

Charles I and the Perrots of Northleigh

By MISS M. R. TOYNBEE

A DAY at Northleigh in the spring of 1944 brought vividly to my mind the fact that the following June would see the three-hundredth anniversary of Charles I's famous night-march out of Oxford. It seemed to be an appropriate occasion for putting on record what is known of the King's visit to the Perrot family at Northleigh *en route* for the West. Ever since I saw, at the Old Times Exhibition held at Oxford in April, 1937, the ring and the pendant given by him as mementoes to two daughters of the house, I had been anxious to investigate the story, to which I referred in the recent article by Mr. J. J. Leeming and myself on Cropredy Bridge.¹ The following pages are an attempt to set out the result of my researches.

The only documentary evidence, so far as I am aware, for the Northleigh visit is a passage in the Royalist newspaper *Mercurius Aulicus* for 'The 23 Week, ending June 8. 1644', under date 'TUESDAY. June 4'. 'His Majestie having eaten and refreshed himselfe this morning, at Master Parrets house in Northlye, where He drew up His Army, went forwards in the afternoone to Bourton on the Water . . .'² From Sir Edward Walker's account of the march³ it appears that Charles reached Northleigh about nine o'clock on the morning of 4 June, some twelve hours after leaving Oxford. Having safely

¹ *Oxoniensis*, III (1938), pp. 129-30. Some account of the march and of the circumstances leading up to it will be found there.

² Pp. 1012-13. In 'Cropredy Bridge' I quoted this passage but was unable to give an exact reference since the Bodleian copy of *Mercurius Aulicus* for 1644 lacks, among others, the issue for the 23rd week. Shortage of time obliged me to rely upon the passage as given by Vaughan Thomas in his *Account of the Night-March of King Charles the First from Oxford* (1852), p. 16; he took it from the excerpt printed in Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, vi, 672. A note made by the late Sir Charles Firth at the beginning of the defective Bodleian copy of *Mercurius Aulicus* points the reader to a perfect copy belonging to Queen's College Library. This (Sel. b. 114**) I have now been allowed to consult by the courtesy of Professor Norman Sykes. As a result, I find that Vaughan Thomas copied the passage incorrectly from Rushworth, and thus the mistake of saying that the King refreshed himself in the evening at Northleigh, which I attributed to the author of *Mercurius Aulicus*, is his alone. The whole account of the events of Monday and Tuesday, 3 and 4 June, as given in *Mercurius Aulicus* is not only extremely graphic and entertaining, but contains details to be found in none of the other contemporary accounts. E. L. Barnwell, *Perrot Notes* (1867), p. 95, writes: 'Charles is said to have slept at Northleigh on one occasion, although the exact night is not known; but it was probably in the summer of 1644, during which period the king was frequently in the neighbourhood of Northleigh. Northleigh, however, is not mentioned in the "Iter Carolinum" . . . or Symonds' *Diary*'. The erroneous tradition that the King slept at Northleigh is still current.

³ *Historical Discourses upon Several Occasions* (1705), p. 20. 'By that time it was Day, we were got into Yarnton . . . By nine in the morning were drawn up on Hanborough Heath.' Cf. *Mercurius Aulicus*, p. 1011: 'and came the next morning to Northlye, where He drew up His Army'.

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negotiated the bridge over the Evenlode between Bladon and Hanborough,⁴ which he found providentially unguarded by the enemy, the King would have passed through the village of Long Hanborough. In the 17th century the road from Hanborough to Burford, his first objective, did not take in Witney as does the present ('turnpike') road. Instead it followed the right turn by the smithy beyond Hanborough village, and so through Millwood End, along the line of a chain of gates to East End, Northleigh, by Holly Court, Bridewell, and Shakenoak to Hailes and Minster Lovell.⁵ This, then, must have been the route taken by Charles and his army, and indeed Richard Symonds⁶ expressly states in his brief narrative that they 'marched without a cannon between New bridge and Woodstock, and left Witney on the left hand'. On 'Hanborough Heath', the tract of common land between the present road to the hamlet of East End and the Hanborough boundary, Charles drew up his troops, and while they bivouacked there, he himself sought rest and refreshment at the house which then stood on the site now partly occupied by Perrotts Hill Farm, a short distance to the north of the modern Hanborough-Witney road and something over half a mile east of the village of Northleigh.⁷ That the King, as well as his men, should have needed a halt can well be imagined. The last two days and nights had been very strenuous ones for him, with little opportunity for sleep. On the afternoon of Sunday, 2 June, he had gone out to Woodstock and killed two bucks in the park. In the evening he had returned to the neighbourhood of Wolvercote where was quartered his foot army, 'amongst whom He lay in His Coach all night', returning about six o'clock next morning to Christ Church. Monday was devoted to preparations for the coming march, which occupied the following night. It must, therefore, have been with considerable relief

⁴ The preponderant local tradition appears to be that it was by this bridge that Charles and his army crossed the Evenlode. The old road taken by them from Oxford via Yarnton (which as Frogwelldown Lane is now lost as it approaches the bridge) is shown in Jefferys's map of Oxfordshire (1766-7) making a bee-line for it, and I am told that the track can still be discerned in an orchard near the bridge. But Mr. William Turrill has preserved another local tradition to the effect that the small stone 'occupation' bridge close to Hanborough Mill, barely half a mile to the south-west, used to be known as King Charles's bridge. Within the last fifteen years this bridge possessed piers and a gate in the middle. It is of course possible that the King himself with his immediate attendants may have struck down from the road and made use of this bridge, while the main body of his army crossed what is known as Folly bridge. Both Jefferys's map and Davis's map of 1797 show a road leading from Hanborough Mill to the north-west and joining the Bladon-Hanborough road at a point slightly west of where the Great Western Railway now runs. It is quite probable that this road existed in 1644 and it might have been followed by Charles.

