

A

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE THREE EDITIONS OF
WATSON'S MEMOIRS OF THE ANCIENT
EARLS OF WARREN AND SURREY.

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[Extracted from THE HERALD AND GENEALOGIST.]

1871.

One of the most remarkable genealogical works produced in England during the last century, both for the purpose and intent of its production and the labor and sumptuousness of its execution, is Watson's *History of the Earls of Warren and Surrey*. It is embellished with every illustration, armorial, monumental, and topographical, of which the subject was capable: and further decorated with countless number of ornamental initials and vignettes (generally arabesques of considerable elegance) all impressed from copper plates. The detached engravings, more than fifty in number, are described in the full account which Moule gives of the book in his *Bibliotheca Heraldica*. pp. 441-445; but it is impossible to estimate the cost which must have been expended on so sumptuous a work.

The author, the Rev. John Watson, M.A., F.S.A. had published a *History of Halifax* (4to. 1775) in which (pp. 523-525) he has given minute details of his own biography down to that period. He was born in 1724 at Lyme cum Hanley, in the parish of Prestbury, Cheshire ¹; was elected a Cheshire Fellow of Brazenose 1746; became Perpetual Curate of Ripponden in the parish of Halifax 1754; F.S.A. 1759; Rector of Mouingsby, co. Lincoln, 1766; and Rector of Stockport on the presentation of Sir George Warren, K.B. in 1769. Besides some professional pamphlets, he wrote six antiquarian essays inserted in the *Archeologia*, and also made extensive M.S. collections for the Hundred of Macclesfield (which are further noticed by Ormerod, *Hist. of Cheshire*, iii. 389), and for part of the county of Lancaster. Dr. T.D. Whitaker (who at the close of his *History of Leeds* following his steps at Halifax ²) allows him to have possessed "great antiquarian curiosity, coupled with preserving industry," – "without much either

(1) His name was thus entered in this Register of Manchester School, 1740, Jan. 14, "John Watson, the son of Leigh Watson of Swinton, yeoman," (Manchester School Register, Chetham Soc. 1860, p. 12.)

We have heard that Mr. Legh Watson was a steward, or agent, of the Warrens of Poynton. John Watson was elected a scholar on the foundation of Sarah Duchess of Somerset, and held a Manchester School exhibition in the years 1744-5-6.

(2) Dr. Whitaker's copy of Watson's Halifax, with his M.S. annotations, is now in the possession of Mr. James Crossley, F.S.A. the President of the Chetham Society; who also preserves the velvet cap worn by Watson when at work in his study. We may further here make note that a copy of Wright's *History of Halifax* 1738, with MS. notes by Mr. Watson, is preserved in the valuable Yorkshire library of Edward Hailstone,

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of acuteness or enthusiasm.” “The same criticism (adds Ormerod, *ubi supr.*) may in a great measure be applied to his account of the Warrens, and more particularly to that of the Stokeports included in the same volumes. He will generally be found unskillful in appreciating the relative value of his various MS. materials, and too much encumbered with the mass which he has collected to bring it to bear with effect on the subject of his work; but his diligence in collecting is apparent throughout, and his accuracy in abstracting and transcribing is unquestionable.”

Another notice of Mr. Watson occurs in the autobiographical *Life of Gilbert Wakefield*, who knew him well from being his curate at Stockport and marrying his niece. “He was (it is there said) a very lively, conversant, well-informed man, and one of the hardest students I ever knew. His great excellence was his knowledge of antiquities. *** He was by no means destitute of poetical fancy, had written some good songs, and was possessed of a most copious collection of bon-mots, facetious stories, and humourous compositions of every kind, both in verse and prose, written out with uncommon accuracy and neatness.”

Mr. Watson was instituted to the rectory of Stockport August 2, 1769, on the presentation of Sir. George Warren, K.B. and remained there until his decease. He did not long survive the completion of his “Earls of Warren and Surrey” nor long enough to witness its circulation, as we shall show hereafter. There is a portrait of Mr. Watson as a frontispiece to his book, painted by D. Stringer, and finely engraved by James Basier 1780, and it represents him as a handsome, portly, and dignified divine, in full buz wig and canonicals (three quarters length).¹ There is also an earlier portrait, an etching by W. Williams,² which is the frontispiece to the *History of Halifax*.

esq. F.S.A. of Horton hall, Bradford; and also the portfolio of Watson, containing prints illustrative of Halifax and its neighborhood.

A large folio volume of M.S. Pedigree, chiefly of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire, compiled by Mr. Holland Watson, a son of the historian, was seen some years ago by the present Mr. Canon Raines of Milnroe.

(1) It may have been the contemplation of this portrait which induced Sir. Egerton Brydges in the *Censura Literaria* to speak persistently of the author as Dr. Watson, to which degree he did not attain. The same error is committed by Horsfield in his *History of Lewes*, and as we shall see by others, as Bray and J. C. Brooke.

(2) Williams drew the other plates for Watson's Halifax and etched most of them, “He was originally a strolling player, then commenced painter, draughtsman, &c. and settled in Halifax, where he died; having written *An Essay on Halifax*, a Poem in blank verse, 1761. 4to” Gough's *British Topography*, 1780, ii. 434.

Underneath this are his arms, Argent, on a chevron engrailed azure between three martlets sable three crescents or. On an escutcheon of pretence, Sable, a cross potent or, *Alton*. Crest, On a wreath, a griffin's head erased argent, on the neck two chevrons gules, in the beak a slip of three lilies proper. Mr. Watson married for his first wife (in 1752) Susanna, daughter and heiress of the Rev. Samuel Allon, Vicar of Sandbach in Cheshire;¹ and for his second (1761) Ann, daughter of Mr. James Juques, merchant, of Leeds. He died at Halifax on the 14th of March 1783.

Sir George Warren died suddenly at Tonbridge Wells on the 30th August 1801; and a remarkable notice of him (from the pen of Mr. Gough) then appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxi. p 861. It states that he married first, in 1758, a Miss Revel,² with a fortune

(1) The name of this gentleman, who became Vicar of Sandbach 1733, and was buried there Aug. 26, 1736, is printed. *Allen* in Ormerod, iii. 62, but it is Allon in the History of Halifax, p. 523, and some documents now in the hands of the Rev. Mr. Canon Raines of Milnrow show that such is the true orthography. Those documents relate to an affair of no less importance than Mr. Watson's marriage settlement, and are dated respectively the 29th and 30th May 1752. The first is a lease for a year, signed by *Legh Watson, John Watson, and Susanna Allon*; the second an Indenture tripartite, between -1. Legh Watson of Berristall, co. Cestr. gent. and John Watson of Halifax, clerk, his eldest son and heir apparent; 2. Susanna Allon of Barnsley, spinster; 3. George Legh of Halifax, LL.D., and William Horton of Chadderton, co. Lanc. esq; reciting that a marriage is intended between the said John Watson and Susanna Allon; lands, messuages, tenements, and hereditaments of the said Legh Watson at Little Hulton (bought by him of Ellis Crompton of Great Lever), the tithes, &c. and five closes of land at Swinton, in Worsley, are conveyed by said Legh Watson to Dr. Legh and Horton in trust, and also lands, messuages, tenements situate at Barnsley, Old Barnsley, Worsborough, and Dudsworth in the co. York, in the tenure and occupation of 25 tenants, mentioned by name and two chief rents of 3*d.* and 6*d.* issuing out of two messuages in Barnsley, in the tenure of Sam. Firth and Edw. Depledge, are conveyed by the said Susanna to the said Dr. Legh and Horton in trust; to the use of said John Watson for his life, and afterwards to the use of the said Susanna for her life, in lien of dower, with power of appointment by said John Watson to their or any of their issue. Failing issue, for said Susanna to raise 2,000£ on all the premises conveyed, and to dispose of the same as she pleases within 12 months next after the death of said John Watson. Reciting further, that John Warren of Poynton, co. Cestr. esq. had leased a tenement in Poynton to the said Legh Watson for life of the said Legh, for the life of Esther his wife and Ann his daughter, both of whom are now dead; the same lease is conveyed to the trustees for the benefit of the said John Watson and Susanna Allon for the residue of the term.

(2) Jane daughter and heiress of Thomas Revel, esq. of Fetcham, co. Surrey, buried at Stockport Dec. 26, 1761, leaving an only daughter, Elizabeth Harriott, wife of Thomas James Bulkeley, Viscount Bulkeley in the Kingdom of Ireland, Lord Bulkeley assumed the additional name of Warren in 1802.

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of 200,000£; and secondly, the daughter of Sir Cecil Bisshopp, one of the Maids of Honour to the Queen, from whom, after protracted litigation (some particulars whereof are given), he was separated about 1772; and closes with a statement that his body was carried with great funeral pomp for interment in the family vault at Chester, when "the procession, except those of the royal family, was one of the most costly and attractive that had been seen for several years." Sir George had been made a Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of King George the Third; and he sat in parliament for the borough of Lancaster 1785 – 1796.

