

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

The Jerninghams of Painswick

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1964, Vol. 83, 99-118

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By the late J. N. LANGSTON

THE Jerninghams (or Jernegans, as the name was originally spelt), Lords of the Manor of Painswick, Glos., for nearly two and a half centuries, claimed to be of Danish extraction. An old family pedigree was prefaced by an allusion to some supposititious ancestors named Jernegan or Jerengham said to have come out of Denmark with King Canute, who granted them manors in East Anglia.¹* Such a fanciful story can be disregarded, and there seems little doubt that the family came, not of Danish, but of Breton stock, being descended from an ancestor who was baptized by the Breton name of Jarnegan. Blomefield says 'that Jernegan was anciently a Christian name is very true, as numerous records prove;'² and it is stated in Playfair's *Baronetage* of 1811 that 'the name of Jernegan appears to be of Celtic or British derivation, and occurs as such in Lobineau's *Annals of French Brittany*'.³ The first of the family whose existence is proved by the public records is Hubert Gernagan, who was returned as holding a knight's fee (no doubt at Horham) of the great Suffolk Honour of Eye, in or about 1183,⁴ while another Hubert Jarnagan occurs at Redlingfield (next Horham) in 1218-19, and at Stonham in 1222-23.³ A Norfolk Feodary of the time of Edward III (1327-77) mentions Jo: Gernegan as holding the fourth part of a fee in Horham.⁵ These places became known, in consequence, as Horham Jernegan and Stonham Jernegan. It appears from Rye's *Feet of Fines* that the name was written indifferently Gernegan and Jernegan.⁵

There remains the question of the change of spelling from 'Jernegan' to 'Jerningham'. Blomefield suggested that Sir Henry, the first Jernegan to settle at Cossey, varied the spelling to Jerningham that his family might be distinguished from the Somerly (Somerleyton) Jernegans.⁶ But the fact is that 'Jerningham' was in use nearly forty years before Cossey came to Sir Henry in 1547, and it is on record that Mrs Jernyngham and Edward Jernyngham, chief cup-bearer, were on duty in the queen's chamber at the time of Henry VIII's coronation in 1509.⁷ Sir Henry himself was called Harry Jernyngham in the Princess Mary's Privy Purse Expenses of 1537,⁸ and two years later his mother wrote of her 'poor son, Harry Jerningham'.⁵ Yet Sir Henry's

* For References, see page 118.

widow was referred to in 1573 as 'Lady Frances Jernegan',⁹ and his son, another Henry, subscribed a will of 1596, 'Hry. Jernegan', in which he mentioned his 'father Sir Henry Jernegan, Knt'.¹⁰ On the other hand some members of the Suffolk branch adopted the newer spelling, for in 1559 Sir Henry's step-brother began his will, 'I Sir John Jernyngham of Somerleyton'.⁵ It really appears that both spellings were used somewhat indiscriminately.

The first of the family to be lord of Painswick was Henry Jerningham of Costessey, pronounced Cossey, in Norfolk, who acquired the manor through his marriage with Frances, only daughter of Sir George Baynham of Clowerwall (Clearwell) in the Forest of Dean by Bridget Kingston. Henry was son of Sir Edward Jernegan of Somerleyton and Huntingfield in Suffolk, by his second wife, Mary, daughter and co-heir of Sir Richard Scrope, of Upsall, Yorks., second son of Lord Scrope of Bolton. After Sir Edward's death in 1513, his widow, Mary, became the second wife of Sir William Kingston, of Flaxley, Glos., and so stepmother to Anthony Kingston, the notorious Provost Marshal, and his sister Bridget, whose daughter, Frances, became the wife of Henry Jerningham.

The manor of Painswick passed in this wise: in May 1540, Thomas Cromwell, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, alienated the manors of Painswick and Moreton Valence, purchased by him in the previous October, to Sir William Kingston and Mary his wife.¹¹ When, two months later, Cromwell was attainted and executed, Sir William, a favourite at Court, managed to secure the manors in August 1540:— 'Sir William Kingston, k.g., and Mary his wife—Grant in fee of manors of Payneswike and Moreton Valence, and all lands in Painswick, Moreton, Epney, Horsemarley, Stanley Pontlarge, Strode, Sponebede, Sheppescombe, Edge, and Edgeworth, co. Gloucester, which Thomas Cromwell, late Earl of Essex, acquired of Arthur Viscount Lisle, Dame Honore his wife, and Sir John Dudley (her stepson), which he sold to the present grantees; but which were forfeit by his attainder'.¹² On Sir William's death, a month later, Painswick passed to his widow, Dame Mary, and after her to his son, Sir Anthony Kingston, who settled the reversion of his lands in Gloucestershire upon his niece Frances. It was found by Inquisition held after his death on 14 April 1556 that Frances Jerningham was his kinswoman and next heir, being the daughter of Bridget (died, perhaps in childbirth, 1526), sister and next heir of Anthony, and was aged 30 years or more.¹³

Sir William Kingston, who died at his Painswick manor house, called The Lodge, was buried 14 September 1540 in Painswick church in accordance with the request expressed in his will, 'My body

to be buried in the next church to the place wherein I die'.¹² For his memorial his widow utilized a 15th-century altar-tomb of one of the Viscounts Lisle, in the Founder's chapel,¹¹ and the inscription, which once ran round three sides of the monument, described him as 'Knight of ye Order of the Garter, one of ye Kynges Maiesties pryve counsell, Vice-Chamberlayne to the Kynges Highnes, Comptroller of ye Kynges most honourable Household, Constable of ye Tower, Captayne of ye Gard'.¹⁴ Sir William 'seems to have risen into favour with the king from his love of martial exercises, in which, from his height and strength, he was qualified to excel'.⁸ His was the task of arresting Cardinal Wolsey at Sheffield Park, and, as Constable of the Tower, he had the custody of Anne Boleyn, whom he assisted to ascend the steps of the scaffold. His widow, Mary Lady Kingston, mother of Henry Jerningham, had been in the service of Katherine of Aragon. As 'mistress Gernyngham, widow', she was in attendance on that queen at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520, on which occasion her future husband, Sir William, was a knight in the train of Henry VIII.¹⁵ She was afterwards attached to the household of the Princess Mary, with whom she was a particular favourite.⁸ It was doubtless this fact that caused Anne Boleyn, on the day before her execution, to fall down on her knees before Lady Kingston imploring that she would go in her name to Princess Mary, her step-daughter, to kneel before her in like manner, and ask her forgiveness for the wrongs she had done her.¹⁶ Dying in 1548, she was buried in Leyton church, Middlesex, where a brass mural tablet was placed with the following inscription:—