⁵ I am indebted for this information to the kindness of Mrs. Wickham Steed, of Eynsham Hall. The map prefixed to Vaughan Thomas's account of the march is in error in making the King's route pass through Witney.

⁶ *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War*, ed. C. E. Long, Camden Society, LXXIV (1859), 8.

⁷ The house, now approached from the south, was presumably approached from the north in 1644.

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that the King and the fourteen-year-old Prince Charles found themselves momentarily escaped out of the clutches of those 'lewd Egyptians', as *Mercurius Aulicus* terms their Parliamentary pursuers, and the guests for a few hours of a hospitable loyal family. That Charles's gratitude is no mere matter of conjecture is testified by the gifts already mentioned and of which there will be more to say shortly.

'Master Parret', Charles's host, was Edward Perrot, or, as he himself spelled the name, Parrott, the second, but eldest surviving, son of Robert Perrot (1553/4-1605), of Northleigh, by his wife Mary, daughter of Oliver Withington, an Oxford physician. Born at Northleigh 7 February, 1593/4,⁸ he was baptized there three days later.⁹ At the age of eleven he lost his father: his kneeling figure appears in the place of honour among the sons on the monument (PL. XI, A) which Mary Perrot erected to her husband on the south wall of the chancel of Northleigh church.¹⁰ Edward Perrot received his education at St. Alban Hall, Oxford, and was called to the bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1621. Two years later (20 January, 1622/3)¹¹ he married at Radley, Berkshire, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William Stonehouse or Stonhouse, of Radley, who was created a baronet in 1628. The Stonehouses were attached to the Crown. Elizabeth's brother John, the second baronet (died 1632), had been a gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles I, and her brother George, the third baronet, was a zealous Royalist. Edward Perrot shared this loyalty. On 31 October, 1642, shortly after the King's entry into Oxford subsequent to the Battle of Edgehill, he received from Charles a protection to his person and property.¹² This precaution was probably connected with Perrot's fear of a French knight in the King's army, Sir William St. Ravy, who bore him a deadly hatred, a fear which was to have disastrous consequences. Perrot placed all 'my writings and Evidences concerninge my lands leases and Copyhold' in a 'trunke' which he buried underground on his property, and which were found to be 'utterly defaced and spoyled' when the 'trunke' was taken up in the following spring. This mischance necessitated his setting down 'the title to all the lands I haue'.¹³ He seems to have been required to assist both sides financially during the war, his contribution to the rebel

⁸ Registrum Simon Parret. Trinity College, Oxford, MS. LXXXIII, f. 105. For a key pedigree of the Perrot family to illustrate this paper, see the appendix, p. 146.

⁹ Northleigh Register, 1573-1661, f. 17.

¹⁰ A full description of this 'pretty Southwark alabaster', as it is termed by Mrs. Arundell Esdaile in John Piper's *Oxon*, p. 42, will be found in Anthony Wood's MS. E. 1, f. 52, in the Bodleian Library. The now indecipherable words from Psalm 14 are there recorded.

¹¹ Reg. Sim. Parret, f. 106. No day of the month is entered in the Radley Registers.

¹² Barnwell, *op. cit.*, p. 95: no authority for the statement is given.

¹³ For the whole story see Reg. Sim. Parret, f. 86. St. Ravy figures in the Domestic State Papers of the reign of Charles I.

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forces in 1646 doubtless being a forced one.¹⁴ Perrot continued to live at Northleigh during the period of the Interregnum, in which he lost his wife (5 March, 1658/9).¹⁵ His long life stretched from the reign of Elizabeth to that of James II: he died 'in Halywell neare Oxford in the house of Benj. Coop Registrarie of the Universitie, on Friday 27 Febr. 1684 [i.e. 1685] aged 91 or therabouts: whereupon his body was convey'd to North Leigh & there buried in the church by that of his father on the 2^d of March following'.¹⁶

Curiously enough no monument seems to have been erected to the memory of Edward Perrot until 1732 when his grandson Charles Perrot supplied the omission. According to E. L. Barnwell,¹⁷ who compiled his *Perrot Notes* eighty years ago, there was then 'a monument on the south side of the chancel of which the inscription is as follows:

"Edward Perrot died 1684, aged 92.

Mary¹⁸ died 1658.

This monument was erected by C. P., 1732."

The full inscription is contained in the collections of Oxfordshire parish registers and monumental inscriptions made by Colonel J. L. Chester about 1880:

'In y^e Church were interred
the bodies of Ed: *Perrot* Esq
and of Mary his wife
(daugh^r of William *Stonhouse*
of Radley in y^e County of Berks, Bart.)
He was son of Robert y^e son of Simon
(see y^e next monument and a monum^t in
St. Peters y^e East Church in Oxford)
and father of Robert y^e father of Edw^d
(see y^e monument over y^e family seat in y^e Church)
and of Charles y^e present surv^r
all successive inheritors
of y^e estates of Northleigh
and y^e mannor of North Hinksey
in y^e County of Berks.

¹⁴ *Perrot Notes*, loc. cit.: no authority given.

¹⁵ Wood MS. F. 4, f. 135 ('Obital book'). Her burial is recorded in the Northleigh Register, 1573-1661, f. 68, under date 9 March.

¹⁶ Wood MS. F. 4, f. 157; cf. *Life and Times*, ed. A. Clark (1891-1900), III, 132. His burial is entered in the Northleigh Registers, volume beginning 1672, f. 12.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

¹⁸ Mistake for Elizabeth.