We have not ascertained when Mr. Watson was first engaged by Sir George Warren to investigate his ancestral claims, but imagine that it was at some time not very far removed from Watson's first settling into residence at Stockport. When the *History of Halifax* was published in 1775, this announcement was made at p. 525 of that work at the close of his autobiography:

--he has in manuscript, ready for the press, An History of the Ancient Earls of Warren and Surrey, proving the Warrens of Poynton in Cheshire to be lineally and legally descended from them.

And it was immediately after that the first addition was printed, bearing the following title: --

The History of the Ancient Earls of Warren and Surrey and their Descendants to the Present Time. By the Rev. John Watson, M.A.F.A.M. and Rector of Stockport, in Cheshire. His name shall live from generation to generation. Ecclus. XXXIX. 9. *Warrington: printed by William Eyres. MDCCLXXVI.*

It is printed in quarto, the pages of letter-press being of small dimensions, - in which the edition of 1782 but slightly exceeds it, and without any engravings, either as plates or vignettes. The title and dedication from vi. pages, the text 427.

It is stated by Moule, and repeated by Martin¹ in his *Bibliographical Catalogue of Privately Printed Books* (second edit. 1851) and again by Lowndes, that "only six copies of this impression were issued, for the purpose of obtaining information and corrections:" and we may assume that this statement was founded upon that of Gilbert Wakefield (in his *Autobiography* already mentioned), "Not more than six copies,

(1) Martin adds, "The work was subsequently *published* in 1782;" in accordance with which idea he omits any description of the edition of 1782: but the work, as we shall see, was never actually published, in the ordinary sense of that term, nor even circulated gratuitously until some years after 1782.

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I think, of this work were printed," the last having probably heard that number from Mr. Watson himself. Such we may take to have been the fact; but the number has been sometimes misapplied to the completed work.

However, only one copy of this impression is known to be preserved, which is now in the library of the Royal Institution in Albemarle Street. It was noticed by Sir Egerton Brydges in the *Censura Literaria* (1805) i. 356, and there stated to have belonged to Mr. Astle,¹ "with the MS. notes of the compiler." The MS. notes are not in the hand of "the compiler," or author, if such was the impression of Brydges, but in that of Mr. Richard Barnes, a lawyer, of Reigate,² one of the gentleman to whom the book was submitted for correction, but, as they occur throughout the volume, it is not surprising that Sir Egerton fell into this misapprehension. It has also certainly passed through the hands of Mr. Bray, the Historian of Surrey, whose autograph we recognise in the following memorandum pasted to the first fly-leaf:

This book seems to have been circulated for corrections and additions. It received them in abundance, and in 1782 was printed in Warrington in 2 vols. 4to. The first containing 304 pp. the 2nd 245 besides Indexes, and a great number of plates of castles &c. and seals, and very many elegant vignettes, and arms in the margins. Sir Geo. Warren got it compiled to prove his right to the Title of Earl Warren, but unfortunately for Dr. Watson the compiler, it did not prove enough; at least Sir Geo. did not get the Title (*The rest cut off*)

(Mr. Bray, like others, makes the mistake of terming the author Dr. Watson.)

- (1) Mr. Astle had assisted in the work from the first. Contributions by him are acknowledged in 1776 at p. 113, 218 (the charter afterwards engraved at p. 293 of the edition of 1782), 275, and perhaps other places.

When the library of the Royal Institution was formed the Managers "procured the entire collection of the late Thomas Astle, Esq. author of *The Origin and Progress of Writing*: which Library was chiefly collected by the Rev. Philip Morant, author of the *History of the County of Essex*. Many of the Books are enriched with his [Mr. Astle's] manuscript notes, particularly those relating to Biography." Preface to the Library Catalogue, by William Harris, Keeper of the Library. 1809.

- (2) The site of Reigate castle was the property of Lord Sommers, "but in the occupation of *Mr. Richard Barnes*, a respectable attorney at law of this place, by whose singular attention to this venerable monument of antiquity the few traces that remain of its pristine grandeur and importance are likely to be preserved to posterity." *History of Surrey*, by Manning and Bray, i. 294; where also is printed a Latin inscription written by Mr. Barnes in 1777, and erected on the gateway of Reigate castle after its repair at his own expense. Mr. Barnes's name is still remembered at Reigate, in conjunction with that of his partner Mr. Glover, who also became a devoted antiquary.

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And on p. 239 Mr. Bray¹ has left this marginal note:

Such grant as far as respects the Castle and town of Reygate, the Manors of Dorking and Becheworth, is stated in an Inquis. post mortem 21 E. 3. Close Rolls, no 58. W. BRAY.

It may be interesting to point out some entire passages contributed by Mr. Barnes, which are by no means unimportant. The following are references to them in the edition of 1782:-

- P. 3, the six lines commencing "Ordericue Vitalis," &c.
- P. 4, the ten lines commencing "This Werina," &c.
- P. 14, the note "In an anonymous MS." &c.
- P. 37, the note "This cartulary of Lewes Abbey," &c.
- P. 39, commencing "In Domesday book (*lin. penult.*) the whole of the next page, and to the middle of p. 41.
- P. 43, "The present remains, &c. eleven lines, and many other alterations of the description of Lewes Priory.
- P. 60, The minute account of the removal of the gravestone of Gundrada from Isfield church to the vestry pew of St. John's church at Lewes on the 2d October 1775, at the expense of William Burrell, esq. LL.D. and F.S.A. by whom it had been discovered at Isfield a few years before. Mr. Barnes, it may be remarked, writes the name correctly, Burrell, but in all the editions of the book it is printed Burrel not so, however, in the acknowledgments, vol. ii. P. 245)
- P. 196, the seven lines commencing "It was perhaps," &c.
- P. 201, the six lines "The robe however," &c.
- P. 271, "In 1290 we find him engaged," &c. (19 lines)
- P. 291, "In the said Monasticon, "&c. (13 lines) (Mr. Bray has here made this *mem.* "This is printed in the foll. page 269." &c. *i.e.* of the edition of 1776; and by the like oversight we find the same repeated at p. 56 of vol. ii. in the edition of 1782.)
- P. 295. The charter here engraved from the original "in the hands of Richard Barnes of Reigate, Esq. "is transcribed by Mr. Barnes in the margin of p. 219 of the impression of 1776.
- Vol. ii. P. 74, -"except in two citations which do not affect the main argument of this work," - referring to existence of the title of Earl Warren after the death of Earl John in 1347.
- P. 92 "To the name of Hanteyns I find Gules three bendlets or."

Mr. Barnes writes "Hanteyns" for Hauteyn, as it was misprinted in the first edition, and the edition of 1782 it is printed (in this sentence) Hanteyns, but the name is really Hauteyn. In the margin of p. 301 (first edition) Mr. Barnes has written the following remark:-

"But tho' Maud daughter of Richard de Skegeton might assume the name of erford from the place where she dwelt, she would not be entitled to bear the

(1) There are other marginal notes by Bray in pp. 228, 243, and the last leaves are mended with a slip of paper directed to the "Rev. Mr. Manning."

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arms of Nerford, which was a different family from her own, and therefore it must be deemed an oversight in those who have attributed to her the lion rampant ermine.”

This remark was *not* adopted by Watson, though he labours to show that there were *two* Mauds de Nerford: a point which will be noticed at the close of this article.

We give one more passage from Mr. Barnes's MS. notes, as it occurs at p. 140 of the edition of 1776: -

A change in the handwriting of Baron Thurland, at a court held by him for the Countess of Peterborough, Lady of the manor of Reigate, mentions that in the time of King Hen. 3rd there came into England certain Friars of the Holy Cross (a new order), who were for a long time prevented from settling by the other old orders, till at length by the power of Earl Warren, then Lord of the manor of Reigate, they were there first planted, and at Guildford. It was he who first endowed them, giving them parcel of the demesnes of his manor, first for the place of their habitation and afterwards for their support. In the margin of this charge it is said that the manor of Southwicke near Shoreham in Sussex was held of the manor of this priory, and the charge refers to a record of 18 Hen. 6, showing that the Lords of the manor of Reigate (the owners of the castle) had the right of patronage, or the advowson of the house or priory of Reigate, which was nothing more than the election of the Prior. William earl Warren granted them estovers, and timber for the repair of the buildings of the Hospital. It was called *Hospitale Sanctoe Crucis*.

In the edition of 1782 these particulars occupy two pages (202-4), being more fully stated from Baron Thurland's charge, and accompanied by a view of Reigate Priory, “from a drawing in the possession of Richard Barnes of Reigate, Esq.”