If you will the truth have,
 Here lieth in this grave,
 Directly under this stone,
 Good Lady Mary Kingstone,
 Who departed thys world the truth to say,
 In the month of August, the xv day,
 And As I doe well remember,
 Was buryed honourably 4th day of September,
 The year of our Lord reckon'd truly,
 M V fourty and eyght surely,
 Whos yerly obyte and anniversary,
 Ys determined to be kept surely,
 At the costs of hyr son Sir Henry Jernyngham truly,
 Who was at this makynge
 Of the queen's garde, chieff captain.⁵

Blomefield remarks that she died seized of the hundreds of Lothingland and Mutford, and Lowestoft and Mutford Manors. In her will, dated 1545, Lady Mary mentioned 'Paynswick where my late husband, Sir William Kingston, was buried', and bequeathed to her son-in-law, Sir Anthony Kingston, 'a statue of St Anthony with a diamond and perle hanging to it', while other bequests were made to 'my son-in-law Sir John Jerningham . . . my lady Anne Grey my daughter-in-law'.¹⁷ These were children of Sir Edward Jernegan by his first wife whose name is not known.

Sir Henry Jerningham was born in 1509, and, while still in his teens, was found a place in the royal household. At 19 years of age, when he was already holding the post of 'steward of the king's daughter, the princess' Mary, then aged twelve, he was appointed Constable of Gloucester castle, with the wages and profits due to that office.⁷ He was chosen to attend upon the Lord Admiral of England, the Earl of Southampton, at the reception of the Lady Anne of Cleves, who became, for six months, the fourth queen of Henry VIII.¹⁵ On that occasion his mother gave him a letter to deliver to Lady Lisle, wife of the Deputy (or Governor) of Calais, telling her that 'My poor son Harry Jerningham is appointed to wayt upon my Lord Admiral, to meet this young lady which by God's grace shall be our m'res:'⁵ and desiring her 'to be good lady unto my poor son, Harry Jerningham, the bearer', more particularly to help him to procure a horse, if he met with any difficulty.¹⁵

The date of Henry's marriage to Frances Baynham is not known. It took place before 9 June 1546, on which date her father made a will in which he mentioned his son, Henry Jerningham, esq.;¹³ and it may have been as early as 1543, when Frances was not more than seventeen, for an item of April in that year set down in the expenses of Princess Mary refers to 'mistress Jernyngham',⁸ who was in attendance on the princess and was apparently Henry's wife.

On 20 March 1545 the king leased to Henry Jernyngham, esq., for thirty-six years, at a rent of £38 6s 8d, the 800 acres of Tewkesbury Park, with the deer and game, and some lands and mills there, all lately belonging to the monastery of Tewkesbury. It appears that Henry quickly made over the lease to Roger Lygon, but soon afterwards secured a promise from the king to grant to him and Frances his wife the said yearly rent and the reversion of the premises. Edward VI, 'desiring to fulfil his father's wishes', made the grant in 1547, and Mary confirmed it in 1554.¹⁹ In January 1547 only two days before the death of Henry VIII, Henry paid £992 8s 6d for a grant of the house and site of the late priory of St Olave of Herringfleet in Suffolk, the

lordship and manor of Herringfleet, with the rectory and advowson of the vicarage, with the lordship and manors of Raveningham and Tibenham in Norfolk.⁷ It was also in that year that he received a grant of the manor of Costessey and so became founder of the Costessey branch of the Jerninghams.²⁰

Immediately after the death of Edward VI (6 July 1553), Henry appeared openly on Mary's side, being one of the first to do so, and joined her at her seat of Kenninghall with his Norfolk tenantry.²⁰ The Lords of the Council proclaimed Lady Jane Grey as Queen, but Mary raised her standard at Framlingham, and Henry proceeded on a dangerous mission to Yarmouth, where six war-ships, despatched to carry cannon and stores for the siege of Mary's castle, were reported to be sheltering from stormy weather. The story is given in the *Chronicle of Queen Jane* written at the time by a resident in the Tower of London. Learning of Henry's approach, the captains of the six ships hastily rowed off to their commands, but he boldly went out in a row-boat to test which way the loyalty of the sailors lay. After hearing him, 'the mariners asked Mr Jerningham what he would have, and whether he would have their captains or no; and he said, "Yea, marry"'. Said they, "Ye shall have them, or else we shall throw them to the bottom of the sea"'. The captains chose to surrender, saying that they would serve Queen Mary gladly. So Jerningham returned to Framlingham taking with him the captains, their ships' crews, and, even more important, the heavy ordnance from the ships, the first that Mary had.²¹ This success finally turned the scale in Mary's favour.

