

MARTHA JANES (1601–1687), AN EARL'S MISTRESS: FROM TURVILLE VIA WINSLOW AND GRANBOROUGH TO THE SIEGE OF BOLTON CASTLE

DAVID NOY

A letter written in 1710 by John Croft, vicar of Winslow and Granborough, to the antiquarian Browne Willis tells an improbable story about a nobleman in disguise who lived with his mistress in Winslow and had four children. The story turns out not only to be corroborated by other sources but to be much more eventful than Croft realised. Martha Janes, originally from Turville, was mistress of Emanuel earl of Sunderland in the 1620s, lived at Biggin between Winslow and Granborough, consulted an astrologer-physician at Great Linford, lost custody of her children to a grasping aristocrat, was besieged in Bolton Castle during the Civil War, had her property sequestrated by Parliament, and counted dukes and earls among her descendants.

In the early eighteenth century, scandalous events almost a hundred years earlier were remembered, embellished and distorted, and then largely forgotten. A married peer of the realm and high officeholder in Charles I's government lived incognito with his mistress in the Winslow area and raised a family of four. The story of Martha Janes and the earl of Sunderland, alias Edward and Margaret Sandford, was partly documented by John Croft, vicar of Winslow 1684–1714 and Granborough 1693–1714, a correspondent of Browne Willis of Whaddon. He liked to pretend that the inhabitants of Granborough were descended from the illegitimate children of St Albans monks who lived at Biggin, a small establishment belonging to the abbey which became an enclosed farm after the Dissolution, belonging to the Lee family by the end of the 16th century and then the Abells of East Claydon. The farmhouse was in the parish of Granborough, but its land lay in both Granborough and Winslow parishes (Fig. 1).

There was some dispute about whether the manor of Biggin was separate from the manor of Winslow with members, but it was really another name for the whole manor. In the following letter, written on 10 November 1710, Croft recorded a story which would have been an oral tradition when he arrived in Winslow but has escaped almost everyone's attention since then. The letter

was copied, along with Willis' notes for a history of Cottesloe Hundred, by William Cole, rector of Bletchley 1753–68.¹ Cole added some comments of his own, shown below in italics.

Now Sir I must enterteine you with True Protestant Deboachery: but tis Whoordom of Quality and the Yeare 1622, as I guess by the Register, came to Winslow a Nobleman incognito, calls at his Inne for a Gentleman to divert him with a Game at Tables. The Landlord sent for Mr Fyge, Son to the Tomb-stone you wot of in the Church at Winslow, Grandfather by the Petticoat Side, to Mr Secretary Lowndes.² Mr Sandford (so wot the Stranger be called) liked so well of his Play-fellows Society, that he propos'd to cohabit with him, telling him withall, that he was a marry'd Man. 'Twas agreed. Mr Sandford brings his suppos'd Wife, Daughter to a Manciple³ of Merton Coll: Oxon: who (as I have been told by some of the Hows Reteinders in Glostershire) was promoted from weeding in his Garden, to stock his Bed. Her Name I have lost. \Katherine Davis/ She bore him two Children at Winslow. Take here the Transcript from the Parish Register.

[note in margin] ~~Katherine Davis~~ Martha Janes. vide Thoroton p.104. *All this is inserted in the original in Mr. Willis's Hand: & altho' Kath-*

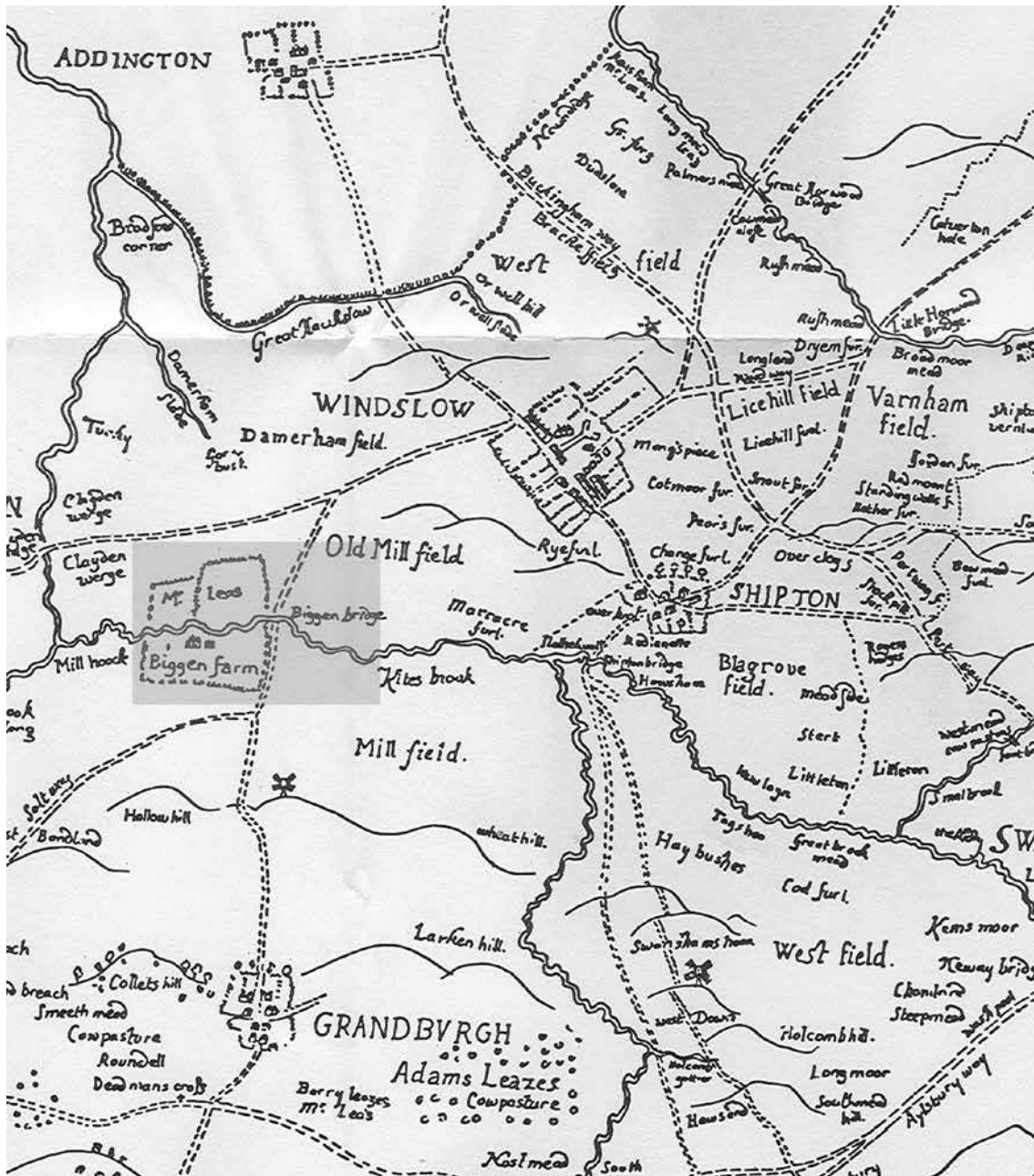


FIGURE 1 Biggin (shaded) on the 1599 map of Sir John Fortescue's estate, traced by Barbara Hurman, Brendan Murphy and John Small for R.A. Croft and D.C. Mynard, *The Changing Landscape of Milton Keynes* (BAS, 1993)

erine Davis stands undisturbed in the Letter as above, yet he has drawn a Line over it in the Margin. Wm Cole

Mary Sandford, Daughter of Edward Sandford, was baptis'd the 28 Day of January 1623 [=1624 New Style].

