

Wardship, Royalist Delinquency And Too Many Children: The Portmans in the Seventeenth Century

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The effect of the government's fiscal demands on the landed classes of Stuart England has been surprisingly little studied in detail, given the significance of the topic in many analyses both of the causes of the Civil War and of the stability of Interregnum governments. Taxation has often been seen as the central political question up to 1660, but of the many published 'gentry' studies perhaps only Cliffe's on Yorkshire has offered a detailed assessment of the incidence of taxation on the economic fortunes of the landholders. That careful study stops in 1642 before the higher levies of the Civil War and Interregnum while, conversely, Habakkuk's seminal article concentrates on the effects of taxation in the Civil War, though drawing attention to some longer term trends.¹

The relative neglect of specific research is perhaps justified as far as the upper landed classes are concerned when one considers most forms of taxation which were comprehensive and general; that is intended to fall on all in a particular class of taxpayers. Whether or not they were approved by Parliament, such levies were based on inefficient assessments, subject to evasion and arrears, slight in their effect on individuals and consequently low in their overall yield. The relative decline in the yield from subsidies is well documented and helped to drive the Crown to the various fiscal expedients of the early seventeenth century. The consensus of recent work seems to be that these were hardly more significant.

Some questions remain. How far were the taxes regressive in their incidence? Fletcher maintains that they were tiresome enough, when added to a variety of grudgingly paid local levies, for the controllers of county society in Sussex to attempt to pass on the burden, while Barnes who, without quantifying, is inclined anyway to regard them as constituting a heavier burden, holds that in Somerset the local governors were peculiarly vulnerable to conciliar pressure and

could not avoid taking their share of the burden. Problems have also arisen in assessing the nature of the opposition to taxation. In trying to reconcile the apparently great political significance of the issue with the low yield of most forms of taxation before 1642, historians have focussed on arguments from legitimacy and expectation. This raises questions about the level of opposition to different sorts of demand. Barnes, while stressing that resistance to taxation was 'almost instinctive' in Somerset, states that there does not appear to have been any opposition to the privy seal loan of 1625 and that 'resistance to the trained soldiers' rate was not great'. A further question has been raised by Morrill's argument that the opposition to ship money was not based on high constitutional principle but on the equity of the detailed assessments. From one point of view, however, this may be an unreal distinction since the sanctity of local jurisdictions and customs and the equity of historically derived assessments were part of the 'constitutional' picture as seen by a precedent-minded people.

Nevertheless, whatever position is adopted on these questions, there seems little reason to dissent from Cliffe's verdict that such general forms of parliamentary and non-parliamentary taxation before the Civil War were *in toto* a negligible charge on gentry income or Fletcher's that the fiscal expedients failed to meet the government's expectations.²

On the other hand three forms of discriminatory taxation in the period from 1600 to 1660 might strike an individual family many times more heavily than such general levies. Wardship, recusancy and royalist delinquency payments could raise demands to a level not experienced by the mass of the landholding class. Recusancy may probably be set aside: Catholic landlords had ample opportunities for evasion, under-valuation of their property, occasional conformity and personal concessions. Official corruption and the Caroline system of compounding for recusancy payments made the financial consequences much less serious in practice than in theory. At most, in Cliffe's words, 'austerity, not bankruptcy, was the keynote'.³ But a family suffering a series of high wardship and delinquency charges as well as bearing its share of recurrent demands was likely to be worst affected. Early seventeenth century complaints about wardship stretch from the ninth earl of Northumberland's view of about 1609 that it meant 'the decay of all men's private estates in two or three descents' to Clarendon's well-known comment of the 1630s that, by Lord Cottington's 'husbandry' in raising the revenue of the Court of Wards, 'all the rich families of

England, of noblemen and gentlemen, were exceedingly incensed, and even indevoted to the crown'.⁴ Contemporary complaints about delinquency payments were of course legion.

It happens that in Somerset⁵ the same family, the Portmans, was most heavily hit by both wardship and delinquency fines. It is worth concentrating on them because they were *not* typical: as the most extreme case in that county they may be used to test most severely the thesis of government pressure. The Portman archives⁶ have *lacunae*, especially before the eighteenth century: for example there are few Tudor or early Stuart surveys or rentals or even consecutive series of leases. But enough material survives to establish the growth of the estate and assess the effects of the fiscal blows the family suffered between 1612 and 1660. This paper will consider briefly the periods before and after those dates in order to put the early seventeenth century in perspective: it will also illustrate other aspects of a gentry family's affairs, for example the profits of office, political allegiance, the significance of marriage and the cost of daughters and younger sons. It will also assess the effects of wardship on the education and marriage of the heirs of the family, a matter of much concern to contemporaries. Last but not least it will reveal a remarkable marriage agreement.

Until 1612 the Portmans were a typical rising gentry family, owing much, though by no means all, of their success to the profits of legal office. Thomas the Portman first appears in a fine of 1301/2 dealing with property in Taunton: by 1334/5 they owned twelve messuages there (twenty in Taunton and Galmeton by 1429/30) and acquired by the mid-fifteenth century what has traditionally, but without direct evidence, been called their town house, now no. 15, Fore Street. They were also substantial landowners in Staple Fitzpaine and 'of some concern' in Isle Abbotts. They endowed the rectory of Orchard with land at West Monkton. This rise was helped by a series of marriages to heiresses, notably that between Walter Portman and Christine Orchard, which led to the acquisition of Orchard Portman, formerly part of the estates of the bishopric of Winchester, and of lands in Bickenhall. To Christine this marriage to burgess wealth was perhaps safer and better financially, though less socially elevated, than her first to Sir Philip Cary: She and Sir Philip were parents of Sir William Cary, beheaded after the battle of Tewkesbury. The Portman family represented Taunton in various parliaments from 1379 until about 1435. Walter Portman moved in 'county' circles, acting in 1429-31 as adviser and then 'one of Council' to the dowager Lady Margaret Luttrell of Dunster. (It is

perhaps unlikely the family was linked with the John Portman who was burgess for Dunster in 1266 or the one suspected of robbing Dunster church in 1225.) Walter engaged in property transactions and passed a wardship in that area in 1432 and 1437 and in 1444 was trustee for the Warre family of Hestercombe, whose fortunes were still linked with the Portmans' in the nineteenth century. Walter was dead by 1456 when his relict Christine presented to Orchard rectory: she was to be examined by the bishop of Bangor as to her fitness to take the veil but since, in 1472, by which time she was dead, she was found to have held one-third of the manor of Bickenhall in dower, it is possible she did not proceed. This land was inherited by her son John Portman.⁷

It was however Walter's grandson, John, and his great-grandson, Sir William, who markedly advanced the family's fortunes. Both were successful lawyers. Despite being sold as a ward to Lord Dawbeny in 1489,⁸ John became a serjeant at law and his will of 1521 (proved 1526) shows the modest gentry wealth necessary if advantage were to be taken of the opportunities for landed investment of the next generation. He had acquired the manor of Corton Denham and a crown lease of a farm at Pimperne, Dorset. He married the daughter of a local farmer, William Knoyle, and received substantial bequests of stock in Knoyle's will. Like his predecessors, John Portman was often employed as an overseer and trustee in local wills but, unlike them, he held substantial local office as commissioner for sewers and depopulation and as J.P. In 1520 he was on the list of three, but was not pricked as sheriff of Somerset. One of his younger sons, Leonard, was apparently the first Portman to attend university and became a somewhat litigious clergyman.⁹

Sir William reached the top of his profession, becoming Lord Chief Justice of the King's (and Queen's) Bench to both Edward VI and Mary I, though he signed the letters patent limiting the crown to Lady Jane Grey. His professional skill meant that he was frequently employed in legal matters by the local élite, but he also seems to have been closely associated with Thomas Cromwell. He was returned as fellow M.P. for Taunton with him in 1529 and later acted for him in delicate political matters. He was also on the commission to inquire into Wolsey's lands; he was one of the Somerset commissioners preparing the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* and a member of the short-lived Council of the West. Like so many of those involved in the Dissolution, he was a Catholic and a zealous persecutor of Protestants under Mary. In fact he served all governments of whatever religious persuasion with almost equal zeal: the only

evidence of what Collinson calls his 'independence and integrity. . . unusual in those arbitrary times' appears to be his temporary opposition in November 1550 to the Privy Council over the bishop of Bath's *praemunire*. The three judges concerned soon gave way. He too married an heiress, of the Gilbert family. His funeral was notable for its magnificence, despite his will requesting no 'pomp or pride', while the crest on his coat of arms appears to have been too grandiose for later Tudor herald painters, a simpler version being substituted.¹⁰

Sir William took full advantage of his excellent opportunities for local gain in the hectic land market of the period. Even before the Dissolution he had acquired church property: Spiercy's Lawn, part of the demesnes of the bishop of Winchester's manor of Taunton Deane, and an annuity from the nunnery of Minchin Buckland. But it was in 1544 he received his greatest gains, part of the estates of four religious houses, Minchin Buckland, Taunton, Athelney and St John's, Bridgwater. This grant comprised the manors of North Petherton, Clavelshay, Durleigh, Goathurst and Dunwear and assorted lands in fourteen parishes or hamlets near the existing family holdings. It was made jointly to Portman and to Alexander Popham, the father of the later Lord Chief Justice, for £754 17s 8d, of which Portman paid £622 15s and Popham £132 1s 8d (*sic*), but the subsequent history of the property shows Sir William to have been the real grantee. In the words of an old west country thyme:

'Horne, Paget, Portman, Thynne,
When the monks stepped out you stepped in'.

Portman's gains, typical of the rise of the Somerset magnates through royal service and the law, also show the artificiality of distinguishing too clearly between the acquisitions made by local gentry and by government officials from the Dissolution.¹¹

Sir William also bought a small estate in Staple Fitzpaine and Curland, the manor of Bodminscombe and Cove in Devon, an interest in the manor of Thurlbear and, most notably for the future, the remainder of a lease of the manor of Lisson in Middlesex. He and his son Henry later obtained a freehold of about 293 acres in the manor of Lisson and other property in the parish of St Marylebone, developed by the Portmans in the eighteenth century. Sir William is known to have bought at least three wardships and to have had an interest as lessee or otherwise in a number of other properties.¹² It seems likely that he erected the house at Orchard Portman, probably incorporating the mediaeval hall of the Orchard

family, which remained the family mansion for the rest of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹³ His will shows much concern for the estate, leaving all to his son Henry after small bequests to other relatives: his son was to secure or compensate his tenants, a slightly less generous provision than the usual recommendation to leniency.¹⁴

After Sir William's death the family gave up professional and governmental ambitions and became country gentlemen, deriving most of their wealth from estate management. The work of Sir Henry, head of the family until 1590, as J.P., sheriff of Somerset 1569–71, deputy lieutenant and frequent local commissioner on behalf of the Privy Council, illustrates that lack of central office did not deprive the Elizabethan local élite of a significant administrative role.¹⁵ Equally the Portmans' adherence to local leasing policy did not, despite what has been claimed, seem to put them at a disadvantage. By 1580 they made the switch from leases for lives to leases for years (usually ninety-nine) dependent on lives (usually three) characteristic of much of the west country from the late sixteenth century. Stone has argued that, whether or not determinable in years, the three lives' lease with high entry fine and moderate rent put landlords at a disadvantage compared with twenty-one years' leases. They mortgaged future income for an immediate capital sum. Hoskins and Finberg claim such leases were almost equal to a freehold for the tenant.¹⁶ I hope to deal with the complex computation of relative advantage elsewhere, but here it may be noted that Stone himself says a mid-seventeenth century estimate of twenty-seven years for the third life was 'probably an exaggeration': if so the effective length of the two types of lease may not have been very different. Furthermore the third life was often surrendered early and a fresh one added for a new fine. Although the paucity of seventeenth century surveys prevents a detailed assessment of the benefits and costs, the Portmans' adherence for generations to the ninety-nine years/three lives' leasing policy did not prevent them running their estates immensely profitably.

