⁰ The London Head Office at 1 Lombard Street next to the Mansion House was the best known banking address in England until the arrival of the Rothschilds.⁷¹

Robert Smith became one of William Pitt's few close friends and advisers; his bank was active with Government loans during the Napoleonic wars. He sat as M.P. for Nottingham 1779-96. Pitt's finances were usually in disorder and no doubt Smith assisted him though not in a direct sense. In 1796-97 Pitt, to strengthen his position in the Lords, created no less than thirty new peers, a quite unprecedented influx which was bitterly criticised and Smith.

⁶⁴ Much light on father and son, their relations with each other, with the Fremantles and with their constituents and their supporters, has been assembled by R. W. Davis in *Political Change and Continuity; 6760-1885* reviewed on p. 232 of this issue of the *Records*.

⁶⁵ G. Wilson Knight, *The Dynasty of Stowe* (1945), 69.

⁶⁶ When Charles Greville ascended Vesuvius in May 1830, he heard of the Duke's recent visit when he was carried up by twelve men. Charles Greville, *The Greville Memoirs*, edited by Roger Fulford and Lytton Strachey (1938), 1, 450.

⁶⁷ F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (1963), 37.

⁶⁸ Gawcott, Hillesden, Preston Bissett, Weston Turville and much town property were added.

⁶⁹ J. A. S. L. Leighton-Boyce, *Smiths the Bankers* (1958).

⁷⁰ Generally known in the City as the Financial Smiths. In 1959 seventeen members of the family still held eighty-seven directorships in seventy-five companies, Anthony Sampson, *The Anatomy of Britain* (1962), 381.

⁷¹ John Smith was one of Baron Lionel Rothschild's sponsors when he was finally allowed to take his seat in 1858.

who became Lord Carrington in the Irish Peerage⁷² (although he received a British one the following year) was a particular target. No one doubted his honesty or ability but he was "in trade". It had taken all Pitt's considerable powers of persuasion to obtain George III's consent to such a dangerous step.⁷³

Carrington soon became a landed proprietor in Bucks. In 1798 he bought the former Loakes Manor in High Wycombe from Lord Shelburne and the Moulsoe estate near Newport Pagnell.⁷⁴ Around 1804 Wycombe Abbey was rebuilt in the new fashionable castellated style by James Wyatt.

His son succeeded him in 1838 and was appointed Lieutenant in the following year much to the indignation of the Grenvilles one of whom wrote that "thirty years ago he was a stranger in the County without an acre in it".⁷⁵ The new Duke of Buckingham, from sheer force of family habit, continued to act as if he was Lieutenant. The latter's main duty, apart from commanding the Militia, was to select the magistrates although the actual appointment was by the Lord Chancellor as it is today. In 1841 Lyndhurst, Peel's Tory Lord Chancellor, on coming into office, promptly appointed fifteen Tory magistrates from a list supplied by the second Duke of Buckingham who was Lord Privy Seal, Carrington was furious but could do nothing about it.⁷⁶ Two years later the Duke tried to prevent the appointment of John Senior as Sheriff of Bucks because he was "a mere grazier" but on this occasion Peel overruled Lyndhurst.⁷⁷ But Carrington himself, although a Liberal, had rigid views about magistrates. By 1850 Benjamin Disraeli was a Conservative leader and a landowner in Bucks. He had himself been a magistrate since 1836 and a Deputy Lieutenant since 1845. His brother James was a farmer who considered he ought to be on the Bench; Disraeli reported that "this obliges me to tell him the truth viz. that I did mention to the Lord Lieutenant that I wished him to be made a magistrate and had the mortification of being refused". Carrington had an absolute rule against any one in trade—only thus, he said, could he keep the Radicals of Wycombe at bay.⁷⁸ However, seventeen years later it fell to Disraeli to appoint Carrington's successor.

In 1860 Carrington took a lease of Gayhurst House. Next year Sheahan⁷⁹ wrote "It is gratifying to know that it is the intention of the noble proprietor to preserve every relic which may recall recollections of our past history, and to perpetuate the style and character of the older part of the building, which has many artistic excellencies seldom surpassed". The result was a disaster.