John Sandford, the Son of Edward Sandford was baptis'd the 24 Day of March 1625 [=1626].⁴

John's Buriall is not to be found in Winslow or Grenburrow Registers. He certainly dyed young; because Mr. Sandford's Daughters, by his Mother, were Coheireses to all the Estate.

About this Time of Day comes one Mr Abell from Town to these Parts ... He, a Vintner in London, grew rich by not filling the Potts. He purchas'd at East Cleydon, & at Grenburrow Biggin Farm: contracted Acquaintance with Mr Fyge & Mr. Sandford. This wealthy Mushroom, as it were insulting poor Sandford, complain'd to him, That he had a small Mannor within the Mannor of Winslow, to whose Lord, his Vintnership thought it Indignity to pay Suit & Service: but if Ned Sandford wo'd be his Chapman,⁵ he sho'd have it at so much Money: (a ridiculous Dog-cheap Price.) Mr Sandford luggs out Threescore Broad Peices,⁶ after a designing Pause; gives them into the Seller's Hand, desiring Six Weeks Time to make up the whole Sum; upon Payment of which within the Time limited, Articles were to be made, that the Bargain sho'd hold good; but in Case of Failure, the 60 Breads were to be forfeited. Done & done, on both Sides. Abell cocksure the Deposition was all cleere Gaine, strangely derided, & despised the Folly & Beggary of his Chapman, to be so easily bubbled of so much; & as highly applauded his Conduct & Success in ketching such a Tartar as Sandford. But to his great Surprise & Vexation, Mr Sandford's Money was ready coin'd, & paid on the Naile, & the House & Land deliver'd to the Purchaser: upon which he remov'd from (Joseph Glenester's House, o're against Mr. Lowndes⁷) Winslow, to his new Bargaine of Biggin Farm: where I must leave him a while, & digress a Step or two to East-Cleydon⁸ ... But let's return to Mr Sandford at his new House, the old Priory of Biggin Farm: who is not idle: he's buisy cutting the River into Widness & Depth, to ketch Fish for his Table & getting Wenches upon his Wench: as appears by Grenburrow Register, thus transcribed, not

correcting the Fornication committed against Orthography.

Elizabeth, the Daughter of Edward Sanford, & Margaret his Wife⁹ was baptis'd the first Day of October, 1627.

Annabella, Filia Edwardi Sanford, et Margarete Uxoris eius baptizata fuit Decimo-octavo Die Aprilis 1629.

Here he liv'd 'till the Eldest was marriageable. The late Captⁿ White of Steple-Claydon told me, he was employ'd by the then young Heire of Lenburrow, to assist him as Spooksman to court her. But Mr Sandford was too big for him: who, now grown weary of Retirement, as it were contrivedly, went to a Horse-Race at Bayard's Green, where he was met by severall Gentlemen from the North, who all accosted him by his Title, congratulating their own Happiness in finding, what they deem'd utterly lost. Here he threw off the Person of Sandford, & reassumed his Title of Lord Scroop. He soon quitted this Country, & dying I know not where, left his 3 Daughters sole & equall Heireses. One, by a Collusion betwixt Lilly the Quinjurer, & her Maid, was married to [blank] How in Glostershire.¹⁰ Her Father's Sirname is still revived in the Christian Names of that Family; as are the Monks & Knights Templars all the Kingdom o're: Especially at Grenburrow. The other two Daughters were matcht to Noblemen. You know where to inform yourself, who they were, that ow'd reall Wealth & Honor to down-right Deboachery, and simulated Poverty.

Mr Willis has wrote on the Back of this Letter, at two different Times as follows

Note. The Reason of this Concealment of the Lord Scrope, was, that his Wife, Elizabeth, Daughter of the Earl of Rutland, was alive. She survived him, as I find by the Inquisition taken after his Death, A^o 1631, 7^o Caroli primi.

Thoroton, in his History of Nottinghamshire, p.104, in the Pedigree, calls her, Martha Janes, Amasia. p.105 he says his only son John dyed unmarried July 31 1646, aged about 20. But his 3 Daughters, which divide the whole Inheritance, are yet living Oct. 2 1676 as was his Concubine also, the said Martha Janes.

Annabella the 3^d Daughter of Emmanuel Lord Scrope, Earl of Sunderland, married John Howe of Compton in Glocestershire Esq^r from whom are descended, as I take it the present

*Lord Chedworth.*¹¹ In 1663, King Charles 2 granted the Privilege of an Earl's Daughter to her, tho' illegitimate. The Reason she is called the Daughter of Mr Sandford by Margaret his Wife, in the Register of Granburrough, is obvious: her Mother, tho' a Concubine, went for her Father's Wife, in these Parts where he was not known. Wm Cole.

The young Heir of Lenburrow, who would have courted one of the Daughters, was Richard Ingoldsby, afterwards Sir Richard, who succeeded his Father in his Estate at Lenburrough near Buckingham in 1635. W.C.¹²

Most of John Croft's unlikely story can be verified and amplified, although his information about 'Lord Scroop' was not entirely reliable. Emanuel, Lord Scrope (1585–1630) was through his mother the great-grandson of Mary Boleyn, sister of the more famous Anne.¹³ He inherited the title of Baron Scrope from his father in 1609, along with valuable estates in Wensleydale and at Langar, Nottinghamshire. He married Lady Elizabeth Manners, daughter of the earl of Rutland in the same year¹⁴. He was made Lord President of the Council in the North in 1619, holding the office until 1629, and was created earl of Sunderland in 1627. According to his ODNB entry he was 'a participant in court masques and festivities and notorious as a gamester, burdened with large gambling debts.'

Scrope probably did not come to Winslow by accident, as he was an associate of the manor's then owner, the duke of Buckingham (whose wife was his own wife's niece). Scrope already owned the manor of Hambleden in south Buckinghamshire, which had been in his family since the Middle Ages.¹⁵ Peter Fyge, the bailiff of the manor of Winslow, would be the obvious person to introduce himself to, and William Abell of East Claydon must have found out his true identity when he sold Biggin to him. Croft implies that Scrope shut himself away in his Winslow love-nest but in fact he was active in his role as Lord President at least until February 1628.¹⁶ He attended the House of Lords regularly but was excused on 23 March 1626, the day before his son was baptised.

The sale of Biggin by Abell to Scrope took place on 9 June 1628.¹⁷ Croft's comment about 'cutting the River' is supported by the fact that the winding brook which divides the parishes of Winslow and Granborough follows a straight course between the

site of Biggin and the Winslow-Granborough road (Fig. 2), whereas the parish boundary has remained slightly to the north on what must have been the brook's original line.