Henry accompanied the new queen to London, being appointed captain of her guard and vice-chamberlain of the royal household, and given a seat on the privy council.²⁰ Only a few weeks later he was made master of the hunt and keeper of the royal parks at Eltham (with the queen's houses there) and at Horne, in Kent. In December he received a knighthood, and, in consideration of his service at Framlingham in the suppression of the rebellion of the late Duke of Northumberland, he and Frances his wife were granted the manor and castle of Wingfield in Suffolk, with a long list of lands and liberties there.¹⁹ During the following year, Sir Henry led the guardsmen against Wyatt and his fellow-insurgents, and dispersed them on their way to Rochester, only to be routed in turn on Rochester bridge, but he was able to rally his men at Charing Cross, where the rebels were finally defeated.²⁰ The leader, Wyatt, and others were 'brought by master Jernyngham, vice-chamberlain, by water to the Tower as prisoners'.²¹

At Sir Henry's suggestion, it was decided that he and succeeding vice-chamberlains should in future have the appointment of certain

almsmen, commonly called the founder's thirteen almsmen of the town and parish of Tewkesbury. The late abbots of Tewkesbury were bound to find in perpetual alms thirteen poor, impotent, aged, lame and needy persons, giving each of them 10d a week for their diets and 6s 8d yearly for their gowns, and paying £3 6s 8d yearly for the rents of all their houses. Upon a vacancy the bailiffs of Tewkesbury used to present to the abbot three names of the poorest persons living in the town, and he pricked the one whom he thought most needy.¹⁹ 'The Accompte of Ric. Carique, servaunt to the Right Worshypfull ye lady Frauncys Jernegan, wydowe', for the year 1571-72, included the entry, 'Item for money to be given in my ladye's Almes this yere to the poore people in Tewksbury, xxxiijs iiijd'.¹¹

In 1555, Henry and Frances purchased of the Crown the manors of Veales and Syleham in Suffolk. A year later, Henry was appointed chief steward of the town and hundred of Tewkesbury, with authority to appoint the bailiff of that hundred, as well as of many manors in the vicinity; chief steward of the manor of Barton Regis, and of the manor and hundred of Duddeston, in the county of the city of Gloucester, with the wages and fee of £6 13s 4d yearly; and master of the hunt of wild beasts in the chase of Corse Lawn, Glos., and in the park of Isleworth, Middx., otherwise called the new park of Richmond, and keeper of such park, with a grant of two meadows in Twickenham for the sustenance and pasturage of the deer there. At the same time he obtained a licence to retain in his service a hundred persons, gentlemen or yeoman, over and above all such as daily attended him in his household, and to give them his livery, badge or cognizance. On 18 December 1557, he was granted the office of master of the queen's horse with the wages and fee of 100 marks yearly, and on the same day he was given an annuity of £300 from the exchequer.¹⁹ Queen Mary, by her will dated 30 March 1558 bequeathed £200 to 'S^r Henry Jernegan, K^t, Master of my horses'.⁸

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth Sir Henry was dismissed from the Council and thenceforward ceased to figure in state affairs, for his adherence to Catholicism proved a barrier to court favours during her reign.²⁰ Nevertheless, during a royal progress through Norfolk, he entertained her majesty in his newly rebuilt mansion of 'Cossey', where she spent a day at her favourite sport of tame-deer shooting.²² Among the general pardons granted in January 1559 was one to 'Henry Jernyngham of Norwich, *alias* of St Olave, *alias* of Heryngfield, co. Suff., *alias* of Cossey, co. Norf., *alias* of London, *alias* late of Eltham, Kent, *alias* of Peyneswyke, co. Glouc., Knight'.

On 22 May 1560, a lease for sixty years was granted to Henry Jerningham, knt., of the site of the rectory of Cheltenham and its annexed chapel of Charlton, Glos., from the previous Michaelmas, at a yearly rent of £60 *os* 8*d* to the archdeacon of Gloucester or his proxy, and to find at his own costs two chaplains and two deacons appointed by the Crown for the church and chapel; also to find bread, wine and other necessaries for service in the church and chapel as heretofore, and bell ropes and straw for the church. This was in consideration of the surrender by Sir Henry of an indenture of 30 September 1538, whereby the abbot and monastery of Cirencester leased the premises to Anthony Kyngeston of Payneswike, esquire, for sixty years from Lady Day after the death or surrender of Thomas Packer, their farmer (now dead), at a yearly rent of £60, and for an acre of land called Rodwey and a way called Le Myll Wey, 8*d*.¹⁹

After the death of Sir Anthony Kingston in 1556, Sir Henry and Dame Frances became Lord and Lady of the Manor of Painswick, though they leased it to Roger Lygon for £40 a year.¹¹ Possibly they visited Painswick on those occasions when Sir Henry's official duties took him to Gloucester and Tewkesbury. At any rate they were in frequent touch with the place, and an accounts entry shows that messengers journeyed between Costessey and Painswick: 'Item, a reward given to Thomas Arundell for going to Cossey, Dec. 4th 1567 with certain books, in consideration of the bringing from thence a gelding borrowed by Mr Dereham of Thomas Cotts, and to pay for the sayd geldings mete by the waye homeward, xvij*s* iiii*d*'. Another payment proves that needy folk on the Jerningham manor were not forgotten: 'Item, given in Almes by my masters commandement unto six pore persons in Payneswicke (who were named), to either of them viij*d*, and the pore people within the parish of Payneswicke, xx*s*'. At a Court of Frank Pledge held at Painswick in 1568 George Blysse produced his manumission in the names of Sir Henry Jernegan and Lady Frances his wife.¹¹ As patron of the living Sir Henry presented an Incumbent to Haresfield church on 20 May 1571.¹⁹

Sir Henry died 7 September 1572, aged sixty-three,⁵ and was buried at Costessey. An interesting portrait of him as Captain of the Guard and a Privy Councillor was preserved on a panel at Costessey Hall.²³ By his will, dated 15 August 1572, proved 27 May 1573, he left his estates to his widow for her life.²⁰ An Inquisition of 1573 found that Lord Chandos had recently died seised of three messuages, one cottage, and 103 acres of land with 5 acres of meadow, in Haresfield and Eastington, held of the Lady Frances Jernegan, widow, as of her manor of Haresfield, worth in clear yearly value £12.²³ The bishop of

Norwich, in his certificate of recusants sent to the Privy Council, 29 October 1577, included Lady Jerningham, who, he added, 'being often troubled with melancholy passion, has service in English said in her own house',²⁴ but whatever service was said in the vulgar tongue at Costessey Hall, assuredly it was not that of the reformed church. This is the last reference found to Lady Frances, the date of whose death remains unknown. She was buried at Costessey.