Marriage or family settlements do not survive,¹⁷ but Sir Henry's acquisitions of land are well documented. Apart from consolidating the Marylebone estate, he added the manor of Puckington as early as 1557, lands in Pilton, the manors of East Chinnock and Closworth in 1561, the manor (nearly one thousand acres) and rectory of Thurloxton for £500 and the rectory of Thurlbear. A number of other transactions include the lease in 1568 from the dean and chapter of Wells of the manor house of North Curry and

tenths in North Curry and West Hatch: this lease was still in the family in 1618. It was probably Sir Henry who added a range of buildings and the gatehouse to Orchard Portman house, since the latter was very similar to that of his in-laws, the Stawells, at Cothelstone. He was a creditor of bishop Godwin of Bath and Wells and at £100 one of the largest contributors in Somerset to the loan of 1587.¹⁸

His own, his sister's and his daughters' marriages tightened the family's links with the neighbouring upper gentry, a process only slightly marred by his sister's divorce in 1572, after sixteen years' marriage, from Sir John Stawell on grounds of her adultery.¹⁹ One of his daughters, Rachel, died unmarried in 1631 but the other four all married well. Elizabeth made the first Portman aristocratic marriage with Thomas, lord Paulet, brother of the marquis of Winchester. Margaret survived both her husbands and received substantial jointures from them. Two of Sir Henry's sons, William and Sir Hugh, died without issue, but the other, Sir John, married in about 1600 Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Giffard of Hampshire.²⁰ The number of daughters and younger sons to be provided with dowries, portions or, if unmarried, maintenance, might endanger the family's rise, but in practice the effects of Sir Henry's quiverful were mitigated. In 1586 Lady Paulet was left as residuary legatee of her husband (receiving at least £500 from him) and in 1590 she in turn made Sir Hugh Portman, her eldest brother, her residuary legatee. Rachel, a rich woman, acquired for just over £1000 a 970 years' lease of an estate in Playstreet in Bickenhall (one-third of the manor there) and in Neroche forest, which she assigned back, being unmarried, to the main line of the family shortly before her death in 1631. She left legacies of nearly £2000 in money besides much silver. The same 'good' fortune occurred on the male side, William dying in his father's life, and Sir Hugh, Sir Henry's heir, dying without children, so that in 1603 the property descended wholly to Sir John, Sir Henry's youngest son.²¹

Both Sir Hugh and Sir John continued to buy land from 1590 to 1612. Sir Hugh bought an estate at Kew and East and West Sheen, the manor and advowson of Staple Fitzpaine and Staple Fitzpaine park (for over £2000), the manor of Littlehampton in Sussex, and an interest in a lease of the site of the monastery of Muchelney and the demesne farm (about 740 acres in all). John began buying while his brother was alive. The estate at Orchard was rounded out; there were large purchases in West Coker, Hardington Mandeville and Hardington Marsh; the manor of Haselbury Plucknett was bought

from the earl of Salisbury in 1607 for £3800; property in Melbury, Dorset, was acquired from the crown in 1609; the manor of Corton Denham was bought in 1609–10; an interest was obtained in mills at Wellington; and an incursion into the prosperous Somerset lead industry was made by buying a 2000 years' lease of Green Ore and Witnell's farm in Chewton.²²

Both the brothers were knighted, J.Ps and sheriffs of Somerset. Sir Hugh, praised by Sir John Harington as gastronome, good housekeeper, builder and lover of literature, was also D.L. and M.P. for the county in 1597–8; he was frequently employed by the Privy Council in the troubled 1590s. At his death he owned property in more than forty villages in Somerset, Dorset, Surrey, Sussex and Middlesex. John lent £100 to the king in 1604 (one of seven lending this highest amount in Somerset); bought a wardship in 1606; and was made one of the first baronets in 1612, immediately before his death. No doubt he paid for this honour at the going rate of £1095. At his death Fuller described his estate as 'great and flourishing'.²³

Then apparently the family became vulnerable. Sir John left four sons and four daughters so that for the second successive generation the estate was in danger from extensive dowries and younger sons' portions. Sir John's widow, Lady Anne, was living and her jointure would have to be paid: furthermore it was for her life, not merely until her remarriage. Her second husband, Edward Popham of Huntworth, was the grandson of a brother of Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice from 1592 to 1607, and son of an Elizabethan lawyer and M.P., so the marriage was satisfactory socially and preserved the Portmans' local and legal connections. But it was hardly likely to ease the burden of maintaining Lady Anne, since Edward Popham was heavily in debt. By 1630 he owed at least £15000 and about that time he at last ceased to be a D.L. and J.P., despite having been outlawed for debt some years earlier.²⁴

Secondly the family was subject to royal wardship payments since the second baronet, Sir Henry, eldest son of Sir John, was only sixteen when his father died. Royal wardship normally arose (and did so in the Portmans' case) when any part of an estate inherited by a minor (under twenty-one if a boy) was held of the king by knight service in chief. The Crown obtained revenue from two main sources: the sale of the wardship and marriage of the minor; and the rent for the leasing of his estate during the minority. Smaller payments were exacted for livery, the return of the estate at a ward's majority. The crown's rights were established by an inquisition *post mortem*, found locally and detailing the extent,

tenures and values of a deceased's estate and the age of his heir. Royal wardship was a standard hazard for landed families in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but two factors were likely to worsen the Portmans' position. Firstly they were one of the first wealthy families to be affected when the Crown was embarking on a new policy of markedly increasing its revenues from this source. The establishment of the Court of Wards in 1540 and the early policy of attaching knight service tenures to monastic property when it was sold had not produced a large growth in revenue. Lord Burghley's Mastership of the Court of Wards was notable for preserving the allegiance of the landed classes to the Crown by moderate wardship fines. His son, Robert Cecil, increased income somewhat but there was a great deal to be done even to keep wardship revenue on terms with inflation when he died in May 1612, some seven months before Sir John Portman. The dissolution of James I's first parliament in 1611 without progress towards a solution of the Crown's financial problems encouraged ministers to look to other sources of revenue, a problem made more acute by the king's unwillingness to persist with any economies. In particular the breakdown of the Great Contract of 1610, in which Cecil had proposed to abandon wardship and purveyance income for a fixed annual parliamentary grant, placed much emphasis on expanding wardship revenue. The government instituted a double policy to raise income and reduce political discontent. Firstly a much more accurate assessment of the annual values of wards' estates was introduced. Feodaries, the county agents of the Court of Wards, were to return realistic valuations: normally these were at least ten times, and often more, the levels recorded in inquisitions *post mortem*. The inquisition valuations, like so many assessments, were made at a totally unrealistic late mediaeval level. The increased values, the most accurate in existence from the period, were used particularly as the basis for fixing the sale price of wardship and marriage.²⁵ Secondly the complaint that wardship was a social abuse, putting heirs and their estates into the hands of outsiders interested only in the maximum profit, was met by offering the ward's mother or *prochein ami* (next friend unable to inherit the estate) a month's preemption: a wardship would be granted to them, if agreement were reached on the price, provided suit was made for it within a month of the father's death. Only if this was not done were an heir and his estate likely to fall into the hands of an outsider as a 'concealment'. From the crown's point of view this had the obvious advantage of discouraging concealment. For the rest of

the history of the Court of Wards almost all substantial wardships were sold quite quickly to the mother, maternal grandfather or uncle, or the ward's father's trustees or a combination of them.²⁶

However the Portmans suffered not just one but a remarkable series of minorities after 1612. By 1629 no less than the fifth baronet succeeded to the estate, a situation unparalleled among the upper landowning classes in England in those two decades. When Sir Henry died of smallpox in 1621, leaving another widow, his brother Sir John, the third baronet, was also a minor and a royal ward. He died in 1624, being succeeded by Sir Hugh, another minor. On his death in 1629, the last brother, Sir William, the fifth baronet, had just reached the age of twenty-one and avoided wardship.²⁷

To sum up, in the 1610s and 1620s the family was burdened with four sisters, two dowagers (one with a heavily encumbered husband) and a series of wardship fines and annual rents. Sir Henry's wardship was sold for £2300, to be paid in eighteen months, and a rent of £400 p.a. (offset by an exhibition of £66 13s 4d for his education and maintenance) was exacted. These were some of the highest figures of the decade. Sir John's wardship was sold in 1622 to his mother, step-father (Edward Popham) and trustees for £1600 to be paid in a year, with a rent of £250 p.a. and an exhibition of £25 p.a. (these figures were reduced from the earlier ones presumably because there were now two jointures on the estate). As he died while still a minor, the grant of the wardship continued and there was no resale, but until Sir Hugh came of age a rental of £150 p.a. was imposed. Including administrative costs and 'livery' payments for the recovery of the estate when heirs were of full age, the total burden on the family must have been over £7000.²⁸ Meanwhile little came in as dowries: before the survivor, Sir William, only one brother married. He, Sir Henry, achieved the most prestigious marriage of the family to date, with Anne, the eldest daughter, aged about fifteen, of the earl of Derby,²⁹ but she, perhaps because of the wardship and the social advantages of the marriage, brought a portion of only £500, compared with the £4700 which the first baronet had bequeathed in his will and codicils for his daughters' portions on their majority or marriage.³⁰

Yet there was no financial disaster or even retrenchment, nor much sign of the political disaffection of the 'mere' gentleman trying to live on his rents without court favour³¹ at a time of great government pressure. The inquisitions taken after the deaths of the father and brothers show that the estate remained intact and there is no evidence in the archive of any mortgages raised to pay the sums

due. The latter were paid on time.³² Like the deaths of the first Sir Henry's children, those of Sir John's helped the estate. The first baronet had granted separate estates in Dorset and Hampshire to his younger sons:³³ these were reunited to the main estate by 1629 by the deaths of the brothers without children.

Similarly the overall effect of the marriages of this generation's daughters was by no means wholly deleterious: indeed the size of the portions themselves illustrates what the estate could bear. Three married into prestigious local gentry families. It was possible to raise the £1000 left to Elizabeth in her father's will to £2500 when she married John Blewett, himself a royal ward, in 1624. On Blewett's death, which was in 1634, Elizabeth was to receive £140 p.a. as well as her jointure lands. In her own will, made shortly afterwards, she made after sizeable bequests in money and plate, her brother Sir William Portman and her unmarried sister Grace her executors and residuary legatees. It was probably Sir William who, despite her wish to be buried 'without any great solemnity' and that her executor should erect a 'decent monument', put up to her and her husband's memory what has been called one of the finest seventeenth century sculptures in the west of England, in the church of Holcombe Rogus, the centre of the extensive Blewett property.³⁴ Full settlements have not been found for the marriages of her sisters, Joan, who married George, son and heir of Sir George Speke (parents of another George, a ward when his father died in 1637), and Anne, who married the later influential Tory politician Sir Edward Seymour. It is known that they and Grace, their other sister, had been left £1500, £1000 and £1200 respectively in their father's will and that when Sir Hugh died in 1629, after nearly two decades' exactions by the Court of Wards, he was able to add £2000 each to the portions of the two then unmarried sisters, Grace and Anne. It cannot have been cheap to marry into the wealthy Speke and Seymour families, but the estate seems to have been well able to bear the cost. Grace, a rich, pious and charitable woman, in fact died unmarried about 1661 when her property reverted to the then head of the family. Contemporary reputation for wealth was kept, John Chamberlain referring on the death of the second baronet, Sir Henry, in 1621 to his 'great living'.³⁵

Even the two dowagers' remarriages were not severe blows to the estate. Lady Anne (Stanley), the young widow of Sir Henry, married in 1621 Sir Robert Carr, gentleman of the Privy Chamber and later earl of Ancrum, and, although they had a child, most of her jointure, coming to her from the Portman/Stanley settlement in

exchange for the earl of Derby's £500, reverted to the Portmans at her death in the mid 1650s. The one loss seems to have been the Kew property, sold to Carr and a tenant³⁶, but this was more than offset by the best example of the family's adaptability, its dealings with the spendthrift step-father Popham. Popham's wife and her youngest son, Sir William Portman, filled the role of estate liquidators: far from being an encumbrance, Popham's estate was added to the Portmans'. On the Popham/Portman marriage an interesting, perhaps unique, agreement was drawn up. Instead of the husband being responsible for his wife's debts, it had the object of preventing the wife being responsible for her husband's. Popham agreed that Lady Anne should receive her rents and hold all her real and personal property and dispose of it at her death as if she were unmarried: he was in fact to receive no benefit from her dower. As far as the law allowed he gave her power to make her will as if unmarried. Any legal uncertainty was met, when Lady Anne did make her will in January 1628, by a clause signed by Popham stating that he gave his consent to its provisions. Having secured herself, Lady Anne began to buy out her husband: for £2600, most of which went to Popham's creditors, she bought from him the manor and rectory of Wellow. The expropriation of this branch of the Popham family was carried further by Sir William Portman, who in 1631-2 bought for £7000 the manors of Huntworth and Buckland Fee and the rectory of North Petherton, having previously bought up a mortgage. This property, with its Tudor mansion and deer park, had been in the Popham family for nearly four centuries. Popham, driven by his creditors, sought refuge in France, but seems to have been back in England by 1641, when he petitioned the Privy Council and made a will protesting about Sir William's conduct and referring to a petition to Parliament against the latter. His will was proved in that year: unlike the Portmans' his connections in the Civil War were parliamentarians (one of the witnesses of his will was Robert Blake). But there was no recovery of the property by the Pophams: indeed when Edward Popham's brother and heir died in 1653 the next Sir William Portman was one of the trustees for paying his debts. Lady Anne appears generally to have been a strong-minded woman: she also refused her first husband's testamentary dispositions and stuck to her marriage settlement. Her property by her will reverted to her surviving Portman son when she died, but her activities show the influence available to a woman despite the legal disabilities of her sex in property matters.³⁷