There is a further connection between Peter Fyge and Scrope. Fyge's daughter Sybil married Jeremiah Deacon, the curate of Granborough, who was appointed rector of Epperstone, Nottinghamshire, in 1634.¹⁸ The Scropes as lords of the manor held the advowson there,¹⁹ so the appointment may have been according to Scrope's instructions, although made after his death. The village was Martha's home later (see below).

Willis' reference to Thoroton's *History of Nottinghamshire* concerns this passage on the history of Langar and Barneston.²⁰

Emanuel the last Lord Scrope, created Earl of Sunderland ... settled it, and the Rest of his Estate, upon his natural Issue, which he had by Martha Janes, yet living; of which, his only Son, John, died unmarried the last of July, 1646, aged about twenty Years; but his three Daughters, which by that Means divide the whole Inheritance amongst them, are yet living, Oct. 2, 1672. The family tree provided in the book labels

Martha as *amasia* (mistress). A Victorian pedigree of the Scrope family describes Martha as 'a serving woman the daughter of one John Jones, a tailor, living in the parish of Turfield, co. Bucks.'²¹

The link which Croft made between Martha and Oxford was probably based on correct but misunderstood information. The Janes family came from Turville, the village adjacent to Scrope's manor of Hambleden. John Janes of Turville, yeoman, Martha's grandfather, had his will proved in 1598.²² His son, another John, had a large family: the baptisms of thirteen children are recorded between 1582 and 1607, including Martha in 1601 (Fig. 3).²³ He is mentioned in a document of 1598 as being the occupant of Hall Place in Turville.²⁴ According to a modern study of Turville, the house now called Cobstone Mill Farmhouse is a former property of Merton College, and contains wattle and daub walls behind a late 18th-century front.²⁵ It is therefore likely that John Janes was a tenant of Merton College rather than an employee as Croft thought. He died in 1639, when administration of his goods was granted to Matthew, his eldest surviving son, described as a farmer.²⁶ The idea that John was a



FIGURE 2 Aerial view of Biggin site, 1952. The road from Winslow to Granborough runs from the bottom of the photo, and the straightened line of the brook and its original course run from bottom left to centre right. ©CUCAP. Source: <https://www.cambridgeairphotos.com/location/hh27/>

tailor is probably a later family tradition.

Scrope occasionally visited Hambleton, where his father had built a new house.²⁷ That must be how Martha came into contact with him, presumably as an employee whose duties might even have included weeding the garden as Croft supposed. There is one surviving example of her signature (Fig. 4), 'Ma Janes' in a hand which looks unpractised, but no other indication of whether she had any education or what work she might have done. There is little evidence of her personality or how she felt about the events in which she was caught up, but she proved

to be very tenacious in defence of her own and her children's interests for decades to come.

The lives of Martha and Scrope are illuminated by the records of a Buckinghamshire contemporary, Richard Napier, rector of Great Linford. Between 1597 and his death in 1634, Napier practised as an astrologer-physician and kept voluminous casebooks which are now available online.²⁸ Whenever he was consulted, in person or by letter, he wrote down details of the person involved and constructed an astrological chart. If the problem was medical, he prescribed treatment according

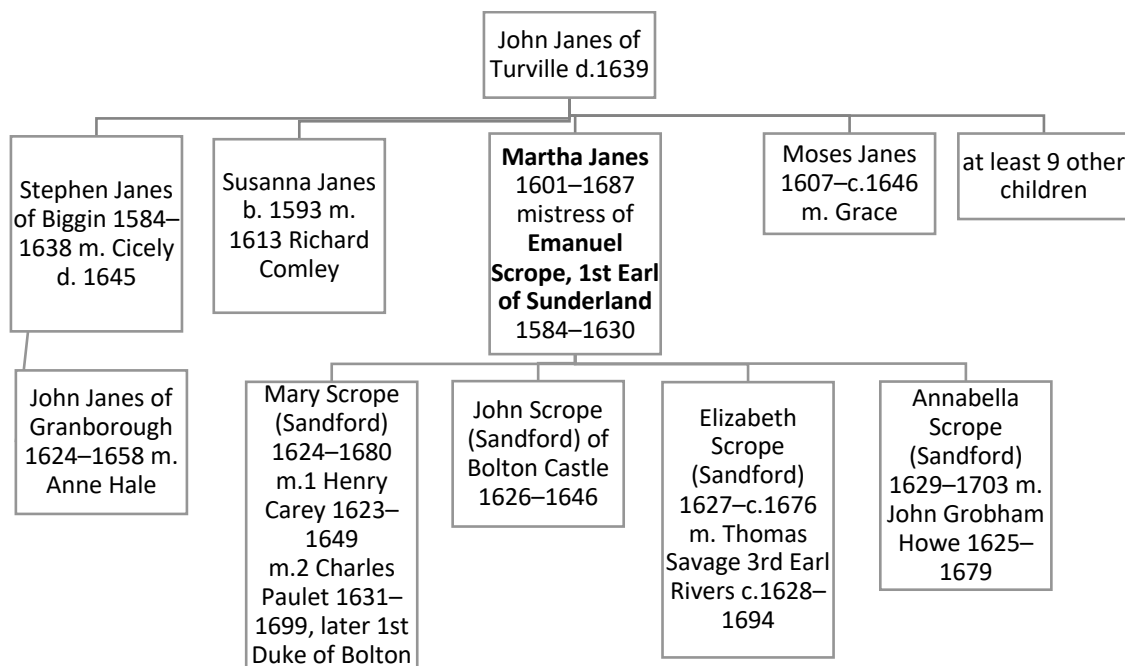


FIGURE 3: Family tree of Martha Janes

to the conventions of contemporary medicine. His clientele expanded from his parishioners to the local gentry and eventually a cross-section of the nobility because of his holistic approach to medical and psychological problems.²⁹

Martha, under the name of ‘Mrs Sandford of Bigging farm’ first consulted Napier in September 1627, immediately after the birth of her daughter Elizabeth. She might have been introduced to him by Winslow and Granborough connections (including relatives of Peter Fyge) who were already patients.³⁰ She was suffering from a runny humour in her body like a wind, could not sleep or stir herself, and was always cold.³¹ Napier gave her a prescription including galingale, ginger and juniper berries.

On 27 October Scrope arrived from Stony Stratford (presumably while travelling to or from Yorkshire), and invited himself to stay with Napier.³² He said had been married twenty years with no child although there was a miscarriage early in the marriage. There is nothing in the notes to show that Napier was aware of his connection with Martha at this stage. His medical problems which had troubled him for a year included piles, loose-

ness, rumbling and wind, and Napier’s treatment involved clysters and purging.

Napier must have made a good impression, as on 2 November Scrope wanted his services as an astrologer.³³ He ‘feared mutch, least some ill people had done him harme’ and asked whether he had suffered witchcraft; it later emerges that he suspected a kinswoman called Katherine Rogers. He also wanted to know whether he would have children by his wife. He was still questioning Napier on 6–7 November, now about whether he would have children by any wife. Napier noted again that he had none since the beginning of his marriage, and inserted ‘by his owne lady’, which must be when Scrope told him about Martha.