Henry Jerningham, son and heir of Sir Henry and Lady Frances, is stated (by Rudder) to have had livery of the manor of Painswick in 1573. A dispute, which arose between him and his customary tenants, was settled by arbitration, and the findings were embodied in a decree of the Chancery Court in 1585-86, being later confirmed by a private Act of Parliament in 1623-24. The manor house was in the occupation of the bishop of Gloucester, who, as the diocesan records show, transacted business during 1575-76 'in an upper chamber of the house of the bishop, commonly called "The Lodge" at Payneswycke'.²⁵ On 1 March 1577, an incumbent was presented to Haresfield church by John Stubbs as patron by assignment of a grant of Lady Frances Jerningham dated 3 June of the previous year,²³ and on 29 November 1578, the Rev. Arthur Messinger exhibited a presentation of himself, made by Mr Henry Jernegan, to Painswick church, and prayed that no one be admitted to the vicarage until he had first been called to propound his right. However, in the following year, an appointment was made by the crown.²⁶

About 1590 Henry lost his first wife, Eleanor, daughter of Lord Dacre of Gilsland, by whom he had five sons and a daughter, and by 1592 he had taken a second wife, Frances, widow of Sir Thomas Bedingfield of Oxburgh, Norfolk, and daughter and co-heir of his cousin, Sir John Jernegan of Somerleyton. He made over the manor of Painswick to his eldest son, Henry, upon the latter's marriage in the early part of 1592; and in May of that year 'Henry Jernegan the elder, esq., and Frances his wife', levied a fine to John Arundell, esq., and Charles Waldegrave, esq., of the manors of Painswick, Haresfield, Moreton Valence, and Miserden with 320 messuages and £20 rent in those places and elsewhere in Gloucestershire as well as the advowsons of the churches of Haresfield and Miserden. The sum paid to the Jernegans was £2,620.²⁷

An interesting letter, sent by the Privy Council to Henry Jerningham on 22 October 1593, suggests that his two younger sons had been removed from his custody by the Council so that they might be instructed in the reformed religion. In answer to his suit that his two sons remaining with Mr Molcaster might, during the time of

infection, be sent to remain with him for one season, they had formerly permitted them to remain with him until Allhallowes' tide, now, upon his renewed application that his said children for some longer space of time might remain in the country with him until the infection be more slacked in the city, they consent to his request until Twelvetide next. They look that in the meantime his children be brought up by a schoolmaster known to be well affected in religion, that they may give account for their education.¹⁰

After his marriage with Frances Bedingfield, Henry went to live at the Bedingfield mansion, as appears from a will made by him in 1596, in which he described himself as 'Henry Jernegan of Oxburgh, co. Norfolk, Esquire'. This will, preserved among Lord Stafford's MSS, was doubtless made during a grave illness, for in 1604 he was granted a licence to travel for one year to the Spa (Belgium) as he was suffering from rheumatism, vertigo, and melancholia, and had been advised to go there by the physicians to the royal family.¹¹ A subsequent will made by 'Henry Jernegan of Cossey, esquire', which was duly signed, sealed and attested, was dated 7 May 1607.¹⁰ By an indenture of the same date 'Henry Jernegan the elder, of Cossey', leased to Richard Robins of Harsfeild, yeoman, in consideration of £750 received, 'the manor or farme place' of Haresfield.²³

Henry Jernegan the elder died 15 June 1619 and was buried in St Margaret's, Westminster.¹⁸ His daughter, Anne, in 1587, married John Arundell, son and heir of Sir John Arundell of Lanherne in Cornwall, who, as a Catholic, was kept in custody in various places near London till his death at Isleworth in 1591.

Sir Henry Jerningham, created a baronet 16 August 1621, married Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Throckmorton, of Coughton, Warws., and Throckmorton, Worcs., by his wife, Margaret, daughter and co-heir of William Whorwood, attorney-general to Henry VIII. The marriage settlement, which was dated 31 January 1592,²⁹ no doubt provided for the conveyance of Painswick manor to Henry by his father. The young couple made their home at The Lodge, for the parish registers record the baptisms at Painswick of the first-born child, a daughter, Merye 'Jernelyngham', on 12 November 1593, and another daughter, Elizabeth Jernegann, on 20 March 1609, as well as the baptism there, on 25 July, followed by burial on 9 August 1611, of their youngest child, a son, Henrie Jerningham.³⁰ Their other children²² were John, eldest son, born in 1598; William; Thomas, a minor in 1616 when William Osbornesurrendered to his use some ground between 'Hazelhonger Mead' and the 'Kings Highway', a track leading from 'Painswick Lodge' toward Gloucester:¹¹ he was knighted for

gallantry at the Isle of Rhye in 1627;²² and a daughter, Catherine. Another daughter, doubtless, was the Angela Jerningham who became Abbess of the English convent of the Third Order of St Francis in Paris, in 1660.

At Ascensiontide, 1598, Henry Jernegan the younger, esq., and Eleanor his wife, levied a fine of the manor of Paynswick, with appurtenances, and 10 messuages, &c., two mills, &c., and 20s rent in Paynswick to Arnold Lygon, esq., who paid them £1000, Arnold to have same for eighty years at a peppercorn rent after the decease of Henry Jernegan the elder, father of the said Henry, if Henry the younger and Eleanor, or one of them, lived so long. In 1614, judgment was given in a Chancery suit brought by the customary tenants of the manor against Henry to the effect that certain lands within the manor called chantry lands be accounted as copyhold by the respective owners thereof.¹² It is learnt from an Inquisition taken 5 August 1617, that Sir Henry Poole had died a year previously seised of the manors of Daglingworth and Edgeworth, each held of Henry Jerningham, esq., as of his manor of Painswick, in free socage and not in chief, by the yearly rent of 12*d*, and worth 40s per annum.³²

