

From the *Transactions* of the
Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society

The Heralds' Visitation of Gloucestershire 1682-3

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1999, Vol. 117, 11-33

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By P.L. DICKINSON

Presidential Address delivered at the Wheatstone Hall, Gloucester, 20 March 1999

Some time during the evening of Friday 28 July 1682, two officers of the College of Arms—Thomas May, Chester Herald, and Gregory King, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant—arrived on horseback at the King's Arms, Stow-on-the-Wold. It could well have been quite late, because they had ridden from Northampton—a distance of some 45 miles—and had stopped on the way for dinner (which was then the main meal of the day, usually taken at about noon). They stayed the night at the King's Arms,¹ and at 9 o'clock the next morning they started to receive the gentlemen of Slaughter hundred, who had been summoned to appear before them.² The two heralds remained at the King's Arms for dinner and left that afternoon.³ The bill with which the landlord presented them remains to this day in the library of the College of Arms—they were charged 6s. 9d. for food and drink and 1s. 4d. for stabling.⁴ The heralds' Visitation of Gloucestershire of 1682–3 was under way.

Before going any further, I should perhaps apologise for what must seem a rather inward-looking choice of subject. For a herald visiting Gloucestershire to talk about heralds visiting Gloucestershire is, on the face of it, both unimaginative and self-indulgent. However, I hope to demonstrate today that the surviving records of the Visitation are of considerable value to local historians and genealogists and are by no means confined to the pedigrees of armigerous families for which the heralds' Visitations are best known.

Indeed, as most of the pedigrees and accompanying coats of arms were included in the printed edition of the Visitation published in 1884,⁵ I am going to say relatively little about them and will instead concentrate on the mechanics of the Visitation—how it came about, how it was organised, how it proceeded—as well as taking a closer look at some of the individuals who participated in it.

In this, I am much assisted by the fact that the archives of the College of Arms contain not only the original manuscript of the Visitation but a significant quantity of the associated paperwork. This includes lists of people to be summoned, warrants addressed to the bailiffs of the hundreds, individual tickets of summons issued by the bailiffs, notes taken by the heralds during their journeys, wax impressions of seals, sketches of arms in churches and elsewhere, draft pedigrees, letters written by Gloucestershire folk to the heralds, correspondence between the heralds themselves, tavern bills, and detailed accounts of receipts and payments. The ancillary documents relating to the Gloucestershire Visitation of 1682–3 are a little known historical source that undoubtedly repays attention.

It was the fourth and final such Visitation of the county. Gloucestershire had been one of the first counties visited by the heralds following the 1530 Commission of Henry VIII, which inaugurated the regular system of heraldic Visitations that lasted until 1687. Relatively few families were recorded in 1530,⁶ considerably more in 1569,⁷ and yet more in 1623.⁸

On 24 June 1680, by Letters Patent issued under the Great Seal, Charles II authorised Sir Henry St. George, Clarenceux King of Arms, to make an official Visitation of the counties in his province, that is to say England south of the Trent. This the King did

minding of Our Royal Power and absolute Authority to visit Survey and View throughout Our Realm of England and other our Dominions as well for a due Order to be kept and observed in all things touching the Office and Dutys appertaining to Arms, as also for reformation of divers and Sundry abuses and Disorders dayly arising and Growing for Want of Ordinary Visitations Surveys and Views in times convenient, according to the ancient forme and laudable Custome of the Laws of Armes, and that the Nobility and Gentry of this Our Realm may be preserved in Every Degree as apperteineth as well in honour as in Worship, and that every Person & Persons, Bodys Politick Corporate and others may be the better known in his and their Estate Degree or mistery without Confusion or Disorders...⁹

As with all previous Visitations, the primary point of the exercise was to determine which families could properly be considered gentry and to ensure that those individuals who were making use of coats of arms were properly entitled to do so. But this particular Visitation had a further purpose that it did not share with its predecessors.

In 1666 the College of Arms, which had had its home just south of St. Paul's cathedral since 1555, was burnt down in the Great Fire of London. A new building was erected on the same site between 1671 and 1688. The building work was funded from a variety of sources, but by 1677 funds had run out. Where was the money to come from to complete the work? There had already been attempts to divert profits from the Visitations towards building costs, but Sir Edward Bysshe, Clarenceux King of Arms from 1661 until his death in 1679, resisted this threat to his perquisites of office. Fortunately for the College, his successor was of a more generous disposition, and Sir Henry St. George agreed that the profits of the proposed Visitation should go into the College coffers. This almost certainly explains why such detailed accounting records were kept of the series of Visitations that followed the 1680 Letters Patent.¹⁰

It was a year before the journeys commenced, and eight counties were surveyed between 1681 and 1683. In July 1681 the heralds made their first sortie into Northamptonshire and Rutland. In March and April 1682 they re-visited those two counties and toured Warwickshire and Leicestershire. Between July and September 1682 they returned briefly to Northampton, travelled through Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, and went on a second excursion into Warwickshire and Leicestershire. On the longest trip of the series, in August and September 1683, they made a final foray into Leicestershire and Warwickshire and a second journey into Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, tacking Monmouthshire and Herefordshire onto the end (although the profits from these two counties, unlike the other six, did not go towards the re-building of the College of Arms).

It was quite usual for a King of Arms to delegate the practical work of a Visitation to one or more of his junior colleagues, and thus it was with the journeys of 1681–3. For the first tour of 1681, Sir Henry St. George appointed as his deputies Francis Burghill, Somerset Herald, and Gregory King, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant. For the 1682 journeys Burghill was replaced by Thomas May, Chester Herald.

Gregory King, despite being the junior officer of arms, was the moving force behind the whole enterprise. Thirty three years of age, he had, whilst still in his teens, been employed by the great scholar Sir William Dugdale, then Norroy King of Arms. He acted as Dugdale's clerk on his Visitations of the northern counties in the 1660s, thereby gaining invaluable experience that he was able to put to good use in the 1680s. Dugdale had considerably improved the way in which Visitations were conducted, and the Visitations of the 1680s can be seen as a further

refinement of his methods—not only with greater detail being entered on the recorded pedigrees but with much more in the way of working papers being preserved after the event.¹¹

It should be said at this juncture that King's own interests and activities went far beyond the narrow bounds of genealogy and heraldry. A fine draughtsman and a skilled cartographer, he was also a land surveyor of note, responsible for laying out many of the streets of Soho, in London. And his very considerable ability as a statistician has earned him a pivotal position in the history of demographic studies.¹²

It is worthy of note in the present context that, although he was a Staffordshire man, his first marriage had brought him connections with Gloucestershire. In his own memoir of his early life he describes how he undertook a survey of Westminster in 1674, which obliged him

to take a lodging in or near the middle of the said work, and having seen several he at last fixed on one in James-street, Covent Garden, at one Mrs. Ann Powel's, a maiden gentlewoman, whom after three months he married, scilicet 20 July 1674, in the 26th year of his age, a person of a gentleman's family in Gloucestershire, being the daughter of Mr. J. Powel, of Tirley, in the parish of Forthampton, on the further side the Severn, descended from the Powels of Denbighshire.¹³

This was some three years before he was appointed an officer of arms.

Ann Powell had a nephew named Laurence Crompton, who was baptised at Tirley in 1661. He became a colleague of his uncle, being appointed Portcullis Pursuivant in 1690, York Herald in 1700 and Carolina Herald in 1705.¹⁴ An early indication of the association between uncle and nephew is hinted at in the Visitation papers: a bond given by Burghill and King to Sir Henry St. George in July 1681 undertaking to account for the profits of the Northamptonshire and Rutland survey was witnessed by Laurence Crompton, then aged only 20.¹⁵

This is by no means the only indication of King's Gloucestershire links to be found in the Visitation papers, which also contain ample evidence of his statistical interests, his methodical ways and his industriousness. The accounting records of the Visitation in themselves give a good notion of the preliminary steps that he took. A list of 'Previous Charges' indicates the different stages of the preparatory work for the summer journey of 1682:

Collecting a Catalogue of Gentry of Gloucester and Worcestershire from the Harth Books... Perfecting the Said Catalogues with the under-Sheriffs, and other persons from the Freeholders Books &c... Printing the Warrants of Summons for the 5 Counties... filling them up, and annexing particular Schedules of the Gentry in Each Hundred... Printing the high Sheriffs Warrants to Each of y^e Bailiffs of the hundreds in those 5 Counties, and filling them up... Printing almost 30 hundred little Tickets of Sumons and filling them up... Preparing and Engrossing the Deputation with the Instructions and Bond... Maps of the Counties, and Catalogues of the Justices of Peace... Drawing up and preparing Severall Letters from the Earl Marshall touching the said Visitations, Viz: To the Justices of Peace for the 5 counties, To the Lord Lieutenants To Each of the Judges in the 2 Circuits, and attending the Judges, and Lord Lieutenants with the same... For an Advertisement in the Gazette, Mond. 24 of July, with a Catalogue of the Severall Places and Times of Session in Each of the Counties respectively¹⁶

The first task was thus to make extracts from the Hearth Tax returns. This tax was imposed for almost the whole of the reigns of Charles II and James II, from 1662 to 1689. It involved an annual levy on occupiers, computed according to the number of hearths and collected in two parts, on Lady Day and at Michaelmas each year.¹⁷

The names that Gregory King extracted were only a small minority of those recorded in the Hearth Tax returns. His aim was of course to identify the higher social echelons, and the number of hearths was a useful indicator of economic status. When Philip Styles analysed the Warwickshire Visitation papers in the 1950s, he concluded that Gregory King extracted the names of

all persons assessed at five hearths and over.¹⁸ This indeed was the case with Warwickshire,¹⁹ Worcestershire²⁰ and Herefordshire²¹ and is borne out by a letter King wrote to George Twitty, the clerk of the peace for Worcestershire, on 22 July 1682, just before he left London for Northampton. He sent Twitty the Hearth Tax extracts he had made for Worcester, commenting as follows:

The Numbers to each name in this Extract give you y^e Chimneys and these are all the houses in Worcester with 5 chimneys or upwards—Errors Excepted²²

However, a brief glance at the Hearth Tax lists for the remaining five counties reveals two other methods of extraction. The Northamptonshire,²³ Rutland²⁴ and Monmouthshire²⁵ extracts list occupiers with four hearths and upwards. In the case of Leicestershire²⁶ and Gloucestershire,²⁷ King extracted all those with five hearths and upwards irrespective of the way in which they were named, but he also included any individual with a lesser number of hearths who happened to be described as an esquire or as Mr. or Mrs. In other words, he extracted all those whose superior social status appeared to be indicated in the tax lists. This means that in the Leicestershire lists there are an appreciable number of occupiers with as few as two hearths, whilst in Gloucestershire there are a large number with three hearths, some with two and a handful with only one.