⁷² It was considered a very great privilege to be allowed to drive a carriage through the Horse Guards Arch in Whitehall. There is an agreeable anecdote that Smith asked Pitt for this honour who refused but offered him an Irish peerage as a sop. Leighton-Boyce, *op. cit.* 129, quotes a contemporary jingle:

"Billy Pitt made him a peer
And took his pen from behind his ear."

⁷³ From then on finance was allowed to be a gentleman's occupation.

⁷⁴ To this his son added Beachampton, Castlethorpe, Drayton Parslow, Dunton and Tickford Manor at Newport Pagnell.

⁷⁵ Davis, *op. cit.*, 61.

⁷⁶ Greville, *op. cit.*, IV, 434.

⁷⁷ Greville, *op. cit.*, V, 77. "He is resolved as he is not Lord Lieutenant in title, to make himself so in reality."

⁷⁸ Robert Blake, *Disraeli* (1966), 307.

⁷⁹ J. J. Sheahan, *History of Buckinghamshire* (1862), 538.

He employed William Burgess (who rebuilt Cardiff Castle for Lord Bute) who applied his own brand of Medieval Revivalism to this lovely Elizabethan house, including a great kitchen built in the style of a Medieval refectory and a painted room based on Catherine de Medici's boudoir at Blois.

24. RICHARD PLANTAGENET TEMPLE-NUGENT-BRYDGES-CHANDOS-GRENVILLE, 3RD DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, G.C.S.I. (1823-1889) Lieutenant 1868-1889. To understand the character and achievements of the third Duke, it is necessary to look briefly at his predecessor.

The financial pressures on the second Duke did not make him lower his standard of living. He was tireless in local and national politics and was generally looked on as the leader of the farming interest, yet he had the same faults as his ancestors; after six months as Lord Privy Seal in Peel's 1841 Ministry "... he had done nothing but apply to all the Ministers for places, being exceedingly greedy after patronage . . . a very ordinary man, and apparently without any habits of, or taste for, business".⁸⁰ He soon resigned, probably because he began to realise Peel's views on the Corn Laws. Only a year before his bankruptcy he entertained the Queen and Prince Consort for a week at Stowe with the utmost splendour,⁸¹ but in August 1847 he left the country with debts of a million pounds.⁸² The sale of the entire contents of Stowe took forty days in 1848.⁸³ Charles Greville, Clerk of the Council, together with all fashionable London, went there and wrote "... a sorry sight, a dull, undesirable place, not without magnificence. The garden front is very stately and palatial; the House full of trash mixed with some fine things; altogether a painful monument of human vanity, folly, and, it may be added, wickedness, for wicked it is thus recklessly to ruin a great House and wife and children"⁸⁴ A great deal of land had also to be sold.⁸⁵

Thus the third Duke, an only son, faced a formidable inheritance. But in character he was a great contrast to his father. Serious, hard-working and very able he was typical of the mid-Victorian era. Having served as Conservative M.P. for Buckingham 1846-57, he was Lord President, then Secretary for the Colonies in the Derby-Disraeli Ministry of 1866-68; he became Governor of Madras and he was Chairman of Committees in the Lords for the last three years of his life. He was interested in technology and created a considerable sensation⁸⁶ by being the first peer to be not only the director of a public company but the expert and efficient Chairman of the London and North Western Railway.⁸⁷

⁸⁰ Greville, *op cit* IV, 422.

⁸¹ It has always been said that the bailiffs were already in the house but were persuaded to wear footmen's livery while the Queen was there.

⁸² In his retirement he wrote the long series of Temple-Grenville Memoirs. He died at the Great Western Hotel and left only £200. He is the Duke of Agincourt in Disraeli's *Coningsby*.

⁸³ Starting on 15 August; Christie and Manson were the auctioneers. The catalogue (which cost fifteen shillings) consisted of 271 pages and dealt with 2810 lots. Sales totalled a mere £76,562.

⁸⁴ Greville, *op. cit.* V.100.

⁸⁵ The Somerset lands fetched £200 an acre. Sheahan *op. cit.* 304. In 1839 his rent roll has been over £100,000 a year.

⁸⁶ Thompson, *op. cit.* 306.

⁸⁷ For his interest in railway development in Bucks, G. Eland, "Railway Systems of Mid-Bucks" in *The Chilterns and the Vale* (1911).

He also set to work to rebuild his estates and to a remarkable degree he succeeded in the forty years from 1849.⁸⁸ Stowe never quite regained its former glory but starting at the sale itself, when he personally bought in many lots, he re-purchased much more in later years and built up the lands to something like their former level.