In the same year (1619) that Henry's father (Henry Jernegan the elder) died, his son and heir apparent, John, married Anne, daughter of Sir Francis Moore, Bart., of Fawley, Berks.²⁹ Seemingly, the young couple took up residence at The Lodge, while Henry moved to Costessey to live in the family mansion, soon to be denuded of nearly all its furniture to raise money to satisfy the endless fines and forfeitures inflicted upon Catholics by the penal code. In 1620 began a sale of the contents of the house, which fetched the sum of £402 13*s* 2*d* according to a document entitled 'A brief of the furniture in Cossey House, prayed and sold to Mr Catlyne'.¹⁰ Two years later little was left in most of the thirty-four rooms beyond hangings! A few pictures and nothing else in parlour and dining-room, and a sparver and one chair in My Lady's Chamber. There were only nine chairs in the whole house, and of the seven bedsteads remaining, three only were equipped with feather-beds.¹⁰

On 14 February 1627, Sir Henry Jernegan gave an acquittance for £50 due from Benedict Webb of Kingswood, Wotton-under-Edge. He may have helped finance Webb's experiments to make oil for use in cloth manufacture from rape seed and other small round seeds. The operation had proved so successful that, in 1624, the clothiers of Wilts., Glos., and Somerset certified that Webb's oil 'was as good and useful as the Spanish oil, and more useful than the oil brought yearly out of the Low Countries'.³³

Particulars concerning Painswick Lodge were given in 'An Inventory taken the xvj of October 1630, of all the goods in my master's house at Painswick'. The rooms mentioned, with the value of the furniture in some of them, are the following:—

The parlour (£8), the closet within the parlour, the hall (50s), the buttery (£2), the little milk house (10s), the boulding house, the pastry (£3), the larder, the storehouse (£10), the butler's chamber (£5), the chamber over the kitchen, the nursery (£4), the garret over-head, Mrs Sander's chamber (£15), the porch chamber (£4 10s), the gallery, the green chamber (£20), the dining room (£120), my lady's chamber (£24), the inward chamber (£2 13s), the brewhouse, the stables, the kitchen. There is also a record of the number of beds, pillows, etc., in the house. A note of some of the bedding sent to London was dated 6 September 1632.¹⁰

Sir Henry had incurred a debt of £1410 upon his Painswick estate, and in 1634 Sir Ralph Dutton, Knt., of Standish, Glos., obtained an indictment against him. After an Inquisition taken at Minchinhampton, 4 November 1635, the lands were taken into the king's hands under a Writ of Extent, and on the morrow after Holy Trinity, 1636, Sir Henry Jernegan and Dame Eleanor his wife levied a fine into the hands of Sir George Throckmorton, Sir Gerald Fleetwood, Richard Berkeley, Esq., and John Dutton, Esq., of the Manor and Park of Painswick, together with all other messuages, lands, &c., wherein Sir Henry or Dame Eleanor had any interests or estate in Painswick and Edgeworth, thereby granting to the said trustees to hold the same during the lives of Sir Henry and Dame Eleanor and the life of either of them longest living. But Dame Eleanor was to be paid her jointure out of the profits of the manor, namely, an annuity of £340 payable in two equal instalments at the South Porch of Painswick church by Sir Ralph Dutton, who was to enjoy the revenue and profit of the manor and park, and its belongings, and to have custody of all Court Rolls, Court books, rentals, surveyors, terriers, scripts and muniments pertaining to the manor. Accordingly, on 1 August 1636, the estate, of the clear annual value of £200, was leased to Sir Ralph for so long a term as it remained in the king's hands by reason of the debt.¹¹ Sir Ralph Dutton, who thus became Farmer-Lord of the Manor and lived at The Lodge, was drowned at sea ten years later while escaping from Leith to France.

In the same year Sir Henry's eldest son, John, died at the age of thirty-eight,²⁹ leaving a son and heir Henry, born in 1620, and two daughters, Frances and Dorothy. Shortly before his death, John

executed a deed by which he settled Costessey manor and other lands in trust for the payment of his debts.

In 1643 the estates of papists and delinquents were sequestered as to two-thirds, and two letters written in the next year show that the Jerninghams had difficulty in finding money to promote some business before a Parliamentary Committee (possibly concerning Dame Eleanor's jointure out of the manor of Painswick, as Sir Ralph Dutton's bonds were called for), and that they could find neither tenants nor purchasers for houses belonging to them in London.¹⁰ Sir Henry died 1 September 1646, and was buried at Costessey. Administration of his estate was granted, 9 February 1648, to a creditor, and administration of his widow's estate was granted on 2 December following.²⁹

Sir Henry Jerningham, 2nd baronet, succeeded to the title on the death of his grandfather. About the same time, or soon after, he married Mary, daughter of Benedict Hall, Esq., of High Meadow, Newland, Glos., by his wife Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Winter, of Lydney.²⁹ Mary's maternal grandmother was Anne, 3rd daughter of Edward Somerset, 4th Earl of Worcester, and sister of Henry, 1st Marquess of Worcester. An entry in Newland parish register states that Mary was born 14 April 1624, between the hours of four and five in the afternoon,³⁶ and that she was baptized there four days later. Dying at the age of twenty-nine, she was buried in the church of Great Bookham, Surrey, where a stone bears the inscription: 'Here lyeth Mary Iernegan, wife of Henry Iernegan, of Cossey, in ye County of Norfolke, Barronett, daugh^r of Benedict Hall, of High Meadow, in the County of Glocester, Esq., whoe died the 30th of Aprill, Anno Dni 1653, leaveing him two sonnes and one daughter. Deus meus et omnia'. The parish register records that 'Mary Jerningham, wife to S^r Henery Jerningham, Knight and Baronet, was buryed the first day of May (1653)'.³⁷

Sir Henry succeeded in obtaining from Oliver Cromwell the following letters of protection: 'These are to command and require you, and every of you, that you henceforth forbear to molest the person, seize, take, plunder, or carry away, any of the horses, oxen, sheep, corn, household stuff, or any other goods whatsoever of, or belonging to, Sir Henry Jerneghan, of Cossey in the County of Norfolk, as you and every of you will answer the contrary at your utmost perils. Given under my hand and seal at Whitehall the 4th day of Jan. 1648(9).
O. CROMWELL. To all officers and soldiers whom this may concern'.