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Edward *Perrot* died 1684 aged 92

Mary died 1658.

This monument was erected by C P 1732.¹⁹

The monument bore the arms of Perrot impaling Rogers: Charles Perrot's wife was Anne, daughter of John Rogers, vicar of Eynsham. This tablet, with the exception of the little armorial shield which now rests on the top of the monument to Robert Perrot (died 1605), has vanished, although no record of its removal appears to exist.²⁰ The only other memorial connected with Edward and Elizabeth Perrot in Northleigh church is the cartouche of arms, Perrot impaling Stonehouse (PL. XI, B), on the wall of what is now the vestry in the north-west nave, which probably once formed part of a monument to Elizabeth erected by her husband.²¹

Edward and Elizabeth Perrot had ten children, six sons and four daughters, of whom all (an unusual record for the 17th century) arrived at the age of maturity. Their names and dates of birth are set out in the following table:²²

Robert b. 1623	Elizabeth b. 1625	Anne b. 1626	Charles b. 1627	Edward b. 1629	William b. 1630	Mary b. 1631
				Ursula b. 1633	Simon b. 1635	John b. 1636/7

Of the sons, Robert, the heir, lived to succeed his father, and, as there will be occasion to mention later, seems to have been a careful man of business, who showed great interest in the family property. The four youngest sons all went into trade, thus providing yet another striking example of the complete lack of barriers in English society at that period between the country gentry and the commercial classes. Of these, Edward was a Portugal merchant and William, Simon, and John were respectively a draper, a grocer, and a fishmonger of the City of London.²³ But the best known of them, on account

¹⁹ Bodleian Library, MS. Top. Oxon. c. 167 (35,726), p. 319.

²⁰ This shield, which I had overlooked, was pointed out to me by Mr. P. S. Spokes, F.S.A. The present vicar of Northleigh, the Rev. W. J. H. Wright, can throw no light upon the disappearance of the monument. That it was *in situ* as late as c. 1880 is proved by the Chester transcript, but Mr. E. A. Greening Lamborn tells me that it has not been there during the past forty years.

²¹ I have not found this recorded anywhere. It was pointed out to me by Mr. Spokes.

²² All the children except Robert, Anne, and Charles, were born at Northleigh: their baptisms are recorded in the Registers. Robert and Anne were born at Radley, their mother's old home: their baptisms are recorded in the Registers. Charles was born at Abingdon and baptized at St. Helen's church: the baptism is recorded in the Registers. Details of the births and baptisms of all the children except John and Simon (whose baptisms alone are recorded) will be found in Reg. Sim. Parret, f. 106-106v.

²³ Visitation of London, 1687, printed in *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 3 ser., III, pt. 1 (1900), 14.

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of his friendship with Anthony Wood, who describes him as a 'well bred gent. and a person of a sweet nature',²⁴ is the second son, Charles, fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.²⁵

It is, however, the daughters of Edward Perrot who are of greatest concern for the subject of this article. It is permissible to suppose that all four of them, together with their parents and at least the two youngest boys, would have been at home to welcome the King on the occasion of his visit to their house on 4 June, 1644. There can be no reasonable doubt that it was the two elder girls, Elizabeth and Anne, the former aged nearly nineteen, the latter just turned eighteen, to whose share it fell to play the chief part in preparing the room where Charles rested and providing for his other needs, and who were accordingly the recipients of his gifts. Of them we know nothing beyond what can be gleaned from the records of their births, baptisms, godparents, and dates of burial.

'Elizabeth Parrott was borne at Northleigh on Wensday the 15th day of June anno dñi 1625 1^o Caroli regis about fower of the clocke in the morninge and was Christned at northleigh the 23 day of the sd monthe her Godfather beinge Mr Edward Hart of Brill in the County of Buck and Godmothers the Lady Fettiplace of Astoll and M^{rs} Elizabeth Stonhouse of Radley in comit. Berkes her grandmother.'²⁶

Elizabeth died unmarried at the age of twenty-five in 1651 and was buried at Northleigh.

'Maij 5. Elizab. filia Edwardi Perrott arm. fuit sepulta.'²⁷

'Anne Parrott borne at Radley the six and twentieth day of May anno dñi 2^o anno Caroli regis about three of the clocke in the morninge and was Christned the thirtithe day of the same monthe. Mr Thomas Holt fellow of Magdalen Colledge in Oxon beinge Godfather and Mrs Anne Stonhouse and Mrs Susan Parrott Godmothers.'²⁸

Anne died, also unmarried, at the age of twenty-eight in 1654.

'Eiusdem 24 [i.e. November] Anna filia Edvardi Perrott arm. sepulta fuit.'²⁹

²⁴ *Life and Times*, 1, 273.

²⁵ An account of Charles Perrot by Mr. F. J. Varley is contained in *The Oriel Record*, vii, no. 4 (Jan. 1937), 186-9. Mr. Varley is mistaken in saying that Charles was born at Northleigh and that he died at the age of 50: he was 49.

²⁶ Reg. Sim. Parret, f. 106.

²⁷ Northleigh Register, 1573-1661, f. 67.

²⁸ Reg. Sim. Parret, f. 106.

²⁹ Northleigh Register, 1573-1661, f. 67.

Of the two younger girls, Mary, the only daughter to marry, became the second wife of Dr. Richard Lydall,³⁰ warden of Merton College, Oxford (1693-1704), and died in 1665; while Ursula, who survived until 1704/5,³¹ remained at home to keep house for her widowed father.