It is difficult to be certain why King's treatment varied from county to county. It might simply be that, because his use of the tax lists was innovatory and experimental, he deliberately adopted different methods of extraction in order to discover which was the most efficacious way of identifying gentlemanly occupiers. It is also possible that in certain counties he found that a self-imposed minimum of five hearths produced too few names to form a sizeable initial list. This might be attributable to variations in the comparative numbers of chimneys, reflecting in turn differences in house types from one part of the country to another.

There are other respects in which King's Hearth Tax extracts vary. In Northamptonshire and Leicestershire he noted down the total number of names, hearths and arrears of payment in each hundred. He included similar statistics, though with slightly less detail, in the Rutland and Gloucestershire lists. In Monmouthshire he recorded the total number of names in each place, but in the Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Herefordshire extracts there are no extra figures of this kind. Where such statistical information is included, it is of some significance (as indeed are the names he extracted) because the Hearth Tax returns from which he made his extracts no longer exist.

With few exceptions, the Hearth Tax returns survive only for the years 1662–6 and 1669–74; the latest extant returns for Gloucestershire relate to Michaelmas 1672 (and those for Bristol to Lady Day 1673).²⁸ In the ten years after 1674, including the Visitation period with which I am concerned, the collection of the Tax was farmed, or (to use a more modern expression) 'farmed out', effectively to private enterprise, with the consequence that detailed returns did not need to be made to the Exchequer.²⁹

Twice in the Gloucestershire extracts, a date is given—Lady Day 1680—and it is therefore reasonable to assume that the lists used by King were compiled for a collection of that date.³⁰ However, an examination of the names in King's extracts suggests that the lists were in fact based on an earlier assessment, which I suspect was the one for the half year from Michaelmas 1677 to Lady Day 1678. The lists include numerous individuals who died from 1678 onwards, starting with Sir John Tracy of Stanway, who died at the end of February 1678,³¹ whilst at Great Rissington we find Henry Barnard listed rather than his father, John Barnard, who had died in June 1677.³²

Styles reckoned that the basis of King's Warwickshire extracts was probably the assessment for the half year from Michaelmas 1675 to Lady Day 1676.³³ A more recent study suggests that it was not at all unusual for out-of-date lists to be used for Hearth Tax assessments during this period. An analysis of Hearth Tax collectors' books for Worcester indicates that a 1678 assessment formed the basis for the Michaelmas 1679 and Lady Day 1680 collections (very similar to the situation in Gloucestershire). This appears to be explained by the fact that new farmers were appointed to collect the tax for five years from Michaelmas 1679 and that, when they commenced the work, their predecessors supplied them with 1678 listings because the books for Lady Day 1679 were still held by the local collectors.³⁴

At all events, the lists from which Gregory King made his Gloucestershire extracts must have been compiled at least five years later than any of the Hearth Tax returns that are known to have survived for the county. King's extracts are therefore of potential interest to Gloucestershire historians and also of value to social and economic historians, who are attaching increasing importance to these particular tax records.³⁵

Two caveats should however be issued. Although it is reasonable to suppose that King made extracts for the whole county, only something like half the extracts have survived in the Visitation papers; the omissions include the whole of Gloucester and Bristol. Also, of course, it was only a tiny minority of names that King extracted. This is easily demonstrable by reference to the statistical summaries he includes at the end of each hundred. In Bisley hundred, for example, 66 individual occupiers are named and 516 hearths listed, but the figures at the end of the column indicate that a total of 1,539 names and over 3,000 hearths were recorded for the hundred in the returns (Fig. 1).

King was well aware that the tax lists had their limitations and that the possession of a large number of hearths was a crude measure of gentility. His letter to Twitty continued:

I know you will find this acc^t very false and Imperfect as to the Names of the Persons, and 2 in 3 to be inconsiderable persons fitt onely to be struck out.³⁶

There was thus a good deal of culling to be done before he could put together the final catalogue of gentry to be summoned. The next source he utilised was the freeholders' books.

These books, which were held by the sheriffs, recorded the names of those aged between 21 and 70 who were liable for jury service at the Quarter Sessions and Assizes. As with the Hearth Tax returns, Gregory King's use of these records is given added significance because (on the whole) the original books have not survived; it was not until 1696 that statutory provision was made for their preservation. Moreover, for many counties, King's extracts have not survived. There are none in the Warwickshire Visitation papers, and Styles could only speculate on the use King made of the freeholders' books.³⁷

In the case of Gloucestershire, however, the extracts do survive,³⁸ and they shed further light on King's methods. A perusal of his lists of Gloucestershire freeholders indicates that he noted down only those individuals who were described as esquires or gentlemen.³⁹ As to the proportion of freeholders these represented, some impression can be gained from the fortunate circumstance that the parish records of Westbury-on-Severn contain a rare list of freeholders dating from about the same period. This shows that those who were designated esquires or gentlemen were a minority⁴⁰—but not as small a minority as the equivalent group in the Hearth Tax records. This is scarcely surprising, as the number of occupiers would naturally have exceeded the number of freeholders.

After extracting the gentlemanly freeholders, King set about editing and pruning the Hearth Tax lists. Sometimes he added 'F' in front of names to denote freeholders. He also altered names, to signify a change in tenancy or occupancy, and deleted others, annotating some with

No. 6 Brightwell Bar alar Brightwell Bar Hundred		adme Brightwell Bar Hund		adme Bisley Hundred	
Bibery	M ^r H. Coventry	22	adme Person	adme Upper Lipton in Hund	
	M ^r J ⁿ Pannam	8	J ⁿ Barrell	8	
	Will. Bell	6	The Watkins	8	
			Alex. Battelau	9	
	Thompson		Kempson		
	M ^r J ⁿ Coxwell	10	M ^r Hen Thine	35	
	M ^r W. A. Hall	6	M ^r Scott	6	
	The Warrington	6	Quintington Paupers	6	
	Barnley	0	J ⁿ Luccingham	6	
	R. D. Dugan	0			
Barnley	J ⁿ Thunders	9	707 1599 341		
	M ^r Boorchin	10	64 - 03		
			71 12		
			1601		
	Atworth		05 - 16		
	The Barnet	6			
	M ^r Ralph Sutton	6			
	East Leach Markin		No. 9 Bisley Hundred		
	Jam. Grimhale	6	Caperton parish		
	R. D. Dugan	6	M ^r Rob. Atkins	30	
East Leach Markin	M ^r Edw. Dave	4	Haley & Caperton & Co.		
			Crampton		
	East Leach Turnell	6	Tunley Tithing		
	M ^r Thunders	6	Will. Hume	4	
	Southern		M ^r Reddine		
	M ^r J ⁿ Kille	6	Miles Sands	27	
	M ^r Kitton	2	Parsonage House	5	
	M ^r J ⁿ Hampden	5	Rowe & Co.	5	
	Char. Dally	4	Howe Partridge	6	
	Robt. Whetton	6	Minton Parish		
Luckingdon	Quekington		Edgeworth parish		
	Hatterop		Edgeworth	6	
	M ^r Will. Myatt	4	J ⁿ Accra	7	
	M ^r Blamer	5	M ^r Nath. Adley	7	
	M ^r Marshall	5	Thorougham Tithing		
	Coln St. Gwynn		Thorougham	6	
	Hen. Powell	15	Bedford Tithing		
	M ^r Hume	2	Bible Tithing		
	J ⁿ L. F. F. place	25.20	Edgeworth	8	
	J ⁿ F. F. F.	7	Edgeworth	6	
Leach Clee	M ^r J ⁿ Linge	7	Edgeworth	6	
	M ^r Susan Jordan	7	Edgeworth	6	
	M ^r Gacher	7	Edgeworth	6	
	M ^r Mary L. Jordan	6	Edgeworth	6	
	M ^r The. C. L. B. B.	13	Edgeworth	6	
	M ^r Robt. Bathurst	5	Edgeworth	6	
	M ^r H. H. H.	6	Edgeworth	6	
	Will. H. H.	7	Edgeworth	6	
	J ⁿ Edw. Bathurst	3	Edgeworth	6	
	M ^r Will. H. H.	10	Edgeworth	6	
Leach Clee	R. D. Wellman	7	Edgeworth	6	
	The. C. L. B. B.	13	Edgeworth	6	
	one of repairs		Edgeworth	6	
	Perford		Edgeworth	6	
	M ^r M. M. M.	9	Edgeworth	6	
	Cl. M ^r M. M. M.	4	Edgeworth	6	
	Adm. Barker	25	Edgeworth	6	
	M ^r Smith	3	Edgeworth	6	
			Edgeworth	6	
			Edgeworth	6	