The position at this time regarding the manor of Painswick is confusing. Sir Ralph Dutton died in 1646, but his estates, sequestered for delinquency, were not released until 26 December 1650. It is stated that John Lygon, registrar of the manor from 1653-56, occupied

The Lodge,¹¹ and that, after his death in the latter year, the manor was administered by Sir Henry Moore, Bart., of Fawley, who was officially styled 'Lord of the Manor of Painswick' and who held Courts there, until 1666¹² (presumably he may have been acting for his sister, Anne, widow of John Jerningham, who no doubt had an interest in the manor). But Courts Baron of Sir Henry Jernegan, Bart., lord of the manor, were held from 1655 to 1663 before William Shepherd, Esq., steward,³⁴ and the Painswick Churchwardens' Accounts contain a reference to Sir Henry in 1664, in which year he was assessed at £200.³⁷ The Stafford MSS include an inventory dated 13 May 1674, and headed, 'A particular of all the goods that were left at the Lodge of Sir Henry's when I went away, and George Smith was then come with his family'.¹⁰ Sir Henry, having survived his wife for twenty-seven years, died on 6 October 1680, and was succeeded by his only surviving son.²⁹

Sir Francis Jerningham, third baronet, married Anna, second daughter of Sir George Blount, Bart., of Sodington, Worcs., by Mary Kirkham. For some years after his marriage Francis lived at Costessey, and his two eldest sons, John and George, both successive heirs, were baptized there. From 1687 to 1704 he may have resided, periodically at any rate, at Painswick Lodge, as his name occurs during those years in the Churchwardens' Accounts.³⁷ It is also noted that about 1690 'Sir Francis Jernegan is still dubble-rated being a papist and a non-jurant', while in 1693 he is found 'surrendering part of his estate, being a non-jurant'.¹¹ On his eldest son's marriage in 1704 he retired permanently to Cossey, and in compliance with the Act of 1715 requiring 'papists' to register their estates, Sir Francis Jernegan of Costessey, Bart., returned his manor of Costessey, etc., at the annual value of £571 13s,³⁹ as well as some property in Gloucestershire worth £30 per annum.⁴⁰ He died on 26 August 1730 aged eighty, having held the title for nearly fifty years, and was buried at Costessey.²⁹ His will, dated 11 June in the same year, was proved on 24 November following. By his wife, Anne, with whom he enjoyed close upon sixty years of married life, he had seven sons and two daughters.

The third son was doubtless the Jesuit priest, the Rev. Francis Jernegan, whose will, dated 6 February 1752, is preserved at Stonyhurst College. He described himself as of St Paul's, Westminster, and appointed as his sole devisee and executor, John Pointz of St Giles-in-the-Fields.⁴¹ The fourth son, Henry Jernegan, was a goldsmith and jeweller in Russell Street, London, as well as a banker (to his fellow-Catholics) in Covent Garden. He floated a lottery in 1734 to raise money for the building of Westminster Bridge, and in 1740 he

gained great notoriety by organizing another lottery to dispose of a curious silver cistern he had made. There were 30,000 tickets priced at five or six shillings, and, as an inducement to buy, each purchaser was given a silver medal worth about three shillings. An interesting reference to Henry is to be found in the Diary of William Oldys, Esq., Norroy King-at-Arms: 'Much talk with Mr Jernegan about his late lottery . . . and of his strange projects to prevent all disputes in religion, provide fortunes for all younger sons, and marry all the daughters without any portions. He certainly is a pleasant man in his nature, of an open, generous and brave spirit, and no wonder he should be somewhat conceited, or strive by uncommon flights and fancies to make the abilities of his mind appear extraordinary, who has been by nature so liberally endowed with those of body, having been a man of the greatest agility in his time, very personable. . . .'⁴² He died 8 November 1761, and was buried at St. Paul's, Covent Garden.

Sir John Jerningham, fourth baronet, eldest son of Sir Francis was baptized at Costessey, 6 September 1678.²⁹ Upon his marriage in 1704 with Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Bedingfeld, Bart., of Oxburgh, Norf., by his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Arundel, Bart., of Lanherne,²⁹ he made his home at Painswick Lodge. The Churchwardens' Accounts mention John Jerningham, Esq., between 1705 and 1729, and Sir John from 1730 to 1735, he having succeeded to the title in 1730 on the death of his father.³⁷ In 1715 John Jernegan of Painswick, Esq., as a 'papist', registered his life estate at Painswick of the annual value of £314 1s 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.³⁹ The fact that his will was dated 12 September 1732²⁹ (five years before his death), suggests that he was then in ill-health, and his condition evidently became grave in 1736, for his name is then replaced in the Accounts by that of his wife, who is mentioned from 1736 to 1756.³⁷ He died, without issue, at Bath on 14 June 1737, in his fifty-ninth year, and was buried in the abbey there three days later.²⁹ His will was proved, 27 June, by his widow,⁴⁴ who continued to enjoy the Painswick estate until 1756, in which year, on 23 December, she died at Winchester and was buried with her husband at Bath.²⁹

Sir George Jerningham, fifth baronet, was baptized at Costessey, 2 June 1680.²⁹ His marriage, at the age of fifty-three, with Mary Plowden engrafted a branch of Stafford on the old stock of Jerningham—the branch on which the long-attainted title blossomed once more. She was the daughter and eventual sole heir of Francis Plowden (a Catholic gentleman of Plowden in Shropshire, who had been Comptroller of the Household to James II) by Mary, sister of John Paul, fourth and last Earl of Stafford, and daughter of the Hon. John

Stafford-Howard, younger son of Sir William Howard, Baron and Viscount Stafford, who was attainted and beheaded on Tower Hill in 1680.²⁹ It was through this unfortunate nobleman and through Mary Stafford, his cousin and wife, that the Jerninghams made their claim, not only to the Barony (created in 1640) which they eventually recovered in 1824, but also to the older Barony of Stafford dating from the 13th century.