According to the tradition handed down through successive generations of the Perrot family and its descendants in the female line, although the matter is not absolutely certain, Elizabeth received the ring and Anne the pendant.³² The ring (PL. XII, A) is plain gold and contains a portrait of Charles I set in a jewelled frame. Expert opinion pronounces the stone of which it is composed to be either ruby or spinel, a semi-precious stone which I am told was much used in jewellery at that period. A number of the stones are missing. The pendant (PL. XII, B) is a gold heart, with a diamond set in the centre, and was originally covered with dark blue enamel; this has largely worn off and the gold now shows through. The heart is held in a white enamel hand, very delicately carved, with a tiny diamond inserted in the back. Family tradition also asserts that one of the Perrot sisters, perhaps the twelve-year-old Mary, cut off a piece of lace from her dress to decorate the King's dressing-table, and that this was also preserved as a memento of his visit. Barnwell reports, (tantalizingly, for he gives no details) in support of the incorrect tradition that Charles slept a night at Northleigh, the existence in his day of 'certain portions of the royal bedchamber linen still remaining in the possession of the successors of the family'. If such really existed, and he was not confusing linen with lace, they merely prove what *Mercurius Aulicus* suggests, namely that Charles retired to bed after his night-march.

It was natural that the King's gifts, precious relics of a never-to-be-forgotten occasion, should be regarded as heirlooms in the Perrot family. Since Elizabeth and Anne died unmarried these ultimately passed to the descendants of their eldest brother, Robert. Of Robert's two sons, only the younger, Charles (died 1739), already mentioned as having erected a

³⁰ Wood MS. F.4, ff. 108, 157, and 162.

³¹ Northleigh Registers, volume beginning 1672, f. 38. There is a gap in the Registers from 1661 to 1672, but transcripts fortunately exist. At the beginning of the second volume there is this note: 'Be it ever gratefully remembered that in the yeare 1672 M^s Vrfula Perrott the daughter of Edward Perrott Esq, dedicated to the service of God and to the use of this parish one silver Patten to bear the consecrated Bread with these Letters engraven on the bottome V.P.' In addition to this paten, which is still in use, Ursula gave a silver chalice and a pulpit cloth and cushion to the church. These benefactions are enumerated in MS. Oxf. Archd. Papers (Oxon. b. 41, f. 53) in the Bodleian Library, a copy of which, headed 'The Charitable Gifts of Northleigh 1686', will be found in the same collection (Oxon. c. 142, f. 365). The paten and chalice are described in J. T. Evans, *The Church Plate of Oxfordshire* (1928), pp. 98-9, where the former is said to be 'probably' Ursula Perrot's gift. The chalice is not connected with her by Evans although he records that it is engraved with the letters 'D. D. V. P.' She also presented plate to St. Cross church, Oxford (*op. cit.*, pp. 126-7).

³² Miss J. C. Doran, the owner of the pendant, writes: 'I think the ring went to the eldest sister.'

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monument to his grandparents' memory, had children. With the death in 1765 of Charles's last surviving son, William, who was unmarried, the senior branch of the Perrots of Northleigh became extinct in the male line. Of his daughters, the second, Catharine, married as her second husband John Parker, sometime of Lechlade, Gloucestershire, a son of the well-known Oxford non-juror Samuel Parker (died 1730), and grandson of Samuel Parker, bishop of Oxford.³³ It was to Catharine (the eldest daughter, Ann, having died as a young woman *c.* 1728) that both the ring and the pendant were at some unknown date devised, and it was through her that they were inherited by the Parker family. They presumably passed through the possession of her son the Rev. Richard Parker (died 1778), M.A., Trinity College, Oxford, and of her grandson Joseph Parker, of Black Hall, Oxford, 'bibliopola privilegiatus' in 1798, to her great-granddaughter Sarah Parker. From the time of Sarah, who married John Golden, of Caenby Hall, co. Lincoln, it became customary for the relics to descend in the female line, from mother to daughter or from aunt to niece, and also for them to be regarded as separate bequests. Thus the ring passed first to one of her daughters; then in turn to two of her nieces, daughters of her brother the Rev. Edward Parker, M.A., Oriel College, Oxford; then back again to another daughter. This daughter in her turn gave it to Sir Arthur Whinney (died 1927), husband of her niece Amy Golden. The ring is therefore now in the possession of the Whinney family, of which the present representative is Mr. E. F. G. Whinney, of Frederick's Place, Old Jewry. The pendant came to another of Sarah Parker's daughters, who bequeathed it to her niece, the present owner, Miss Julia Catharine Doran, of Heythrop Lodge, Chipping Norton, Oxon. The owner of the lace is Mrs. Brooks, daughter of Colonel H. A. D. Richards, C.M.G., D.S.O., of Godalming, who married a granddaughter of Edward Parker.

Unfortunately, only a fragment of the Perrots' house at Northleigh still survives, but from this it is possible to obtain a good idea of the site. From the commanding position in which it stands the ground falls sharply to the valley where Northleigh church is situated. The best general impression of the house as it is now is that obtained from this valley: as one stands there, the eye travels up the steep intervening fields to the building, which presents itself as a conspicuous object on the horizon. Then it is that one realizes why the branch of the Northleigh Perrots to which Edward Perrot belonged was known as the 'Hill' Perrots to distinguish it from the rival one which during the second half of the 17th century took up its abode at the manor,

³³ From John and Catharine Parker was descended John Henry Parker (1806-1884), the Oxford bookseller and publisher and writer on architecture. I am deeply indebted to Miss Doran for information respecting the Parker family and the descent of the Charles I relics.