The leading passages of the Introductory Dedication of 1776 will also be perused with interest: -

To Sir GEORGE WARREN Knight of the Bath. – Sir, I have the honor to present you with the following account of a once noble, and very distinguished family, from which it appears that you are the next lawful male descendant. The work itself is the result of an enquiry which you desired me to make, whether there was any foundation for the tradition that your family had a right to a peerage. How far these observations may answer your end in this respect I cannot say; I have put them in the strongest and fairest light I could; they are now before the public, and must stand or fall by their decision. So far, I think, is certain, that the stain of bastardy, which several records in the Herald's Office, and assertions from thence in printed authors, have fixed on the chief ancestor of your family, is effectually removed; and this, I apprehend, has hitherto been looked upon as the great bar to your claim. As that opinion has been almost universally received, it became the more necessary to make the confutation of it public. You will find a good deal more said than was necessary to effect this end, but I was willing that an example should be set to all the nobility and great men in England, in a case which has been too much neglected, the collecting together such memoirs as would give a regular account of their respective families. This would procure us a more perfect Baronage than we are at present possessed of, and would greatly contribute to improve the history of our country.

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Having given this account of the only known copy of the First Edition of the History of the Earls of Warren and Surrey, we have now to describe a unique copy of the Second Edition, for we think it very improbable that any second copy of this should now be in existence. Neither Moule, nor Lowndes, nor any other bibliographer, has been aware of the remarkable fact, which we have lately ascertained, that this work was printed not only twice, but three times. Besides the first impression in one volume 1776, and that in two volumes 1782, which is generally seen, there was an intervening edition in 1779.

In one of the series of letters from John Charles Brooke, Somerset Herald, to Mr. Gough, printed in the VIth volume of Nichols's *Literary Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, there is the following passage, dated *Herald's College*, May 30, 1780: -

Dr. Watson, of Stockport called upon me this morning; he has brought the Warren book up with him, having had *about a dozen copies* printed to distribute about among the genealogical literati, that they may make notes on it, and then *it is to be reprinted, a third time*. He desires I will ask your permission to have one sent to you, that the type, manner, vignettes, &c. may receive your approbation, as I told him you was well-skilled in these matters, and pleased to give an answer on this head; it will be a good introduction to your having a copy of this pompous book when printed. He talks of having several more plates engraved for it.

This passage shows that "about a dozen copies" were printed of the Second Edition, and there seems to be a tradition that the actual number was fifteen, though that tradition has in ignorance been misapplied to the editions of 1782. This we gather from Brunet,¹ and from an earlier French bibliographer, Peignot.²

It is in the library of Evelyn Phillip Shirley, esq., at Lower Eatington Park, Warwickshire, that we have recently been permitted to examine a copy of the Second Edition of 1779. It was the same that was submitted, as a proof for correction, to the perusal of Mr. Gough; of Lord de Ferrars (afterwards Earl of Leicester 1784, and Marquess Townshend 1807, and for many years President of the Society of Antiquaries); and of Sir Henry Charles Englefield, Bart., (who succeeded the Marquess as Pres. S. A. after having been for many years V.P.) It contains marginal remarks in the handwriting of all those

(1) "On a dit et repete, bien faussement, quil n en avait ete tire que 15 exemplaires, Ce qui a donne lieu a cette supposition e'est qu' effectivement il exist une premie're edition de cette genealogie, 1776, dont il n'y a eu que 6 exemplaires tires et distribues, pour obtenir de nouveaux enseignements st des corrections qui ont ete employes dans l'edition de 1782." *Mannel de Libraire*, 1864, col. 1422.

(2) See the extract from Peignot hereafter, p. 18.

eminent antiquaries; and others in the autograph of John Charles Brooke, Somerset Herald, upon whose professional aid the author evidently mainly relied; in that of John Elliot, esq., F.S.A., of the Middle Temple; and in that of Mr. Watson himself. These corrections we find on comparison are generally made in the edition of 1782; and we have convinced ourselves that the work was then reprinted throughout, and not merely amended by cancelled leaves, for the pages do not correspond so exactly as they would have done in that case. Nor is it possible that the country printer in Lancashire could have kept his types standing. The edition of 1779 and that of 1782 must each have gone through the same course *ab initio usque ad finem*.

What some of the most remarkable of the alterations made upon the print of 1779 were, Mr. Shirley's copy shows. More may possibly have been introduced from other sources; if so, we have not proceeded to look for them. But we will now specify the most interesting of the marginal annotations by the writers we have named, and show how far they were adopted.

The MS. emendations commence in the Dedication, in the hand writing of J.C. Brooke. In the second edition Sir George Warren had been assured—

From these Earls it is clearly proved, that you are well descended—

Brooke proposed to alter the word “well” to “legitimately” (*so written*), but this alteration was not made.

Other alterations, which are also in Brooke's hand, were however introduced, as in the following passage:--

This Gordian knot however is at last untied, and the *great* stain upon your family removed. Your claim to a peerage is now laid open, and appears to be founded *on the strict rules of the feudal system, from which so many titles in England have originated.*

To show this, &c.

A pen is here drawn through the words now printed in italic; the word “supposed” is substituted for *great*; the words “so justly” are inserted before “founded”, and the sentence made to conclude thus—“so justly founded that you need not despair of success in a country where claims less clear than yours have been admitted.

“To show the nature of this claim,” &c.

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It was, it may here be remarked *en passant*, most assuredly not “on the strict rules of the feudal system” that Sir George Warren’s claim was founded, but rather upon the much more modern idea of an entail to heirs male.

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The Dedicated in 1779 ended with the Latin quotation, *Nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus*. For this was substituted in 1782

.....Perit omnis in illo
Nobilitas, cujus laus est in origine sola.

In Brooke’s hand, at the head of the first page, is written—

In this book and the 2nd Volume are MSS. notes by Geo. Lord de Ferrars, Sir Henry Charles Englefield, bart., Richard Gough of Enfield Esq. Director of the Society of Antiquaries, and Jno. Charles Brooke, Somerset Herald.

In a letter from Mr. Gough to Mr. Brooke 27 Dec. 1780, he says, he is concerned to see *Monast. Collect. Antiq.* and such half-words in so well printed and well written a work,— and he thinks cheque should every where he substituted to checky.

(*J. C. Brooks wrighting.*
M. Gregson.)

To the second of these Notes was annexed the memorandum (here copied) by the illiterate editor of the *Fragments of Lancashire*, in whose hands (it appears from p. 5). The book was in the year 1818.

In the margin of p. 5 is this note in the handwriting of Mr. Gough, on “the country of Calais, or Caux:”

---rather the county of the Caletes, now the Pais du Caux in Normandy. Valesii Not. Gal. 237. Le Febure Hist. de la ville de Calais, I. 20. (Mr. Rich. Gough—*autography*—by *comparison*, *M. Gregson 1818*)

Another, from the same hand, is in the next page. The text stood:

As a farther proof, we meet with *Willielmus comes de Warrenna*, amongst the tenants in capite in Domesday book, under Oxenefordscire.

Not (remarks Mr. Gough) in the *Original*: for there he is called *Wm de Warene* and the last article in that Co. is *Terra Will'i comitis*, but no title specified; whereas in [Yorkshire inserted by Brooke,] Sussex, Bucks, Cambridgesh. Huntint, and Bedfordshire Domesday he is styled simply *Ws de Warren*. It may be observed however here once for all yt all who bore titles of earldoms in England at yt time took them from places on the Continent.

At p. 10 are marginal notes by Mr. Gough and Sir Henry Englefield on a well-known vulgar error, which has not yet been eradicated from the fancies of popular archaeology. In the text of 1779 was this passage—

Godfrey Bosville, Esq. of Gunthwaite in Yorkshire, has a MS. account of this family, which contains this anecdote (but from what authority I Know not), that a monopoly was once granted to the earl of Warren of ale and beer; and whoever kept a public house was obligated to take a license from him, and

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set up his arms over the door. Hence a checker came to mark an ale-house, as a bunch of grapes does a tavern. A writer in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. i. p. 50, thinks that this sign showed that the game now called Draughts might be played at within. The sign of the Checkers was found in one of the streets of the late discovered subterraneous town of Pompeii where shops are supposed to have been. (*Archæologia*, vol. iv. p. 170)

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Upon which Mr. Gough remarks,

This would be decisive against any reference to the Warren arms; tho it does not follow yt the house in Pompeii was a *drinking or gaming house*.

The following observations are also from the same hand:

This wants confirmation. Q. if the Cheque of Taverns being now *Red* and White did not rather imply the colour of their wines than any reference to the earls of W. Q. too if Monopolies were of so early dates, especially of the staple liquor of England.

And on the word "Draughts" in p. 11 :

He might have added other games played with men or dice. *Scucearium* is a *Chessboard*, and the Exchequer is supposed to have had its name from a chequered pavement. See Du Cange in *voe*.