There was another medical visit on 28 November, after which Scrope left with ‘for ye wormes wormewood cakes’.³⁴ On 15 December he asked Napier about Martha and the children: ought he to ‘settle his [e]state uppon these children or uppon the child of another wife in case that God should take this [wife] away & he marye that woman’.³⁵ The Latin version of the question asks ‘whether he will beget children by another wife’. It therefore seems that the possible second wife was not to be Martha, and

s Monckton and William Middleton or any of them in their
 their Executors Administrators or Assignes for or by
 the obligation aforesaid and if money thereby secured or
 or thing relating therunto. In witness whereof I have
 # my hand and Seal. This Eleventh day of July in the year
 one thousand six hundred fifty six.

Martha Janes
 76

by eight pounds. and shall my former
 and of all his paym^{ts} mentioned in his said account.

FIGURE 4 Signature of Martha Janes, 1656. TNA, SP 46/98 f.76

it was over a year before he actually did make a settlement. In January 1628 he consulted Napier about his children.³⁶ John, aged a year and three quarters, had ‘aguish water’ and was prescribed ‘a playster for each wrest’, and astrological tables were drawn up for Mary and Elizabeth.³⁷ Within the table is a note by Napier: ‘his countes[s] would take none of my physick – she mended of her selfe’. He added that Scrope was a very tall, noble man with a jovial complexion.³⁸ He appears to have lost sexual interest in his wife after the miscarriage and transferred it to Martha.³⁹ His symptoms included ‘a puffing up’, inability to sleep and fear of witchcraft. He was ‘sorely griped’ but eventually ‘had ma[n]y good stooles on after another’.

Scrope continued to consult Napier by letter between May and September 1628, and apparently visited twice in August.⁴⁰ Napier also seems to have been consulted about Scrope’s wife. Napier

advised him to carry an amulet and a parchment document on a journey he was planning; presumably these were what Napier indicated by symbols as a sigil (an occult sign or device) made from tin, something which he regarded as a defence against witchcraft.⁴¹ In November, Scrope wanted to know whether ‘Mr Atkins taking him in hand no longer then 3 weekes shall cure him’.⁴² This relationship did not work: in April 1629 Napier wrote that Scrope ‘complayneth of his physition of a flat mountebanke’, and in January 1630 Scrope refused to see him at all.⁴³ According to James Howell (1594?–1666), who worked as Scrope’s secretary at York,⁴⁴ he had decided to ‘remove to Wickham [Wycombe?] to one Atkinson, a mere quacksalver, that was once Dr Lopez his man’. This particularly revealing letter from Howell to the countess must actually be a composite of several letters from different years (Howell is believed to have recon-

structed his published letters from memory while imprisoned in the Fleet in the 1640s).⁴⁵ Howell commented on Scrope's health and also claimed he had been able to remove his name from a list of Catholic recusants to be presented to the king by getting Napier to certify that he had taken communion at Great Linford.⁴⁶ Howell claimed that otherwise: 'the Deputy Lieutenants of Buckinghamshire would have charg'd Biggin Farm with a light-horse'. Recusants had to pay a double rate in the subsidies voted by Parliament in June 1628: Oliver Styles, a recusant of Little Horwood, paid £4, which would have bought a horse at contemporary Winslow prices.⁴⁷ It is also a clever pun since, according to the OED, a light-horse was a term for a courtesan at the time. The countess clearly knew about Biggin, and later evidence suggests that she at least acquiesced in the arrangement: in her will she left to Scrope and Martha's daughter Mary (by then Lady Leppington) 'all the Pictures in the Gallerie which belongs to the Famelyes of Scroope and Howard'.⁴⁸

Between March and May 1629, Scrope sent to Napier for a medicine 'to stop his great loosenes' and consulted him about his daughter Elizabeth who was troubled either with teething or worms in her stomach, and with looseness.⁴⁹ Napier prescribed for Elizabeth among other things a 'mithridate playster', syrup of myrtle and oil of mace, but Martha under the name of Margaret Sandford sent to him again because the child continued to waste and pine. Scrope's own looseness was apparently aggravated by a letter 'styring up my lord to repentans'. He planned to visit Napier after Whitsun (14 May) although 'they tell him that Whitsunday is his last day'.⁵⁰ Both these points are probably connected to his making a settlement in favour of Martha and the children, something which did not stop him from continuing to ask if he would have legitimate children.

The original settlement does not survive, but its contents can be reconstructed from later documents, particularly the inquisition post mortem of 1631. This found that he had given his property at Biggin, Hambleton and elsewhere to trustees on 20 May 1629 for the benefit of 'John Scroope alias Janes alias Sandford the naturall and reputed sonne of the said Earle and sonne of Martha Janes alias Sandford of Biggin in the Countie of Buckingham Spinster', and to John's three sisters if he died without issue.⁵¹ Martha was to have the use

of Biggin for eighty years if she lived chaste and unmarried. She also had the manor of Ellerton in Yorkshire for her life. Provision was made for marriage portions of £20,000 for Mary and £10,000 for each of the other two daughters, Elizabeth and Annabella, huge sums intended to compensate for their illegitimate birth.

Scrope continued to visit Napier, with worsening symptoms.⁵² He stayed long enough on one occasion for Viscount Dunbar⁵³ (a man with local connections as his mother was a Dormer of Wing, and also Scrope's second cousin through his grandmother Margaret Scrope and his closest relative in the Scrope family) and Sir Arthur Ingram 'a Yorkesheere gentleman' to come to see him there.⁵⁴ He stayed for about a week in mid-December, still troubled by continual scouring and perpetual griping.⁵⁵ He made no more enquiries about Martha or the children.

In the first months of 1630, Napier's casebooks show not only Scrope's failing health but also that he had a reunion with his wife (probably from Christmas 1629), and a consequent estrangement from Martha.⁵⁶ Scrope wrote to Napier himself to ask if he was in danger of death, and the countess also wrote to report that he was 'weaker & weaker'. Napier did not record where they were, but it was probably at Hambleton, since Dr Pilkington, rector of Hambleton, 'chaplyne to the Earle of Sunderland', consulted Napier in April.⁵⁷ At one point Scrope was eating heartily but not going to bed until 3 or 4 a.m. as he could not sleep at night. Meanwhile, on 29 March Napier received an enquiry (probably by letter although this is not stated) from Mrs Sandford of Biggin Farm: she 'would know how my Lord doth & when he will come'.⁵⁸ Napier records no further communication with her, although it is possible that she saw Scrope again during his final visit to Great Linford (when he was apparently not accompanied by the countess) from 6 May.⁵⁹ Napier provided medicine, including conserve of quinces and syrup of cinnamon, and prayed for him, but he was 'wast[ing] exceedingly with a continual scouring'. On 11 May, Napier wrote that Scrope '[be]rated me extremely', perhaps for something connected with Martha.⁶⁰

On 26 May, Scrope made an oral (nuncupative) will which means that he expected to die imminently.⁶¹ He left £10 to Jane Malcot (or Maucot or Mawcot) 'which watcht with him', and she also

witnessed the will. She is known to have been Napier's maidservant,⁶² and when she put her mark to the written version of the will, it was witnessed by Napier, his nephew and one of his servants so there is no doubt that she did that at Great Linford. The other witnesses were John Wells and Arthur Gibson, also beneficiaries and described as Scrope's servants. Their signatures were witnessed by six men including William Middleton, Scrope's 'gentleman', who consulted Napier himself on 25 May.⁶³ Probably Jane travelled with Scrope after he left Great Linford between 12 and 25 May but had returned there by the time she was asked to verify the will; it would be strange for Napier himself not to be a witness if the will was made at his house. On 27 and 30 May Scrope asked (presumably by messenger but the casebooks are not clear) whether he was going to die or not. The second enquiry arrived at 5.30 a.m. and Napier recorded that he died at 2 p.m. on the same day. He was probably at Hambleton, as it was Pilkington who took the countess' oath for the grant of administration on 2 June.