west of the church, and was known as the 'Parsonage' Perrots.³⁴ In the map prefixed to Robert Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire* (1677) the relative position of the two houses, with the church between, is shown.³⁵ The oldest part of the existing building (PL. XIII, A), which is apparently mostly of more recent date and certainly much smaller than the original house, is the south end (PL. XIII, B), with a gable and massive chimney, which dates from c. 1600;³⁶ unhappily the interior of this is now in a state of sad disrepair. The 'Hill' Perrots continued to live in the house until the death of William Perrot in 1765. Thomas Warton in his *Life of Sir Thomas Pope* (second edition, corrected and enlarged, 1780, p. 367) records that: 'The family of Perrot lived at Northleigh in their antient capital mansion house, till within these few years; but are now extinct, at least in the lineal succession. This estate was lately purchased by the Duke of Marlborough.'³⁷ The house remained Marlborough property until 1920, when it was sold to Mr. Woodward, the present owner.³⁸

This is not the place, even if space permitted, to attempt a full account of the Perrots of Northleigh. But it is greatly to be hoped that, in the near future, someone will undertake the task, either in *Oxoniensia* or in a volume of the publications of the Oxfordshire Record Society, perhaps in connexion with a history of the parish, which latter is an obvious *desideratum*. That being so, it may be worth while to set down briefly the chief sources available.

(1) The Register of Simon Perrot, 1566. Trinity College, Oxford, MS. LXXXIII.

This Register was the property of Simon Perrot (1514-1584), grandfather of Edward Perrot, host of Charles I. Simon acted as agent for Sir Thomas Pope (1507?-1559), founder of Trinity College.³⁹ After Pope's death Perrot became steward in 1559 to Lady Pope, who the following year married Sir Hugh Poulet. The manor of Northleigh,⁴⁰ formerly a possession of Netley Abbey, was granted by Henry VIII in 1544 to Sir Thomas Pope and devolved upon his widow. In 1545 Pope was further granted the rectory and the advowson of the vicarage of Northleigh which had formerly been the

³⁴ In the entry of the burial of William Perrot (1765) in the Northleigh Registers he is described as 'of the Hill'.

³⁵ Not a stone of the 'Parsonage' Perrots' house remains: even when Skelton published his *Antiquities of Oxfordshire* (1823) there was nothing 'but the dove-house, some ruins of a few offices, and walls covered with ivy'.

³⁶ My authority is Mr. P. S. Spokes.

³⁷ George Spencer, fourth Duke of Marlborough (1739-1817). Mrs. Wickham Steed informs me that, in accordance with the policy of the Duke of pulling down manor houses or reducing them to small farm-houses, most of the Perrot house was then pulled down.

³⁸ By the kindness of Mrs. Woodward I have been allowed to inspect the interior.

³⁹ See Warton, *op. cit.*, pp. 183, 345, and 366.

⁴⁰ *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, xix, pt. i, 1035 (152), p. 637.

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property of Hailes Abbey.^{40a} Perrot obtained copyhold lands at Northleigh from Lady Poulet. He was buried in the church of St. Peter in the East, Oxford, where a brass to himself and his first wife may be seen on the north wall of the north aisle. The manuscript, which is invaluable as a record of Perrot property in the second half of the 16th century and which contains, as has already been noted, precious additional territorial and personal information for the 17th century, is inscribed: 'Registrum Simon Parret 1566 Symon Parrett J. Price Jes. Coll: Oxford Qui Dedit Th. Warton E Coll. Trin. Oxon 1771 given by Mr Price to y^e Library of Trinity College Oxon 1812.' Towards the end of the 18th century a group of Oxford scholars became interested in the Perrots through their researches into the lives of Sir Thomas Pope and Anthony Wood. These scholars were Thomas Warton (1728-1790), the historian of English poetry, whose *Life of Pope* has already been quoted; William Huddesford (1732-1772), keeper of the Ashmolean Museum from 1755 until his death; and John Price (1734-1813), Bodley's librarian from 1768 until his death. Warton and Huddesford were both graduates of Trinity; Price migrated there from Jesus College about 1797. Their interest may have been further stimulated by a contemporary connexion of the Perrot family with the college. The sister of Joseph Chapman, president of Trinity from 1776 to 1808, was the wife of Richard Parker, himself a Trinity man, the inheritor, if he survived his mother, of the Charles I relics. That Simon Perrot in particular should have been an object of curiosity to Warton is obvious enough, although he credited him with a closer connexion with Pope than is warranted by the facts.⁴¹ Price, whose concern with the Perrots was of a more personal nature, since he was curate of Northleigh from 1766 to 1773, recognized his friend's superior interest by presenting the Register to Warton. Exactly how Price came by it we do not know, but, as will be seen, the volume had belonged to the last male Perrot, who died the year before

^{40a} *Ibid.*, xx, pt. i, 465 (58), p. 219.

⁴¹ Warton believed that Simon Perrot's first wife, Elizabeth Love, was a niece of Sir Thomas Pope. Her father, Edward Love (died 1557), of Aynho, Northamptonshire, was Pope's receiver in Oxfordshire and other counties. He married as his *second* wife Alice Pope, sister of Sir Thomas, but Elizabeth Perrot was his daughter by his *first* wife, Alice, daughter of John Arden, of Cottisford, Oxfordshire, as is proved conclusively by her age at the time of her marriage in 1550 (as recorded in the Register). A brass (1535) to Edward Love and his first wife is to be seen in Stoke Lyne church, Oxfordshire. It is all the more strange that Warton should have made this mistake, since he describes the brass and gives the Arden arms as such: yet he calls the lady Alice Pope. See Mill Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (1926), p. 421. J. R. Bloxam, in his *Register of St. Mary Magdalen College* (1857), II, 186, goes one better and makes Simon Perrot's mother, Alice Orpewood, a great-niece of Sir Thomas Pope and Simon thus doubly connected with him. But, although Pope's sister Elizabeth married as her second husband John Orpewood, of Chipping Norton, this statement is a flight of fancy, for Alice Perrot (*née* Orpewood) died in 1558 aged about seventy and would thus have been born some twenty years before her supposed great-uncle! Unfortunately Barnwell copied the error and the *D.N.B.* article on Simon's father, Robert Perrot, has perpetuated it by calling Alice 'a niece of Sir Thomas Pope'.