Upon which Sir Henry Englefield remarks with greater accuracy:

The Cheeked Cloth with which the table of the Court of Exchequer is covered was originally designed and is to this day used for settling accounts on, which counters placed on the squares. In Flanders the Chequers is the sign of a Goldsmith's shop only. ¹—HENRY C. ENGLEFIELD.

In the edition of 1782 (p. 12) the preceding remarks by Mr. Gough are worked up into an additional paragraph: but those of Sir Henry C. Englefield, which point to the more probable conclusion that "Chequers" were public houses at which workman were paid their wages, ² are not introduced.

At p. 16 is a vignette of what the author designates as the Crest of Mortimer, introduced because Warren had the like, differing only in color; but which is really the crest-coronet with a plume of feathers—now more correctly known as a *panache*, and which was not a family or armorial crest, but one worn, as a helmet might be, by knights indifferently, --though it has been in modern times adopted as the hereditary crest of many families. ³ J.C. Brooke has here written— and the same crest appears in drawings of various ancient seals of the Mortimers earls of March in the *Aspilogia* of Mr. Brooke, Somerset Herald.

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Mr. Brooke's *Aspilogia* is now in the College of Arms, among the other books of his collection. It is a portfolio in two volumes, containing copies of most of the engravings of Seals which had appeared in England before his time, and among them are those of the book we are now considering, several of which are accompanied by his own drawings from which they were copied.

In p. 17 Lord de Ferrars has left the following very sensible remarks, which, though they echo the opinions of Dugdale and others

- (1) Evidently because goldsmiths were also bankers and moneychangers. J.G.N.
(2) See our vol. iv. p. 510. (3) See our vol. ii. p. 56.

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of our best armorists, ¹ have never sufficiently influenced the practice of our official heralds in England—

A collateral branch of the family of Mortimer (I believe that of Chelmersh) bore the same coat already described, only changing the colors of the shield from Or and Azure to Or and Gules. This way of marking the distinction in coats of arms between different branches of the same family, as antiently practiced, seems much preferable to the present mode, by labels, crescents, mullets, annulets, &c., which marks of difference are usually so small in the shield, that they are scarce perceived, and sometimes liable to confusion; whereas the antient method of differencing by varying colors, or adding bends, borders, chiefs, &c. was much more conspicuous and remarkable, and capable of infinite variety, as appears from the example Dugdale has given us, in his preface to his *Usage of bearing Arms*, of no less than twelve or more branches of the spreading family of Basset, all bearing the same coat of arms, with some remarkable distinction from that of the chief stock and from each other.

DE F.

Page 18. Another note from the same hand:

In the course of these *Memoirs* the Earls of this family are in some places called Earls of Warren, and in others Earls Warren, the former a local title, the later nominal. Qu. would it not be right to stile them throughout either Earls of Warren, or Earls Warren?

Upon this we shall find something further hereafter.

In J. C. Brooke's hand (p. 19): --

Vide *History of the Tenants in Cupite mentioned in Domsday book*, MSS. compiled by Mr. J. C. Brooke, *Sumerset Herald*, where various authentic instances are given of Anglo Saxon, &c. who were not deprived of their property at the Conquest; and a remarkable one quoted from that work in Dr. Nash's *History of Worscestshire*, under the manor of Clifton upon Teme, vol. i. p. 239.

Brooke's compilation is there quoted as No. 71 of his library of MSS.

P. 74. In Mr. Gough's hand—

q' if Chapter house is not here put for the convent.
q' the authority.

WATSON'S EARLS OF WARREN AND SURRY.

Answered by John Elliot, Esq. F.S.A., thus—

the authority is as follows, p. 9: Lewes Regr Norum sit pr sentibus et futuris q'd ego Will'us de Warebba Com. Surreyie cum p'um [an abbreviation for primum. J.E.] post mortem patris mei Will'in Augham venti apud monastrium Sei *Pane'ij ia Cap'lo fe'm DS'o ibi servieneium cum hominibg meis residens om's donacones quas id' pat' meus et mat' mea Gundrada, &c. &c.*

By which abbreviations I understand are meant the words in *Capitulo fratrant*, as they can apply to no other sense or meaning.

J.E.

The reading was right, but the meaning had been misunderstood in the text, in the words “lodged with his retinue, in the chapter house at Lewes.”

(1) See our vol. ii. pp. 11 A seq.

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The Earl lodged in the *monasterium*, but confirmed the grants of his parents in *capitulo*, in a charter of the assembled brethren. In the edition of 1782, p. 80, Mr. Elliot's extract is given as a note, but the text remains unamended.

At p. 91 is another note by the same writer, at the words *Hec omnia, &c.*

Here ends the recital and confirmation of the Grants by the 1st Wm de Warene and his freeholders to Lewes Priory. The residue is recital of all that was given by the 2nd Wm de Warene and his freeholders, making together a noble foundation, which was not a little enlarged by the subsequent Earls. J.E.

P. 178 Lord de Ferrars ask, --

Qu. why is there not a plate in this book exhibiting the remains of Pevensey Castle, which once appertained to the Earls of Warren, and of which there does yet remain much more considerable ruins than of Lewes Priory and several other places of antiquity, whereof the views are given in this book?

Mr. Watson replies “It is engraved;” and the plate appears at p. 231 of the edition of 1782.

P. 211., Grey of Shropshire, who bore Gules, *a lion rampant argent within a bordure ingrailed of the second.*

Surely the christian name and place of residence of this Grey of Shropshire might be easily found; for from the coat he bore described in the next line (which is the same as the Greys lords Powis) he must have been of that family, which having been so eminent in that country the christian name of this Grey might, I should think, easily be got at.

DE F.

Upon this Sir Henry Englefield remarks:--

N.B. tho' the Greys were very spreading family, yet no branch of them bore the coat described in the text, or anything like it, except the Greys of Wark, Heton, &c. in Northumberland. The families of Greys of Wilton, Ruthin, Groby, Rutherford, &c. all bearing barre' A. and bl. with due differences. The

WATSON'S EARLS OF WARREN AND SURRY.

Greys of Northumberland alone bore the coat described in the text, a branch of which settled in Shropshire after the marriage with the dau. and coh. of John Cherlton lord Powis, which title they came to inherit afterwards, and no doubt this....Grey of Shropshire (if it can be proved he bore the arms described above) was a cadet of that family; as well probably appear from the Pedigree of the Greys, Lords Powis.

This suggestion did not lead to the identification of the father of Hawise Grey, wife of Richard Warren (see the Third Edition, p. 219). In more than one place Lord de Ferrars asserts the true designation of his own ancestors, as in p. 188 (altering the orthography from Ferrers to Ferrars):

for William de Ferrars read William Earl of Ferrars and Derby, for he was as much intitled to the dignity of Earl of those places as Earl Warren was to the Earldoms of Warren and Surrey.
DE F.

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And again in p. 230 he has placed these two marginal notes:

The name of this family has been variously written, as well as that of Warren, and almost every other family of great antiquity; in Latin deeds it is usually de Farrariis, in English de Ferrars or Ferrers, and in France the same family flourished a long while, being called de Ferrieres; but no doubt the proper spelling is de Ferrars, it being the original way of writing the name of this Family, and that which is followed by the present Ld de Ferrars.¹

To write more properly of this person, say the Earl of Ferrars and of Derby, for this family retained the title of Ferrars, which was foreign, after their advancement to the Earldom of Derby in England, as the Earls of Surrey did their more ancient Earldom of Warren.

Upon this assertion of the noble commentator, and his previous note transcribed from page 18, as well as Mr. Gough's remark about the Earls in Domesday Book taking their "*titles* from places on the continent," we feel constrained to say, in the cause of truth, that Ferrars was not a "title" at all, but a surname; it was a foreign dignity. When the Earls of Surrey or Derby were designated as Warren or Ferrars they were merely designated by their personal names instead of the names of their counties.

P. 197. Reigate Priory, note by Mr. Gough:

It was purchased by Hump. Parsons, esq. Lord Mayor of London, who made some additions to it. After the death of his wife he sold to Mr. Ireland, who pulled down the greatest part and sold it piecemeal.

In Vol. II. p. 2, on a note referring to "Antiq. Repertory, vol. ii p. 154," for the Siege of Carlaverock,

Mr. Gough is of the opinion that it is *below the dignity* of this book to quote the *Antiquarian Repertory* in any instance.

This opinion is not in the handwriting of Mr. Gough himself, but of Mr. Brooke.² But the suggestion was deferred to: and the note omitted from edition of 1782.

WATSON'S EARLS OF WARREN AND SURRY.