Fig. 1. Gregory King's Hearth Tax extracts for the hundreds of Brightwells Barrow and Bisley (College of Arms MS. W.G.H.M., Glos. section).

the word 'mort' to indicate that the individual concerned had died. He evidently had other sources of information—perhaps someone on the spot in Gloucestershire who looked through the lists—and this would have affected his eventual choice of names. Any 'Mr.' whom he kept in was re-designated as a gentleman in the final lists.⁴¹

In order to get a clearer picture of King's working methods, it is probably worth looking at the listings for one particular hundred, and for this purpose I have chosen the hundred of Longtree, in which the principal towns were Minchinhampton and Tetbury. About 75 names were extracted from the Hearth Tax lists for the hundred, but only 22 from the freeholders' books (21 if the appearance of Walter Estcourt under both Shipton Moyne and Lasborough is taken into account); not surprisingly, almost all the freeholders appear in the Hearth Tax lists. The resulting 'catalogue of gentry' for the hundred contains 45 names (43 allowing for duplication).⁴²

Most of this preparatory work must have been done before Sir Henry St. George officially authorised May and King to visit Gloucestershire and Worcestershire on his behalf, because the formal document appointing them his deputies was dated 28 June 1682.⁴³ The next day a letter, undoubtedly drafted at the College of Arms, was written by the Deputy Earl Marshal to the marquess of Worcester (in his capacity as Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire) urging him to recommend the Visitation to his deputies.⁴⁴ Similar letters would also have gone to the justices of the peace and to the judges on circuit.⁴⁵ The timing of the Visitation would almost certainly have been influenced by the fact that the Summer Assizes at Gloucester were due to commence on Saturday 22 July,⁴⁶ thus giving an opportunity for wide publicity to be given to the royal commands.⁴⁷

On 5 July warrants⁴⁸ were sent out to the bailiffs of the various hundreds along with copies of the lists that King had painstakingly compiled⁴⁹ and tickets of summons (to be sent by the bailiffs to the individuals in their hundreds).⁵⁰ Thus, the warrant to the bailiff of Longtree hundred instructed him to summon the individuals on the list to appear before the heralds at the White Hart, Tetbury, on 2 August at 9 a.m.⁵¹ All such warrants also required the bailiffs to repair any obvious omissions and to add names to the lists as appropriate. Additional warrants may have been issued by the sheriff to the bailiffs pressing them to be diligent in the issuing of summons.⁵²

Back in London, King was putting the finishing touches to his preparations. A notice dated 22 July was inserted in the *London Gazette* for 20–24 July giving the dates and locations of the heralds' sittings. By the evening of the 24th King and May had arrived at Northampton at the start of their journey.

The *Gazette* advertisement indicated their principal ports of call, and it is possible from an examination of the Visitation papers to reconstruct the precise itinerary, including the days spent between formal sittings. Thus, after opening the Gloucestershire Visitation at Stow, they briefly left the county and spent the night of Saturday 28 July at Burford. They then stayed with Sir Thomas Cutler at Lechlade. This we know from the Visitation accounts, which also record payments to a barber at Stow and to a farrier and saddler at Cirencester. It was at Cirencester that they re-commenced the formal business of the Visitation, and they spent two nights there at the Swan before travelling on to the White Hart at Tetbury.⁵³

The tavern bill from the White Hart records that during their visit they consumed 'Roste Beif', 'a Coupell of Rabets', fruit and cheese, wine and cider, milk, bread and beer (costing a grand total of 10s. 4d.).⁵⁴ While there they received the following letter:

There was a summons leaft at my house requireinge me to appear before you this day to shoue my Pedigree armes & creste. I hope you will excuse my personall appearance before you, but I

will assure you that I have no Armes or Creste of that nature nor never had, neyther did I or my father ever professe our Selves to be gentlemen upon that account But in all deeds bonds or bills wherein we have incerted our names we have given no other addition thereunto but yeoman as may be demonstrated, this (being the truth) I hope will give you satisfaction and so I take my leave and subscribe my name

Nathaniell Cripps of
Tedburies Upton
yeoman⁵⁵

There is something rather moving about this proud yeoman's disavowal of gentility. A cynical commentator might reflect that Cripps simply wanted to avoid paying the heralds £1 7s. 6d. for the privilege of being officially recorded as a gentleman. But his sincerity is fairly apparent, and it is perhaps no surprise to learn from the annotations on the heralds' lists that he was a Quaker.⁵⁶

Cripps's name duly appears in the list of disclaimers bound up in the office copy of the Visitation—those who having been 'duly Summoned before the Heralds of Armes . . . to make Proof of Our Armes and Gentry do hereby acknowledge our Selves to have no right or Interest therein'. Most of them appeared in person and signed their names. Amongst the signatories were several other denizens of Longtree hundred; John Iles and John Phillipps of Minchinhampton, Nathaniel Body, Thomas Wells and Henry Chapman of Tetbury, William Hall of Avening, John Webb of Rodborough, and Thomas Davis and John Hillier of Horsley.⁵⁷

Those who did not disclaim brought with them evidence of heraldic usage, and the Visitation papers contain (*inter alia*) wax impressions of armorial seals used by Mr. Sheppard of Minchinhampton, by the Driver family of Avening ('Very anciently of this County'), by 'Walter Savage great grandfather of M^r Charles S. of Tetbury when he was High Shir. of Worcestersh.' and by 'Harris of Cullern in Wilts—M^r Savages wife of Tetbury'.⁵⁸ On the same day, the heralds made sketches of two hatchments hanging in Tetbury church, both of them relating to the Savage family. These are bound up in the office copy of the Visitation, drawings of hatchments at Lechlade and Wotton-under-Edge appearing on the same page.⁵⁹

When receiving those summoned to a particular hundred, the heralds would have in front of them the list originally sent to the bailiff. These lists are among the most interesting documents preserved in the Visitation papers, because they are usually full of annotations. In the first place, they contain a number of names added by the bailiffs (in compliance with the warrants issued to them), but more significant are the comments noted down by the heralds about individuals and their families—information of a kind that would not end up in the official record of a Visitation. In the list for Crowthorne and Minety hundred, for instance, it is recorded that Oliver Dolle of Duntisbourne Abbots was 'in Glocester goal [gaol] for debt' and that William Gegg, who was living at Chesterton or Watermoor, was 'a poor Ten[an]'.⁶⁰

From the Longtree lists (Fig. 2), we learn that the heirs of William Windowe of Avening were living in Gloucester with their grandmother Mrs. Dorothy Price, that Edward and John Barnett of Culkerton were dead, that John Hillier of Horsley was an attorney, and that Richard Holford of Lasborough was a barrister living in London. Thomas Pinfold of Minchinhampton was stated to be the son and grandson of clothiers and had 'disowned' to the bailiff. Abel Wantner, innkeeper at the White Hart, Minchinhampton, whose name had been added by the bailiff, was said to be using arms. Giles Stedman of Tetbury made an appearance and promised to enter his details when the heralds were at Dursley but failed to do so. At the bottom of the list is a note that the son of Philip Sheppard of Minchinhampton was a Captain of Foot in the Militia, and that his wife was the daughter and heir of Thomas Webb of Rodborough; at her