When Carrington died Disraeli was Prime Minister. His letter to the Queen on 26 March 1868 is revealing:

“ . . . The Duke of Buckingham has still the largest estate in the county. Mr Disraeli remembers more than twenty years ago in the dark troubles of His Grace’s youth telling him that he had a mission to fulfil; & that was to build up again the fortunes of an ancient house.

With a steady exercise of some virtues, with the continuous application of a not inconsiderable intelligence & in no slight degree by your Majesty’s favour & considerate sympathy, the Duke has succeeded in this noble enterprize.

Mr Disraeli believes that he is meeting Yr Majesty’s views in recommending the Duke of Buckingham to Yr Majesty’s favor for the high office of Ld. Lt. for the County of Bucks, now vacant.

Having in his youth & days of great obscurity, received Kindnesses from the House of Grenville he shd. feel grateful to fortune if by Yr Majesty’s permission he was authorized to make a communication in this spirit to the Duke of Buckingham.

The flag waves again over Stowe, wh: no one ever expected; & if Yr Majesty confers on the Duke the great honor of being Yr Majesty’s representative in this county, the honors of the Grenville family will after great vicissitudes & searching trials be restored.”

The Queen entirely concurred “ . . . No one bore his great misfortunes more nobly . . . ”⁸⁹

The Duke was President of the Bucks Archaeological Society from 1884 to his death. On 8 August 1884 the Society’s Annual Meeting and Excursion was held at Stowe when the Duke gave an address on the house and grounds which is still of interest.⁹⁰

He had no male heir, but Stowe continued in his daughter’s family until the second and final sale in 1921.⁹¹

25. NATHAN MAYER ROTHSCHILD, 1ST LORD ROTHSCHILD, G.C.V.O. (1840-1915) Lieutenant 1889-1915. Lord Rothschild was the grandson of Baron Nathan de Rothschild who founded the English branch of the banking firm at the end of the eighteenth century. His father, Baron Lionel, had been the first practising Jew to sit in the House of Commons after a prolonged struggle to be allowed to take his seat⁹² and subsequently represented Aylesbury as a Liberal from 1865 to his death in 1885. It was he who so readily found the four

⁸⁸ At his death these consisted of the original core—Stowe, Wotton and Buckingham—with Ashendon, Gawcott, Preston Bissett and Long Crendon.

⁸⁹ Blake, *op. cit.* 494.

⁹⁰ *Records* V. 349 and *Obituary* VI. 263.

⁹¹ The Duke died at Chandos House, Cavendish Square leaving an estate of £80,000. Stowe was let to the Compté de Paris, the then Pretender to the French throne, 1889-94.

⁹² He was first elected for the City in 1847 but finally took his seat only in 1858.

million pounds which enabled Disraeli's government to buy the Khedive of Egypt's Suez Canal shares in 1875.

His eldest son Nathan went to Trinity, Cambridge, where he was a contemporary and friend of the future Edward VII, a friendship which lasted all their lives; it was mainly due to the king's influence that wealthy Jews became accepted in the upper reaches of English society.

Rothschild was the undisputed leader of the Jewish Community in England, a man of great generosity in many fields and respected everywhere. Five members of his family settled in mid-Bucks, which they entirely dominated until the end of World War I.⁹³ Although nominally Liberal he was conservative in every other way and became a Liberal Unionist in 1884. He himself lived at Tring Park, but had lands in Marsworth, Weston Turville, Wingrave and the Burston manor in Aston Abbots.⁹⁴

In 1869 Gladstone⁹⁵ had recommended Baron Lionel for a peerage which the Queen refused on the grounds that he had made his wealth "solely from money contracts",⁹⁶ but sixteen years later, probably under Disraeli's subtle influence, she was prepared to create the Baron's son a peer. Possibly the Prince of Wales influenced her; this is unlikely, but he certainly did have a hand in Rothschild's appointment as Lieutenant in 1889. This was a surprise nomination; most people had expected Salisbury would nominate the second Lord Cottesloe. The Prince's close friend, the third Lord Carrington, protested to him but the Prince replied "It would have been strange ten years ago, but times change. He is a good fellow and man of business, and he and his family own half the County!"⁹⁷ Carrington in fact was one of Rothchild's two sponsors when he took the oath in the Lords, Lord Rosebery, who had married his cousin Hannah, being the other.