- (1) The dignity possessed at this by the writer was the old Barony of Ferrers of Chartly, which he had inherited in 1770 on the death of his mother Charlotte Viscountess Townshend, who had derived it by descent from Compton, Shirley, Deverus, and Ferrers. See Nicolas's *Historic Peerage*, edit. Courthope, p. 187.
- (2) The *Antiquarian Repertory* was started in 1775, and continued in Parts to 1786, by R. Godfrey, an unscrupulous bookseller, who was very indeterminate in the materials he accepted, and careless in his editorship; and many of his engravings were vile copies or still more wretched originals. This disgusted Gough, Pennant, Michael Tyson, and other earnest antiquaries; but some articles of real value redeemed the book, and it came to a second edition in 1807-9 in 4 vols.4to. Among the contributors were Astle and Grose, and Grose had the credit of being editor; but this Grose denies in a letter to George Allan of Darlington, Feb. 4, 1776: "The *Antiquarian Repertory* goes on. You was misinformed as to my conducting it. I have given a number of drawings to Mr. Godfrey, as I would to anybody else that wanted them, and gave him pieces to help him on." (Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, viii.695; see also pp. 659, 660, 732, 733 of the same volume.) Mr. Gough gave his opinion of the *Antiquarian Repertory* in the review of the Gentleman's Magazine 1777, p. 644, but did not condescend to notice the work again.

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At p. 201 was this passage:

The Rev. Dr. Gower, who is expected to honor the county of Chester with a compleat account of its antiquities, &c. in the sketch of his materials for his work (p. 21), has this note, &c.

Mr. Cough altered this to "The late Rev. Dr. Gower, who was expected to have honored the county, &c. had he lived and met with sufficient encouragement," &c.

This correction was attended to, but the last line *not* inserted. Dr. Gower died in the year 1780, and full particulars of his Collections and their fate will be found in the Preface to Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, pp. xi. *et seq.*

The alterations in the concluding paragraph of the work will be best shown by quoting the edition of 1782.

It is excusable therefore, if I express the happiness I feel from having it in my power to number among the friends to this work, George lord de Ferrars. William Burrell, Esq. LL.D. F.S.A. Richard Gough of England, Esq., Director of the Society of Antiquaries. John Elliot of the Inner Temple, Esq. F.S.A. Thomas Astle of Battersea-Rise, Esq., F.R. and S.A. Isaac Heard and Ralph Bigland, Esqrs., of the Heralds' College. John Charles Brooke, Esq., Somerset Herald, F.S.A. Joseph Edmondson, Esq., Mowbray Herald extraordinary, F.S.A. Sir Henry Charles Inglefield, Bart. Rev. Samuel Pegge, of Whittington, F.S.A. and Richard Barns of Reigate, Esq., with other correspondents, whose names are noticed along with their communications.

Of these names, those of Lord de Ferrars, Gough, Heard, Bigland, Edmondson, and Inglefield, (*misprinted* Inglefield,) are insertions which did not appear in the former impression. We imagine that Mr. Elliot and possibly Mr. Barns had been material contributors to the work in the first instance.

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Throughout both volumes the remarks and additions made in the copy now examined appear to be faithfully employed for the edition of 1782, the work being wholly reprinted for that purpose, and the first volume extended from 294 to 304, the second from 233 to 245 pages. The greater part of the additional matter is derived from the collections of J.C. Brooke, who had been very industrious in forming them, particularly for Yorkshire and the North of England, and who had evidently materially contributed to the original formation of

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Mr. Watson's book.¹ -Here and there additions are made by the author's own hand; one of which, beginning "I have the following extract," &c. (at p. 103 of vol. ii.) is printed in p. 105 of the later edition. Another is the rewriting of a passage in vol. i. 259, which Lord de Ferrars had considered too mild a censure on so atrocious a crime as is laid to the charge of John Earl Warren, that of making away with two Welch princes of whom he was guardian; and upon which matter Mr. Shirley's book contains some further comments in the autograph of Sir Henry Englefield. In one instance (vol. ii. p. 107) Lord de Ferrars detected that a wrong coat had been engraved for the name of Longford, and the vignette was corrected accordingly.

We have met with nothing to afford us an intimation to what extent this memorable work was circulated during the life-time of Sir George Warren, K.B. of Poynton, at whose expense it had been produced. It has been shown that its title-pages bear the date 1782, and that its author died in the following year: but there is another remarkable point about the book that proves it was not actually completed for some time longer. Nearly all the plates have this publication line--- a condition that was then required under legal penalties,

Published as the Act directs on the 20th August 1785.

So that it is not probable that many perfect copies, if any, were distributed before that date.

Sir George Warren, in his will dated in 1782 and proved in the prerogative court of Canterbury after his death in 1801, bequeathed the work, under the words "all my Books, MSS, and Papers relating to the History of the Earls of Warren" to his distant cousin (as he supposes) Sir John Borlase Warren, K.B.

+According to Mr. Watson's genealogies, Sir George and Sir John Borlase Warren were descended from a common ancestor who lived three

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centuries before their time, and died in the 23rd Hen. VII. There are, however, very reasonable grounds for believing that the Warrens of Stapleford, co. Nottingham, of which Sir John Borlase Warren was the representative, were not at all descended from the ancient family of Warren.²

- (1) Mark Noble, who had known Brooke personally and intimately, directly associates him with Watson, as having been "employed" upon the work by Sir George Warren. *History of the College of Arms*, p. 433.
- (2) They were descended from Sir Arnold Waring, who was Knighted 4 March, 1632-3. He was son of William Waring, buried at Thorpe Arnold in Leicestershire in 1592, the son of another William Waring, buried there in 1584, who was nephew of William Waring, merchant of the staple of Calais, whose inquest. p.m. is mentioned in Thoroton's Nottinghamshire, under Costock, folio edit. p. 29. In his will, sealed with a merchant's mark and proved in 1542, he states that he was born at Tanworth, and mentions his cousin William Waring of Bery Hall in the parish of Solihull, co. Warwick. The Warrings of Tanworth in Warwickshire bore, Azure, a chevron between three lions passant or; but there is no record of any arms in the Stapleford family until those of Warren of Poynton were used to release dated 1676 by Arthur Warren, son of Sir Arnold and father of the Arthur Warren who married Anne, sister and coheir of Sir John Borlase of Little Marlow, Bart., and was great grandfather of Sir John Borlase Warren. The arms used at the funeral of this Arthur in 1696 were, Checquy or and azure within a bordure sable, and over all the canton of Neirford. No arms were however recognised to the family till 1802, when they were established to Sir John Borlase Warren and the descendants of his father John Borlase Warren, Esq. Playfair, in his *Baronage*, (*British Family Antiquity*, vol. vii. App. p. exxxviii.) gives the Nottinghamshire descent of the Warrings, but not correctly, altering the name to Warren, and attaching them to be the ancient Warrens in the conjectural way suggested in Mr. Watson's book.

Sir John Borlase Warren left an only daughter, the wife of George Charles Sedley, who in 1813, together with his father (on the latter succeeding to the title and estates of Vernon), assumed the names of Venables-Vernon, of which the latter name was his patronymic. In 1829 he succeeded his father as fourth Lord Vernon, and died in 1835. His wife in 1826 had assumed the name of Warren only; and after her death in 1837 her only son George John the 5th Baron Vernon assumed for himself but not for his issue the name and arms of Warren only, both of them so doing in compliance with the will of Lady Bulkeley, the heiress of Sir George Warren of Poynton, K.B. (see the previous note in p.195), she having died without issue. Thus the presumed relationship of the families was recognised. His eldest son present Lord Vernon bears the names of Venables-Vernon, without that of Warren; while the second and youngest son, having succeeded to the estates of his great-grandfather the said Sir J. B. Warren of Stapleford, Notts, and at Stratton Audley, Oxon, (which last was formerly the estate of the Borlase family,) took, in compliance with his will, the names of "Borlase Warren," before those of Venables-Vernon," by royal license dated 4 Jan. 1856.

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However that may be, the Stapleford family was not destined long to survive that of Poynton. Sir John Borlase Warren had been created a Baronet in 1775, but he had no surviving heir, for his only son was slain at the landing in Egypt in 1801.

It was, we presume, after the death of Sir John Borlase Warren in 1822 that the remaining copies of the *History of the Earls of Warren and*

Surrey were brought to a public sale, as thus stated in H. Bohn's edition (1864) of Lowndes's *Bibliographer's Manual*:

The greater part of this expensively got up book was sold off by auction nearly fifty years ago, and most of the copies were imperfect, wanting especially the folding plate of Earl Warren drawing his sword before the Commissioners of Edward I. and the folding view of Poynton Lodge, Cheshire.