Meanwhile the run of minorities had not prevented acquisitions

elsewhere: in 1616 the redoubtable Lady Anne purchased from the Phelps family the freehold of the manor and farm of Muchelney and in 1619 Sir Henry Portman spent £100 on the manor of Lillesdon in West Hatch.³⁸

Clearly the Portman family came out well from this series of minor inheritances in three of the four main areas in which wardship gave contemporaries cause for concern: the fiscal pressure was carried with sufficient ease to allow the estate to go on expanding; the property did not fall into the hands of outsiders aiming at a quick profit; and socially the wards' generation did not marry beneath their social status, or suffer disparagement as contemporaries termed it. The only marriage not discussed, that of the surviving brother Sir William, the fifth baronet, was on the same respectable upper gentry level as his sisters'. He also married a ward, and coheirress, Anne, daughter of John Coles, another prominent Somerset and Devon landowner who died in 1627. Coles had inherited property from the Thynne family and Portman acquired further land in Pitminster and Capland with his wife. This marriage connected Portman with Lord Keeper Coventry's family and that of Gerard Napier: Napier's and Coventry's (second) sons married other sisters of Anne Coles and were, like Sir William, members of the Long Parliament. John Coventry, whose political significance and character are still in dispute, was *custos rotulorum* and worked with Portman on the Somerset bench.³⁹

The fourth field of concern was the education of wards: here also the family did not fall below contemporary expectations. The third, fourth and fifth baronets all attended Oxford colleges, Sir William the survivor going on to the Middle Temple. Inevitably the series of minorities meant some discontinuity in public office: no Portman was sheriff of Somerset from 1607 to 1636 (not necessarily a blow given the unpopularity and cost of the office), but even so the family was powerful enough to send Sir Henry to parliament in 1621 as M.P. for Somerset, and Sir Hugh in 1625 (then aged about eighteen) and 1628 as M.P. for Taunton. Sir William resumed the family's public role, becoming a J.P. about 1630, D.L. in the mid 1630s, and sheriff in 1637-8, at a time when all these offices were acquiring a heavier workload and even greater significance.

Keeler called Sir William 'one of the wealthiest men in Somerset'. The prosperity of the Vale of Taunton Deane, where the bulk of the Portman estates were, has been noted from Norden's early seventeenth century description of it as 'the paradise of England' to the complaint at the first meeting of the Somerset Archaeological

Society in 1849 that it provided a living too easy for the farmers to envisage any improvement. Gerard's account of Somerset in 1633 spoke of the Portmans as 'flourishing in great esteem'. 'Orchard', he wrote, 'shows a large fair house well befitting the possessions of the owners, neighboured with a park and other delights befitting such a place'. The whole country seemed full of orchards, producing both cider and eating apples (though the coat of arms of the Orchard family had had pears): perhaps it was the supply of cider to the townsfolk of Taunton which facilitated what Barnes called the 'persuasive' influence which the Portmans exercised over its elections. The economy extended beyond fruit, with a heavy emphasis on commercial wheat and stock farming.⁴¹ The family's prosperity does not seem to have been achieved by parsimony: when Sir Henry died he owed nearly £350 to London tradesmen, of which about £150 was to a silkman.⁴²

Nevertheless two connected but separable issues were to undermine the relationship between the Portmans and the local populace, particularly the townsfolk of Taunton. They were the disafforestation of Neroche forest and Sir William's political affiliations. The long and complex Neroche forest affair may be reduced to its essentials: the king, for money and, it was claimed, to improve tillage, proposed to enclose it; one-third was to go to each of the king, the 'lords of the soil' and the commoners in lieu of the common rights they were to lose. The Portmans had been recorded since at least the 1579 inquisition into the forest as possessing both enclosed and waste ground and Sir William had acquired a further holding in Capland with his wife, although part of the family estate in the forest was in jointure to his sister-in-law, Lady Anne (Stanley). The 1627—8 survey, made prior to the disafforestation, gave the total area to be disafforested about as 4900 acres, of which Sir William was allotted about 197 acres in Capland for £1000 and about 491 acres in Bickenhall for £1500 or £1700. Opposition came from both the commoners, who objected most to the details of the allotments and were helped by Lord Poulet, keeper of the forest, whose hunting rights were affected, and non-commoners, who apparently claimed that, since the king had removed his deer, the whole forest was disafforested and common rights belonged to all. Hundreds, possibly over two thousand, claimed common rights. Allan, Barnes and, very recently, Sharp, have all claimed that the Somerset disafforestations of the later sixteen-twenties and early thirties were peaceful: in fact the first physical violence was recorded in an Exchequer bill of 1631, which spoke of hedges being

destroyed by those claiming commons in Neroche. The aspirant commoners were defended by William Lenthall but lost their case. Sir William had meanwhile acquired his deceased aunt Rachel's interest and contemporaneously (April 1634) with his negotiations with the king, bought out Sir Francis Dodington's holding in the manor of Bickenhall for £2500 and forty tons of timber. An abstract of the manor recorded that leasehold and copyhold rents, currently worth £79 1s 8d p.a. could yield £589 6s 8d p.a. Local feeling led the disafforestation commissioners to exclude from their Taunton meetings all except two or three complainants from each manor. These pressures induced Sir William to add thirty acres to the commoners' share from his own in Bickenhall without prejudice to his rights. Letters patent disafforesting Neroche were finally issued in 1636 and at the same time Lord Keeper Coventry dissolved an injunction forbidding Sir William to sell wood. The timber in the whole forest was estimated to be worth £60,000.

An Exchequer order of 1639 reveals continuing disturbances and another of June 1642 enjoined that the crown and lords should have peaceable possession of their thirds. But in October 1642 over a hundred people threw down the hedges and mounds surrounding the enclosures. Despite lengthy suits by the Portman family trustees from 1655 to 1660 and three draft acts of parliament after the Restoration to reimpose the partition, there was a victory for direct popular action. In the nineteenth century the family lawyers were still discussing whether the seventeenth century failure to re-establish the boundary meant that rights had been waived. It was also apparently impossible to discover where the boundary had been, but a renewed effort, stressing the need for agricultural improvement (a pamphlet claimed that the produce of the forest could be increased by £10,000 p.a.) led to the 1830 Act enclosing the forest, the then head of the Portman family being a principal landowner in Capland, West Capland, Bickenhall and Broadway.

The reasons for Sir William's failure to defend his interests were of course the Civil War and his other preoccupations. At first sight his political opinions appear simply royalist, unaffected by his family's experiences with the Court of Wards. As sheriff of Somerset in 1637-8 he had to collect ship money. Though he suffered some conciliar harring and protested about the disruptive effects of Hampden's case, he collected all but 3½% of the £8000 imposed on the county in that year. He and his fellow M.P. for Taunton in the Long Parliament, George Searle the mayor, seem to follow opposite courses. Searle, who had already been before the

Earl Marshal's court for calling Portman's kinsman, Robert Browne, of low birth and who complained to parliament of his treatment by that court, supported the revolution until the dissolution of the Rump. In 1645 he was one of only two of the original sixteen Somerset members still in the Commons. Portman and his brother-in-law Coventry were two of only three Somerset Straffordians, perhaps influenced by the court links of the Coventry connection. Sir William is not recorded as signing the Somerset Protestation returns and as early as January 1643 was under suspicion by the Commons. But this is too simple a reading of his political affiliations. In 1631 he, with Robert Hill of Poundisford, presented George Newton to the vicarage of St Mary Magdalen in Taunton. Newton, who was to preach the thanksgiving sermon after the relief of the royalist siege of Taunton and was ejected in 1662, is one of those who, it is said, read the *Book of Sports* and the Ten Commandments to his congregation and asked them to choose which was the Word of God. In 1633 Sir William joined the rest of the Somerset bench in the petition for a limited interpretation to be put on the declaration repealing orders against church ales. Straffordian he may have been, but he was certainly no Laudian. He seems to have taken no clear side in the factional struggle between Poulet and Phelips which Barnes regards as very significant in Somerset politics in this period, though John Coventry, his brother-in-law, sided with Phelips. Barnes guesses that Coventry may have had a hand in Taunton's 1635-6 complaints about ship money, but this is perhaps unlikely for the son of the Lord Keeper. Anyway Taunton needed no such instigation. Portman, as ship money sheriff, intervened to reduce the rating of his local area, including Taunton, and he refused the king's loan in 1639. After his death he was said to be 'very various and uncertain in his resolution'.

That Portman was elected twice for Taunton in 1640 is an earnest of the fact that he had not lost local sympathy. George Searle was in fact his tenant at no 14, Fore St., although next door at no. 15 was the avid royalist Aldred Seamen. Taunton, with its quite wide pot-walloper franchise, its Puritan and parliamentary sympathies, was anything but a Portman pocket borough, as can easily be demonstrated by its political history from 1642 to 1689. In the autumn of 1642 Portman was commended by the committee at Taunton for his military assistance to parliament: he, the later radical leader Pyne, and others are said to have raised men, horses and at least £10,000 in money. It is impossible to say at this distance how far prudence or conviction dictated Portman's course: not only

Taunton but the freeholders and yeomanry of central Somerset were quite capable and wealthy enough to exercise a markedly independent political line, and were still dominated by suspicion of the court even if later they were to react against parliamentary centralisation. Again if conviction was significant, it can only be guessed what should be ascribed to the consequences of wardship taxation and what to the experiences of increased conciliar pressure to which Sir William, as J.P., D.L. and sheriff, was peculiarly exposed.

It may be that the final decision was sparked by the extended popular agitation of 1641-3. Whatever his earlier hesitations Portman fought and died a royalist. As early as January 1643 he was ordered to attend the Commons: in April a warrant for his arrest as a delinquent was issued and in October the sequestration of his Middlesex estate was ordered. He was a royalist J.P. and one of the Somerset quorum in the same month, was disabled from being an M.P. in 1644, captured by the parliamentarians at Naseby and died a prisoner in the Tower in 1645. Relations between the town and Portman had already reached breaking point, since Orchard Portman had been used by Prince Maurice and Hertford, the royalist commanders, in 1643 and very probably also during the royalist siege of Taunton. (There is a parallel in the way the Portman estates themselves almost besieged Taunton at this time.) When Portman died the siege had only just been raised and it required a special vote by the Commons to allow him to be buried at Orchard.³³

Sir William's death exposed the estate again to two severe threats. Firstly, one more wardship seemed inevitable: his only son, another William, the sixth baronet, was little more than a year old and under the jurisdiction of the parliamentary Court of Wards, the rival court to the king's established by parliament in the Civil War. Sir William had already provided, as was often done, for his wife and family trustees to sue for his son's wardship and pay, as he hoped, a reasonable fine. He had also laid down more elaborate provision than was usual for the annual accounting of estate revenue and expenditure until his son came of age.⁴⁵ Secondly, his estate was under sequestration for royalist delinquency: in July 1645, a month before he died, the Commons had voted to raise £20,000 from the sale of the Portman property and, with a nice sense of irony or justice, to relieve the town of Taunton from the proceeds. This £20,000 was the estimated sale price, based on an estimated rental of £2200 p.a. in possession and £1000 more estated out as jointure.⁴⁶

However once more a combination of astuteness and good

fortune mitigated the effects. Sir William's widow used the fact of a minor inheritance to argue successfully for reduction of the delinquency payment: an eloquent plea was made 'that the guilt of the father may be distinguished from the innocence of the son'. Having used the fact of wardship to reduce the burden of delinquency, the family was then helped by the abolition of royal wardship itself. In February 1646 the House of Commons voted to abolish the military tenures from which the rights of wardship were derived.⁴⁷