26. CHARLES ROBERT WYNN-CARRINGTON, 1ST MARQUESS OF LINCOLNSHIRE, K.G., G.C.M.G. (1843-1928) Lieutenant 1915-1923. Like his predecessor, Charles Carrington⁹⁸ was a close friend of the Prince of Wales at Trinity, Cambridge, where he was a Master of the "Drag"; he served the Prince in many capacities throughout his life. He was M.P. for High Wycombe in 1865, but succeeded his father as third Lord Carrington three years later. He then served in the Royal Horse Guards, was Governor of New South Wales⁹⁹ 1885-90 and President of the Board of Agriculture 1905-12. He

⁹³ Their five houses were Tring, Mentmore, Ascott, Waddesdon and Aston Clinton (now demolished).

⁹⁴ In 1883 he owned 13,000 acres in Bucks and Herts.

⁹⁵ Gladstone, on religious grounds, had opposed Baron Rothschild's admission as a member twenty years before.

⁹⁶ Elisabeth Longford, *Victoria R.I.* (1964), 354.

⁹⁷ Philip Magnus, *King Edward the Seventh* (1964), 215 "As social phenomena, the Rothschilds' quizzical detachment from the familiar European class pattern fascinated the Prince, who relished their sensible cosmopolitan outlook, public spirit, geniality and panache, as well as their generosity and the invaluable advice and help which they gave. All were welcome and frequent guests at Sandringham" *Op. cit.* 106.

⁹⁸ The family has been curiously indecisive about their surname which, beginning as Smith, became in succession, Carrington (1839), Carington (1843), Wynn-Carrington (1896); even so the *Complete Peerage* also refers to Wynn-Carington! The fourth Lord Carrington and his successors have reverted to Carrington.

⁹⁹ But he was not sent out for the same reasons as Lord Lundy.

became Earl Carrington in 1895 and Marquess of Lincolnshire in 1912.¹⁰⁰ He was an extreme Liberal all his life and a Progressive member of the L.C.C. Queen Victoria had grave doubts about his soundness partly no doubt because he was such a close friend of her eldest son; in 1884 he infuriated the Conservatives by inviting the Prince to witness a big Reform demonstration from the balcony of Carrington House, thereby involving the latter in a question dear to the Liberals, just after the Third Reform Bill had been defeated in the Lords.¹⁰¹ Later, in 1892, when Gladstone was in the process of forming his last Ministry, the Queen, fearing the worst, wrote to her Private Secretary her forthright opinions on some of the probable Cabinet members: “. . . how shocked she is at Lord Rosebery’ speech which is radical to a degree to be almost communistic . . . Poor Lady Rosebery is not there to keep him back . . . And the G.O.M. at 82 is a *very alarming prospect* . . . she positively refuses to take either Sir C. Dilke or that equally horrid Mr. Labouchere . . . To them she must add Lord Ripon *not to have anything to do with India* . . . Lord Carrington whom the Queen has heard mentioned would be totally out of the question since his speech . . .”¹⁰²

In 1879, on the death of his mother Charlotte Drummond-Willoughby he inherited a moiety of the office of Hereditary Great Chamberlain and acted for the reign of George V.¹⁰³

His estates in the county were the same as his father’s; during his life Wycombe Abbey itself became a girls school but he died at Daws Hill House nearby. In 1911 he purchased the Gwydyr Castle estate in the Conway Valley from Lord Ancaster, formerly belonging to their common Wynn ancestors. He resigned as Lieutenant on his eightieth birthday. His only son Viscount Wendover had been killed in 1915 serving with the Royal Horse Guards and so the Earldom and Marquessate became extinct at Lord Lincolnshire’s death but the Barony was inherited by his younger brother whose grandson is the present Lord Carrington.¹⁰⁴

27. THOMAS FRANCIS FREMANTLE, 3RD LORD COTTESLOE, C.B. (1862-1956) Lieutenant 1923-1954. Admiral Sir Thomas Fremantle, who fought with distinction at Copenhagen and Trafalgar, was the son of John Fremantle of Aston Abbots. His eldest son, also Thomas, married Louisa Nugent, daughter of Field-Marshal Sir George Nugent of Westhorpe House, Little Marlow, a cousin of the Grenvilles. His father had been under the patronage of Stone and he was for many years a friend and active supporter of

¹⁰⁰ By 1912 a Marquessate was a rare honour usually reserved for Viceroy. Carrington was known to be ambitious in this matter. A Bishop, on hearing the news, remarked “How good of him to be content with Lincolnshire”.