Price took the curacy of Northleigh, and at whose sale Price may possibly have bought it.⁴²

It is in Warton's *Pope* (first edition, 1772, pp. 346-7) that the first reference to the Register occurs. Here he informs us that 'a curious authentic manuscript has lately been communicated to me, containing various evidences and notices of the family of Perrot'. After giving a considerable number of entries, carefully paged (which enables us to be absolutely certain that Trinity College MS. LXXXIII and no other is in question), Warton adds: *MSS. fol. olim Gulielmi Perrot, armig. de Northleigh co. Oxon. Nunc R. V. Johannis Price, Protobibl. Bodl.*, words which show that when he wrote them the manuscript still belonged to Price. But in the second edition (p. 366) they are changed to: *MS. fol. olim Gulielmi Perrot, armig. de Northleigh co. Oxon. Nunc penes me, ex dono R. V. Johannis Price*. On Warton's death the manuscript clearly reverted to Price. It is also mentioned in volume II (pp. 122, note) of *The Lives of the Antiquaries* . . . John Leland, Thomas Hearne, and Anthony Wood, published in 1772. In the production of this work Huddesford had an important share, and he appears to have been assisted in it by both Warton⁴³ and Price.⁴⁴ The manuscript was subsequently used by J. R. Bloxam,⁴⁵ and by Barnwell, who printed copious extracts of genealogical interest.

Another important Perrot document, which has now unhappily disappeared, is that described in a note on p. 121 of volume II of the *Lives of the Antiquaries* as 'a MS now in the possession of the Reverend Mr Price, Sir Thomas Bodley's Librarian, which contains many Particulars relative to the Parish and Church of Northleigh, and to the Perrot Family'. Dr. A. F. Pollard, in the *D.N.B.*, brings the serious charge against Price that, as curate of Northleigh, he 'distinguished himself by appropriating the manuscript book of benefactions'. But it seems to me much more likely that he secured this volume in the way which I have suggested for the other. It is difficult to believe that, had he 'appropriated' it, he would have allowed the fact to be advertised in print. Unfortunately Price did not give this manuscript to Trinity. Instead it was sold among the contents of his library in June, 1814.⁴⁶ Either then or at some subsequent date it became the property of his godson and successor as Bodley's librarian, Bulkeley Bandinel (1781-1861), as we gather from a note on p. 90 of Bliss's edition of the *Life of Wood* published by the Ecclesiastical History Society in 1848. The manuscript does not figure

⁴² Barnwell records that 'the personal effects were sold by auction in September, 1765, and as a catalogue of the sale may illustrate the *menage* of a gentleman in Oxfordshire, of the period, it is given in the Appendix' (*Perrot Notes*, p. 101). It is not, however, printed there.

⁴³ See advertisement to P. Bliss's edition of *Athenae Oxonienses* (1813).

⁴⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine* (1813), II, 401.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, vol. II.

⁴⁶ *Catalogue*, p. 22, no. 662. Northleigh Book of Benefactions.

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in the sale of Bandinel's library, and Andrew Clark, writing in 1892,⁴⁷ was obliged to state of it 'where now deposited I cannot find'. Nor has it turned up since. My efforts to trace it in other sale catalogues have proved unavailing,⁴⁸ but as notebooks of Bandinel have come to light among the Bodleian Library records as recently as 1916, there is still hope.

(2) The Book of Survey of Simon Perrot, 1581. Bodleian Library, MS. Top. Oxon. f. 36 (40,282).

This tiny manuscript volume (only $5\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{7}{8}$ inches) consists of extracts from a copy of a survey of the parish and manor of Northleigh made in 1581 by Simon Perrot.⁴⁹ The chief items contained in it are a survey with the names of landholders in the years 1581 and 1655; a list of copyholders, etc.; and ancient usages and customs. On f. 69 is the following note: 'All these things forewritten I have transcribed out of a Copy of y^e booke of Survey made by Simon Perrott, w^{ch} copy was taken by my Uncle Poole, by y^e appointm^t of my Grandmother in her life tyme; & to y^e Survey I have added y^e names of y^e present owners in the yrs [sic] 1655.' The manuscript is not signed and the Bodleian description suggests no name, but several pieces of internal evidence prove to my entire satisfaction that it was written by Robert Perrot (1623-1698). On f. 70 there is mention of 'my grnd Grandfathers Sim: P. old book of Survey'; Robert was Simon's great-grandson. 'My Uncle Poole' is William Poole, of co. Gloucester, clerk, who married Robert's eldest aunt, Ann Perrot, and to whom 'my grandmother', Mary Perrot, *née* Withington, had evidently turned for help in business matters in the days of her widowhood. The name of Robert, moreover, occurs as that of a tenant in 1655;⁵⁰ the

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, II, 373.

⁴⁸ Nos. 581 and 892 in the Phillipps sales of 19 May, 1897, and 10 June, 1898, respectively consisted of deeds and documents on vellum relating to Northleigh and the Perrots.

⁴⁹ I do not know whether either the original or the copy is extant.