As earlier in the century a price had to be paid. Sir William's estate was the largest of the ninety-three baronets' considered by the Committee for Compounding in the 1640s and, within Somerset, it had to bear a higher delinquency fine than that of any other landowner. In April 1646 the Committee for Sequestrations ordered the felling of timber and spoiling of the Portman estates to stop: whether this waste had been by the trustees, the tenantry or the civil or military authorities, it is one of many signs of disruption and a reminder that the cost of being on the losing side in the Civil War was not confined to delinquency payments. At the Restoration the sixth baronet estimated his total losses at £300,000: there was of course every reason to inflate the figure and it looks grotesque if compared with the request for the return of £414, the last instalment of the fine, which was the reason for the petition. The sum is perhaps remotely feasible if the loss of several years' uncollected or sequestered rents is added to the delinquency fine finally agreed. In June 1648, in response to a petition from the fifth Baronet's widow, it was ordered that the delinquency fine, to be bestowed on the town of Taunton because of its great sufferings in the parliamentary cause, should be set at two years' rental of the lands in possession and one year's of those in reversion. At least twenty manors, worth £893 12s. 5d. p.a., were in possession, while in reversion were Lady Portman's jointure (£960 3s. 4d. p.a.) and that of the Countess of Ancrum (£707 10s. 4d. p.a.). Other leases *etc.* were worth £240. In view of the recent discussion of the reliability of composition assessments it should be noted that these appear to be substantial underestimates when compared with the rental values of the sixteen-seventies, when rents are not thought to have risen much. In the end fines totalling £6271 14s. 8d. were set by the Guildhall Committee (£4600 initial fine; £814 4s. added for Huntworth, Buckland Fee and Bickenhall; £857 10s. 8d. additional fine). After various delaying tactics and requests that the rents remain with the tenants rather than be collected by the local committee, Lady Anne

agreed with Taunton in January 1649 to pay £5414 4s. (and the other £857 10s. 8d. demanded in 1651) in recompense for the town's great losses. The sequestration order was finally lifted on 18 January 1649, though a petition of July 1649 requested rents sequestered since then should remain in the tenants' hands. This sum was greater than the £857 quoted by Keeler (which is merely the additional fine) or Underdown's £4600 (which is the original fine without additions), but it was certainly better than the £20,000 plus wardship fine with which the estate was threatened in 1645.⁴⁸

It appears that the estate took this burden as much in its stride as it had the earlier ones. Only two leases have been found from the Interregnum (both for short terms of years and without a fine being given), but, on the expenditure side, a note of nine days' household costs, including food, tobacco and wages, totalled £20. The family built an almshouse at Staple Fitzpaine, and a chalice and cup, surprisingly date marked 1646, with the Portman arms, was presented to Orchard church. The family trustees were active litigants and also paid the £800 which Lady Anne had willed in 1651 should go to her second husband, Thomas Nevill, if the sixth baronet was to have her Taunton Deane lands. Neville assigned all claim to such lands on receipt of the £800 in August 1652. But more significant than this evidence of normal estate management was the fact that the delinquency fine was paid with facility, Lady Anne receiving £65 deduction from one £500 payment to Taunton because she made it early. In 1649 it was agreed that the full sum was to be paid by January 1657: receipts survive for all payments up to January 1656 when only just over £400 was to be paid (in fact the last £414 was recovered on the sixth baronet's petition in 1661). Even more important was the fact that the estate survived so well that by February 1657 the trustees (no doubt helped by the death of Lady Anne and reversion of her jointure) were able to petition the Commissioners of the Great Seal (Chancery having succeeded to the Court of Wards' jurisdiction over minors' inheritances) saying that, despite their great charges, they found themselves with a surplus which they wished to use to buy more property. The purchase was presumably that of the two manors of North and South Barrow (thirty-four messuages) for £3300, paid for by August 1659. The purchase of extensive property before the Restoration by a supposedly hard-hit delinquent family has not been a feature of previous discussions of the issue.³⁹

After the Restoration the Portmans came into their own, if, in the light of the above, they can ever be said to have been out of it.

Despite his delicate health when young, the last royal ward in the family prospered educationally, politically, socially and financially. He was of All Souls' College, Oxford, a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1664 and a knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles II. The family's 'persuasive' influence over the town of Taunton was revived, the sixth baronet becoming its teenage M.P. in 1661. He and his cousin, Sir Edward Seymour, were the most influential Tories in the west.⁵⁰ His aunt Grace's estate reverted to him when she died about 1661. His trustees had further bought, on his behalf in his minority, land in Dorset, and he himself purchased two substantial properties: the manor of Broadway and further lands in Neroche forest in January 1682 for £2670 5s (his third manor, after Bickenhall and Capland, in the forest) and the Bryanston estate in Dorset. The retention of the old estate may be seen in the settlement of the Somerset and Devon lands in October 1674.⁵¹ He was able to lend £15,000 to Sir John Banks⁵², an interesting reversal of the usual relations between city merchants and Tory country gentlemen. Although there are still few individual leases, for the first time some rentals of the whole estate survive, albeit in abbreviated form, from the 1670s and 1690s. The gross rental ranged between about £10,700 and £11,600 p.a., but what appears to be net profit after all sorts of payments, allowances and obligations had been met and respites made was between £4300 and £5800. How heavy the charges could be is shown by a wages bill of £1150 for twenty-two months (1677-9). But it is not clear whether the rentals include entry fines or interest on loans or, as I think more probable, are merely totals of annual rents.⁵³ In any case £4000-£6000 p.a. clear profit was quite enough for a land-buying and political role.

The latter was not unquestioned when political tension began to rise again in the late 1670s. Sir William was M.P. for Taunton from 1661 to 1679, but uneasy relations persisted. He prudentially played a role as local benefactor, but the town's loss of its charter and the razing of its walls at the Restoration did not quell its potential for political independence. In 1669 and 1675 Sir William proposed that the town corporation should be regulated to leave its government in the hands of 'loyal and well affected persons'. A new charter of 1677 left the franchise unchanged but included a remarkable clause giving J.P.s. of the county (to be nominated by the lord keeper) equal jurisdiction with borough officers in the town without being compelled to fill such offices themselves or subjected to any penalty by the mayor or other official. These 'adjunct justices', clearly

intended to be a check on town officials, continued to be appointed until the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1677 two townsmen were pilloried for assaulting Sir William. In the Exclusion crisis Sir William at first attempted a middle line, insisting he was against Popery and the duke of York but 'firm to king and church'. In 1680-1 he was returned to Parliament for the county, which was perhaps as well for he was opposed by the 'fanatic' party in Taunton (whose leader John Trenchard was returned) and again threatened publicly. In 1679 he was made a colonel of militia in Dorset (as he already was in Somerset) and by October 1681 was said to be drinking York's health. In the post-Exclusion reaction he was said to be ambiguous over the choice of a sheriff in February 1682, but was very active, after a riot in May 1683, in searching for arms in Taunton, frequently reporting his activities to Secretary Jenkins and being assiduous in searching for and interrogating the Trenchard fanatic or 'presbyterian' interest. A meeting house was pulled down in July and Sir William, already on bad terms with the mayor, was subjected to further public house threats.

In early 1685 the then mayor, claiming to Sunderland he was on Portman's side, spoke of the opposition to him from the Trenchard party, these 'Grindallizing, self-willed humourists'. Nevertheless he was returned as M.P. for the town and sat until his death in 1690, despite Monmouth's popularity in Taunton and Sir William's very active role for the king at Sedgemoor, after which he and Lord Lumley captured Monmouth. Though there is no direct evidence that he entertained Jeffreys during the 'Bloody Assize', the currency of this belief (and the later one that George VI would not stay in Taunton overnight in 1937 because of the town's tradition of political disloyalty) is perhaps significant. Sir William's local reputation was not helped by his presentation of the Jacobite Richard Doble to the vicarage of St Mary's (he resigned before he could be deprived and Henry Portman made an acceptable presentation in 1696). The Spekes, relatives of the Portmans, were one of the few gentle families to support Monmouth's rebellion, which was more obviously a class conflict than the Civil War. (Interestingly the family had supported Penruddock in 1655.) George Speke, who had entertained Monmouth on his triumphal west country progress in 1680, suffered for his actions and, while Portman had been one of Speke's trustees (who also included a Trenchard), he did not so act after 1685. Nevertheless he soon repaired his 'country' fences in view of James II's increasingly suspect policies: in response to the famous three questions

addressed to possible M.P.s. in 1687, he stood firm for the retention of the tests and penal laws. It was reported in September 1688 that he would be defeated in Taunton if Trenchard stood but, like many Tories, he avoided the sterility and possible financial handicaps of Jacobitism by joining William III at Exeter. Without doubt this facilitated his return for Taunton, long enthusiastic about the Glorious Revolution. He died before a rumour that William III would offer him office could be tested.

Portman's death did not end the political instability in Taunton. Henry Portman and his allies were returned only occasionally, a frequent M.P. being Edward Clerk who was attached to the Revolution and a dedicatee of Locke's *Treatise on Education*. In 1690 a Speke was returned. In the Tory reaction of 1710 Henry Portman and his political and family associate, Sir Francis Warre, were chosen, but the 1714 election led to a notable dispute which ended with the Commons unseating them. The opposition claimed that some qualified voters had been rejected and many more unqualified accepted, raising the normal poll from six hundred to over one thousand. The consequence was a definition of the franchise, which distinguished pot-wallopers more clearly from those receiving alms or charity. In short the Tory success had been based on an extension of the franchise. Later the Portman family's increasing emphasis on their Dorset estates made the old ambiguous relationship with the town less intense.⁵⁴

At his death Sir William left monetary bequests of over £8000 and much plate and other gifts. His second will, in 1690, omitted a bequest of £500 made in 1689 to buy lands in Taunton for the poor. His inventory records a value of £15,787 in Somerset and, though incomplete, nearly £2000 in Dorset, and his estate has been estimated at over £8000 p.a. He did not succeed in having a child, although he married three times, twice to heiresses and always to the daughters of baronets or knights. The baronetcy lapsed and the estate devolved, under his 1689 settlement, on his cousin Henry Seymour, who assumed the name of Portman.⁵⁵ When the latter died, aged eighty-eight and childless, in 1728, it came to William Berkeley of Pill or Pull and East Pennard, son of the sister of George Speke the ward, who had married a Berkeley. This marriage brought Berkeley property in these villages and in Donhead to the Portman estate. Berkeley also assumed the name of Portman by an Act of 9 George II and it is this line which survives as Viscounts Portman.⁵⁶

During the eighteenth century the family lived more at

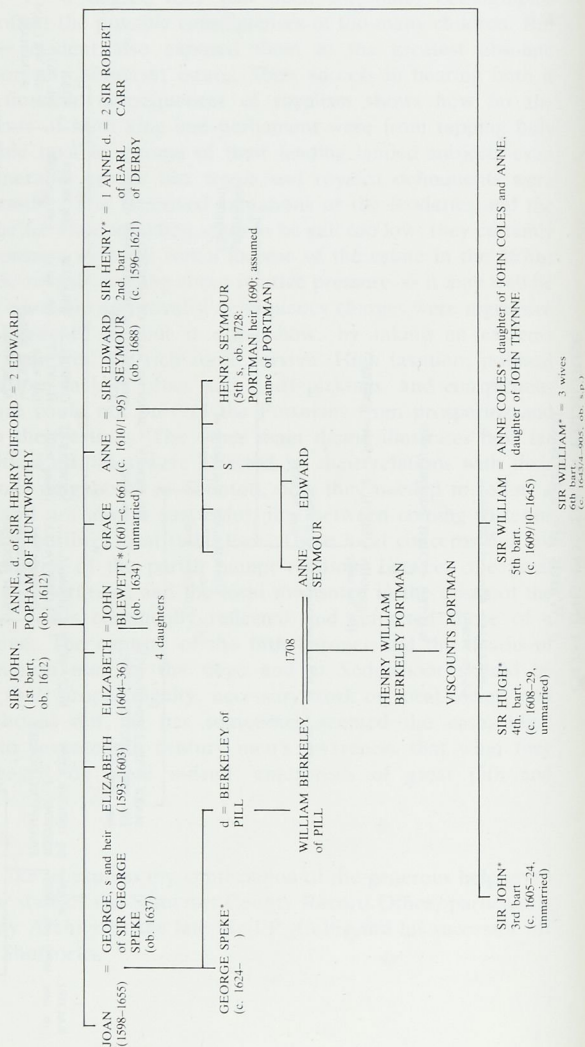
Bryanston. The slow shift of interest away from Somerset (symbolised by the mid-nineteenth century destruction of Orchard Portman house) provides a fitting end to this survey, except that the greater survival of leases at last enables one to demonstrate that, on a large estate, entry fines could be levied sufficiently often to be a regular source of substantial income even if rents were low. For example eleven leases (all for ninety-nine years determinable on lives) of smallholdings in North Petherton brought in £295 5s. in entry fines on a total rent of only about £6 from 1707 to 1718, while five in Corton Denham from 1716 to 1720 brought in £368 5s in fines and £4 8s. 8d. rent.⁵⁷

The major interest of the eighteenth century was of course the development of the Portman estate in Marylebone. Henry William Portman was able to take advantage of the favourable building conditions after the Peace of Paris and avoid the grandiose noble palaces which, it is claimed, had been a 'fiasco' when Cavendish Square was developed earlier in the century. Smaller scale building continued into the early nineteenth century.⁴⁷ At the death of the seventh viscount Portman in 1948 the family's holdings were the second largest in London; the largest were the Grosvenors'. A sharp contrast may be drawn between the Portman estate north of Oxford St., which was saved from the possible ravages of seventeenth century wardship, and the Grosvenor one to the south, which was built initially from the official profits of it. In 1626 Hugh Audley, one of the two Clerks of the Court of Wards, bought one hundred acres near the present Park Lane from the disgraced earl of Middlesex, ex-Lord Treasurer and Master of the Court of Wards. Audley's heiress married Sir Thomas Grosvenor in 1677. Nothing in the ease with which the Portmans carried the burdens of royal wardship should lead one to suppose that the pickings from administering it could not be substantial.⁵⁹