The will made no mention of the illegitimate family, but left annuities of £200 each to John Wells and another of Scrope's servants, Matthew Gayle (or Gale), which must have disguised a provision for the children, since these were the men whom he had made their trustees.⁶⁴ The countess was executrix and residuary legatee, but her interests would already have been protected by a marriage settlement. She seems to have lived at Hambleton in her early widowhood: statements from her in a lawsuit were taken there in 1631.⁶⁵ It was later claimed that Scrope, apart from his lands, had a personal estate of £20,000 and no debts when he died.⁶⁶

Some of Scrope's Yorkshire and Durham property was in trust for the maintenance and education of his daughters and to provide the marriage portions.⁶⁷ This led to legal action by Martha in 1632 (the beginning of a constant stream of lawsuits for the next two decades as she tried to protect herself and her children), and more litigation later which also involved her brother Moses Janes, who was living at Epperstone by 1641 and must have gone to Nottinghamshire to look after her interests.⁶⁸ Martha herself lived at least partly at Biggin until 1641, when taxation certificates recorded that she had long lived there with her family and still did so.⁶⁹ If her eldest daughter Mary was there until she was sixteen or seventeen,

it would have been possible for an Ingoldsby of Lenborough to court her there as John Croft was told. The nature of the house in which Martha lived is uncertain as it was largely demolished later in the 17th century, but it was shared with Stephen Janes her older brother. In 1636, he claimed that occupying Biggin Farm entitled him to a special seat in Granborough church.⁷⁰ The dispute went on for at least two years and Janes' opponent knew that he was 'but Tenant Baylife or servant to the owner of the Farme', meaning Martha although she was not named and evidently did not go to church in Granborough. Stephen left to his wife Cicely 'that parte of the farme house wherein I nowe live called Biggin farme' which he held by a lease valued in his inventory at £100.⁷¹

It was not only the local gentry like the Ingoldsbys who became aware of the prospects of the children at Biggin, and their Scrope inheritance was an invitation to fortune hunters. Martha was the children's guardian, took them 'into her special care' and 'did endeavour to improve them in their educacion and estates' despite her lack of experience,⁷² but in June 1637 Charles I entrusted their custody to Henry, earl of Holland, a prominent courtier. According to Martha, he used his influence with the king purely from financial motives, 'takeinge notice of the faire estate'. It seems to have been an informal arrangement, as there is no record of it in the surviving documentation of the Court of Wards, but she was not in a position to challenge the king. She was forced to give up the children except the youngest, Annabella, who was only eight. She came to an arrangement in February 1638 by which she effectively bought off Holland with a down-payment of £4,000 and an annual payment of £500 out of her son John's estate until he came of age nine years later. After paying this for four years, she was prevented by the Civil War and 'diverse sutes and troubles', leading to further litigation which was ongoing when Holland was executed in 1649. Among his papers is a copy of a Latin writ dated 10 May 1648 where he was ordered to answer Martha's complaint under a penalty of £1,000, having previously been in default.⁷³ He said that he turned over custody to Martha, Moses Janes and John Wells (Moses died about 1646 and Wells about 1641), after they 'did much importune and sollicite', and they gave him bonds 'for secureing some monies' which were later transferred to the financier Sir Arthur Ingram,

presumably at a substantial discount because Holland had been unable to collect payment.⁷⁴ The bonds eventually came into the hands of Francis Fisher, who was one of the defendants in a case brought by Martha in June 1647 as he had been trying to arrest her, and she was also pursued by Morgan Glyn, 'a person of meane estate' who had become administrator of Holland's property.⁷⁵

Part of her son John's inheritance was Bolton Castle in Yorkshire, and he and Martha must have been there in 1640, although for tax purposes she still lived at Biggin.⁷⁶ Eleven years later she was involved in a lawsuit with a man who claimed £156 damages from her; he said that in 1640 she 'did send for and by force of Armes take and bringe to the Castle certaine horses cattles and other goods'.⁷⁷ Her version was that the castle in 1640 and 'for severall yeares was under the power of the souldiers', and she 'had not any power or command'. Charles I's army was mustering in Yorkshire for the Second Bishops' War in August 1640.

Martha also had a residence in Nottinghamshire. After the countess of Sunderland died in 1653, a dispute arose from which it appears that she had allowed Martha the use of a manor house at a nominal rent for about twenty years, further evidence of her acceptance of Martha's position.⁷⁸ Only the answer to a bill brought by Martha survives, and the name of the manor is not given, but the countess held it for her life, and it is most likely to have been Epperstone (usually called Epperton in the documents), where Martha certainly lived later. The dispute was actually about the contents of the house, and Martha wanted to be exonerated from a bond which made her liable for their value, having left the house in 1643 because of the war and gone to Yorkshire, after which the house was plundered. The same fate is likely to have befallen Biggin, although there is no evidence: Winslow and its surroundings were in an area nominally controlled by Parliament but usually undefended, and were subject to a number of Royalist raids. An unidentified soldier was buried at Granborough on 29 July 1643. In the assessment for the 1647 Subsidy, Biggin Farm was included at the beginning of the list for Granborough with its owner unidentified, suggesting that there was some doubt over who was liable.⁷⁹

Bolton Castle, a medieval fortress in Wensleydale, must have seemed a safer refuge, and John and Martha were accompanied there by his tutor,

the physician Thomas Wharton,⁸⁰ but it was taken over by Royalists, with or without Martha's co-operation. On 17 March 1643, a number of prominent Royalists borrowed £500 from her, which appears never to have been repaid.⁸¹ In 1656, when ordered by the Committee for the Advance of Money to bring in her bond for £540, she claimed she had been robbed by the king's troops.⁸² Some of Scrope's deeds were also said to have gone missing at this point: this was mentioned in connection to a claim, ongoing in 1658, that he had owed £3,000 to Sir Arthur Ingram since 1623.⁸³