⁵⁰ On the strength of a little note on f. 119 (upside down inside the back cover) 'Mr. Ja. perrotts pears are ar: ye paret in crest collered arg: Information per Sir Ed: Byshe & ye Herald attended him upō ye perusull of ye bookes at ye saē time as their Visitatiō in Oxford abt Mich: 1675,' the Bodleian catalogue ascribes the whole manuscript to about that date. This note is of considerable interest. The correct affiliation of the James Perrot in question is a problem seeking for solution. He was a landholder at Northleigh in 1655 and subsequently bought the manor and rectory from the Holman family who had acquired them from Thomas Pope, second Earl of Downe, great-great-nephew of Sir Thomas Pope. His branch of the family—the 'Parsonage' Perrots—appears to have been held in contempt by the 'Hill' Perrots, a sentiment with which they had infected Wood, who says of Robert Perrot (died 1550) that he was 'ancestor to the Perrots of North-Ley in Oxfordshire, I mean to that family of Perrots (for there are two that live there) who are called *Gentlemen Perrots*' (*Fasti Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss (1813), I, 42). Elsewhere he records (doubtfully) of James Perrot that 'he is reported by the other family of North-lee to be a by-blow from Herefordshire' (MS. F. 4, f. 162). There seems to have been some dispute about the arms which James Perrot was entitled to bear (the pears of the 'Hill' Perrots were *or*), and this production by Robert Perrot of heraldic authority is therefore a valuable piece of information, especially as A. J. Jowers in his *Grants and Certificates of Arms* (1913), p. 213 (quoting Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 14, 293), describes the pears granted to James Perrot by Byshe in 1664 as being *or*.

Northleigh lands were settled on him during the lifetime of his father by a deed of 1653, preserved at Blenheim. Finally, a comparison of the handwriting of the volume with the endorsement on a letter addressed to Robert Perrot by his cousin William Hopkins in 1679 (MS. Top. Oxon. d. 170, f. 75v) and with the heading and last paragraph of the account of the Northleigh charities, which bears Robert's signature among others (MS. Oxon. b. 41, f. 53) shows that in all three cases it is the same hand. Some indication of the descent of the manuscript is provided by the name 'Anna Whitehall' scribbled in a child's hand upside down on f. 108 which contains other scrawls from the same pen. Since Catharine Parker's first husband was Richard Whitehall it is natural to conclude that 'Anna Whitehall' was their little daughter, and thence to deduce that the book was at one time Catharine's property. Inside the cover is the inscription: '[Rev^d] John Price [Jesus College]⁵¹ Trinity College Oxford 1807.' On f. iv we find 'Sir T. Phillipps Middle-hill, 1836.' The manuscript figures as No. 11,300 in the Phillipps Library Catalogue (1837) and as Lot 603 at the Phillipps sale at Sotheby's on 21 June, 1893, where it appears as having been in the collection of Lord Berwick as well as in that of Price. It was presented to the Bodleian Library in the Percy Manning collection in 1917.

(3) A collection of documents which includes several relating to the Perrots and Northleigh. Bodleian Library, MS. Top. Oxon. d. 170 (40,268).

This manuscript volume was formerly in the Bliss, Phillipps, and Manning collections. Its contents include a copy of the grant of arms to Robert Perrot (3 Edward VI).

(4) Perrot Title Deeds, etc., in the Muniment Room at Blenheim Palace.

An uncalendared bundle inscribed: 'Old Title Deeds relating to properties at Northleigh purchased from the Perrots in 1764 and 1766'⁵² contains some documents of importance for Perrot history. The settlement of land on his wife by Robert Perrot in 1653 is particularly interesting as bearing the signatures of both Edward and Elizabeth Perrot. After the death of Lady Poulet in 1593 the manor and rectory of Northleigh devolved upon her husband's nephew William Pope (1573-1631), created Earl of Downe in 1628. His grandson Thomas Pope, second Earl of Downe (1622-1660), gradually disposed of the Northleigh property. Among the documents at Blenheim are a conveyance from the Earl to Edward Perrot of lands there, dated 1650, signed by the former and his brother John; and a lease of certain lands to Perrot, dated 1644, signed by the Earl and bearing a fine seal.

In addition to these sources the Northleigh Registers and the series of

⁵¹ The words in square brackets have been erased.

⁵² By the kindness of Mr. L. G. B. Sacré I have been allowed to examine these deeds.

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Perrot monuments in Northleigh church yield much information.⁵³ Of secondary works Barnwell's *Perrot Notes* (which first appeared in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 3 ser., XI-XII, 1865-7), a study of the various branches of the family frequently quoted in the course of this article, is indispensable. Its value would, however, have been greater had Barnwell been more lavish with his authorities. It is to be feared that the sources of some of his statements would now be difficult to trace. His brief description (p. 98) of Edward Perrot II, elder son of Robert Perrot III, who died in 1729/30, is peculiarly tantalizing. 'Edward Perrot was a non-juror and a staunch royalist, as his father, uncle, and grandfather had been. He is said to have assisted with his purse James II, who in return sent him two miniatures of his son, taken at different periods. The prince himself subsequently sent a third.' Research into the activities of Edward Perrot might throw much light on the early history of the Jacobite movement in Oxfordshire: the discovery of the present ownership of the three royal miniatures would be a welcome addition to the subject of Stuart iconography.