It was the wealth above all of their London property which led to the Portman family suffering the largest death duties then known (over £7½ millions) when the seventh viscount died. At last the government, helped once more by a series of rapid successions (three viscounts dying in less than seven years), achieved what its seventeenth century predecessors had not: a level of taxation leading to substantial property sales. Even 221B Baker St. had to go.⁶⁰ Although it was still possible to create a family trust of about £4 millions in 1955,⁶⁰ there is irony in the fact that the Portmans partly succumbed to twentieth century death duties, given their ability to withstand that earlier form of death duty known as royal

wardship. To a degree they had been fortunate: demographic accident offset the possible consequences of too many children. But that very accident also exposed them to the greatest absolute pressure on any Somerset estate. Their success in bearing both it and the financial consequences of royalism shows how far the governments of both king and parliament were from tapping fully the possible taxable income of their leading landed subjects even when vulnerable groups like wards and royalist delinquents were under pressure. The improved valuations of the feodaries and the Committee for Compounding seem to be still too low: they certainly do not compare with the rental income of the estate in the 1670s. This article reveals nothing about relative pressure — it may well be that both wardship and royalist delinquency charges were regressive in their incidence — but it does show, by taking an extreme example, how well the rich could survive. High taxation, political miscalculation, lack of office and court pickings, and conspicuous expenditure could not prevent the Portmans from prospering and adding to their estates. The other main theme illustrates how far their political attitudes were affected by their relations with their tempestuous neighbours in Taunton, how they needed to follow a delicate, and not always successful, line between coming to terms with, and rebutting, local radicalism. These local concerns did not mean a politics of the parish pump: relations between the great estate of the Portmans and the local townsmen in the crises of the 1640s and 1680s continually reflected and refracted those of a nation-scene. The capture of the fifth baronet and the deaths of many Taunton men in the siege and at Sedgemoor should be accorded their proper dignity: necessary work on local society and politics should not, as has sometimes seemed the case, blind scholars to seventeenth century men's awareness that what they were engaged on were indeed 'enterprises of great pith and moment'.

*I would like to express my appreciation of the generous help given me by the staff of the Somerset County Record Office, particularly the County Archivists, the late Mr I.P. Collis and his successor Mr D.M.M. Shorrocks.



Notes

¹ J.T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War* (London, 1961); H.J. Habakkuk, 'Landowners and the Civil War', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, xviii (1965), pp. 130–51; see P.G. Holliday, 'Land Sales and Repurchases in Yorkshire after the Civil War, 1650–1670', *Northern History* v (1970), pp. 67–92, and C.B. Phillips, 'The Royalist North: the Cumberland and Westmorland Gentry, 1642–1660', *Northern History* xiv (1978), pp. 169–92.

² A. Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex 1600–1660* (London, 1975), pp. 188, 191, 195–7, 200–17, 248, 360–4; T.G. Barnes, *Somerset, 1625–1640: A County's Government During the "Personal Rule"* (London, 1961), pp. 108–9, 111–2, 114, 138, 144, 161–9, 182, chap. 8, pp. 245–6, 306–7; J.S. Morrill, *The Revolt of the Provinces: Conservatives and Radicals in the English Civil War 1630–1650* (London, 1976), pp. 17, 24–9. These and related points are discussed in many works, for example F.C. Dietz, *English Public Finance, 1558–1641* (London, 1964 ed.), pp. 234, 389–93; L. Stone *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 54, 131–2, 423, 495–7, 499, 504; C. Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics, 1621–1629* (Oxford, 1979), *passim*; Cliffe, *Yorkshire*, pp. 139–43; P. Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent, 1500–1640* (Hassocks, 1977), *passim*; J.E. Mousley, 'The Fortunes of Some Gentry Families in Elizabethan Sussex', *Econ. H.R.*, 2nd series, xi (1958–9), pp. 467–83; H. Miller, 'Subsidy Assessments of the Peerage in the Sixteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxviii (1955), pp. 15–34; A. Hassell Smith, 'Militia Rates and Militia Statutes, 1558–1663', *The English Commonwealth, 1547–1640*, eds. P. Clark, A.G.R. Smith and N. Tyacke (Leicester, 1979), pp. 93–4, 98, 107–8.

³ Cliffe, *Yorkshire*, pp. 175–6, 181, 200–2, 210–30; Fletcher, *Sussex*, p. 213; Russell, *Parliaments*, pp. 189, 208–9, 229–30, 405. See J.P. Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 448, and *Stuart England* (London, 1978), p. 28, on recusancy fines affecting the lower classes more heavily than the gentry and nobility.

⁴ Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland, *Advice to his Son* (1609), ed. G.B. Harrison (London, 1930), p. 51; Edward, first earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, i (Oxford, 1826), p. 268.

⁵ Somerset in the sense of having the bulk of their estates in that county. Other families, for example the Petres, had to pay more heavily for wardship, but they were only peripherally Somerset landowners. The distinction follows that in my 'Sales of Wards in Somerset, 1603–1641', *S(omerset) R(ecord) S(ociety)*, lxxvii (1965), henceforth *Somerset Wards*.

⁶ *S(omerset) R(ecord) O(ffice)* DD/PM; also material in the Rev. F. Brown's manuscript collections in the S.R.O., vol. ii, pp. 237–72; xiv, pp. 372–7.

⁷ Material relating to the Portman genealogy, acquisitions and descent of property in this paper is to be found, except where otherwise stated, in A.W. Vivian-Neal, 'Materials for the History of Orchard Portman', *P(roceedings of the) S(Somersetshire) A(rchaeological and Natural History) S(ociety)*, lxxxix (1943) pt 2, pp. 35–53 (and pt 1, pp. 10–5); E.E. Trotman, 'Notes on the Manor and Parish of West Monkton', *ibid.*, xc (1944) pt 2, pp. 39–58; 'The Visitation of the County of Somerset in the Year 1623', *Publications of the Harleian Society*, xi (1876), pp. 103, 116, 123–7; J. Collinson, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset*, 3 vols. (Bath, 1791), *passim*; *The Visitations of the County of Somerset in the Years 1531 and 1575*, ed. F.W. Weaver (Exeter, 1885), pp. 63, 106, 109, 113; 'Le Neve's Pedigrees of the Knights', ed. G.W. Marshall, *Publs. of the Harleian Soc.*, viii (London, 1873), pp. 8, 29, 123, 206, 236; *Complete Baronetage*, ed. G.E.C. (okayne), 6 vols., i (Exeter, 1909), p. 90. It has often been necessary to correct these sources, including the *Complete Baronetage*. Other references to the mediaeval history of the Portman

family are in (again often needing correction) E. Foss, *Judges of England*. . . , 9 vols. (1848–64), v, pp. 387–8; Burke's publications, e.g. J.B. Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage*. . . (114th ed., 1967), ed. P. Townend, p. 204; J. Toulmin, *The History of Taunton*. . . (Taunton, 1822), ed. J. Savage, pp. 303–4, 365; DD/PM/7 has a note that the Portmans were M.Ps. for Taunton from 30 Edward I to 13 Henry VI and the family is not mentioned in the *History of Parliament, 1439–1509*; Sir H.C. Maxwell-Lyte, *A History of Dunster* (London, 1909), pt 1, pp. 111, 114, 116, 287; M.L. Turner, *Somerset* (London, 1949), p. 116; R.A. Sixsmith, *Staple Fitzpaine and the Forest of Neroche* (Taunton, 1958), p. 32; P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice), Exchequer, Ancient Deeds, E. 326B/4943, 11173–5; 328/180; P.S.A.S., xxxiv, pt 2, p. 123; xlv, pt 1, p. 115, pt 2, p. 132; xlvii, pt 2, p. 84; cxiv, p. 55; cxix, pp. 15–21; N(otes and) Q(queries for) S(omerset and) D(orset), iv (1894–5), p. 316; S.R.S. vi, p. 318; xi, p. 51; xii, pp. 64, 172; xiv, p. 138; xv, pp. 61, 146, 172; xvii, pp. 146, 174–5; xix, p. 335; xxii, pp. 68, 70, 76, 95–6, 111–2, 151; xxxiii, pp. 203–4, 206; xlviii, p. 182; xlix, pp. 92–3, 212–20, 269, 301; lii, pp. 118, 120; liii, pp. 215–6; lviii, p. 88, 124; lxi, p. 64; lxx, pp. 70–1 and Extra series (1931), p. 118.

⁸ C(alendar of) P(atent) R(olls), Henry VII, i, p.265.

⁹ P(rerogative) C(ourt of) C(anterbury Wills, Somerset House) 16 Maynwaring; DD/PM/1; P.S.A.S., xlvii, pt 2, p.84; cxix, p. 16; S.R.S., xix, pp. 19–21, 94, 178, 211–2; xxvii, p. 209; L(etters and) P(apers, Henry VIII), i, pp. 265, 1543; ii, pp. 320, 1054–5; iii, p. 383; P.R.O. Inquisitions *post mortem*, Chancery series 2, C.142/37/112; Exchequer series 2, E.150/909/16. For the younger sons see C.E.H.C. Healey, *History of Part of West Somerset* (London, 1901), p. 106; S.R.S. lv, pp. 94–5; DD/PM/5; P.R.O. L(ists and) I(ndexes), l, p. 224; lv, file 1461/55; *Supplementary series*, iv, pt i, p. 282; A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford, A.D. 1501 to 1540* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 458–9; *Alumni Oxonienses*. . . 1500–1714, ed. J. Foster, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1891–2), L-R, p. 1184. For a heretic is being examined in the presence of one Anthony Portman in Wells Cathedral in 1518, see S.R.S. lv, pp. 2–4. For the subsequent history of the Pimperne property, in the family until at least 1564, see L.P. xviii, pt i, pp.67, 122; C.P.R., Philip and Mary, iii, p. 222; Elizabeth, iii, p. 152.

¹⁰ For Sir William's career see the D(ictionary of) N(ational) B(iography); Foss, *Judges*, v, pp. 387–9; L.P. iv, v, *passim*, vi, p. 190, viii, *passim*, x, p. 15, xi, xiii–xxi, *passim*. Addenda i, pt 2, p. 583; C.P.R. Edward VI, i–iii *passim*; Philip and Mary, i–v *passim*; Elizabeth I, ii, pp. 261–2; A(cts of the) P(riory) C(ouncil of England), ii, pp. 42, 265; iii, pp. 159–60, 162; iv, p. 21; v, pp. 22, 57, 151, 161–2; S.E. Lehmberg, *The Reformation Parliament, 1529–36* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 27, 189, 244; *ibid.*, *The Later Parliaments of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 4, 262; (The) V(ictoria) H(istory of the) C(ounty of) Somerset (London, 1906–), ii, p. 31; Toulmin, *Taunton*, pp. 82, 197; Sir M. Nathan, *The Annals of West Coker* (Cambridge, 1957), p. 234; G.D. Stawell, *A Quantock Family, The Stawells of Cothelstone*. . . (Taunton, 1910), pp. 338–9, 341–2; F. Brown, *Abstracts of Somerset Wills*, ed. F.A. Crisp, 6 series (privately printed, 1887–90), xi, pp. 9, 35, 49, 66; iv, p. 106; v, pp. 52, 104; S.R.S. xxi, pp. 8, 51, 56, 80, 82–3, 98, 101, 144, 178, 182; xxvii, p. 209; P.S.A.S. xviii, pt. 2, p. 161; lxxxiv, pp. 79, 84.

¹¹ L.P. xix, pt. 2, pp. 313, 352–4; DD/PM/8; S.R.O. DD/SL (Slade mess.) 5/25; Barnes, *Somerset*, chap. 2; D. Underdown, *Somerset in the Civil War and Interregnum* (Newton Abbot, 1973), p. 19; F.W. Popham, *A West Country Family: the Pophams from 1150* (Sevenoaks, 1976), pp. 23, 25; S.R.S. xxi, p. 182; P.S.A.S. x, pt. 2, pp. 63, 76–8, 109–10; xliii, pt. 2, p. 161. See Stone, *Crisis*, pp. 190, 399, 404, 409, 413, 444–5, on the key role of lawyers among government servants acquiring monastic property and the great value of the office of Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. The rhyme is quoted in E. Hutton, *Highways and Byways of Somerset* (London, 1930), p. 195; however a version, quoted in J.H. Gleason, *The Justices of the Peace in England* (Oxford, 1969), p. 188, substitutes Berkeley for Portman.