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We have not, however, found in the several copies we have lately examined, that these plates are deficient. The view of Poynton Lodge, if not placed as a frontpiece to the second volume (as specified by Moule) will often occur, together with the smaller oval print of the same mansion, further on in the volume. The plate of Earl Warren asserting his tenure by right of his sword we have always found in its place (at p. 249 of the first volume), though destitute of all inscriptions. It is a long folding plate, its engraved surface measuring 15 inc. by 11 ¼ inc.; and its depth leaves no margin for inscription, --at least in any bound copy.¹ The picture was painted by R.E. Pine in 1770, and of the subject Watson himself says that

This was the original of that motto which was inscribed about some ancient seals of arms belonging to the Warrens of Poynton in Cheshire, viz. *Gladio Vici, Gladio Teneo, Gladio Tenebo*, the last word of which is the present motto of the family.² A fine historical picture, painted by Pine, representing this remarkable event, is in the hands of Sir George Warren, who hath caused a print to be taken from it for the use of this work.

We have seen it stated in a bookseller's catalogue that the number printed of the Third and last edition was 250: and that statement is very probably the truth.³ Upon similar authority we learn that the copper-plates are preserved at Sudbury hall, the seat of Lord Vernon.

Lowndes mentions the prices produced by this book in the sales of several celebrated libraries, viz. Bindley 2*l.* 7*s.* Towneley 3*l.* 5*s.* Nassau 3*l.* 6*s.* Edwards 3*l.* 17*s.* Gough 4*l.* 4*s.* Marquees of Townshend 4*l.* 6*s.* Fonthill 5*l.* 10*s.* Roscoe 7*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* Add, Turnbull (1863) the arms coloured throughout, 6*l.* 15*s.* Woodford 14*l.*

There are copies in these public libraries, -in the British Museum two, one which formerly belonged to the library of King George III and the other Mr. Grenville's, - the latter called Large Paper in the Catalogue of Mr. Grenville's collection; but the book was printed

(1) We have now met with one or two exceptions in which the print is folded up: but still there is no engraved inscription except the publication -line (with the date 1785) then required by law.

(2) TENEBO is stated to have been the motto of Sir George Warren when installed K.B. in 1761: Edmondson's *Complete Body of Heraldry*, vol. ii. Additions and Emendations, letter W.

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- (3) Of the assertion to which Brunet refers (See note in p. 200) that only fifteen copies were published of the book, we have met with the following version: Ce superbe ouvrage, orne de portraits, vues perspectives, armpiries st blazons en or et en couleurs, n'a ete tire qu'a quinze exemplaries, nombre egal aux chefs des familles illustres cpmpagnons de Guillaume la Conqu'erant. Cet ouvrage n'a jamais ete vendu. (Note extradite du Catalogue de M. Chardin, 1806, no 2089.)" Peignot Repertoire de Bibliographies Speciales, 8 vo. 1810. p. 142.

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only on paper of one size, with wide margins, as before noticed. Other copies are in the Bodleian, the Advocates, Signet, and College Libraries at Edinburgh, in Chetham's Library at Manchester, and the Inner Temple Library (formerly the copy of "Wm Hamper, Birmingham 1817"), and the Royal Institution. A copy in the library of the College of Arms which bears the initials G. M. on the title-page, was the gift of the late Mr. Dendy, Chester Herald, Nov. 14, 1861.

There is no copy in the libraries of the Society of Antiquaries, the Atheneum Club, Sion College, or Trinity College at Dublin; none in the libraries of the City of London at Guildhall, the Middle Temple, or Lincoln's Inn.

Such presentation copies as have been examined for us were given by Sir John Borlase Warren.

In the library of Daniel Gurney, esq. F.S.A. at North Runcton is a copy thus inscribed:-

*Francis Hargrave,
a present made to me this day by Sir John Borlase
Warren, Bart. K.B. F.H. 16 June 1802.
Note that this book has not yet been published
for Sale. F.H.*

This copy was bequeathed with Mr. Hargrave's library to the British Museum, from whence it was sold as a duplicate in 1818.

Mr. Evelyn Philip Shirley possesses a beautiful copy of the last edition, which bears on a fly-leaf this inscription:

*Jo:Jackson 1805.
Presented by Sir John
Borlase Warren, K.B. &c.*

In the library of George Edward Adams, esq. Lancaster Herald, is a copy having this inscription in both volumes:

*Wm Rd Middlemore
Presented by The Rt. Honorable
Sir John Borlase Warren Bart the
23d Feb. 1807.*

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The copy in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle has the "Carlton House Library" book plate; and one which belonged to the Duke of Clarence (King William IV.) is now in the possession of J.J. Howard, esq. L.L.D. F.S.A. In this there are three book plates: 1. of the initials W.H. surrounded by the Garter and surrounded by a royal coronet; 2. the name plate of Colonel FitzClarence; 3. his armorial plate inscribed Earl of Munster.

Other copies of the edition of 1782 are in the possession of the following

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gentleman who have kindly communicated with us on this occasion:

James Crossly esq. at Manchester (two copies)

Robert Davies, esq. F.S.A. at York—formerly belonging to "Lady Elizabeth and Mary Cotes."

The Earl of Effingham at Tusmore House. In this copy the arms are coloured; it formerly belonged to a Matthew Gregson, F.S.A. of Liverpool, and we suspect that he may have purchased it at Poynton, (or elsewhere) at the same time that he bought the copy of the Second Edition (now Mr. Shirley's), which had gone through the critical ordeal of contemporary antiquaries.

Daniel Gurney, esq. F.S.A. at North Runcton.

The late Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. F.S.A. at Stourhead.

John Gough Nichols, F.S.A. (formerly in the library of Mr. William Figg, F.S.A. of Lewes).

The Duke of Northumberland has two copies, one at Alnwick Castle and the other at Syon House.

William Langton, esq. of Manchester; formerly belonging to "*J. H. Clive, Chell.*"

George Ormerod, esq. LL.D. F.S.A. at Sedbury Park, Chepstow.

The Rev. Mr. Cannon Raine at York.

Albert Way, esq. at Wonham Manor, Surrey.

Mr. White at Dorking: Formerly belonging to George R. Corner, esq. F.S.A.

A copy now in the hands of Mr. Boone the bookseller in New Bond Street has the book-plate of John Barratt, and on the title-page the name of the Right Hon. *J.H. Smyth*, some time Master of the Mint (or that of his son of the same name). A copy in the hands of Messrs. Ellis and Green,

booksellers in King-street, Covent Garden, is illustrated with more than 200 additional engravings.

Such is the bibliography, so far as we have been able to collect it, of this remarkable book. But the reader who has accompanied us thus far will take a further interest in learning what reception it had, not merely as a book for the library, but as accomplishing its main object, the resuscitation of the Earldom of Warren and Surrey.

We have not heard of any literary criticism passed upon Mr. Watson's work on its first appearance, and perhaps, as it was never regularly published, it did not attract the notice of any of the ordinary reviews. But at subsequent periods deliberate opinions upon its merit have been publicly expressed by at least five eminent genealogists,

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Sir. Egerton Brydges, Dr. Whitaker, Ormerod, Townsend (as expressed by Dallaway), and Hunter.

The first, in the *Censura Literaria*, 1805, vol. i. pp. 19-23, 184-191,-- though much inclined to lean,¹ with a kindred kindness, to the plausibility of the claim, yet was obliged to admit that "a critical attention to all that Watson, with the aid of these authorities [Flower and Glover], has been able to urge in favour of the latter mode [of descent], induces me to confess that he leaves the matter in very great doubt" (p. 20). On the important point how far the descent, if perfectly proven, would have established a claim to the Earldom, Sir Egerton Brydges is silent; but Dr. Whitaker, in his *Loidis and Elmete*, 1816, vol. i. p. 277, showed that the Author proceeded on an entirely mistaken argument, in imagining that the Earldom could devolve on a male line of Warren, however distinctly established in pedigree. Isabel, the daughter and heiress of the third Earl, had carried it successively to her two husbands: it was inherited by her descendants, and they must be all proved extinct, which is by no means the case, before the dignity would revert to any junior branches in the male line. But Dr. Whitaker, in conclusion, admitted that he was "bound in justice to add, that the legitimacy of the Warrens of Poynton appears to be fully proved by this historian,"

Dr. Ormerod the Historian of Cheshire (in his vol. iii. p. 340), presented a fair review of the known evidence, and of the arguments *pro et con*, but was obliged to leave the question still in doubt. We will quote his exposition of the whole discussion, for the benefit of those to whom it may be new:--

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Sir Edward Warren appears to have been the husband of Maud surnamed of Nerford,² daughter and co-heir of Richard de Skegeton, and according to every

- (1) It was a convenient peg to fasten some reflections upon the recent ill-success of “the collateral branches of another noble family, who with better proofs and better pretensions” (than the Willoughbys) &c. &c. See a long note, in *Censura Literaria*, i. p. 190. We need scarcely add that Sir Egerton Brydges alluded to the claim made by himself-in the name of his elder brother-to the *Barony of Chandos*. But Time works his revenges, and sometimes in the cause of truth. The “better pretensions” of this claim, after suffering long suspicion, were at last fully demonstrated to be nothing but pretensions after all, when G.F. Beltz, Lancaster, published his convincing book on the Barony of Chandos in the year 1834.
- (2) Watson assumed that there were two Mauds de Nerford, one the concubine of the last Earl Warren, and the other the wife of Sir Edward Warren as above; and Ormerod repeats this double designation of Sir Edward’s wife in his pedigree of Warren, p. 343.