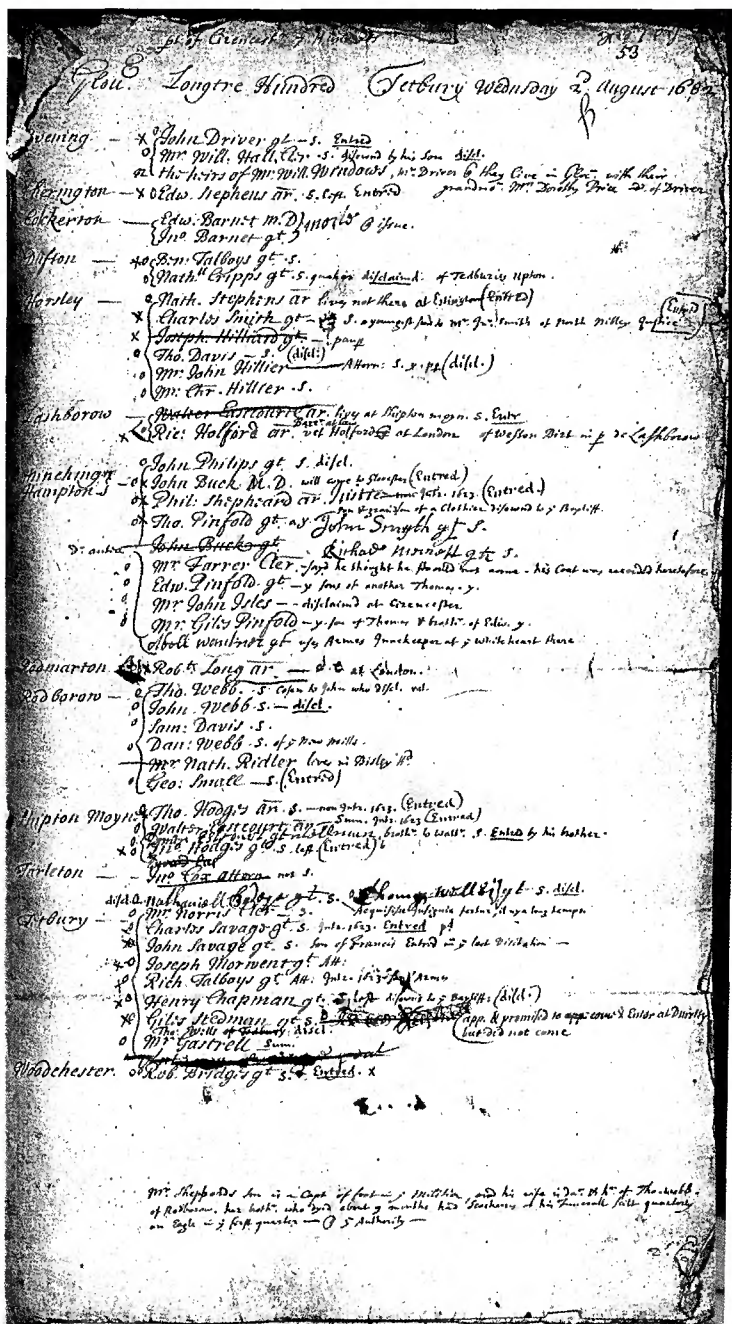


Fig. 2. Annotated list of those summoned before the heralds from Longtree hundred 2 August 1682 (College of Arms MS. W.G.H.M., Glos. section, f. 53).

brother's funeral, some nine months before, heraldic shields (of questionable authority) had been on display.

Annotated lists of this kind survive for almost every hundred, both for the journey in 1682 and for the return trip in 1683; the only exceptions are Gloucester, for which (sadly) no such lists have been preserved, and the hundreds of Slaughter and St. Briavels, for which we have only the 1682 lists.

Having completed their business at Tetbury, the heralds moved on to the Bell at Sodbury where they sat the next day. They spent Friday and Saturday (4 and 5 August) at Gilders Inn, Bristol. They felt obliged to offer a special deal to the burgesses of that city, who had been subjected to a heraldic inspection as recently as 1672; the Somerset Visitation of that year had included a sitting at Bristol. The warrant to the sheriffs in Bristol therefore contained the following rider:

All Gentlemen residing within the City of Bristol who Entred their Descents with S^r. Edw: Bisse Kn^t. late Clarenc^x. King of Armes in his Visitation of Somersetshire a^o. 1672 are desired to see and Examine the said Entries, at the time and place abovementioned, to the end that all defects or Errors in y^e Collateralls or Armes may be completed, gratis, by the Officers of Arms beforementioned, who have brought down the said Visitation book for that purpose.⁶¹

The free service thus offered got few takers, although the dean and chapter of Bristol cathedral did record their arms and seal on this occasion.⁶²

It is not quite clear where the heralds spent the remainder of the weekend; the accounts in Gregory King's notebooks imply they lingered in Bristol,⁶³ whereas the tavern bills suggest they spent the nights of Saturday and Sunday in Bath.⁶⁴ In any event, it seems that their Bristol lodgings proved unsatisfactory, as they made a note to go to a different inn on their return visit.⁶⁵ It is reasonable to suppose that they had a rather more comfortable time on Monday night, which they spent as the guests of the marquess of Worcester at Badminton,⁶⁶ which is referred to as the 'great house' in Gregory King's Hearth Tax listings (and assessed for 42 hearths).⁶⁷

The business of the Visitation was resumed at the Lamb, Dursley, on Tuesday 8 August. The heralds then crossed the Severn (although it is not recorded at what point) and stayed at the Talbot, Mitcheldean (although they actually sat at Widow Philpot's house).⁶⁸ For the rest, 10 and 11 August found them at the Booth Hall, Gloucester, 12 August at the Swan, Tewkesbury, 14 August at the George, Cheltenham, and 15 August at the Green Dragon, Chipping Campden. There they completed the Gloucestershire section of their journey. On Wednesday 16 August they moved on to Evesham and started work on Worcestershire.⁶⁹

It had been a successful trip. 138 entries had been made of pedigrees and arms—a figure comparing favourably with other counties (there were only 54 entries in Worcestershire).⁷⁰ Ten families from Longtree hundred were entered—Estcourt⁷¹ and Hodges⁷² of Shipton Moyne, Buck,⁷³ Sheppard⁷⁴ and Small⁷⁵ of Minchinhampton, Driver of Avening,⁷⁶ Stephens of Cherington,⁷⁷ Bridges of Woodchester,⁷⁸ Savage of Tetbury,⁷⁹ and Smith of Horsley.⁸⁰

Although (as mentioned above) £1 7s. 6d. was the standard rate for gentry, J.P.'s paid £1 17s. 6d., and baronets and knights £2 7s. 6d. A certain discretion was evidently exercised, impoverished gentry making payments ranging from 5s. to 13s. 6d., some even being entered gratis. The dean and chapter of Bristol paid £2 3s. Sir Thomas Cutler of Lechlade was excused payment, presumably in return for the hospitality he afforded the heralds.⁸¹

There was an interesting sequel to the 1682 journey involving one of the oldest families in the county. On 6 November 1682 John Clifford of Frampton wrote to Thomas May:

When you were (upon yo^r visitacon) at Glouc. yo^r hast was such (being late) & my occasions hastning me out of Towne, so y^t I could not wayt againe upon you after dinner as I Intended) That I was forct to huddle up y^e small entry Yo^r Clarke tooke out of my pedigree w^h had I had longer notice of yo^r coming, shuld have bin better p^rpared, & should have bin according to y^e enclosed

He left it to May's discretion to decide whether to enter the further details in the Visitation, ending with a rather sad postscript:

Unless it may ad anything to the complicating of y^r record, tis indifferent to me whether it be entered or not (y^e name of Clifford in this countey, dying wth me, for want of issue male after 600 years continuance in the same place (kingdoms & Familys have theyr period)⁸²

The letter itself survives in the Clifford family papers deposited at the Gloucestershire Record Office, but the fact that it was received and acted upon is evident from a note that Gregory King added to the Clifford pedigree in the office copy of the Visitation:

The additions to this Entry of the Descent of Clifford was transmitted unto Us in London in Michaelmas Term 1682. Enclosed in a lre dated 6^o Nov: and directed to M^r May Chester Her.⁸³

The following year, on 16 April 1683, Sir Henry St. George issued a fresh deputation, enabling the heralds to complete their survey of various counties (including Gloucestershire) and adding Herefordshire and Monmouthshire to the visitable territory.⁸⁴ Thomas May had fallen ill 'of an ague',⁸⁵ and for this final journey he was replaced by Henry Dethick, Richmond Herald.

It seems likely that this time the deputation preceded rather than followed Gregory King's preparations, for it was not until 17 May 1683 that he made extracts from the Herefordshire Hearth Tax returns.⁸⁶ The warrants were issued on 27 June 1683,⁸⁷ giving the bailiffs more notice than in 1682; in the case of Longtree, the warrant was dated fully two months before the proposed sitting, although it was not addressed to the bailiff of Longtree but to the chief bailiff of the Seven Hundreds of Cirencester, it being left to him to instruct the bailiffs of the individual hundreds.⁸⁸

The warrants made reference to the 1682 summons, noting that some of those then summoned 'have not as yet made their appearance accordingly'. Fresh lists were therefore appended, and the warrants ended with a warning that anyone refusing to attend would be obliged 'to attend the Earl-Marshall of *England*, or his Deputy, to answer their Disobedience and Contempt of His said Majesties Commission'. It was in essence a mopping-up operation. All those on the new list drawn up for Longtree⁸⁹ were persons summoned in 1682, some of whom had presented themselves but had not been entered (either as armigers or as disclaimers), whilst others had failed to turn up or had been away from home when the heralds visited Tetbury.

An announcement similar to the one for the previous year appeared in the *London Gazette* for 26–30 July, giving the dates and locations of the heralds' sittings. The 1683 journey lasted from 30 July to 26 September, and a detailed itinerary survives among the Visitation papers. This notes the distances covered on each day and shows that Dethick and King travelled a total of 451 miles during that period. They paid fairly short visits to Leicestershire and Warwickshire and spent about eleven days in Worcestershire before arriving at the Green Dragon, Chipping Campden, on Sunday 19 August.⁹⁰ The following week was spent at the Swan in Tewkesbury, the Booth Hall and the Old Bear in Gloucester, the George in Cheltenham and the Swan in Cirencester.⁹¹

The accounts for this stage of the journey indicate several of King's local connections—6*d.* was spent at 'Cozen Parkers' and 11*s.* 6*d.* bought 'an Angel' for 'my Godchild Parker'; 5*s.* was

given to 'my niece Powell' at Tewkesbury; and £20 was left 'with my nephew Crompt', apparently at Cirencester. The accounts also record that the heralds stayed in Gloucester for two days and three nights.⁹² While there, they registered the arms of the city itself.⁹³

From Cirencester, Dethick and King moved on to Minchinhampton, which they reached on Monday 27 August.⁹⁴ The venue of the Longtree sitting had been shifted there from Tetbury. This was not the only such change of location, but it is tempting to read some significance into the fact that they stayed at the White Hart in Minchinhampton. The landlord, Abel Wantner, was himself on the list of those to be summoned, and it was to Wantner that the following letter was written the day before the heralds arrived:

I received a Warrant and did resolve to appeare at the white-hart in minching-Hampton munday the 27 of August: I returned out of the west Countrey Saturday last in the Evening very ill with a great trembling, or shaking through the whole Body, after the manner of an Ague, which was succeeded with a vehement heat, and great thirst, with a Squinancy or sore Throat: I am not able to come. Therefore my request to yo^{ue} is that that [sic] yo^{ue} will doe in the business what yo^{ue} think fit my Grandfather came forth of Shropshire and he had severall sonnns and daughters his eldist William had a son named William which dwells in Wiltshair, He was at the Heralds office many years agoe and there did register his descents and Armes, he took it forth and shewed me in the Country, I am the youngest son of the youngest son of my Grandfather: I remember when the last meeting was at the white Hart in Tetbury Thomas May esq Chester Herald did then say that the eldest of the famly was enough to register their pedigres as in the case of m^r Walter Estcourt the Heir he did register his but his Brother Edmund he did appeare but he did not. I leave it to yo^{ue} to doe what yo^{ue} will, if yo^{ue} pay the fees I will repay them again with thanks, or if they will forbear till the next I come to London I will come to the office, noe more at present, but that I am your very sick friend

Giles Stedman

Tetbury 26 Aug:
1683

am soe sick I had much adoe to write this:⁹⁵

No arms or pedigree were entered for Giles Stedman, and there is no trace of his cousin in the records of the College of Arms; the information in the letter is therefore of potential genealogical use. The sending of the letter was noted on the bailiff's list, which also tells us that Giles Stedman was an apothecary and physician.

Other annotations on the list are of interest—John Barnett, already noted as dead in 1682 but mistakenly re-summoned, was described as a bone-setter; Christopher Hillier of Horsley had previously been an attorney but was now 'poor & no g[en]t'; John Smith of Minchinhampton was also 'no gent'; Richard Merrett of Minchinhampton had 'run away'; Edward and Giles Pinfold of Minchinhampton were brothers and 'pretende to no Armes'; Samuel Davis of Rodborough and John Savage of Tetbury were both 'very sick'; Daniel Webb of Rodborough had died; Joseph Morwent of Tetbury was Mr. Hyett's father-in-law; and Mr. Gastrell of Tetbury was (like Oliver Dolle in 1682) in Gloucester gaol.⁹⁶

The pedigree of John Gastrell of Tetbury was nonetheless entered at the Visitation, being in his unfortunate absence signed by his younger brother Fabian.⁹⁷ This was one of three additional pedigrees entered in 1683 for families resident in Longtree hundred, the other two being Talboys of Tetbury⁹⁸ and Webb of Rodborough (Fig. 3). The signatures of Edward Pinfold and Samuel Davis appear in the list of disclaimers.⁹⁹

After leaving Minchinhampton the heralds travelled on to the Crown at Wotton-under-Edge and then the Bell at Sodbury before arriving in Bristol on Thursday 30 August. There they stayed one night at the White Lion and one night at the Lamb in Lawford's Gate.¹⁰⁰

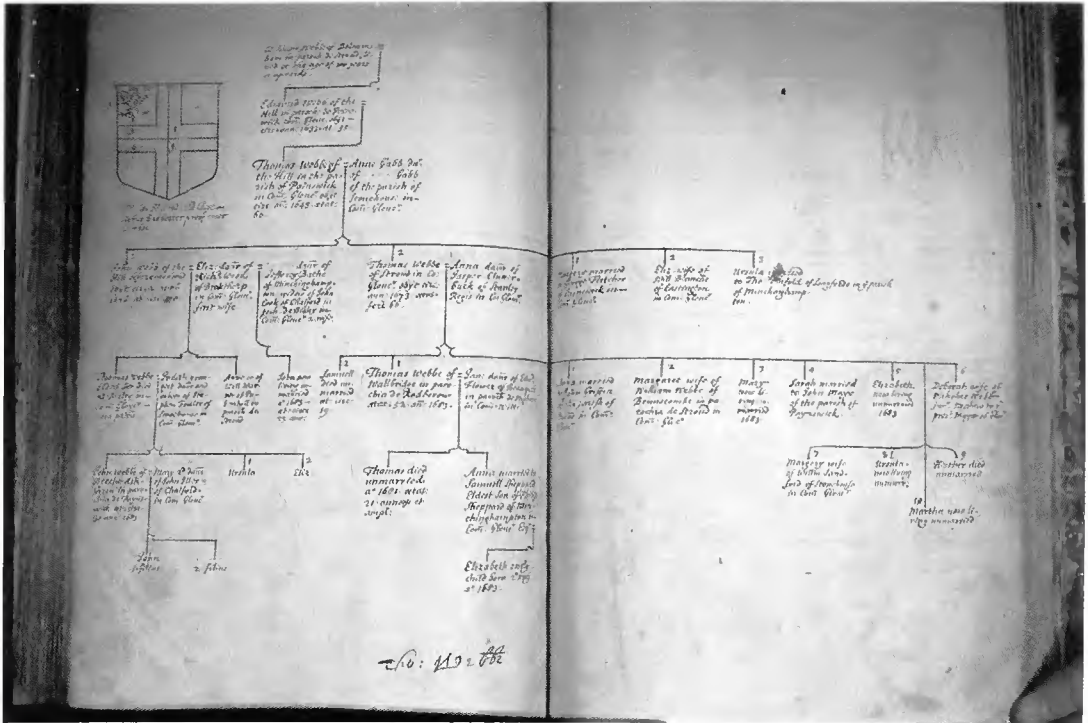


Fig. 3. Pedigree of Webb signed by Thomas Webb of Rodborough and recorded in the Visitation 27 August 1683 (College of Arms MS. K.5, 220-1).

During their journey the heralds had been corresponding with Sir Henry St. George. In a letter written from Gloucester on 22 August, Dethick and King reported that:

Leicestershire out did our Expectations, Warwickshire fell somewhat Short, Worcestershire held out very well, but, by what wee see yet of Gloucestershire, it will prove but indifferently having so freely appeared the last time.¹⁰¹

Sir Henry received their letter on Friday 24th and replied on the 27th, addressing his letter to Bristol. In it he wished them well and made reference to a Mr. Starr.¹⁰²

This was William Starr, who acted as the heralds' agent in Bristol and who had himself written to Gregory King on 23 August. Starr had evidently been involved in distributing the summonses to Bristol gentry and was frankly pessimistic as to the prospects:

I doubt you will find but a small apearance, for you will find that they are a prowd egnorant peopell, and of small abstracts, but all that are in y^e lest I know that they beare Armes but I hope that it may proove better, then I doe expect.¹⁰³

Similar apprehension was expressed in an engaging letter written by Henry Dethick to Sir Henry St. George on 30 August:

To save my head from being broken when I come to London I wayted on Squire Masters at his house in Cirencester who very kindly invited & very nobly treated us on Sunday last at Dinner where we remembered all his & our ffreinds at yo^r: Sunday Nights Coffee house. we are just arrived at Bristol, where we find little encouragement as yet, what we shall doe in the City to

morrow we can not foretell, where we are informd al have Armes though few are Gentlemen. we doubt not but you have heard from Worcester & Coventry, cum effecta, but fear we shall not give you much trouble of that kind as yet, This County having just kept us alive or thereabout, but you shall hear farther as God enables us. One could gladly hear from you, to know a little of yo^r: affairs. Thus desireing our services may be presented to all our society, particularly to S^r: Thomas S^r: George & his & yo^r: Ladyes.

remain

Yo^r: ever loveing serv^t
Henry Dethick¹⁰⁴

One gets the impression that Dethick was missing the pleasures of metropolitan life and looked forward to returning to London. He had perhaps been a reluctant substitute for Thomas May. In any event, it is safe to assume that Gregory King was the more active of the two in the prosecution of the Visitation. King wrote to St. George from Bristol on 1 September, confirming the fears of Starr and Dethick:

We rec^d yo^{rs} of the 27 Aug: yesterday, and return you Our thanks for y^r. advertisem^t which we hoped might have influenced this place. But of 150 persons sumond. in this City not one appeard yesterday.¹⁰⁵ Pray God we have better Success in Monmouthsh. where we hope to be this afternoon.¹⁰⁶

From King's accounts we know that the heralds took the ferry at Aust.¹⁰⁷ After a week in Monmouthshire they came back into the county and sat at the Talbot, Mitcheldean, on Monday 10 September. Ten days in Herefordshire followed. They spent the weekend of 22 and 23 September at Tewkesbury and Winchcombe before holding their final session at the King's Arms, Stow-on-the-Wold, on Monday 24 September. They then took two days returning to London, breaking their journey at Oxford.¹⁰⁸

Thus ended the 1682–3 Visitation of Gloucestershire. The second tour had not been as successful as the first (in contrast to their experience in Worcestershire, where a good deal of lost ground was made up). However, a reasonable number of extra pedigrees had been recorded, and taken as a whole the journeys were certainly profitable. The six Visitations raised £530, which enabled the west range of the College of Arms to be built.¹⁰⁹ This was the most tangible consequence of the exercise other than the collections of pedigrees that had been compiled.