¹⁰¹ *Magnus op. cit.* 182.

¹⁰² Arthur Ponsonby, *Henry Ponsonby* (1942) 215. As President of The Board of Agriculture he introduced the Small Holdings and Allotments Act of 1908, a measure which made him unpopular with his fellow landlords.

¹⁰³ This ancient office, so long held by the de Vere Earls of Oxford, is now shared by the Earl of Ancaster, Marquess Cholmondeley and Lord Carrington. The practice is that each in turn holds the office for one reign: Lord Cholmondeley is the present holder.

¹⁰⁴ His monument, along with many others of his family, is in Moulsoe church. He owned 28,000 acres at his death.

the first and second Dukes. His estate was at Swanbourne. After sitting as member for buckingham 1827-46, and holding office in both of Peel's ministries, he was made Chairman of the Board of Customs (1846-73). In 1874 he became the first Civil Servant to be created a peer. His son, a barrister by training and a classical scholar, sat as member for Bucks 1876-85. He was an immensely respected Chairman of the County Council 1897-1904 and of Quarter Sessions 1899-1910. His father had died at 92, he lived to be 88, his eldest son to be 94.

Thomas Fremantle succeeded his father in 1918. Throughout his long life, he was a most devoted servant of state and county. He served as chairman of Quarter Sessions and vice chairman of the County Council.¹⁰⁵ It was most appropriate that he should have been Lieutenant in the heyday of the Territorial Army for he did much more than preside over the Bucks Territorial Association, the position which the Lieutenant holds as the historic and legal head of the county forces be it the Tudor musters, the Georgian Militia, the Victorian Volunteers and Yeomanry or the twentieth century Territorials.

He had a lifelong devotion to the Territorial Army. As a young man he joined the Bucks Rifle Volunteers, in which his father was serving, and by 1908 when Lord Haldane formed the Territorial Army he was commanding this unit which then became the Buckinghamshire Battalion of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry. His great personal influence at the War Office enabled the Battalion to retain its grey rifle uniform and black buttons and its territorial title and he was also mainly responsible for having the words "& Buckinghamshire" added to the Regimental title soon afterwards.¹⁰⁶ After World War I he became Honorary Colonel of the Battalion, an office he retained to his death. As he had joined the Eton College Corps as a schoolboy, which was itself the 8th Company of the Bucks Rifle Volunteers, he was directly connected with the unit for eighty years, a record which must be without parallel. Right to the end he took an intense interest in the Bucks Battalion and when he spoke to the Battalion on parade, even in very old age, he always made a deep impression on all ranks.

The Volunteer movement, which had started in 1860, was primarily intended to produce efficient riflemen. Lord Cottesloe was a great expert on the rifle and an outstanding shot himself; he published three books on the subject and served on the War Office Small Arms Committee from 1905 to 1937. He served on the Council of the National Rifle Association for 65 years, including eight as chairman. He attended the annual meetings, first on Wimbledon Common, and later at Bisley for seventy years. He shot in the English Eight for 27 years and was its Captain from 1920-1954.¹⁰⁷

As one who loved the county as he did, it is not surprising that he took a deep interest in its history and traditions;¹⁰⁸ his two published volumes of verse show his love of the countryside. He served as President of the Bucks Archaeological Society and contributed a poem, written in his ninetieth year,

¹⁰⁵ And as President of the County Councils Association.

¹⁰⁶ T. C. Swann, *Citizen Soldiers of Buckinghamshire, 1795-1926* (1930), 34.

¹⁰⁷ In 1951, wearing glasses and sitting in a chair, he opened a new Rifle Range at Kimble by scoring an indubitable "bull".