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authority was descended, either legitimately or otherwise, from the Earls of Warren; but the authorities differ as to the precise mode of the descent.

On this subject, as Mr. Watson observes (*House of Warren*, ii. 75-82), there are *three* options, but the second of these may be again subdivided.

The *first* opinion (that of Vincent, and the one which has been generally believed,) states this Sir Edward to be son of John de Warren, bastard son of John the eighth Earl by his concubine Maud de Nerford. The only objection to this supposition is that the King, who was last in the Earl’s settlement, entered, instead of Sir Edward, upon the lands settled on this John de Warren’s *lawful* male issue. (Watson, ii. 76-77)

The *second* is contained in the pedigree drawn up by Glover (Vincent’s Cheshire, Coll. Arm.) which makes the said John (father of Sir Edward) legitimate son of John seventh Earl Warren; and this account is varied by Sir J.B. Warren’s pedigree, which makes Sir Edward legitimate son of the seventh Earl himself. (*Ibid.* 77-80.)

The *third and last* occurs in the Poynton pedigree, as drawn by Flower and Glover in 1580, viz. that Sir Edward was son of John, son of Sir John, son of William, which William was unquestionably son of Reginald de Warren, a younger brother of William the third Earl.

An establishment of this hypothesis was the object with which Mr. Watson’s History of the Warrens was written, and the result was an admirable account of the great Earls of that title, and of the family of the same name which settled at Poynton, each branch being severally traced and identified by every means which antiquarian research could supply; but with respect to the *link between the families, to the two Johns de Warren who intervene in Glover’s pedigree between William, nephew of the third Earl, and Sir Edward, the ancestor of the Poynton branch, without whose identification the whole falls to the ground*, it must be owned that the reader will only find (in pp. 88-89, vol. ii.) the unsupported assertions of Glover repeated, without confirmation, or even an attempt at confirmation.

It was in the same year (1819) that Dallaway published his *History of the Rape of Arundel*, in which, at pp. 121-123, he discusses the question of the descent of the Warrens of Poynton, showing the several theories of

Flower and Glover, Vincent and Dugdale, and lastly of Watson. He appends some valuable observations which were communicated to him by Francis Townsend, Windsor Herald, then engaged in collecting materials for a new edition of Dugdale's Baronage. These include proofs that the Earl was never divorced from his wife Isabel de Barre, the grand-daughter of King Edward I. nor married to Isabel de Holland, whom in his will he terms his *compatigae*.

Dallaway dismisses Watson's book with this criticism, that it is "elaborate as to the historical collection for the House of Warren, but conjectural as to the establishment of its main point."

It was reserved to Joseph Hunter, the Historian of *South Yorkshire*, to verify and establish the older belief, that the Warrens of Poynton

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were really an illegitimate branch of the ancient house, descended from John the last Earl (ob. 1347) by his concubine Maud de Nerford. He found, however, that the Earl's bastard son, the ancestor of the Poynton family, was not John, but Sir Edward Warren. In his *History of South Yorkshire*, 1828, vol. i. 101-110, under Coningsborough, Mr. Hunter has given the best and most reliable account of the Warrens; but he also communicated to the last number of the *Retrospective Review* (Second Series, 1828, ii. 527) a *precis* of the argument, which will now bear repetition:--

THE WARRENS OF POYNTON,-- The principal object of "The History of the House of Warren," a work in which it is manifest that great attention was given to the subject by its learned author, was to prove that a race of gentry of the name of Warren, who had resided, from the reign of Edward III., at Poynton, near Stockport, in Cheshire, were in legitimate descent from the ancient Earls of Warren; and that, being so descended, the head of that family had a right to the Earldom of Warren.

The second position was a palpable *non sequitur*. For if it could have been proved, to the satisfaction of a Lord's Committee, that Sir George Warren did descend in the line contended for by Mr. Watson, it would by no means have followed that he was entitled to the rank and privileges of Earl of Warren, which had once passed to the issue of a female heiress; and on the same principle, would have gone, on the death of John the last Earl of Warren, if any where, to the issue of his sister, the Countess of Arundel.¹

In his first position he appears to be equally in error. He has shown indeed that Vincent² and Dugdale³ are both wrong when they deduce the Warrens of Poynton from John de Warren, an illegitimate son of the last Earl. He has also produced very probable reasons why the Warrens of Poynton did not descend, as others have conjectured, from a John de Warren, said to be son of John the seventh Earl, who died in 1304, by a second wife, a daughter of Mowbray. But it does not follow that, having cleared away these two hypotheses, the third which he adopts becomes established as indisputably true. We are persuaded indeed that that hypothesis is equally without the support of evidence, and in opposition to very pertinent probabilities, with the two which Mr. Watson has ably disposed of.

It is admitted that the Poynton family descend from a Sir Edward Warren, who was living in the reign of Edward III. This is a point about which there is no dispute. The question is, how Sir Edward was connected with the Earls? Mr. Watson

WATSON'S EARLS OF WARREN AND SURRY.

(1) In fact, the title of Earl of Surrey *was* assumed by the Earls of Arundel, and so has descended to the Dukes of Norfolk. Townsend (Windsor) has shown (Additions to Dugdale's Baronage, in *Collectanea Topogr. et Geneal.* vii, 134, 135) that Johanna de Bars the widow of the last Earl continued to be constantly styled Countess of Warren or Countess of Surrey and Sussex until her death in 1361, and that after her death the Earl of Arundel, as next heir, used the additional title of Surrey. The Earldom of Surrey is considered to have been vested in him and his son until the attainder of the latter in 1397. See Nicolas's *Historic Peerage*, edit. Courthope, p. 463. (J.G.N.)

² "Discovery," p 525.

³ "Baronage," i. 82.

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deduces his descent from Reginald, a second son of William the second Earl (and consequently grandson to Gundred the daughter of the Conqueror), who is said to have had by Adeliza, a daughter of Roger de Mowbray, William, his only son and heir; who, by Isabel, a daughter of Sir William de Haydon, had Sir John Warren; who, by Alice, daughter of Roger de Townsend, had another Sir John; father to Sir Edward, by Joan, daughter of Sir Hugh Port.

Now, we have no attempt to *prove* the existence of the two Sir Johns: no inquisitions (for the latter of these at least must have lived within the period through which we are so rich in that species of evidence): no reference to any thing which has the semblance of authority for the marriages with Townsend and Port. The whole is taken from an unsupported pedigree, which purports to have been prepared by Flower and Glover, but which would seem to betray some inferior hand, when it gravely states that Hugh Capet was the son of Osmund de Comitibus Villa, by Warina sister to Herfastus, did we not know that the truly respectable name of Glover is subscribed to other Northern pedigrees, in which there are errors as palpable. We think therefore that, till there is something to prove the existence at least of these two Sir Johns and their wives, it were too much to call upon his Majesty to allow a dignity to their supposed personal representative which would have had the effect of placing him above all the Earls of the realm. We think moreover that the true descent of Sir Edward Warren, and consequently the relation in which the Warrens of Poynton stand to the [Earls of Warren, is shown in a very satisfactory manner](#) in a volume relating to the topography of the south part of Yorkshire, which has been lately published. [It was known to Dugdale that the last Earl of Warren, who died in 1347, left a will which was entered in the register of Zouch, Archbishop of York.](#) Mr. Watson, when he was preparing his *History of the House of Warren*, inquired for this will; [but to his great mortification found that Zouch's register, which contained it was lost.](#) He was therefore compelled to take his knowledge of it from the few notices of its contents to be found in Dugdale's *Baronage*. In the course of researches made for the topographical work just referred to, the author discovered, not indeed the original register, but a very valuable abstract of it made by Dugdale's great friend and coadjutor Dodsworth¹; and in that abstract a much more ample notice of the contents of the earl's will than is to be found in the *Baronage*. He mentions in it several children, males and females, all of whom must have been illegitimate; and amongst them occurs the [name of Edward de Warren, to whom he leaves 20£.](#)

[It is then for the first time shown, that the last Earl of Warren had a son who bore the name of Edward;](#) and as the house of Poynton is known to descend from an Edward de Warren, who must have been contemporary with that Edward; as there was a strong current of tradition that it did descend from an illegitimate son of the last Earl of Warren; as the distinction in the arms of the Warrens of Poynton was a lion rampant ermine, which was the coat of Nereford,² [and the earl is well known to have had a mistress of the name of Maud de Nereford;](#) as there also is an absence of all evidence for any other descent of Sir Edward Warren, [the undoubted](#)

1 Dodsworth's MSS at the Bodleian. vol xxviii, f. 131

2 A canton gules charged with a lion rampant ermine was placed on the checky coat of Warren, --the same which appears on the Roll t. Edward II. under Norfolk as the coat of Sire William de Nerford, de goules a un lion rampand de ermyne.

ancestor,— we confess we see not how the conclusion can be evaded that he is the Edward de Warren named in the will, a son, but not legitimate, of the eighth and last Earl.