Sir Henry St. George went on to conduct four Visitations on his own—in Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Hampshire and London—albeit with some assistance from Gregory King. These were the very last heralds' Visitations. Sir Henry became Garter King of Arms, the senior officer of arms in 1703, and survived into George I's reign, to die in 1715, aged 91, having outlived all the other heralds involved in the Gloucestershire Visitation.¹¹⁰

The subsequent careers of Thomas May and Henry Dethick were unremarkable. May remained Chester Herald until his death from consumption in 1689 at the age of 45.¹¹¹ Dethick resigned his tabard as Richmond Herald in 1704 and died in 1707.¹¹² Gregory King, on the other hand, achieved some eminence—and enjoyed a certain notoriety.

At the end of the 1680s he assisted his colleague Francis Sandford with *The History of the Coronation of James II* (1687); one of the fine engravings in this work includes the only known portrait of King (Fig. 4).¹¹³ King succeeded Sandford as Lancaster Herald in 1689. He went on a number of Garter missions abroad and served as Deputy Garter King of Arms on several occasions. He also became embroiled in disputes with his colleagues, being accused of professional malpractice and suspended from office three times in the early 1700s.¹¹⁴

He also carried on his other interests and in 1696 produced his *Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions upon the State and Condition of England*, which includes an estimate and analysis of the population of England and Wales in 1695 (based in part on figures derived from



Fig. 4. Gregory King, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant (on right), with Henry Ball, Rouge Croix Pursuivant (Francis Sandford, *The History of the Coronation of James II* (1687), plate 9).

Hearth Tax returns).¹¹⁵ This is probably the work for which he is best known, although it was not published for over a century.¹¹⁶

In the same context we can see King retaining his links with Gloucestershire. In September 1696 he laid before the Board of Trade 'a scheme of the inhabitants of the city of Gloucester'. This, too, was concerned with population figures—and like his larger work on the topic it had

as its basis the newly imposed tax on marriages, births and burials. He calculated that Gloucester had 1,126 households and that its population totalled 4,756—2,129 males and 2,627 females.¹¹⁷

His Gloucestershire-born wife died in 1701¹¹⁸—and within four months he had re-married. Frances Graham (otherwise Grimes), who became the second Mrs. King, was a Londoner, but their marriage took place in Gloucestershire—in Sudeley church—and was recorded in the Winchcombe parish registers.¹¹⁹ Her sister lived nearby, being married to Thomas Savage of Elmley Castle,¹²⁰ just over the border in Worcestershire, himself a cousin of the Savages of Tetbury whom King had recorded in the Visitation twenty years earlier.¹²¹

The *Dictionary of National Biography*¹²² justly calls Gregory King 'a man of remarkable versatility'. Sadly, he was trumped for the post of Clarenceux King of Arms by Sir John Vanbrugh, the architect.¹²³ King died in 1712 and was buried in St. Benet, Paul's Wharf, close to the College of Arms. I have often gazed up at his monument there and scrutinised the epitaph, which praises him as

a skilful herald, a good accomptant, surveyor, and mathematician, a curious penman, and well versed in political arithmetick¹²⁴

Let me now turn my attention to Abel Wantner, the landlord of the White Hart in Minchinhampton. A resident of Gloucester for most of his life, Wantner was no ordinary innkeeper.¹²⁵ Over the previous decade, he had been collecting materials relating to the history of Gloucestershire. Within a year of the Visitation, he produced some proposals for publishing a history of the county, and set about gathering subscribers. The subscription list, which was further augmented when he issued revised prospectuses in 1685 and 1686, makes interesting reading, for it contains a large number of familiar names—Philip Sheppard, Thomas Hodges, Walter Estcourt, Thomas Stephens, Charles Savage, John Driver, Giles Stedman, James Gastrell, Joseph Morwent, John Buck, Thomas Webb and George Small.¹²⁶ Many of those summoned before the heralds from Longtree hundred in 1682 and 1683 pledged themselves to buying Wantner's history.

Sadly, it remained unpublished at the time of Wantner's death in 1714. But his manuscript survives in the Bodleian Library¹²⁷ and is now justly recognised as the first attempt at a county history of Gloucestershire.¹²⁸ It is not a work of great scholarship but it does include quantities of useful information, and the writing has a naïve charm. It betrays a considerable interest in heraldry, containing an extensive alphabetical armorial for the county, as well as lists of the nobility and gentry, draft pedigrees, and notes about individual parishes.¹²⁹

In these notes, Wantner cannot resist blowing the trumpet for Minchinhampton. He records that it produced two Lord Mayors of London, and even praises its trees:

Just behind Esq^e Shepperds most Pleasant Habitation, groweth one of the ffinest-Grove's, of Pine like Ash, and Beechen Tree's (so neare a Market Towne) in all y^e County, County do I say, nay in all y^e Kingdom.¹³⁰

He also discloses things about his own life. In the section on Tetbury, he mentions the gravestones of his parents-in-law in Tetbury church:

In the South side of the Church under a faire Blew Gravestone Lieth Interred the Bodies of John Elton of Tettbury Graduated Doctor of Physick and Joane his Wife . . . whose Eldest daughter (viz) Alice was married to Abel Wantner of the City of Gloucester, the Author of this Book, by whom he had Nineteen Children, in Seventeen yeares¹³¹

One feels for poor Mrs. Wantner. It is interesting to learn that her father was, like Giles Stedman, a Tetbury doctor. This tends to confirm the impression given by Stedman's letter that he and Wantner were already acquainted with each other.

It is tempting to read into all this some connection between Wantner's activities and the work of the Visitation. It seems to me significant that Wantner's name was added by the bailiff to the Visitation summons list in 1682, and it was surely more than a co-incidence that the heralds' base for Longtree hundred was shifted to Minchinhampton in 1683. A catalogue of a sale held in 1731 included a manuscript described as 'Arms of the Gentry of Gloucestershire, collected by Abel Wantner, 1683'¹³²—the very year that the heralds were in Wantner's tender care at the White Hart.

Is it mere fancy to suggest that his close encounter with the work of a heralds' Visitation helped give Wantner the impetus to attempt the publication of his work? Did Gregory King perhaps supply Wantner with some of his information? Is it indeed possible that their meeting yielded up some mutual benefit?

Probably the most intriguing document in the Gloucestershire Visitation papers is the bill presented to the heralds at the White Hart on 28 August 1683 (Fig. 5). A few weeks ago, I was

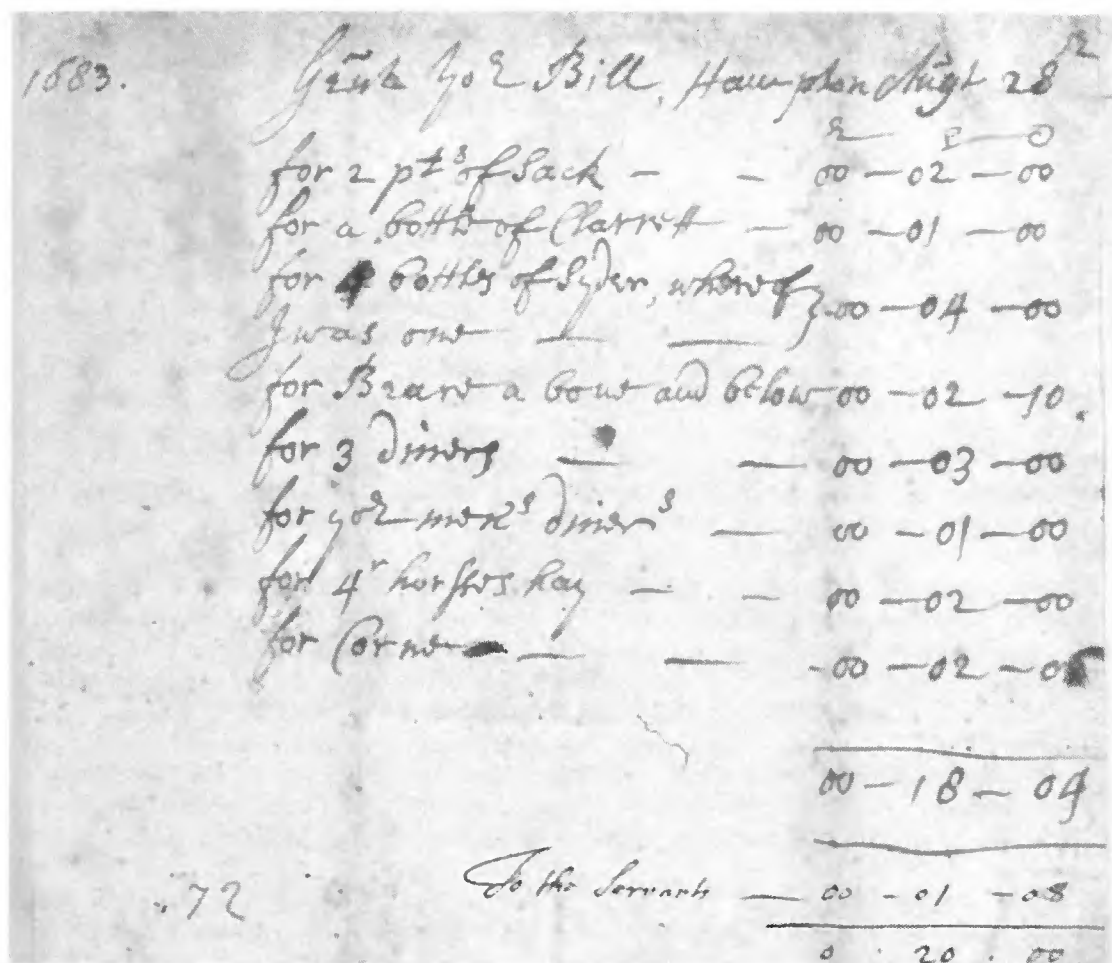


Fig. 5. Bill presented to the heralds by Abel Wantner 28 August 1683 (College of Arms MS. N.R.W.G., tavern bill 72).

looking at Wantner's manuscript history of Gloucestershire in the Bodleian Library, and although the style of writing varies somewhat in the manuscript I was in no doubt that at least some of it was in the same hand¹³³ as that on the tavern bill. The item that stands out is the four bottles of cider 'whereof I was one'. It is tempting to imagine not only that Gregory King and Henry Dethick bought the landlord a drink, but that they sat there quaffing cider together, talking of heraldry and the history of Gloucestershire, perhaps even of putting things into print.