Prince Rupert was at Bolton in June 1644, and the castle became more significant after the Royalists were defeated at Marston Moor in July.⁸⁴ John, who was aged eighteen, acquired the title of colonel. In March 1645 the castle was under siege and the Committee of Both Kingdoms instructed Lord Fairfax to negotiate with him: 'By the means of this bearer, Mrs Mary Scroope, we are in hopes of obtaining Bolton Castle without further trouble.'⁸⁵ Apparently, John's sister Mary was sent with a safe conduct to deliver a message. On 8 August, the Committee still had hope of success: 'We are again informed that, by the mediation of a servant of that family, Wastell Robinson, there is a probability Mr Scroope will deliver up that place.'⁸⁶ Nothing came of this, but John surrendered the castle in November, claiming misleadingly that he was defending it as his mother's house.⁸⁷ His estate was sequestered. He went to London immediately and presented himself to the Committee at Goldsmiths Hall, claiming to have 'committed no other crime but what, by his youth, he was misled into'. He said he had land in Yorkshire and Durham worth £1,539 p.a. before the troubles, and in reversion expectant on the death of the countess of Sunderland an estate worth £1,800 p.a., and expectant on the death of his mother property in Buckinghamshire and Nottinghamshire worth £540, and other property in Yorkshire and Durham worth £1,500 which was demised for 16 years to come for raising portions for his sisters.⁸⁸ He petitioned on 29 November 1645 that he was not twenty-one so could not make any sales, had suffered great losses and was much indebted. It was ordered by the House of Lords that 'John James als Scrope als Sanford shall be putt into the first quallificacion for the 15 proposicions amonge those persons who expect not pardon'.⁸⁹ He was assessed for a fine of £7,000 on 3 March, which the House of Commons agreed to accept

‘for discharge of his delinquency’.⁹⁰ He began the process of getting an act of Parliament to enable him to sell some of his estate to raise the money,⁹¹ but died of plague on 31 July 1646 and was buried at St Paul’s Covent Garden. His sister Annabella was said to have moved out of a house in London because of plague, which probably refers to the house in which John died.

By this time, his eldest sister Mary was married to her cousin Henry Carey, Lord Leppington (1623–49). The prospects of John’s three sisters being able to collect their generous portions cannot have looked good. Leppington and the three sisters petitioned for the sequestration of John’s estate to be discharged, on the grounds that they had no part in his delinquency. In 1651 the sisters claimed that the tenants withheld their rents and they had ‘no other bread to eat but what these rents afford’.⁹² Mary also tried to recover her £20,000 portion, and claimed that her uncle Moses Janes’ widow Grace held money, jewels and plate worth £4,000, to which Grace responded that her husband died in poverty having been imprisoned by Lord Fairfax.⁹³

Martha was also in trouble with Parliament. Under the name of Martha Jane alias Scroope and with her addresses given as Bolton Castle and Blackfriars, she came to the attention of the Committee for the Advance of Money in December 1645. She complained that she had had to travel 200 miles to London.⁹⁴ She said she owed £3,000 to Sir Arthur Ingram and £500 to the earl of Monmouth (Leppington’s father) ‘but it is all personall debts due and oweinge by Specialties, and not chardgeinge the Lands’, and she owed her daughter Mary £500 for her portion.⁹⁵ The details of her income which she presented were £200 p.a. from Winslow and Granborough, £280 from Ellerton and £60 from Capplebank, Yorkshire. The land in Buckinghamshire ‘lyeth among 4 Garrisons 3 of the kings and one of the Parliaments called Ailesbury’, and Ellerton was held by the Scots, so she was receiving nothing. She was fined £530, roughly the net annual value of her estate and the normal level of fine, to which £20 was added on 9 July 1646. In May 1647 under the surname James she was categorised as a delinquent by the Buckinghamshire County Committee and compounded for her estate in Winslow and Granborough.⁹⁶ In June 1647, when Martha renewed her complaint in her long-running dispute concerning her bonds given to the earl of Holland, she was described as

being of Beckenham (‘Becknym’), Kent, presumably a temporary residence while she needed to be near London.⁹⁷ In September 1647 the £530 fine was confirmed by the House of Commons for assisting ‘the Forces raised against the Parliament’,⁹⁸ and this was agreed by the House of Lords on 2 October 1647.⁹⁹ She claimed to have been in her own house (Bolton Castle) when it was held against Parliament but not to have acted herself.¹⁰⁰ It is not known if she ever paid the fine.

Meanwhile Martha’s other two daughters were married. Elizabeth (1627–c.1676) married Thomas Savage, 3rd earl Rivers (c.1628–94; he inherited the title from his father in 1654). Their marriage settlement was drawn up in 1647, along with an agreement between Savage and his father providing Elizabeth with a jointure of £1,000 p.a.¹⁰¹ Her potential wealth as her brother’s co-heir must have made her an attractive proposition despite all the uncertainties.

Annabella (1629–1703) found herself alone in London aged seventeen with only her servants (including a maid who according to Croft colluded in her marriage), presumably after her brother died. She fell into the hands of a man called Richard Comely, in a manner which can be pieced together from a lawsuit of 1651–53.¹⁰² Not mentioned in these documents is the fact that Martha Janes’ sister Susanna married a Richard Comely at Turville in 1613; it is therefore likely that Annabella was dealing with her cousin. Comely, who was actually being pursued in Chancery for unpaid bills, made two claims. One was that he discovered from documents she had with her when staying at his house that he was really her brother and was entitled to the whole Scrope inheritance. If this ever proceeded further, it came to nothing, and could have left him in serious trouble for forgery: the deed which he quoted as the basis for his being heir must have been modelled very closely on Scrope’s real settlement as it included such details as Martha’s address at Biggin. More plausibly, he claimed that he was entitled to a reward from the man who married Annabella, for persuading her to marry him. John Grobham Howe (1625–79) came from a gentry family of Compton, Gloucestershire. According to Comely, Howe promised him and his wife £200 p.a. as a reward. Comely denied telling him that Annabella had a portion of £10,000, but Howe and Annabella were married anyway; their son Scrope Howe was born in November 1648.¹⁰³

The Scrope estate was divided between the three daughters and their husbands in 1647, despite the on/off sequestration. The relevant documents have not been traced, but the division is clear because all the daughters were involved in separate lawsuits later. Elizabeth and her husband had a number of Chancery cases concerning the property at Hambleden.¹⁰⁴ After she died around 1676, Rivers sold the manor of Hambleden to the bankers Sir Robert Clayton and John Morris.¹⁰⁵ In his will of 1694 he left to his daughter Elizabeth £4,000 'to make up the two thousand pounds paid her by the sale of Biggin in the County of Buckingham' to £6,000.¹⁰⁶

Annabella and Howe lived at Langar. They also had the reversion of Ellerton on Martha's death.¹⁰⁷ He became MP for Gloucestershire in 1654. Their eldest son was named Scrope (he later became Viscount Howe), and another of their nine children was Emanuel Scrope Howe, leaving no doubt about the importance placed on Annabella's father although she cannot have remembered him. She was officially legitimised by Charles II in 1663 with the fiction that her parents were privately married.¹⁰⁸ She became a well-known figure at the Restoration court. In her will she asked to be buried at Stowell, Gloucestershire, the home of her son John Howe.¹⁰⁹

In 1655, after the death of a young son from her first marriage, the widowed eldest daughter Mary married Charles Powlett (1630–99), son of the Marquess of Winchester, cousin of her brother-in-law earl Rivers, and later (after her death, thanks to his support for the Glorious Revolution) duke of Bolton, with whom she had five children. He took his title from Bolton Castle, which was Mary's share of the inheritance. In her will, which she made under the terms of her marriage settlement, she asked to be buried in the parish church of Wensley, Yorkshire.¹¹⁰ She left legacies to her children totalling £9,000, £100 to her sister Annabella, and legacies of up to £100 to her grandchildren, nephews and nieces.