The name of Warren was allowed to all issue of the Earl. This appears to have been on the same principle that the Cornwalls, Barons of Burford, and the Somersets, now Dukes of Beaufort, had their surnames. The one descended from an Earl of *Cornwell*, the other from an Earl of *Somerset*.¹ So the Earl of Warren gave the name of his earldom to his illegitimate sons. Another illegitimate son of the Earl of Warren not noticed by Watson, named Ravelyn, is mentioned in the Rolls of Parliament, 9 Edward III.²

We have one more remarkable particular to give before we close this article. Mr. Watson is said to have inquired in vain for the Register of Archbishop Zouch, and in vol. ii. P. 50, he stated that it was “unfortunately lost.” In this supposition Mr. Hunter acquiesced. But, if ever missing or mislaid, it has been recovered, and has, with the other registers of its series, been made to render forth its treasures of information by the Surtees Society. The will of the last Earl Warren will be found at length in the *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol i. 41-47, and it is one of the most curious and interesting in that collection. The Earl’s surviving children by Maud de Nerford were then grown up and some married, and he had another *compaigne* named Isabelle de Holand. The following are the passages in which he mentions the new connections he had thus acquired, and his children—

Jeo devys a dame Maude de Holand iiij jumentz de mon haratz de Sussex.3

Jeo devys a monsire Robert de Holande les quissers ove le picer de quir qui sount pour mon destrer.4

Jeo devys a monsire Otes de Holande les coverturs burnutz de plate qui sount pour mon destrer.5

Jeo devys a monsieur William de Warenne mon filz cent mares, ma hure d’argent dorre pour Strathorne, ove la cerele d’argent pour yeel, deus taches et le latz dargent dorretz pour le mauntel, et tout mon hernoys pour le joster.6

Et a ma fille sa compaigne j nouche d’or.

(1) To these examples is to be added the equally illustrious one of the Arundels, and that in the legitimate, not illegitimate, line. As Archbishop Arundel and many other younger branches of the Earls of Arundel were only known as Arundels, that may be properly taken as the actual surname of the family; and not FitzAlan, as in the Peerage writers.—J.G.N.

(2) Vol. ii. P. 88.

(3) Four carriage-horses from his stud in Sussex.

(4) The leathern armour for the haunches and breast of his charger or war-horse.

(5) The burnished caparisons of plate for the same.

(6) His hure of silver gilt for Stratherne with its band or wreath of silver gilt, two tags and the hure of silver gilt for the mantling, and all his armour for jousting. The *hure* was a kind of hat worn over the helmet, called by modern heraldic writers a *chapeau* or cap of dignity; and the makers thereof were *hurriers*, of whom there was

Jeo devys a *Edward de Warenne mon filz* vynt I.

Jeo devys a Johan de Basyngg ma fille une coupe dargent pleyne.

Jeo devys a Katherine ma fille dys mare.

Jeo devys a Isabelle ma fille, noneyne de Sempryngham, vynt ¹.

Jeo devys a daunz William de Warenne mon filz ma bible que jai fait faire en Frauncys, et qule demoerge en la meson ou il serra priour après son decease en perpetuel memoire de moy.

Here are enumerated the Earl's surviving children, probably in the order of their birth. The eldest was Sir William, ¹ and he had a wife, but whose name does not appear. Edward was the second,-- the ancestor of the WARRENS OF POYNTON. The eldest daughter had acquired another name by marriage. Katharine was unmarried; and Isabel was a nun at Sempringham. Lastly is mentioned Don William (the second of that name), who had become prior of Horton in Kent in 1338.²

After many other legacies, one of which we cannot pass over without noticing its heraldic interest,

Jeo devys a mousier William de Friskeneye deus botels d'argent ove escuchounz des armes³ monsire Johan de Breouse.

we arrive at a long catalogue of articles bequeathed to Isabelle de Holand, commencing thus—

Jeo devys a Isabelle de Holand ma compaigne mon auel d'or ove le bane rubye, baquinze les quinze anels d'or par constellation qui sont en mon Egle d'or,⁴ ensi q'ele méttre autres anels en lour liens tiels come lui plerra, les principals vestementz entiers pour ma chapelle, &c. &c. &c.

The will was made in the castle of Conisborough on the 24th June

a company in London. This *hure* bore the crest of Strathern, of which earldom the testator died possessed, styling himself Johan Counte de Warenne, de Surrey, et de Strathorne, Seigneur de Bromfelde et de Yale.

- (1) "This William bore for his coat armor *Checky or and az. A chief aryent.*" *Memoirs*, &c ii. 68, quoting "Miscellanea MS. B. 2"
- (2) This second William may not improbably have been by another mother. Mr. Hunter, (*South Yorkshire*, i. 105) in enumerating the Earl's children, mentions two more, viz. John and Thomas, both living 1316. He has also named another, Ravelyn, in the extract already given from the *Retrospective Review*. But he has omitted "Monsieur William de Warenne," the married son named in the will.
- (3) Were these such little pendant escutcheons, generally enameled, as still *occur* not unfrequently among the relics of former times?
- (4) He had previously devised to the chapel of our Lady of Walsingham "mon Egle dor sanz les anels qe sount mys par constellation." These rings set as a constellation were of the like fashion as one of his personal jewels," les quinze anels d'or mys par constellation queux jeo ay meismes porte, and which he devised to the Archbishop of Canterbury, John de Stratford, the first named of his executors.

1347, and proved on the 26th of the following month. The term *ma compaigne* applied to Isabelle de Holand has puzzled genealogists¹; for they knew that it meant at the time nothing less than wife. Indeed in this very document it is applied in that sense to the testator's daughter-in-law the wife of Sir William de Warren; and the Earl's nephew and successor in the Earldom of Surrey, Richard Earl of Arundel, in his will dated 1375, designates his wife of royal blood as "ma treschere compaigne Alianore de Lancaster."²

We must conclude that the Earl of Warren chose to regard and to style Isabelle de Holand as his wife, although he had failed to procure a divorce from his actual wife Joan de Barre, a granddaughter of King Edward I., who survived him, and is styled Countess of Surrey after his death. J. G. N.

Guigard, in his *Bibliothèque Heraldique de la France*, has omitted any notice of Watson's work: but he mentions, as his No. 4792, Notice historique et genealogique sur la Famille de Warren et sur ses établissements successifs en Angleterre, en Irlande, en Lorraine, et en Toscaine. (Par le comte FRANCOIS PATRICE EDOUARD DE WARREN.) Nancy, Autog. L. *Christophe*, (1861), in-4. Avec blasons. There is a copy of this in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

There is also an American work of some importance on the Warrens, of which copies are to be found in the libraries of the British Museum and the Athenaeum Club. It is a quarto volume bearing this title: Genealogy of Warren, with some historical Sketches. By JOHN C. WARREN, MD., Emeritus Professor of Harvard University. Boston, 1854. pp iv 113. See this fully described in Whitmore's *American Genealogist*, 1868, p 96. About half the book relates to the Warrens of England. Not only does the author derive the Warrens of Poynton from the Earls of Warren, but he derives the Warrens of Headborough, Devonshire, from those of Poynton; and various families in America from those of Headborough. Mr. Whitmore, the American bibliographer, has the acumen to perceive that these are "bold hypotheses," and he has further the courage to pronounce them to be "*not proven.*"

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- (1) Mr. Hunter's remarks on the point are these:-- "The precise force of the word *compaigne* as applied to Isabel de Holand is not apparent. Joan de Barr was beyond question then alive, and bearing the title of Countess of Surrey; but it is thought by many that the marriage was dissolved, and that Isabel was in truth his wife, a relation which was expressed by the word *compaigne*," &c.
- (2) So also in the glass at Shrewsbury the Welsh princess Hawise, wife of Sir John de Charlton, lord of Powis, was styled *compaigne*, about the same period: see our vol. Vi. P. 119. It was therefore a term applied to ladies of the highest position, and might rather be translated by the modern term "consort" than by any having a degrading implication.