Well, so much for idle speculation, and so much for the main characters in my story. Before I finish, I would like to refer briefly to some of the minor players and their descendants. What became of the prominent families mentioned in the Visitation papers? In December 1682, four months after entertaining the heralds at Badminton, the marquess of Worcester was created duke of Beaufort. As you all know, the Beauforts are at Badminton to this day,¹³⁴ although I am unable to tell you how many chimneys they now have.

The fears of John Clifford of Frampton were only partially justified. His death, not long after the Visitation, did indeed mark the extinction of the male line of his family—but it was not the end of the Clifford name. In 1801, his great-great-great-grandson, Nathaniel Winchcombe, changed his name to Clifford, and earlier this week Nathaniel Clifford's great-great-great-granddaughter, the present Mrs. Clifford of Frampton,¹³⁵ gave me permission to show you the 1682 letter written by her ancestor to Chester Herald.

Young Squire Master of Cirencester, who asked Richmond Herald and Rouge Dragon Pursuivant to dinner in 1683, was the progenitor of the Chester-Master family, which descends from him directly in the male line and remains in Cirencester to this day.¹³⁶

Perhaps because of the genealogical nature of my professional work, I always find it appealing to identify historical continuities of this kind. One of the pleasures of history is of course to observe the different ways in which people lived their lives in the past, but there can be an equal delight in noting the similarities and in tracing links with the present day—in the sense of recognition, the feeling you get from all historical sources (be they archaeological remains, classical texts, medieval documents, 17th-century Visitation papers, or the infinite variety of modern archives) that our ancestors enjoyed the same sensations and experiences, knew the same landscapes and buildings as those we enjoy and know today.

People still get sore throats—even doctors fall ill occasionally. (Incidentally, the Tetbury parish registers record the burial of Dr. Stedman in 1700;¹³⁷ he survived his Visitation sore throat by 17 years.) I am talking today to an audience, the majority of whom know what £1 17s. 6d. consisted of, because it remained part of our currency until 1971. Most of you will also remember the assize system, instituted eight centuries ago in the reign of Henry II, and abolished as recently as 1972. But I suspect that at the Annual General Meeting in fifty years time the old coinage and the old courts of assize will seem matters of total antiquity.

On the other hand, there may still be (as there are today) a Clarenceux King of Arms, a Chester Herald, a Richmond Herald and a Rouge Dragon Pursuivant. I myself have held two of those offices. When a pursuivant, I could count myself one of Gregory King's successors as Rouge Dragon, and I now occupy the office held in 1683 by Henry Dethick. Moreover, we still inhabit the handsome edifice that the profits of the 1682–3 Visitation of Gloucestershire helped to build.

There is, alas, no longer a White Hart at Minchinhampton.¹³⁸ The White Hart at Tetbury was rebuilt in the Jacobean style in the mid 19th century and in more recent times was renamed the Snooty Fox.¹³⁹ The Green Dragon at Chipping Campden has survived¹⁴⁰—it is no longer an inn, but it has a recent heraldic connection because one of my junior colleagues, the present Bluemantle Pursuivant, lived there during his childhood. I am glad to say that the King's

Arms at Stow-on-the-Wold, where the 1682–3 Visitation began and ended, still stands¹⁴¹ and still dispenses hospitality.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Brian Frith and David Smith for their help and encouragement; to Jeremy Gibson for letting me make use of his map of Gloucestershire in *The Hearth Tax, other later Stuart Tax Lists and the Association Oath Rolls* (2nd edn. 1996); to Mrs. Clifford of Frampton for permission to quote from her ancestor's letter; and to my fellow members of Chapter of the College of Arms for allowing me to reproduce and quote from manuscripts in their custody.

Notes

Most of the Gloucestershire Visitation papers for 1682–3 are bound up in a volume described on its spine as 'Visitation Papers 1682 & 1683, Worcester, Gloucester, Hereford & Monmouth', cited below as W.G.H.M. The papers are arranged somewhat haphazardly. Those for each county have a separate foliation, but there are also several sheets bearing no numbers, and a few numbered ones that are strays from different numerical sequences. Some of the Gloucestershire sheets have got bound into the other county sections. However, unless otherwise indicated, all the documents cited below are contained in the Gloucestershire section of the volume, and most of them are identified by a folio number.

There are further papers relating to the Visitation in a bound volume described on its spine as 'Visitation Papers, Northants, Rutland, Warwick, Gloucester', and it seems sensible to follow Philip Styles in citing this as N.R.W.G. Almost none of the Gloucestershire sheets are paginated. However, the sequence of tavern bills at the end of the volume have been individually numbered in pencil and are thus identified in the citations.

A small notebook kept by Gregory King and marked 'Visitation Notes: Worcs./Glos./Northants./Warwickshire/Leics.' also contains numerous details about the Visitation. This is fully paginated and is cited as Visitation Notes.

The office copy of the Visitation itself bears the press mark K.5 (and is cited as such). It should be borne in mind that until comparatively recently the printed editions of the heralds' Visitations tended to be compiled from copies held in other repositories, which were often at variance with the official manuscripts. *The Visitation of the County of Gloucester, 1682, 1683*, ed. T.F. Fenwick and W.C. Metcalfe (1884), is no exception, and it should not be regarded as a precise copy of the original.

All the manuscripts mentioned above are held by the College of Arms. Several other College manuscripts contain accounts, letters and miscellaneous material concerning the 1682–3 Visitation of Gloucestershire, notably the Heralds' MSS. and the St. George's MSS. Full references are given below.

Fuller details of the Visitation process during this period may be found in Philip Styles, 'The Heralds' Visitation of Warwickshire, 1682–3', *Trans. Birmingham Archaeol. Soc.* 71 (1953), 96–134, hereafter cited as Styles. This invaluable work contains a much more thorough analysis of the associated Visitation papers than the present writer has attempted.

Also worth reading is the introduction to *The Visitation of the County of Huntingdon 1684*, ed. J. Bedells (Harleian Soc. new series 13, 1994). Although this volume very usefully includes the Visitation papers as well as the Visitation itself, it unfortunately contains a number of errors, and a revised edition is in preparation.

1. Visitation Notes, 3.
2. W.G.H.M., f. 58
3. Visitation Notes, 3.
4. N.W.R.G., tavern bill 47.
5. *The Visitation of the County of Gloucester, 1682, 1683*, ed. T.F. Fenwick and W.C. Metcalfe (1884).
6. College of Arms, MS. H.20.

7. Ibid. MSS. D.12 and G.9. There are also a number of Gloucestershire pedigrees dating from about 1583 in Coll. Arms, Vincent MSS. 115; these have sometimes been reckoned to constitute a separate Visitation, but should probably be treated as supplementary to the 1569 exercise.
8. Ibid. MS. C.17. *The Visitation of Gloucestershire, 1623*, ed. Sir J. Maclean and W.C. Heane (Harleian Soc. 21, 1885) includes a number of the 1569 and 1583 pedigrees. See also the collection of Gloucestershire pedigrees in *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica* 4th series 5 (1912-13), 157-66, 205-13, 237-43, 285-92, 333-9.
9. Transcript in Coll. Arms MS. Patents of Officers of Arms 1, 32-6. The original commission is All Souls' College, Oxford, MS. 284.
10. A.R. Wagner, *The Records and Collections of the College of Arms* (1950), 76; Sir A. Wagner, *Heralds of England* (1967), 300.
11. Wagner, *Heralds of England*, 307, 311; Styles, 96-7. *Dugdale's Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Visitation Papers*, ed. G. Ireland and G.D. Squibb (Harleian Soc. new series 6, 1987) is instructive as to Dugdale's conduct of Visitations. There is a partial transcript of the papers for the 1683 Visitation of Monmouthshire in *Visitations by the Heralds in Wales*, ed. M.P. Siddons (Harleian Soc. new series 14, 1996), 213-31.
12. W.H. Godfrey and Sir A. Wagner, *The College of Arms, London* (London Survey Committee, 1963), 138-9.
13. 'Life of Gregory King' in J. Dallaway, *Inquiries into the Origin and Progress of the Science of Heraldry in England* (1793), Appendix, xxxii.
14. Godfrey and Wagner, *The College of Arms*, 188, which is probably mistaken in suggesting that Crompt was originally a herald-painter of Worcester. In a letter written to Henry Dethick and Gregory King on 27 August 1683 (W.G.H.M., following f. 5) Sir Henry St. George enquired as to the identity of one 'John Crompt' of Worcester. In his reply of 1 September (Coll. Arms, *Heralds* MSS. vi, f. 92), Gregory King explained that 'Mr. Crompt' was an 'Arms painter'. It is of course quite possible that Laurence Crompt and John Crompt were related.
15. N.R.W.G.
16. Coll. Arms, St. George's MSS. vi, 81.
17. See J. Patten, 'The Hearth Taxes, 1662-1689', *Local Population Studies* 7 (1971), 14-27, and J. Gibson, *The Hearth Tax, other later Stuart Tax Lists and the Association Oath Rolls* (2nd edn. 1996).
18. Styles, 101.
19. The Warwickshire Hearth Tax extracts bear their own pagination but have become separated: 1-2 and 15-16 are in N.W.R.G., 3-14 are in Coll. Arms MS. Visitation Papers: Leicester & Warwick, Warwickshire section.
20. W.G.H.M., Worcestershire section, ff. 4, 7-12.
21. Ibid. Herefordshire section, ff. 24-9.
22. N.R.W.G.
23. Coll. Arms MS. Visitation Papers: North[amp]ton/Rutland, Northamptonshire section, unnumbered.
24. N.R.W.G., unnumbered.
25. W.G.H.M., Monmouthshire section, 15-26.
26. Coll. Arms MS. Visitation Papers: Leicester & Warwick, Leicestershire section, ff. 76-7, 108-11.
27. W.G.H.M., unnumbered, but immediately following f. 125. A missing fragment of the first sheet is bound up with the Rutland Hearth Tax extracts in N.R.W.G.
28. Gibson, *The Hearth Tax*, 28.
29. Patten, 'The Hearth Taxes', 15.
30. The extracts for Northamptonshire, Rutland and Leicestershire also include references to Lady Day 1680. Those for Herefordshire are dated Michaelmas 1682. The Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Monmouthshire lists are undated.
31. G.E.C., *Complete Baronetage* 1 (1900), 43.
32. Buried there 18 June 1677.
33. Styles, 101.
34. Introduction to *The Hearth Tax Collectors' Book for Worcester 1678-80*, ed. C.A.F. Meekings, S. Porter, and I. Roy (Worcestershire Hist. Soc. new series 11, 1983).