¹⁰⁸ When the County Council took out a coat of arms he insisted on having Whiteleaf Cross included "in chief" above the traditional Bucks swan.

to the *Records*.¹⁰⁹ He was also President of the Society for Army Historical Research. When he died on 19th June 1956 a real link with the past was broken, for he had known his grandfather, born in the eighteenth century, and the "Old Squire" of Whaddon, William Selby-Lowndes, born in 1807 and for forty years Master of the Whaddon Chase.¹¹⁰

28. SIR HENRY LANCELOT AUBREY-FLETCHER, 6TH BARONET, D.S.O., C.V.O. (1887-1969) Lieutenant 1954-1961. The Aubreys,¹¹¹ who were Baronets of Welsh descent, inherited by marriage the manors of Boarstall and Brill in the eighteenth century to which were added later those of Chilton and Dorton.¹¹² When Charles Ricketts Aubrey died in 1901 all these lands went to a distant relative, Sir Henry Fletcher, fourth Baronet of Clea Hall, Cumberland,¹¹³ and in 1937 Henry Aubrey-Fletcher succeeded to the title.

He had served with distinction in the Grenadier Guards 1908-20, winning the D.S.O. and Croix de Guerre in World War I. He was a member of H.M. Corps of Gentlemen at Arms (the Bodyguard) in which he held the senior post of Lieutenant in 1956.¹¹⁴

In the county he was active in many capacities—County Alderman and Chairman of the Finance Committee, Standing Joint (Police) Committee and others. In 1925 he served as High Sheriff, the first since Francis Russell in 1547 to be both Sheriff and Lieutenant. It was his own initiative and hard work that led to the successful founding of the Bucks Historic Churches Trust in 1957.

Sir Henry was a man of wide interests and varied talents and in particular was an author of distinction in two widely contrasting fields. He wrote an admirable *History of the Foot Guards to 1856* but also achieved considerable success as a writer of detective stories under the pen name of Henry Wade. These are most convincing particularly in the close knowledge of police procedure and methods, their natural dialogue, ingenuity of plot and believable settings—often a county one. *The High Sheriff*¹¹⁵ well illustrates all these qualities.

29. SIR HENRY ROBERT KINCAID FLOYD, 5TH BARONET, C.B.E., C.B. (1899-1968) Lieutenant 1961-1968. The Floyds were also a Welsh family and have had a remarkable record in the services. John Floyd, 1st Dragoon Guards, fought at Minden and died on service in Germany a few days before his Commander-in-Chief the third Duke of Marlborough. His son's career was startling for he became an Ensign in the 15th Hussars when an Eton

¹⁰⁹ "A Village in Bernwood" *Records* XVI. 3. Obituary XVI. 122. He seldom used the telephone; when he thought his beautiful handwriting was deteriorating in his ninetieth year he taught himself to type.

¹¹⁰ There is a finely-lettered monument to him in Swanbourne church.

¹¹¹ John Aubrey, the seventeenth century author of *Brief Lives*, was a member of the family.

¹¹² Chilton House remains in the family. Boarstall Tower belongs to the National Trust; Dorton House is a school.

¹¹³ The Fletchers lived at Cockermouth Castle where Henry Fletcher entertained Mary Queen of Scots when she finally escaped from Scotland and landed on the Cumberland coast.

¹¹⁴ Sir Henry was six foot, seven inches tall; wearing the high helmet and plume of the Bodyguard he was an immensely impressive figure.

¹¹⁵ Published in 1937. Howard Haycraft, *Murder for Pleasure* (1942), 157, refers to Henry Wade's books as "quietly pleasant . . . they lie somewhere between the conventional detective story and the livelier naturalistic method according to the gospel of Bentley and Berkeley".

schoolboy of twelve, joined his Regiment in the summer holidays and had his horse shot under him at the Battle of Emsdorf (1760) after which he returned to school; he later fought in many Indian campaigns, became a General and was created a Baronet in 1816. The second Baronet, a Major-General, fought in Sicily, Spain and at Waterloo with the 10th Hussars, the third fought in the Crimea and the fourth, Sir Henry's father, was a Captain in the Navy, Sir Henry himself was also a distinguished soldier, as a young man he served in World War I with the 15th/19th Hussars, held various posts including that of Equerry to the Duke of Gloucester; he then left the army to enter business, but returned in 1939, finishing his service as a Major-General and Chief of Staff to the Eighth Army in Italy.

Although he had lived in Bucks for only a few years before becoming Lieutenant, in his short term of office he made a deep impression by his immense energy and enthusiasm; his directness of manner, allied to a most persuasive charm, made him a very effective Chairman or President of the many organisations with which he was connected. Like his predecessor he was Lieutenant of H.M. Hon. Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms. A keen rider and Joint-Master of the South Oxfordshire Hunt 1957-61 he fell from his horse on the morning of 5th November 1968 and died in the Royal Bucks Hospital, that evening.