¹² DD/PM/5, 7; L.P. vi, p. 262; xviii, pt. 1, p. 284; pt. 2, p. 55; xx, pt. 2, pp. 543-4; xxi, pt. 1, p. 472; pt. 2, p. 244; Addenda i, pt. 2, p. 476; C.P.R., Edward VI, ii, p. 290; Phi8lip and Mary, i, p. 153; iii, p. 5; Sixsmith, *Staple Fitzpaine*, p. 32; S.R.S. ii, p. 301; lv, pp. 31, 94, 99; *L. and I. Soc.* 160, p. 187 (P.R.O. reference, C 78/25/14). It was rumoured (*P.S.A.S.* lxxxix, p. 46) that the St Marylebone acquisition, far from being made with an eye to capital gain, was to allow Sir William to run asses, the milk of which his wife had been ordered to drink: 293 acres seems generous for such a purpose!

¹³ The house was totally demolished by the family in the nineteenth century and its dating and development rest on a few later drawings and a 1690 inventory (printed in *N.Q.S.D.* xiii, pp. 320-5); its nucleus (there were later additions) seems mid-sixteenth century (*P.S.A.S.* lxxxix, p. 48; *S.R.S.* xv, p. 61). The inventory records furniture in some six dozen rooms in the main building and outhouses.

¹⁴ P.C.C. 5 Wrastley; *S.R.S.* xxi, p. 188; *L. and I.* xxiii, p. 328; *P.S.A.S.* xlvii, pt 2, p. 84; Stone, *Crisis*, p. 304. Only £20 was left to the poor besides what was bestowed at his funeral: W.K. Jordan, 'The Forming of the Charitable Institutions of the West of England', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, new series vol. 50, pt 8 (1960), pp. 75-6, 80-1, 83-4, 92-3, places this bequest in the context of charities both in the parish of Orchard Portman and by the upper gentry and members of the professions in Somerset, though it is not specified in which category he places Sir William (see also p. 62 for Portman as a trustee of Wilbye's bequest).

¹⁵ C.P.R. Elizabeth, i, p. 423; ii, p. 443; iii, pp. 24, 36, 38, 331; iv, p. 378-9; v, pp. 216-7, 436; vi, pp. 148, 153, 155-6; A.P.C. vii, p. 283; x, p. 29; xii, p. 357; xiii, p. 309; xiv, pp. 9, 109, 353-5; xv, pp. 96-7; xx, p. 46; C(alendar of) S(tate) P(apers) D(omestic), 1581-90, p. 211; 1595-7, pp. 155-6; *S.R.S.* xx, p. 274; xlvii, p. xx; lxix, pp. 69-70, 76-7, when he was praised as deputy lieutenant by Cecil; *L. and I.* ix, p. 124; *V.C.H. Somerset*, ii, pp. 254 n.411; *P.S.A.S.* xviii, pt 2, p. 94; xxvii, pt 1, p. 75; *N.Q.S.D.* xxx, pp. 158-9; Gleason, *Justices of the Peace*, pp. 187-8, 191; Nathan, *West Coker*, pp. 231, 234; S.R.O. DD/HI (Hippesley mss) 7. He had been escheator of Somerset in his father's life, 1554-5 (*S.R.S.* xliii, p. 227).

¹⁶ Stone, *Crisis*, pp. 133, 188, 308-34; W.G. Hoskins and H.P.R. Finberg, *Devonshire Studies* (London, 1952), pp. 84, 337. The following leases have been found: 1562 burgage in Middle Market, Taunton, 3 lives, no fine given, £1 rent; 1575 burgage in East St., Taunton, 3 lives, £3 fine, £1 rent; 1580 burgage in Fore St., Taunton, 80 years determinable on 2 lives, £66 13s 4d fine, £2 rent; 1581 tenement in North Petherton, 80 years on 1 life, £13 6s 8d fine, 19s 8d rent; 1595 burgage in East St., Taunton, 99 years on 3 lives, £40 fine, £2 rent (DD/PM/3 and 7; *P.S.A.S.* cxix, pp. 16-8).

¹⁷ DD/PM/5 has a settlement. September 1576, in favour of Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Watts and his wife Elizabeth who remarried Sir Henry, and a feoffment of a sixth of the manor of Orchard, 1585, probably for John, Sir Henry's youngest son.

¹⁸ DD/PM/3/1, 5 and 7; *S.R.S.* xv, p. 85; C.P.R., Philip and Mary, iii, pp. 476-7; Elizabeth, ii, pp. 146, 607-8; iii, p. 3; iv, p. 211; *Somerset Wards*, p. 106; W.H.P. Greswell, *The Forests and Deer Parks of the County of Somerset* (Taunton, 1905), p. 250; Browne, *Somerset Wills*, i, p. 67; *P.S.A.S.* xcvi, pp. 82, 105; P.H. Hembry, *The Bishops of Bath and Wells, 1540-1640* (London, 1967), p. 197; Weaver, *Visitation*, p. 3; *L. and I. Soc.* cxli, p. 118; clxvii, p. 225; *L. and I. Supplementary series*, iv, pt iv, p. 249; vii, pt 1, p. 355; A.P.C. xi, p. 6.

¹⁹ Stawell, *Quantock Family*, pp. 76-8, 347; DD/PM/7,10/12; P.C.C. 38 Stafford Nathan, *West Coker*, p. 234; *S.R.S.* extra series, The Honour of Dunster (1931), p. 304; A.L. Humphreys, *Materials for the History of the Town and Parish of Wellington* (London, 1889), pp. 61-2; *An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State. . . from 1639 to the Murder of King Charles I.* ed. J. Nalson, 2 vols. (London, 1682-3), i, p. 202; W.H.P. Greswell, *Dumnonia and the Valley of the Parret* (Taunton, 1922), p. 159. The Stawell estate is summarised in *Somerset Wards*, pp. 59-61.

²⁰ DD/PM/7,9/12; *P.S.A.S.* xcii, pp. 83-9; xciii, p. 87; M.F. Keeler, *The Long*

Parliament, 1640–1641: a Biographical Study of its Members (Philadelphia, 1954), p. 118; Hon. H.A. Wyndham, *A Family History: The Wyndhams of Norfolk and Somerset* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 157–8; D.N.B. sub Acland; Healey, *West Somerset*, p. 111 and pedigree A; J. Prince, . . . *The Worthies of Devon* (London, 1810), pp. 1–4, 706–8; Nathan, *West Coker*, p. 234; *S.R.S.* xxi, p. 100; Browne, *Somerset Willis*, i, pp. 8, 35, 64, 107; iii, pp. 63, 94; iv, p. 8; vi, pp. 63, 70. See *Somerset Wards*, pp. 22–4 for the estate of the Hawleys, into which family Margaret Portman married. George Browne, son of Sir John Browne of Frampton, Dorset, and Joan Portman, was recorder of Taunton, a Somerset J.P. 1618–25 and 1629–30, and fellow M.P. for Taunton with Sir Hugh Portman, the fourth baronet, in 1628. (Barnes, *Somerset*, p. 46; Browne, *Somerset Wills*, iii, p. 64; *P.S.A.S.* xliii, pt 2, p. 22; Toulmin, *Taunton*, pp. 269–70, 366).

²¹ DD/PM/1.3/3 and 4.7.9/12; *Somerset Wards*, pp. 49, 138; *P.S.A.S.* xlvii, pt 2, p. 84; *L. and I.* xxvi, p. 282; *L. and I. Soc.*, xcvi, p. 163; P.C.C. 17 Saintherbe and 31 Hunter; Browne, *Somerset Wills*, i, pp. 64, 67; Sixsmith, *Staple Fitzpaine*, pp. 34, 64; Nathan, *West Coker*, p. 253; Collinson, *Somerset*, i, p. 63; Toulmin, *Taunton*, pp. 250–1. Rachael Portman's long lease prevented the finding of an inquisition post mortem for the Crown, an illustration of the failure of the Court of Wards to solve the problem of such leases. Playstreet House and old Bickenhall church were pulled down in the nineteenth century by the Rev. Fitzharding Berkeley Portman, younger brother of the first viscount Portman: it is claimed that the ghost of Rachel, who was buried at Bickenhall, still rides on a white horse from the old church to Playstreet. Her alabaster monument is in Staple Fitzpaine church. In the 1627 subsidy assessment her lands in Bickenhall were rated at £10, out of £82 12s 8d for the whole Hundred of Abdick (DD/HI (Hippesley mss) 53). The almshouses at Staple Fitzpaine, ascribed to her (Collinson, i, p. 61; *P.S.A.S.*, liv, pt 1, p. 98), have recently been attributed to the fifth baronet Portman (Sixsmith, pp. 34, 45). For general discussion of the effects of daughters and younger sons on estates and the possibilities of reversion to the main line, see among many others, Stone, *Crisis*, pp. 135, 157, 172–84, 191–2, 599–600; J. Thirsk, 'Younger Sons in the Seventeenth Century', *History*, liv (1969), pp. 358–77; H.J. Habakkuk, 'The Rise and Fall of English Landed Families, 1600–1800', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th series, xxix (1979), pp. 192–5.

²² DD/PM/3/3 and 5.5.7.9; DD/CT (Blake of Trull mss) 7 litigation bundle 2; *S.R.S.* xv, pp. 79, 145; *P.S.A.S.* xxxii, pt 2, p. 110; lxxvi, pt 1, pp. lv–lvi; pt 2, pp. 1, 3, 8; Sixsmith, *Staple Fitzpaine*, pp. 32–3, 59; V.C.H. *Somerset*, iii, pp. 41–2; V.C.H. *Surrey*, iii, p. 483; E. Simpson, *The History of Kew* (n.p., 1849), p. 14; *L. and I. Soc.* xcvi, pp. 243, 280, 314; cxxi, pp. 43, 174, 176; cxxxiv, p. 107; C.S.P.D. 1603–8, p. 416; Nathan, *West Coker*, pp. 228, 233, 235, 242–3, 251–3, 257–9, 308–9, 508–9; J. Batten, *Historical and Topographical Collections relating to the early History of Parts of South Somerset* (Yeovil, 1894), pp. 135, 138, 171; *Country Life*, 14 October 1922. For the large profit which Salisbury made on the sale of Haselbury Plucknett see L. Stone, *Family and Fortune: Studies in Aristocratic Finance in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1973), p. 35. On the Mendip mine industry generally see J.W. Gough, *The Mines of Mendip* (Oxford, 1930); Barnes, *Somerset*, pp. 3, 6–7; I. Blanchard, 'English Lead and the International Bullion Crisis of the 1550s', *Trade, Government and Economy in pre-industrial England: Essays presented to F.J. Fisher*, eds. D. Coleman and A.H. John (London, 1976), pp. 21–44.

²³ S.W. Bates-Harbin, *Members of Parliament for the County of Somerset* (Taunton, 1939), pp. 132, 134; *P.S.A.S.* xlvii, pt 2, p. 84; *S.R.S.* ii, pp. 274, 279; xxiii, pp. 1, 17, 21–90, 95–6; *Somerset Wards*, pp. 138–43; *L. and I.* ix, pp. 124–5; xxxi, p. 287; *supplementary series* iv, pt iv, p. 249; v, p. 175; vii, pt ii, p. 262; pt iii, p. 261; pt iv, p. 272; *L. and I. Soc.* xcvi, p. 243; cxxxiii, p. 132; clxvii, p. 225; *Index Library* iv, p. 91; Nathan, *West Coker*, pp. 234–5, 245, 249, 252–4, 256, quoting Sir John Harington, *Nugae Antiquae*, ed. T. Clark (London, 1804), i, pp. 236, 317–9; Sixsmith, *Staple Fitzpaine*, p. 46; Gleason, *Justices of the Peace*, pp. 192–3; A.P.C.

xxii, pp. 406–7; xxvi, p. 498; xxvii, pp. 167–8; xxviii, pp. 92, 559; xxx, pp. 386, 434–5, 439; xxxii, pp. 272–3; 275–9; S.R.O. DD/WO (Trevelyan of Nettlecombe mss) 26, 53; Browne, *Somerset Wills*, i, pp. 29, 56; ii, p. 104; v, p. 68; vi, p. 70; Stone, *Crisis*, pp. 84–9, 104, 125–6.

²⁴ DD/PM/3/4 and 7; Popham, *The Pophams*, p. 29; Nathan, *West Coker*, pp. 257–8, 267; Barnes, *Somerset*, pp. 23, 26, 103 n., 116 n., 315, 317; P.C.C. 6 Capell; *Somerset Wards*, pp. 142–3. See S.R.S. xxiii, xxiv, for Edward Popham as J.P. The *Complete Baronetage*, i, p. 90, refers to Anne, Sir John's widow, remarrying Thomas Nevill and living until 1652; this was in fact her daughter-in-law, Lady Anne, widow of the fifth baronet.