Martha remained the owner of Biggin for her life, but it was apparently managed by Elizabeth and her husband, who in 1654 granted a lease to Josias Best.¹¹¹ In 1663, Martha had the highest tax assessment of anyone in Winslow, despite not having been a regular resident for two decades.¹¹² A nominal transfer of Biggin took place in 1676, presumably to break the entail under Scrope's

settlement.¹¹³ A full sale is recorded in 1678 by Martha with her sons-in-law and grandchildren to the bankers Clayton and Morris.¹¹⁴ Her name remained attached to the site: in 1739, Robert Stevens bequeathed to his wife and son a 'close of pasture ground scituate in the parish of Grandborough called Jeanes's Ground which I formerly purchased of John Deverell'.¹¹⁵ This was probably the site of the house, which John Deverell is believed to have demolished.

We know that Martha lived mainly in Nottinghamshire, because in April 1664 she had a certificate that she was liable for tax at Epperstone, where she was 'resident for the most part of the year'.¹¹⁶ The largest house in Epperstone, with eleven hearths, had its tax paid by 'Mr Jenes' in 1664 and 'Madam Jenes' in 1674.¹¹⁷ This has been identified as a Jacobean house known as the Old Hall, demolished c.1800.¹¹⁸ The burial of Martha Janes was recorded at Epperstone in 1687; assuming it is the same person, she was aged eighty-six. There were people there with the surname Janes until at least 1730, either Moses' descendants or another brother's family. It is unlikely that she had further children of her own as her benefits under Scrope's settlement depended on her 'living chaste'. Throsby's additions to the *History of Nottinghamshire* state that 'The village consists of about 60 dwellings, one of which was inhabited, some time, by [earl Howe's] grandmother'.¹¹⁹ The famous admiral earl Howe (1726–99) was Martha's great-great-grandson, and through him she was the ancestor (in the female line) of the earls Howe of Penn. The admiral's sister Constance married John Howe of Hanslope, another Buckinghamshire connection. Through Mary, Martha was the ancestor of the 2nd and subsequent dukes of Bolton. Through Elizabeth, she was grandmother of the 4th earl Rivers. Her aristocratic grandsons through all three daughters were prominent Whigs and supporters of the Glorious Revolution. It was a remarkable outcome for the eleventh child of a Turville farmer.

NOTES

1. British Library, Add MS 5840, ff.203–4.
2. Peter Fyge (1568–1660) was actually the great-grandfather of William Lowndes, the builder of Winslow Hall. The brass from his parents' tomb is still in the church.
3. OED, s.v. manciple: an officer or servant who

- purchases provisions for a college, etc.
4. According to the casebooks of Richard Napier (see below), Mary was born on 4 January 1624 and John on 12 March 1626.
 5. Used in the sense of a purchaser.
 6. OED: a broad-piece was a 20s coin of the reign of James I or Charles I, so called after 1663.
 7. It is unclear if this refers to Croft's own time, in which case it would mean a house near Winslow Hall, or the 1620s, when the Lowndes family owned The Angel (now 2 High Street, on the east side of the Market Square).
 8. Some derisive comments about the Abells of East Claydon follow.
 9. 'Edward Sandford' no doubt deliberately had the same initials as Emanuel Scrope. Elizabeth was born on 25 September 1627 according to Richard Napier (see below).
 10. This probably refers to the astrologer William Lilly (1602–81) who advised the gentry and aristocracy on such issues at the relevant time and knew Richard Napier. 'Lilly, William (1602–1681), astrologer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 10. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16661> (accessed 25 Oct 2019).
 11. John Thynne Howe, 2nd Lord Chedworth (1716–62), was great-grandson of Annabella.
 12. The heir of Lenborough was not Richard, who became famous as a regicide in 1649, but his older brother Francis Ingoldsby (1615–81), MP for Buckingham in the 1650s. He eventually married Lettice Norton of Offley, Hertfordshire (Browne Willis, *History and Antiquities of the Town, Hundred, and Deanry of Buckingham*, 36).
 13. 'Scrope, Emanuel, earl of Sunderland (1584–1630), nobleman', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-37946> (accessed 8 Nov 2018). His date of birth, 1 August 1585, is clear from Napier (see below).
 14. Or in 1605 according to his consultation with Napier (see below).
 15. *VCH Bucks* 3 (1925), 45–54. His will and his widow's included provision for the poor of Hambleden.
 16. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic* (CSP) Charles I 1625–26, 228. The official papers referred to in these notes are available at www.british-history.ac.uk.
 17. National Archives (TNA), CP25/2/397/4CHA-SITRIN: Feet of Fines, Buckinghamshire.
 18. Clergy of the Church of England Database (theclergydatabase.org.uk), CCEd Record ID: 86967 (accessed 30 Jan 2019).
 19. Southwell & Nottingham Church History Project, <http://southwellchurches.nottingham.ac.uk/epperstone/hintro.php> (accessed 30 Jan 2019).
 20. 'Parishes: Langar & Barneston and St. Aubrey's', in *Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire: Volume 1, Republished with Large Additions by John Throsby* (Nottingham, 1790), available at www.british-history.ac.uk/thoroton-notts/vol1/pp201-209 (accessed 8 Nov 2018).
 21. Joseph Foster, *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire* 3 (London, 1874), 'Pedigree of Scrope'. The pedigrees in the book are said to be 'authenticated by members of each family'.
 22. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies (CBS), D/A/Wf 14/74.
 23. The Turville registers only begin in 1582 so the family could have been even bigger.
 24. CBS, D-X 997/2/1. John Janes is only mentioned as a neighbour of the property being conveyed.
 25. Elizabeth Wiltshire, *A Tour of Turville* (2nd ed., Turville, 1992), 36.
 26. CBS, D/A/Wf 33/127.
 27. G Lipscomb, *History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham* vol.3 (1847), 572.
 28. Lauren Kassell, Michael Hawkins, Robert Ralley, John Young, Joanne Edge, Janet Yvonne Martin-Portugues, and Natalie Kaoukji (eds.), 'Casebooks', *The casebooks of Simon Forman and Richard Napier, 1596–1634: a digital edition*, <https://casebooks.lib.cam.ac.uk> (accessed 9 August 2019). The case numbers in the following notes are those used on the website.
 29. Michael MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, anxiety, and healing in seventeenth-century England* (Cambridge, 1981), 49–50.
 30. A previous resident of Biggin consulted Napier in 1605 (Case 30027).