30. MAJOR JOHN DARLING YOUNG of Thornton Hall, born in 1910, is the present Lieutenant, having been appointed on 20 April, 1969. He served in the Life Guards, 1932-46, was High Sheriff in 1960 and has served on the County Council since 1964.

The office of Lieutenant began as a military appointment and to a major degree still is today. In the early eighteenth century this had little significance but the Militia Act of 1756 which gave the Lieutenant the power to appoint officers in the Volunteer units in the County, added significantly to his authority as long as the Militia lasted; even today he is the President of the county Territorial and Affiliated Forces Association. He has always had the power to appoint the Deputy Lieutenants and, more recently, his Vice-Lieutenant, who is senior amongst the deputies.¹¹⁶ From the eighteenth century he has also been Custos Rotulorum, nominally, although seldom in practice, to preside over the quarter sessions of the Justices, the successor to the old shire court.¹¹⁷ And he had the right to appoint the Clerk of the Peace.

The selection of Justices has always been part of his duties even if the actual appointment is by the Crown, acting on the advice of the Lord Chancellor. Up to 1910 the Lieutenant recommended on his own; from that date the Lord Chancellor set up local committees to advise the Lieutenant, who forwards the names recommended and this system prevails today.

¹¹⁶ There are twenty-four Deputy Lieutenants in the county (1973). Vice-Lieutenants, a senior amongst the Deputies, were first permitted by the Act of 1880. The second Lord Cottesloe was Vice Lieutenant to the last Duke of Buckingham in 1881. The appointment is personal to each Lieutenant. Sir Richard Howard-Vyse was Vice to Sir Henry Aubrey-Fletcher. Vice-Admiral Richard Shelley to Sir Henry Floyd and Mr. Ralph Verney is Vice Lieutenant to Major Young. Lord Lincolnshire was made a Deputy on his retirement as Lieutenant.

¹¹⁷ Quarter Sessions were finally abolished on 31 December 1971, to be replaced by the Crown Court.

By 1800 the office had ceased to be a key political appointment; it is true that Temple in 1763 and possibly Chesterfield in 1782 were replaced for political reasons, but in an age when influence and broad acres were so highly regarded, the choice was effectively limited whichever party was in power. "When one family was not clearly the leader in the county for wealth and repute the choice of a lord-lieutenant by the king might be made on political grounds. But the king's freedom in distributing this honour was narrowly limited by the general fitness of things, or, in other words, the necessity of recognising the claims of great landed property."¹¹⁸

Greville, who as Clerk of the Council had much to do with the appointments, records his views in 1842 when the Tories wished to appoint Lord Exeter to Northamptonshire. "I told him I thought Exeter was not a good man, took no part in the County, and merely lived at a corner of it." And he urged the obvious choice, Lord Spencer, who was a leading Whig; this was not acceptable and Greville was upset . . . if they can't appoint men with reference to their fitness, instead of to their political connexion . . . they are to be pitied, and we must hope the time may come when better maxims and practices can be established."¹¹⁹

Greville's hope was realised in the following decades. Today the office is not a political appointment and certainly the ownership of land is irrelevant. Clearly a modern Prime Minister attempts to appoint an individual who will be generally acceptable in the County.

In conclusion it can be said that over the centuries the Bucks Lieutenants have generally reflected the basically radical nature of the County, which dates at least from the days of John Hampden and his fellow squires in the Civil War. Between Lord Wharton's appointment in 1642 and Lord Cottesloe's retirement in 1954, there have only been 67 years when a Whig or a Liberal has not been Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire.

¹¹⁸ J. S. Watson, *The Reign of George III* (1960), 43.

¹¹⁹ Greville, *op. cit.* V.6. He had a poor opinion of Lieutenants generally as witnessed by his account of the ceremony of homage to William IV on his accession. ". . . The review made it an hour later, and the Lieutenants, who are great, selfish, pampered aristocrats, were furious at being kept waiting, particularly Lord Grosvenor and the Duke of Newcastle, the former very peevish, the latter better humoured. I was glad to see them put to inconvenience". *Op. cit.* II.8.