There is, then, no lack of material for a history of the Perrots of Northleigh: it is to be hoped that they will not long lack a competent chronicler.⁵⁴

[For Appendix, see over

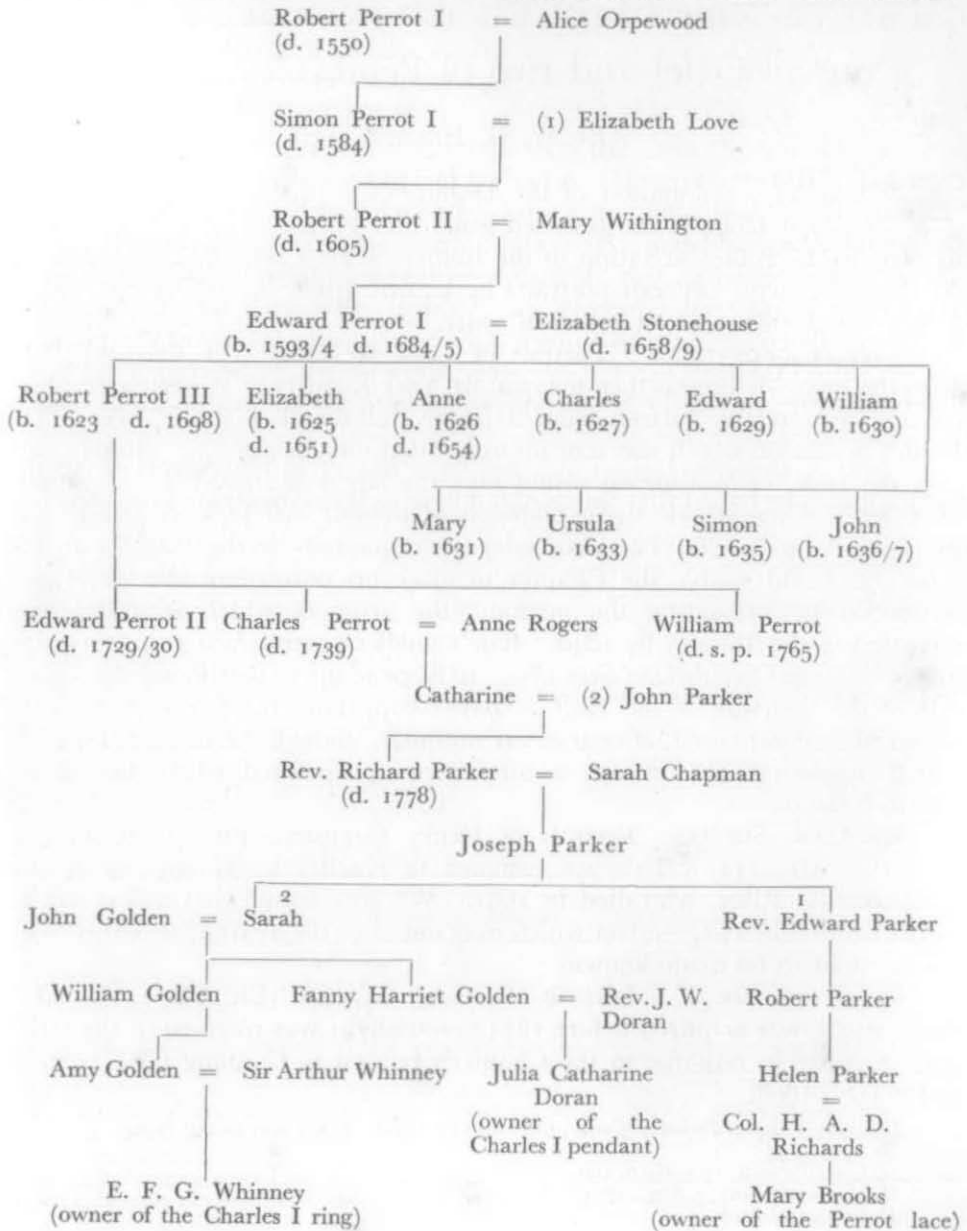
⁵³ The monuments were studied and recorded by both Wood and Rawlinson: the latter also copied extracts from the Registers. The earliest monument to a member of the senior branch of the Northleigh Perrots is that to Simon Perrot in St. Peter's in the East, already mentioned. Unfortunately, the monument to his father Robert Perrot in the same church, had disappeared by Wood's day (*City of Oxford*, ed. A. Clark (1889-1899), III, 181), and the window containing his kneeling effigy recorded by Peshall in his *City of Oxford* (1773), p. 81, is no longer extant.

⁵⁴ In addition to those whose help has been acknowledged in the preceding notes, my especial thanks are due to the following: Mr. E. F. G. Whinney and Miss J. C. Doran for so generously allowing the Charles I relics in their possession to be photographed and here reproduced and for supplying descriptions of them; the President of Trinity College, Oxford, for kind permission to study and make extracts from Simon Perrot's Register; the Vicar of Northleigh for giving me every facility for examining the Registers under his care; the Oxfordshire Architectural Record for taking and allowing me to reproduce the excellent photographs of Perrots Hill Farm and the Perrot monuments; and Mr. P. S. Spokes, Mr. E. A. Greening Lamborn, Mr. H. Minn, and Miss M. I. Gask for invaluable assistance.

MISS M. R. TOYNBEE

APPENDIX

KEY PEDIGREE OF THE PERROTS OF NORTHLEIGH AND THEIR DESCENDANTS





A



B

NORTHLEIGH CHURCH, OXON.

- A. Monument to Robert Perrot, 1605 (p. 134).
- B. Cartouche of arms : Perrot impaling Stonehouse (p. 136).

*Phh. P. S. Spokes, by courtesy of
the National Buildings Record.*

PLATE XII



A



B

A. GOLD RING WITH PORTRAIT OF CHARLES I: B. GOLD HEART-PENDANT
given by Charles I to Elizabeth and Anne, daughters of Edward Perrot of Northleigh in 1644 (p. 138)

Phs. A: A. C. Cooper, Ltd. B: Frank Packer.

PLATE XIII



A



B

PERROTT'S HILL FARM, NORTHLEIGH, OXON.

A. Exterior from the NE.

B. South gable from the SW. (p. 140)

Phh. P. S. Spokes, by courtesy of the National Buildings Record