Sir George succeeded to the baronetcy in 1737 as brother and heir of the fourth baronet. He became possessed of the Painswick estate on the death of Sir John's widow, and his name is mentioned in the Churchwardens' Accounts from 1757 to 1772.³⁷ As a 'papist' he registered his estate in the manor of Painswick, with a Court Baron, etc., on 11 January 1758, describing himself as 'Sir George Jerningham of Cossey Hall in the County of Norfolk, Baronet'. He gave the total yearly income as £306 11s 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d, made up as follows: Quit rents of the manor, £79 14s 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d; one chief rent of £7 4s; stone quarries of Painswick, about £2 2s 6d; which said manor and premises were all in his own possession and of which he was seised in fee; the capital messuage and farm known by the name of Painswick Park, with out-houses and lands, then let by parole agreement to Paul Mills at a rent of £215; tolls and profits of the market of Painswick let to Mary Hogg, widow, at a rent of £2; house called Lady Barn in possession of John Dancer under a long lease granted by Sir Henry Jerningham at a rent of 10s; and 365 acres of woodland in his own possession.⁴⁵

Sir George died at Costessey Hall on 21 January 1774, in his ninety-fourth year, and was buried at Costessey. His widow lived on until September 1785, when she died in London.²⁹ They had four sons and one daughter, all of whom were mentioned in a will, dated 2 May 1748 (afterwards cancelled), of 'Sir George Jerningham, Bart., of Cossey'. He asked to be privately buried at Cossey, and bequeathed to his wife, his only daughter, Mary, and his three sons, William, Edward and Charles, landed property at Painswick and Cossey. After legacies to his brother Charles, his physician, and his brother Edward, he left the residue to his eldest son, John.¹⁰

In 1747 John and William were being educated abroad, and a letter exists, written in that year by J. Jerningham to his father, Sir George, of Cossey, stating: 'We are both very well, and we desire your blessing, and that you would please to send us both a pair of shoe buckles and two knives, for the French ones are good for nothing. Pray excuse my wrighting so ill, for I was in a hurry'. On the same sheet is an account of the expenses of 'Mr Jacky' from 20 August 1747, and of 'Mr Billy' who arrived 18 October 1747, kept in livres and sols,

by the Rev. Alban Butler, a Catholic priest. On the same sheet is also a letter from Fr. Butler to Sir George, the beginning of which relates to finding lodgings and a servant at Lille. After referring to the expenses of the boys, he continued: 'We will endeavour by degrees to be more and more perfect in economy, and I see shall improve by little and little without disconcerting them. I would never have them really want anything necessary, as knives, and give them a little more at Christmas, Shrovetide, &c., and now and then a little encouragement to induce them to their business more earnestly . . . Masters beg you bring them each a pair of buckles, and a knife and fork with a sheath. They break and lose such things very often'.¹⁰

The eldest son John, did not live to succeed to the title. The third son, Edward, born in 1727, achieved sufficient fame as a poet and dramatist to be given a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, though few of his contemporaries seem to have been favourably impressed by his powers.

He was educated at the English College at Douai in France, and afterwards in Paris, but to the great dismay of his family he renounced the Catholic faith and adopted Protestantism. He had a reputation as a wit and seems to have been a great personal friend of the Prince of Wales, besides enjoying the friendship of men of intellectual note such as Horace Walpole, Lord Chesterfield, Lord Carlisle, and Lord Byron. The fourth son, Charles, entered the French Service, and remained quite French to the end of his days. Being a knight of Malta and of St Louis, he was usually called by his family 'the Chevalier'. He visited Costessey from Paris in 1785 and 1792, and made a timely escape to England at the outbreak of the French Revolution. He lived in London but was a frequent visitor at Costessey until 1802, when he returned to Paris and re-settled there.⁴⁶

Sir William Jerningham, sixth baronet, was born 7 March 1736, and at the age of eleven was sent to Lille in France to complete his education. The Penal Laws precluded all hopes of wordly advancement at home for Catholics, and drove many of them to military service abroad. William, before his marriage, served in France in the Chevaux-légers de la Maison de Louis XV, and later in the regiment of FitzJames-Cavalerie.⁴⁶ On 16 June 1767, he married the Hon. Frances Dillon, the nineteen years old eldest daughter of Henry, 11th Viscount Dillon, by Charlotte, daughter of the Earl of Lichfield.²⁹ He succeeded to the title and estates in 1774 as the eldest surviving son of Sir George, and his name occurs in the Painswick Accounts from 1773 to 1803.³⁷ His steward at The Lodge wrote him at Costessey on 3 August 1776: 'We have had a catching time for the Hay till within a few days past,

the weather is now excessive Hott. We hope for a good Harvest, being a very good crop of corn on the ground, especially barley, and such a crop of fruit of all sorts was never remembered. Syder has been offered for 10s per hogshead, a hundred gallons to each hogshead, so we may expect to see much drunkenness amongst the lower sort of people'.¹¹ Thirteen years later the manor was advertised for sale (in the *Sun* newspaper of 26 October 1799),⁴⁷ and in 1803 it was purchased by Mr Pitt of Pittville, Cheltenham, who sold it, 25 February 1804, to Thomas Croome of Cainscross; but the Lodge, with its home-farm and 360 acres of land surrounding it, was bought in by Sir William's third son, Edward, and so continued in Jerningham ownership until 1831.¹¹

In 1792 began the general exodus of 'aristocrats' from France, and for many years after the outbreak of the French Revolution, Lady Jerningham's salon at Costessey was a centre for the gathering of the banished French nobility, as well as for the agitators in favour of Catholic emancipation in England, and she was popularly referred to as 'Her Catholic Majesty'.