35. Roehampton Institute, in conjunction with the British Record Society, is engaged in producing a series of texts of Hearth Tax returns, concentrating on those counties where no published transcripts yet exist.
36. N.R.W.G.
37. Styles, 100–2.
38. W.G.H.M., unnumbered, in the section following f. 125.
39. There was a clear delineation between gentlemen and esquires. The distinction may seem quaint to the modern mind but it was treated perfectly seriously in the late 17th century. Samuel Pepys felt ‘not a little proud’ when he was first addressed as Esquire.
40. Glos. R.O., P 354/CO 2/1.
41. W.G.H.M., unnumbered, some in the section following f. 125, others in the Worcestershire section.
42. Ibid. in the section following f. 125.
43. Coll. Arms MS. Muniment Room 4/26.
44. Dallaway, *Heraldry*, 312–13.
45. Styles, 108.
46. *London Gazette*, 3–6 July 1682.
47. Styles, 98.
48. The standard text of these warrants is printed in R. Bigland, *Historical, Monumental and Genealogical Collections, relative to the County of Gloucester*, ed. B. Frith, pt. 1 (Glos. Record Series 2, 1989), 2.
49. W.G.H.M., ff. 7–10, 50–98, 105. The list for Deerhurst hundred, unnumbered, has strayed into the section following f. 5.
50. Ibid. f. 2, contains two tickets of summons.
51. Ibid. f. 50.
52. Styles, 105.
53. Visitation Notes, 3.
54. N.W.R.G., tavern bill 48.
55. W.G.H.M., unnumbered, in section following f. 5.
56. W.G.H.M., f. 53 (see Fig. 2).
57. K.5, 349.
58. W.G.H.M., unnumbered, between ff. 6 and 7: reproduced in Sir A. Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors* (1978), 37.
59. K.5, unnumbered, at end of volume.
60. W.G.H.M., f. 56.
61. Ibid. f. 8.
62. K.5, 5.
63. Visitation Notes, 3.
64. N.W.R.G., tavern bills 49–51.
65. Visitation Notes, 24.
66. Ibid. 3.
67. W.G.H.M., Hearth Tax extracts (Grumbald’s Ash hundred), in section following f. 125.
68. Ibid. f. 72.
69. N.R.W.G.
70. Coll. Arms, *Heralds’ MSS.* vii, 525 (the pagination is slightly askew at this point, and there are two pages marked 525; this reference is to the first of the two).
71. K.5, 61.
72. Ibid. 102.
73. Ibid. 129.
74. Ibid. 46–7.
75. Ibid. 50.
76. Ibid. 48–9.
77. Ibid. 51.
78. Ibid. 54.
79. Ibid. 55.

80. Ibid. 35.
81. Visitation Notes, 7.
82. Glos. R.O., D 149/F 5.
83. K.5, 146.
84. All Souls' College MS. 285; draft in W.G.H.M., f. 122.
85. 'Life of Gregory King' in Dallaway, *Heraldry*, App., xxxv.
86. W.G.H.M., Herefordshire section, f. 29.
87. W.G.H.M., ff. 3-4, 7-10, 12-49, 99-104. The warrant and summons list for Berkeley hundred (ff. 36-7) are reproduced in Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors*, 35-6.
88. W.G.H.M. f. 46.
89. Ibid. f. 49.
90. Again, the timetable fitted in well with the Summer Assizes of the Oxford Circuit, which opened at Gloucester on Friday 10 August (*London Gazette*, 28 June-2 July 1683).
91. Visitation Notes, 82.
92. Ibid. 13.
93. K.5, 7.
94. Visitation Notes, 82.
95. W.G.H.M., unnumbered, in section following f. 5.
96. Ibid. f. 101.
97. K.5, 223.
98. Ibid. 224-5.
99. Ibid. unnumbered, at end of volume.
100. Visitation Notes, 82.
101. Coll. Arms, Herald's MSS. vii, 529.
102. W.G.H.M., following f. 5.
103. Ibid. f. 2.
104. Coll. Arms, Herald's MSS. vii, 533.
105. Starr seems to have been correct in suggesting that there was widespread usage of heraldry in Bristol. A good many coats of arms borne by Bristolians in the late 17th century were listed by Peter Le Neve (1661-1729), Norroy King of Arms; see E. Conder and F. Were, 'The heraldry of some of the citizens of Bristol between 1662 and 1688', *Trans. B.G.A.S.* 30 (1907), 273-82.
106. Coll. Arms, Herald's MSS. vi, f. 92.
107. Visitation Notes, 13.
108. Ibid. 82.
109. 'Life of Gregory King' in Dallaway, *Heraldry*, App., xxxv-xxxvi; Styles, 113; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, 300.
110. Godfrey and Wagner, *The College of Arms*, 55-6.
111. Ibid. 125.
112. Ibid. 147.
113. According to John Gibbon, Bluemantle Pursuivant, this depiction 'much resembles King' (*The Herald and Genealogist* 7 (1873), 115).
114. Godfrey and Wagner, *The College of Arms*, 138-9.
115. Sir A. Wagner, *English Genealogy* (3rd edn. 1983), pp. 180-1; Styles, 100-1.
116. In G. Chalmers, *An Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain* (revised edn. 1804).
117. Ibid. See also 'Two Papers on Gregory King', *Population in History*, ed. D.V. Glass and D.E.C. Eversley (1965), 162, 169, 199. Many more studies of Gregory King and his demographic activities have appeared in recent years.
118. She was buried 30 October 1701 at St. Benet, Paul's Wharf, London.
119. 17 February 1701/2.
120. See 'The Family of the First Countess of Coventry: and the Matrimonial Relations of Gregory King, Lancaster Herald', *The Herald and Genealogist* 7 (1873), 97-115.
121. See pedigrees in Coll. Arms MSS. C.17, f. 133; C.34, ff. 54-5; K.5, 55; K.4, 39; 8 D.14, 11.
122. D.N.B. 11 (1909), 131-3.

123. Wagner, *Heralds of England*, 330.
124. *Ibid.* 314.
125. See B. Frith, 'Abel Wantner: An Unpublished Gloucestershire Historian', *Trans. B.G.A.S.* 99 (1981), 170–2.
126. Bodleian Library MS. Top. Glouc. c.2, ff. 314, 318.
127. *Ibid.* c.3.
128. N. Herbert, 'Gloucestershire and Bristol', *English County Histories: A Guide*, ed. C.R.J. Currie and C.P. Lewis (1994), 153.
129. See I. Gray, *Antiquaries of Gloucestershire and Bristol* (1981), 45–6.
130. Bodl. Lib. MS. Top. Glouc. c.3, f. 166.
131. *Ibid.* f. 164.
132. *Glos. Notes & Queries* 1 (1881), 199; Gray, *Antiquaries*, 46.
133. An example of Wantner's handwriting, taken from Bodl. Lib. MS. Top. Glouc. c.2, f. 190, is illustrated in Gray, *Antiquaries*, 152.
134. *Burke's Peerage* (106th edn. 1999), i, 220–6.
135. *Burke's Landed Gentry* (17th edn. 1952), 466.
136. *Ibid.* (18th edn.), i (1965), 494–5.
137. 3 May 1700.
138. The building is now called Hampton House: D. Verey and A. Brooks, *Gloucestershire: The Cotswolds* (The Buildings of England, 3rd edn. 1999), 482.
139. *Ibid.* 689.
140. *Ibid.* 237.
141. *Ibid.* 642.