²⁵ Feodaries' certificates were introduced by order of 24 January 1611/2 (Bodleian, Rawlinson mss B437 f. 3v). Cliffe, *Yorkshire*, pp. 85, 132, stresses their relative accuracy: the word relative should be remembered. Feodaries' certificates should be, but are usually not, distinguished from surveys: the certificates are on paper, the surveys on parchment; the latter record only a slight increase on the inquisition values and after 1610 were usually returned only when the heir was of full age and the crown entitled only to livery payments, which did not rise markedly. Both are in P.R.O. Court of Wards, Feodaries' Surveys, Wards 5. J. Hurstfield, *The Queen's Wards* (London, 1958) and Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution*, pp. 53–4, stress the 'unashamed' exploitation of feudal incidents by Salisbury, but there was only a modest increase of revenue. The most recent treatment of the Great Contract is A.G.R. Smith, 'Crown, Parliament and Finance: the Great Contract of 1610', *The English Commonwealth 1547–1640: Essays in Politics and Society presented to Joel Hurstfield*, eds. P. Clark, A.G.R. Smith and N. Tyacke (Leicester, 1979), pp. 111–27.

²⁶ The month's pre-emption was introduced in the Instructions to the Court of Wards of 9 January 1610/1 (S.P./14/61/6). The wardship of the second baronet was sold to his mother and his father's trustees two months and one day after his father died (*Somerset Wards*, pp. 137–43).

²⁷ DD/PM/23; *Somerset Wards*, pp. 47–51, 137–43; *L. and I.* xxxi, p. 287; xxxiii, p. 270; P.S.A.S. xlvii, pt 2, p. 84; *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N.E. McClure (Philadelphia, 1939), ii, p. 347; Nathan, *West Coker*, p. 267; P.C.C. 52 Byrde. Already in 1617 a letter reported laconically that 'Sir Harry Portman has broken his neck' (S.P.14/93/76).

²⁸ *Somerset Wards*, pp. 47–51; 137–43; Court of Wards Receiver-General's Accounts, Wards 9/408–21. Also ecclesiastical patronage was lost to the crown during wardship: for the king presenting to Staple Fitzpaine in 1627 see Sixsmith, *Staple Fitzpaine*, pp. 48, 74.

²⁹ S.P.14/86/16; Nathan, *West Coker*, p. 265. The Stanleys were of older aristocratic vintage than the Paulets, the other ennobled family with whom the Portmans had to date married.

³⁰ *Somerset Wards*, pp. 99–100; Nathan, *West Coker*, p. 257. For the general level and role of portions see Stone, *Crisis*, pp. 175–8, 632–49; Habakkuk, *T.R.H.S.* 5th series, xxix, pp. 192–5.

³¹ The only favours noted in this period were grants of the keepership of Neroche forest to Sir John Portman in 1609 and Sir Henry in 1620: both ended with their rapid deaths (DD/PM/1; C.S.P.D. 1603–10, p. 562; *L. and I. Soc.* cxxi, p. 170; *Index Library*, iv, pp. 106, 114; Nathan, *West Coker*, pp. 265–6). Sixsmith, *Staple Fitzpaine*, pp. 41–3, and Barnes, *Somerset*, p. 22, stress the financial embarrassment this office was later to Lord Poulet, but this was due to the special circumstances of the disafforestation.

³² *Somerset Wards*, pp. 47–51, 137–43; DD/PM/23; Wards 9/408 *et seq.*

³³ The younger sons were to have received their property after their mother's death, but she survived all except the youngest (*Somerset Wards*, pp. 142–3; Nathan, *West Coker*, pp. 257–8).

³⁴ DD/PM/1.3/4; *Somerset Wards*, pp. 8–10, 87–90; Browne, *Somerset Wills*, v, pp.

20-1; *P.S.A.S.* lxxx, pt 1, p. xlii; pt 2, p. 22; Nathan, *West Coker*, pp. 257, 267; Prince, *Worthies of Devon*, pp. 84-6, 207-12; N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: North Devon* (Harmondsworth, 1952), p. 100.

³⁵ DD/PM/1,5 and 7; *P.S.A.S.* lxxvi, pt 2, p. 1; *Somerset Wards*, pp. 57-9; *D.N.B.* (sub Sir Edward Seymour); Nathan, *West Coker*, pp. 257, 267-8; Collinson, *Somerset*, ii, pp. 344-5, 375; *Chamberlain Letters*, ii, p. 347. For Grace Portman's charities see her will (DD/PM/1); Toulmin, *Taunton*, pp. 213, 227-8; *P.S.A.S.* xlv, pt 2, pp. 170-1; Nathan *West Coker*, pp. 290, 309; Jordan, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc.* new series, vol 1, pt 8, pp. 50, 54; F.J. Snell, *Memorials of Old Somerset* (London, 1906), p. 168.

³⁶ DD/PM/5 and 7; *Somerset Wards*, p. 50; Nathan, *West Coker*, p. 265; *Chamberlain Letters*, ii, p. 404; *V.C.H. Surrey*, iii, pp. 483-4; Simpson, *Kew*, p. 30. The manor of Haselbury Plucknett and Alston Sutton was part of Lady Anne's jointure: she and her husband kept courts there and notes survive of payments in the manor. For example one of May 1630 states that £357 may be made from copyhold fines in Haselbury and £163 in Alston, while an undated seventeenth century memorandum says that more than £400 p.a. may be made from leaseholders and copyholders in Haselbury (DD/PM/7).

³⁷ DD/PM/3/2,3 and 5, and 7; *S.R.S.* ii, p. 240; *P.S.A.S.* xliii, pt 2, pp. 47-8; xlvii, pt 2, p. 161; Popham, *The Pophams*, pp. 5, 14, 24, 26-7, 29-31, 34 and *passim* for the Pophams in the Civil War; *The Genealogist*, xxvi (1910), p. 159; P.R.O. Privy Council Registers, P.C. 2/51 p. 299; P.C.C. 39 Evelyn; Browne, *Somerset Wills*, v, pp. 108-9; Nathan, *West Coker*, p. 269; C.S.P.D. 1628-9, p. 361. See Underdown, *Somerset, passim*, for the radicalism of the Pophams, one of the Huntworth branch marrying Humphrey Willis, the Somerset Clubmen leader. Popham's father's modest estate is valued in Wards 5/36. The acquisitions did lead to legal difficulties for the Portmans later: in 1653-5 there was a Chancery suit about the Popham debts and the manor of Huntworth, and Popham's raising of £10,000 mortgage led to a suit by claimants under it for the tithes of the rectory of North Petherton in 1672-3, but it appears that the Portmans won and had no further difficulty (DD/PM/1,3/2 and 3,5,7 and 23; C.S.P.D. 1625-49, p. 264; *Somerset Wards*, pp. 47-8; Nathan, *West Coker*, pp. 257-8, 273-4).

³⁸ DD/PM/3/5,7; *V.C.H. Somerset*, iii, pp. 41-2. There is little evidence for estate management in the period except the raising of entry fines of £182 and £60 on 99 years/three lives reversionary leases of Taunton burgages in 1618 and 1628 (DD/PM/7; *P.S.A.S.* cxix, p. 18).

³⁹ DD/PM/5,7 and 9/1; *Somerset Wards*, pp. 95-7; Keeler, *Long Parliament*, pp. 118, 311-2, 337; *S.R.S.* xv, p. 60; xxiv, pp. 235-7, 254, 257, 268, 278; *P.S.A.S.* xliii, pt 2, p. 22; lxxvii, pt 2, pp. 109-10; DD/WO/26; Nalson, *Impartial Collections*, i, p. 202; Gleason, *Justices of the Peace*, p. 193; Browne, *Somerset Wills*, i, p. 34; iii, p. 86; Toulmin, *Taunton*, p. 383; Barnes, *Somerset*, pp. 33-4, 70-1, 160.

⁴⁰ *Al. Oxon. 1500-1714, L-R* p. 1184; *S.R.O.* DD/SCT (Scott mss) 3; WO/26; BD (Baker and Duke mss) 55; Keeler, *Long Parliament*, pp. 311-2; Bates-Harbin, *Somerset M. Ps.*, p. 138; *S.R.S.* xxiii, pp. 272, 274, 281-2, 284; xxiv *passim*; lxxv, pp. 60-3; *P.S.A.S.* xcvi, p. 95; Nathan, *West Coker*, p. 267; *Chamberlain Letters*, ii, p. 347; Barnes, *Somerset, passim*; Brown, *Somerset Wills*, i, p. 85; Snell, *Old Somerset*, p. 156; *L. and I.* ix, p. 125; C.S.P.D. 1625-49, p. 598; Toulmin, *Taunton*, pp. 219-20. Sir John, related to Nicholas Wadham, died soon after beginning his career at Wadham College, Oxford, where a monument refers to his 'remarkable powers and brilliancy of intellect' On Sir Hugh's death in 1629 Humphrey Sydenham, later fellow of Wadham, preached a funeral sermon, printed 1630 as *The Royal Passing Bell* (S.T.C. 23571), referring to him as 'most hopeful and truly noble, the great loss and sorrow of his name and country'. Sir William presented a bowl of 22¼ ozs of white plate to Exeter College (Nathan, *West Coker*, p. 273; Prince, *Worthies of Devon*, pp. 750-1; Reg. Coll. Exon., ed. C.W. Boase, *Oxford Historical Society* xxvii (1894), p. 277). No Portman M.P. seems to have been involved in investment in commercial

companies (see T.K. Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire*. . . (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p. 359).

⁴² Keeler, *Long Parliament*, p. 311; *Chamberlain Letters*, ii, p. 347; *S.R.S.* xv, p. 61; *P.S.A.S.* lviii, pt 1, p. 14; *The Somerset Protestation Returns and Lay Subsidy Rolls, 1641-2*, eds. A.J. Howard and T.L. Stoaie (Bristol, 1975), pp. 212-3, 215, 217, 237, 246, 262-4, 266, 271; *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1500-1640*, iv, ed. J. Thirsk (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 73, 75, 169, 179-80, quoting J. Norden, *The Surveyor's Dialogue* (1607); Barnes, *Somerset*, pp. 1-4, 10; Toulmin, *Taunton*, pp. 4-9. Again very few leases survive from Sir William's ownership: fines in Taunton ranged from £50 for no. 15, Fore St., in 1642 to £5 12s for a house and garden in Leigh St. (rents of £2 13s 4d and 14s) while a house and shop in Stogursey were leased for three years for £52 p.a. without fine (DD/PM/5.7.19 and 21; *P.S.A.S.* cxix, p. 18). For the Portmans as plaintiffs in Chancery suits both during and after the wardships see *Index Library*, vi, pp. 107, 129, 132-3, 136, 144, 146, and as defendants, xiv, p. 236.

⁴³ Barnes, *Somerset*, p. 23, quoting Wards 10/24.

⁴⁴ DD/PM/1.3/3.5 and particularly 7; *Somerset Wards*, pp. 48, 139; *S.R.S.* xv, p. 44; *V.C.H. Somerset*, ii, p. 563; *C.S.P.D.* 1625-40 *passim*; Sixsmith, *Staple Fitzpaine*, pp. 19-20, 40-4, 57-61, 63, 93, 95-6; Nathan, *West Coker*, p. 234; D.G.C. Allan, 'The Rising in the West, 1628-1631', *Ec. H.R.* 2nd series v (1952-3), pp. 76-85; Barnes, *Somerset*, pp. 4, 22, 29, 105, 149-50, 155-61, 170-1; B. Sharp, *In Contempt of All Authority* (Berkeley, 1980), pp. 142, 243.

⁴⁵ *C.S.P.D.* 1633-4, pp. 350-1, 1636-7, pp. 535-6, 1637-8, pp. 222, 354, 358-9, 433; 1639, p. 237; 1639-40, p. 588; (House of) C(ommons) J(ournals), ii, p. 943; iii, pp. 38, 267, 389; iv, pp. 45, 66, 276; DD/PM/5; *P.S.A.S.* cviii, sheriffs' section, p. 42; cxix, pp. 18-9; *S.R.S.* xviii, p. 47; xxviii, p. xx; *N.Q.S.D.*, ii, p. 248; *V.C.H. Somerset*, ii, pp. 203, 206, 232; Barnes, *Somerset passim*, especially chaps. 8 and 10 and p. 215n.; Underdown, *Somerset, passim*; *ibid.*, 'The Chalk and the Cheese: Contrasts among the English Clubmen', *Past and Present*, 85 (1979), pp. 25-48; Nathan, *West Coker*, pp. 275, 285; *Somerset Protestation Returns, passim*; Keeler, *Long Parliament*, pp. 144, 311-2, 336; D. Brunton and D.H. Pennington, *Members of the Long Parliament* (London, 1954), pp. 133, 148, 161; Toulmin, *Taunton*, pp. 137-9, 172, 278, 295-7, 311, 316, 351, 366, 410-1 (points out that George Searle, as mayor, was Taunton's returning officer); Wyndham, *The Wyndhams*, p. 195; Nalson, *Impartial Collections*, i, pp. 188-9, 205; Gleason, *Justices of the Peace*, p. 198; Morrill, *Revolt*, pp. 24-5. For popular unrest see particularly B. Manning, *The English People and the English Revolution* (Harmondsworth, 1978); for the responsiveness of M.P.s to electorates D. Hirst, *The Representative of the People*. . . (Cambridge, 1975); and for interesting similarities to the Taunton situation P. Clark, 'The Ramoth-Gilead of the Good': Urban Change and Political Radicalism at Gloucester, 1540-1640', *The English Commonwealth*, pp. 167-87.