Sir William died 14 August 1809 in his seventy-fourth year, his most notable achievement having been the building of a new chapel at Costessey, modelled upon King's College Chapel at Cambridge, and rumoured to have cost £25,000. His debts exceeded his personal estate at his death. His widow went to live in London, and died on 2 March 1825, aged seventy-seven. Sir William and Lady Frances had one daughter and three sons, George William, the heir, William Charles, and Edward.⁴⁶

Sir George Jerningham, seventh baronet, was born 27 April 1771, and won as his bride a beautiful girl who was also a great heiress. She was Frances Sulyarde of Haughley Park, Suffolk, and her money played an important part in the fortunes of the Jerningham family. Frances's father, Edward Sulyarde, the last of the ancient house of that name in England, died 26 October 1799, and exactly two months later George and Frances were married. They had issue six sons and two daughters. George succeeded to the baronetcy 14 August 1809, and two years later he sold the Haughley estate for £27,840. In right of his grandmother, Mary Plowden, he claimed the Barony of Stafford (created 12 September 1640), which claim (after reversal by Act of Parliament in 1824, of the iniquitous attainder of his ancestor William, Viscount and Baron Stafford, a victim of Titus Oates), was allowed by the House of Lords, 6 July 1825, and he consequently became Baron Stafford, though, owing to Catholic disabilities, he was not allowed to take his seat in the House until 1 May 1829. On 5 October 1826, he

assumed by royal licence the name and arms of Stafford before that of Jerningham. 'The proud Lady Stafford', as her relations called Frances, died in November 1832, and four years later Lord Stafford married Elizabeth Caton, one of the four beautiful American heiresses who were known in England as the 'Four Graces'. Lord Stafford died in 1851 at the age of eighty.⁴⁹

Edward Jerningham of Painswick, third son of Sir William, born 14 July 1774, was educated in one of the English colleges abroad, and was called to the Bar, a course made possible by the Relief Act of 1791 which opened to Catholics the door of the legal profession.⁵⁰ Much of his spare time at this period was spent in genealogical research concerning his family, and as early as 1799 he was examining 'the peerage question'. It was mainly through his efforts in this direction that the task of obtaining a restoration of the Stafford peerage was seriously undertaken by the Jerningham family, though Edward himself was not destined to see the matter settled, as another quarter-century was to elapse before it was finally concluded.⁴⁶

Much of his time was necessarily spent in London, but his acquisition of The Lodge at Painswick continued the Jerningham connection with the old manor house. He is mentioned in the Churchwardens' Accounts from 1804 to 1822.³⁷ His marriage to Emily Middleton, a young convert to Catholicism, took place 15 October 1804, when Edward was thirty and Emily barely seventeen years of age, and there were six children, four sons and two daughters.⁵⁰ For many years he took a very active part in Catholic affairs, especially in the agitation for relief and emancipation. When the Catholic Board was constituted in London, Edward was appointed its secretary at the first meeting held 23 May 1808, and gave his services until shortly before his death.⁵⁰ In 1814 he took up the Legitimist cause in France and helped in the restoration of the Bourbons. Writing on 11 July to her daughter, old Lady Jerningham said: 'Edward has received a magnificent Present from the good King Louis 18, a most magnificent oval Gold Box with the King's Picture upon it, set round with very fine diamonds. It is supposed to be a Box of above £1000 value'.

In May 1822, Edward and Emily were taken ill with erysipelas, which proved fatal to both. Edward's eldest son, Charles William Edward Jerningham, was in his seventeenth year when his parents died, having been born 27 November 1805. He was sent to Stonyhurst College 12 July 1817, and subsequently became a barrister-at-law. He sold the ancient manor house at Painswick on 16 September 1831, thereby finally severing the centuries-old connection of the Jerninghams with that place. His frequent contributions to the periodicals of the day,

especially his many essays printed in *Dolman's Magazine*, stamp him as a man of extensive reading and cultured mind. He died 26 February 1854, aged forty-eight, leaving two sons by his wife Emma Mary Wynn, youngest daughter of Evan Wynn Roberts, of Grove House, Surrey, whom he married 6 September 1841.

The ancient manor house, sometimes called Painswick Lodge or Park but more usually The Lodge, is situated to the north-east of Painswick, about a mile and a half from the church. The hall, the chief room left in the house, may have been the work of Lord William Howard ('Belted Will') who was living there about 1511 as guardian of its owner, the young Viscountess Lisle. During a royal progress through Gloucestershire in the summer of 1535, Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn spent a day hunting at Painswick, and were entertained at the Lodge by Sir John Dudley (afterwards Duke of Northumberland) the occupier. During the siege of Gloucester Charles I with two sons and courtiers stayed for a night or two at The Lodge.

The mansion, now L-shaped, was in the time of the Jerninghams a quadrangular building, its four sides enclosing a paved court-yard in which were flights of stone steps leading up to galleries from which the bedrooms were approached, much like those in the court of the New Inn at Gloucester. When the south and west wings were pulled down in 1836, the chapel, which was in the west wing, was destroyed. The front half of the altar-stone of its mediaeval altar was to be seen in 1907 built-in above the door of an outhouse, but it has since been fixed to a wall inside the house. Three of its five consecration crosses remain, and it bears an inscription in Gothic letters which reads:— 'Istud Altare dedicatum est in honorem Sanctae Trinitatis et omnium Sanctorum a Nicholao Episcopo Suffraganeo'. Above it still rests the piece of Painswick stone used to cover the cavity in which were sealed the relics of some martyr. The inscription proves the existence of a chapel to the Lodge dating back to the reign of Henry IV, nearly 500 years ago, for the Nicholas mentioned was Suffragan Bishop of Worcester in 1403. The chapel may have been the 'upper chamber of the house' where the bishop, on 12 June 1576, instituted an incumbent to Beckford church. The ancient park, which once surrounded The Lodge, was very extensive and extended on the south to Longridge Wood, below which was the Deerleap, a kind of trap for luring wild deer into the park and thus bringing fresh blood to the herd. It was in process of being cut up into fields in the reign of James I. The Lodge and the land retained by Edward Jerningham were sold by auction, 16 September 1831, to Mr A. Brown, who let the house with the land as a farmhouse, when it became known as the Lodge Farm. The

auction notice described the house as 'an ancient mansion of quadrangular Form, with a Court in the centre'. With it went 22 acres of woodland, of which 18 acres were in Longridge. It had been let for £1000 a year, and was supplied with water from the Holy Well.¹¹

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