31. Case 64662.
32. Case 64846–48, 64917–18.
33. Case 64868–69, 64894, 64912–14, 64919–23.
34. Case 65012.
35. Case 65080.
36. Cases 65168, 65194, 66739–40.
37. Cases 65214 & 65229 (John), 65227 (Mary), 65230 (Elizabeth).
38. Cases 65228, 65262.
39. The note in English and Latin reads ‘neuter sinc had any mor ulla[m] ad illa[m] libidine[m], sed ad alia[m] unde suscepit liberos’.
40. Cases 66055, 66363, 66407, 66737–38, 66797, 66983, 67159.
41. MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam*, 215.
42. Cases 67389, 69046.
43. Cases 68313, 69938.
44. ‘Howell, James (1594?–1666), historian and political writer’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13974> (accessed 12 Aug 2019).
45. J. Howell, *Epistolae Ho-elianae*, ed. J. Jacobs, 2 vols. (London, 1890–92), 2.142–43.
46. The final list for presentation was read to the House of Commons (according to its *Journal*) on 19 June 1628. It does not include the names.
47. Winslow History website, http://www.winslow-history.org.uk/winslow_subsidy1628.shtm (accessed 12 Aug 2019; transcription of National Archives, E179/80/286).
48. TNA, PROB 11/239/727, made and proved 1654. Scrope was descended from the Howards through his paternal grandmother, Lady Margaret Howard.
49. Cases 67943, 68019, 68264, 68313–14.
50. Case 68399.
51. TNA, C142/476/135.
52. Cases 68982–83, 69033, 69093.
53. ‘Constable, Henry, first Viscount Dunbar (1588–1645), landowner and royalist army officer’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-6104> (accessed 8 Aug 2019).
54. Cases 69538, 69606, 69619, 69625, 69640, 69642, 69681, 69805. On Ingram, who will recur later, see Anthony F. Upton, *Sir Arthur Ingram, c.1565–1642* (Oxford, 1961).
55. Cases 69819, 69820–21, 69840.
56. Cases 69938, 69960, 70047, 70273, 70329.
57. Case 70469, 70540.
58. Case 70338.
59. Cases 70576, 70682, 70735, 70745, 70751, 70760.
60. Case 70766.
61. TNA, PROB 11/158/4.
62. Case 69779.
63. Cases 70845, 70904, 70935, 70938, 70957.
64. TNA, C5/10/34: complaint of Martha Janes, 23 Jan 1650/1.
65. TNA, C2/ChasI/C96/38, C2/ChasI/S1/1.
66. TNA, C10/465/268, 24 May 1658. The case concerned Scrope’s daughters’ denial that their father owed Sir Arthur Ingram £3,000.
67. TNA, C5/385/45: complaint of Henry Lord Carey of Leppington and Lady Mary his wife, 14 April 1646.
68. TNA, C8/84/30 (no date but it must be from 1641–42); E115/230, f.6, 4 Nov 1641.
69. TNA, E 115/224 f.134; E 115/229 f.105; E 115/230 f.107 (two copies of the same certificate).
70. Hertfordshire Archives & Local Studies (HALS), ASA7/31, ff.4, 45, 52: archdeaconry court records.
71. HALS, 80AW24 (will), A25/3381 (inventory), 1638.
72. TNA, C5/10/34. There is a copy of the complaint and answer in Holland’s papers: E192/18/7.
73. TNA, E192/18/7.
74. TNA, C6/102/66: Holland’s answer to bill of Sir Arthur Ingram, 24 Feb 1647/8.
75. He was appointed administrator on 28 Feb 1649/50 (TNA, PROB 11/211/516).
76. The ODNB entry for the earl of Sunderland says that John became a fellow-commoner of Trinity College, Oxford, but he does not appear in *Oxford University Alumni* under any of his possible surnames. Anthony a Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (1691), 392, says that Thomas Wharton was his tutor at Trinity College, and also records the Turville connection.
77. TNA, C10/476/158.
78. TNA, C11/191/15: answer of William Willoughby, the countess’ executor, to the complaint of Martha Janes, spinster, 3 May 1656.
79. TNA, E179/244/9.
80. ‘Wharton, Thomas (1614–1673), physician’,

- Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-29174> (accessed 13 Aug 2019).
81. The loan is only known from a quitclaim made by Martha in 1656 (TNA, SP 46/98 ff.76–77). The debt was £540, presumably including interest.
 82. *Calendar, Committee for the Advance of Money: Part 2, 1645–50*, 936.
 83. TNA, C7/443/106, C10/465/268.
 84. Peter Robert Newman, 'The Royalist Army in Northern England 1642–45', University of York D.Phil. thesis, 1978, vol.1, 383, 560; George Jackson, *The Story of Bolton Castle* (3rd ed., Lancaster, 1984), 27–28.
 85. Newman, vol.1, 585–86; CSP, Charles I, 1644–5, 338.
 86. CSP, Charles I, 1645–7, 54.
 87. Newman, vol.2, 426, n.634.
 88. *Yorkshire Royalist Composition Papers*, ed. John William Clay, vol.1 (reprinted by CUP, 2013), 53–61.
 89. *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 8, 1645–1647*, 142.
 90. *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 4, 1644–1646*, 529–31.
 91. *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 6, 1648–1651*, 311–12.
 92. *Yorkshire Royalist Composition Papers*, 61.
 93. TNA, C5/385/45.
 94. *Calendar, Committee for the Advance of Money: Part 2, 1645–50*, 651.
 95. *Yorkshire Royalist Composition Papers*, 61–64.
 96. *Calendar, Committee for Compounding: Part 1*, 67.
 97. TNA, E192/18/7: copy among the earl of Holland's papers.
 98. *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 5, 1646–1648*, 312–15.
 99. *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 9, 1646*, 461–67.
 100. *Calendar, Committee for Compounding: Part 2*, 1030–31.
 101. Cheshire Archives, DCH/E/330, DCH/F/251.
 102. TNA, C8/120/55, beginning 21 April 1651.
 103. 'Howe, Sir Scrope (1648–1713), of Langar, Notts.' History of Parliament online (<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/howe-sir-scrope-1648-1713>, accessed 25 Oct 2019).
 104. e.g. TNA, C 6/150Pt1/73 (1656), C 10/105/37 (1671).
 105. TNA, C 7/581/136: complaint of earl Rivers, 3 Feb 1682/3. On Clayton, see Frank T. Melton, *Sir Robert Clayton and the origins of English deposit banking, 1658–1685* (Cambridge, 1986).
 106. TNA, PROB 11/421/496.
 107. TNA, C8/117/27 (20 May 1653), C10/49/23 (12 Feb 1654/5), C11/135/18 (n.d.).
 108. *Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire* Vol. 1, 201–09; History of Parliament online (<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/howe-john-i-grobham-1625-79>, accessed 12 Nov 2018); CSP Charles II, 1663–4, 61.
 109. TNA, PROB 11/475/300.
 110. TNA, PROB 11/367/392.
 111. Two documents concerning this are listed among those which came into William Lowndes' possession when he bought some of the land in 1680: CBS, D/LO/4/1, m.9. Lowndes noted that Sunderland had settled the land on Elizabeth although he does not appear to have had any documentation between 1628 and 1654.
 112. Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, V.a.193.
 113. TNA, CP25/2/630/28CHASIIIEASTER: Feet of Fines, Buckinghamshire.
 114. TNA, CP25/2/631/30CHASIIITRIN: Feet of Fines, Buckinghamshire.
 115. TNA, PROB 11/698/356.
 116. TNA, E115/228 f.23.
 117. WF Webster (ed.), *Nottinghamshire Hearth Tax 1664 1674* (Thoroton Society Record Series XXXVII, 1986–7), 3, 97.
 118. Gunn, *History of Epperstone*, 36, 74–75.
 119. *Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire* Vol. 3, 36–40. According to Gunn, *History of Epperstone*, 36, this was the second wife of Scrope Howe (d.1712).