⁴⁶ DD/PM/5; *P.C.C.* 146 Essex; Keeler, *Long Parliament*, pp. 311-2; Sixsmith, *Staple Fitzpaine*, p. 45; Nathan, *West Coker*, pp. 285-6; Jordan, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc.* n.s.l, pt 8, p. 58. Thomas Luttrell of Dunster Castle left the wardship of his son to Sir William by will (Browne, *Somerset Wills*, vi, p. 17: 1643, proved 1646).

⁴⁷ C(alendar of the) C(ommittee for) C(ompounding), p. 900; Keeler, *Long Parliament*, pp. 311-2; C.J. iv, p. 211. For the devastation of perhaps 2/3 of Taunton in the siege see Toulmin, *Taunton*, pp. 138, 228, 410-29; Underdown, *Somerset*, pp. 53, 80-2, 93-7, 116-7, 122. A ballad quoted prices in Taunton rising to 14d a lb for bread, 18d a quart for beer and 18d a lb for butter (in January 1953 a 3 1/2 lb loaf of national bread cost 15d and 1 lb of butter 3s; *Parliamentary Debates, Commons*, vol. 511, p. 406).

⁴⁸ DD/PM/7; (House of) L(ords) J(ournals), viii, p. 183.

⁴⁹ DD/PM/5, 7; C.J. v, p. 592; *C.C.C.* pp. 93, 105, 150, 118, 614, 900-1; Keeler, *Long Parliament*, pp. 311-2; Underdown, *Somerset*, p. 127; Nathan, *West Coker*, pp. 289-90; *C.S.P.D.* 1661-2, p. 63; E.L. Klotz and G. Davies, 'The Wealth of Royalist

Peers and Baronets during the Puritan Revolution', *E.H.R.* lviii (1943), p. 219. On the reliability of composition assessments see Cliffe and Phillips in *Northern History* 1977 and 1978. Sir John Stawell probably lost more *in toto* than Sir William but his was a special case: his refusal to compound and subsequent imprisonment meant a long-term sequestration and no delinquency fine. In his case also payments went to the relief of Taunton (Underdown, pp. 128, 159–60; Stawell, *Quantock Family*, pp. 94 *et seq.*, 412–9; C.C.C. pp. 1425–30). The sequestration of the Portman estates was supposed to last from 1645 to 1649 but the Taunton jury still presented Sir William in December 1647 as owing rent for land in Orchard (Toulmin, *Taunton*, p. 272). For a survey of the manor of Staple Fitzpaine in 1646–7 see Sixsmith, *Staple Fitzpaine*, p. 34. As during wardship there was also a loss of ecclesiastical patronage: an intruded rector at Staple; an order for the profits of Wellow rectory to be used to maintain the minister; and a successful claim by the minister at Puckington for augmented revenue (Sixsmith, p. 34; C.C.C. pp. 900–1).

⁴⁹ DD/PM/1,3/3,5,7 and 14; C.S.P.D. 1661–2, p. 63; *P.S.A.S.* xlvi, pt 2, p. 166; *S.R.S.* xxviii, pp. 171, 194; Nathan, *West Coker*, pp. 309–10; N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: South and West Somerset* (Harmondsworth, 1958), p. 267. One complication was the affair of Spiercy's Lawn (some 52½ acres, part of the demesne of the bishop of Winchester's manor of Taunton Deane), which had been in the Portman family since 1535. When Sir William, then childless, made a will in 1643, it had been left to his wife for life, with proviso that if he had a child the legacy was to be void and his wife was to have a life interest in the plate and household stuff at Orchard. His son was born in 1644. Judge Hill bought the manor of Taunton Deane from the Commonwealth and solicited Lady Anne for the purchase of any interest she might have in the premises: after at first refusing, she agreed to sell in about April 1651 for £400. In 1681 the sixth baronet was engaged in a suit to recover the property from the judge's heir, Sir Roger Hill (DD/PM/8).

⁵⁰ *D.N.B.* (sub Portman and Sir Edward Seymour); *Al. Oxon. 1500–1714 L-R*, p. 1184; *V.C.H. Somerset*, ii, p. 232; Bates-Harbin, *Somerset M.P.s.*, p. 176; Nathan, *West Coker*, pp. 309–11, 322; C.S.P.D. 1671, p. 288; 1671–2, p. 237; 1672–3, p. 101; 1673–5, pp. 47, 108–9, 427. In 1671 he received a pass for himself and his company to go to France.

⁵¹ DD/PM/1,3/3,5,7 and 9/11. For a claim on Bryanston living see C.S.P.D. 1679–80, pp. 158, 207. Collinson, *Somerset*, iii, pp. 457, 532, is mistaken in saying that Sir William bought from the duchess of Richmond and then resold the manors of Holford and Kilve: he was acting only in his frequent role as trustee for the nobility and gentry (DD/PM/3/2; cf. PM/19; DD/BC (Battiscombe mss) 114; Browne, *Somerset Wills*, vi, p. 74).

⁵² D.C. Coleman, *Sir John Banks, Baronet and Businessman*. . . (Oxford, 1963), pp. 90, 117.

⁵³ DD/PM/1,5 and 7; DD/SPK (Speke mss) 2 and 6; *P.S.A.S.* cxix, p. 19; *S.R.S.* xxxiv, p. 53. The rental sums are: March 1675–Lady Day 1676 total £11564 12s. 2½d. (of which allowances £1878 19s., respites £3876 1s. 2½d., due £5809 12s., including 'my Lady' £397 1s., of which allowances £344 11s. 8d., respites £52 10s. (*sic*)); Lady Day for one year 1692 total £10,789 12s. 5d. (of which allowances £3,439 10s. ½d., respites £3,050 5s. 10½d., due £4,299 16s. 6d.; undated total £10,822 19s. 8¾d. (of which allowances £1,745 3s. 3½d., respites £3,495 11s. 7d., due £5,582 4s. 10½d.)).

For the resumption of ecclesiastical patronage see Sixsmith, *Staple Fitzpaine*, pp. 48, 52, 74. Very many papers relate to a lawsuit of 1680 over the validity of a composition made by the fifth baronet with the earl of Suffolk, who had been granted power in 1632 to compound with those undervaluing lands granted: in this case the rectory of Taunton St. Mary. The fifth baronet had paid £250 composition. £50 p.a. salary was paid to the vicar in the sixteen-seventies: a cash account of the rectory, 1667–88, shows total receipts of £2,098 7s. 10½d. (DD/PM/7 and 8).

⁵⁴ C.S.P.D. 1675–6, p. 39; 1679–80, pp. 61, 77, 206–7, 570; 1680–1, pp. 514–5;

1682, p. 97; Jan.—June 1683, p. 294; Jly-Dec 1683, *passim*; 1683-4, pp. 7-8, 44, 56, 71-2, 74; 1685, pp. 54, 165, 197, 435-6; 1687-9, pp. 325-6; S.R.S. xxxiv, p. 217 xxxvii, pp. 94, 98; P.S.A.S. lxiv, pt 1, pp. 15, 63; cxix, pp. 15, 18-9; cxxi, p. 145; DD/WO/5; DD/SPK/2 and 7; V.C.H. Somerset, ii, pp. 231, 237; D.N.B. (sub Portman); Bates-Harbin, *Somerset M.Ps.*, pp. 176-7, 179, 186-7, 191-2; Toulmin, *Taunton*, pp. xiii, 198-9, 245, 250, 256, 279-81, 288-9, 311, 313-27, 333-6, 354-6, 366-7, 429-31, 437-42, 451, 458-64, 483-6, 501-51, 555-7, 595; Nathan, *West Coker*, pp. 321-3, 326-8, 330-1, 333-4; Turner, *Somerset* p. 116; R. Bush, *The Book of Taunton* (London, 1977); Underdown, *Somerset*, pp. 180-1, 195; E. Green, *The March of William of Orange through Somerset*. . . 1688 (London, 1892), pp. 28-9, 48-9, 57-8, 64; *The Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, ed. W. Bray, 4 vols. (London, 1850-2), ii, p. 226; *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1715-1754*, ed. R. Sedgwick, 2 vols. (London, 1970), i, pp. 312-3, 317-8; ii, pp. 361-2, 432, 480-1; Browne, *Somerset Wills*, iv, p. 131. This use of 'Grindallizing' appears not to be known to the *Oxford English Dictionary*. In 1685 there was again an unusual occupancy of no. 15, Fore St, Taunton: Portman's tenant there was Thomas Baker, said to be one of 'Monmouth's Council', whose daughter was one of the 'Maidens of Taunton' presented to Monmouth. Henry Portman appointed William Speke to the rectory of Staple Fitzpaine in 1727 and presumably the breach was well healed by the time Lord Portman and Lt-Col. Speke were joint Masters of the Taunton Vale Hunt in 1925 (Sixsmith, *Staple Fitzpaine*, pp. 52, 71, 74). Portmans may not have sat for Taunton after 1741 but the nineteenth century M.P. for the town, Alexander Baring, still had a town house in Portman Square.

⁵⁵ DD/PM/1,7 and 8; C.S.P.D. 1679-80, p. 422; Nathan, *West Coker*, pp. 310, 322, 334; *Pepys' Diary*, 15 January 1669; Bates-Harbin, *Somerset M.Ps.*, p. 176; J. Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland*, 4 vols (London, 1833-8), i, p. 63. The inventory is in *N.Q.S.D.* xiii, pp. 320-5; the major items in Somerset are £8,500 in good debts, £2,000 in desperate debts, £857 10s. for 245 lbs of plate and £2,000 in jewels, medals and rings; for Dorset £635 for 2411 sheep and lambs, £425 7s. for goods in the preserving room and £200 goods in 'my Lady's closet'.

⁵⁶ DD/PM/7; Burke, *Commoners*, i, p. 63; P.S.A.S. xxxiv, pt 2, p. 123; xliii, pt 2, p. 209; lxxv, p. 146; cxix, pp. 16, 19; *L. and I.* ix, pp. 40-1, 126; *N.Q.S.D.* xviii, p. 253; Browne, *Somerset Wills*, v, p. 102; Weaver, *Visitation*, p. 6; Bates-Harbin, *Somerset M.Ps.*, pp. 191-2; Collinson, *Somerset*, *passim*; Foss, *Judges*, v, p. 389; Toulmin, *Taunton*, pp. 282-3, 289, 311; A.J. Jewers, *Wells Cathedral* (London, 1892), p. 230; Greswell, *Forests*, p. 260. The papers of this branch of the Berkeley family are in DD/PM/7,9/2-12, 10/5,11 and 12.

⁵⁷ DD/PM/7,14,15,17,18 and 19; DD/SL/5/18; DD/SPK/2; P.S.A.S. cxix, p. 19. For ecclesiastical patronage see Toulmin, *Taunton*, pp. 140-1; Sixsmith, *Staple Fitzpaine*, pp. 52, 74; *Index Library* lxiii, p. 192; P.S.A.S. cxii, p. 90. For Henry Portman's public life see DD/PM/1; DD/WO/40; Toulmin, *Taunton*, pp. 199-200; Greswell, *Quantock*, p. 272; Collinson, *Somerset*, iii, p. 96; Browne, *Somerset Wills*, iii, p. 72; DD/SPK/6.

⁵⁸ J. Summerson, *Georgian London* (Harmondsworth, 1962) pp. 143, 146, 151, 163-4, 174.

⁵⁹ F. Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, 2 vols. (London, 1732-5), ii, *liber* 14, no. 7, p. 35; *The Survey of London*, vol. xxxix, The Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair; pt 1, General History, ed. F.H. W. Sheppard (London, 1977), pp. 1-5.

⁶⁰ P.S.A.S. cvi, p. 89; cviii, p. 80; cxix, p. 20; Batten, *South Somerset*, p. 138; Toulmin, *Taunton*, pp. 59, 137; Sixsmith, *Staple Fitzpaine*, pp. 60-1, 72; *The Times*, 4 November 1967; Burke, *Peerage* (1967 ed.), pp. 2024-6.